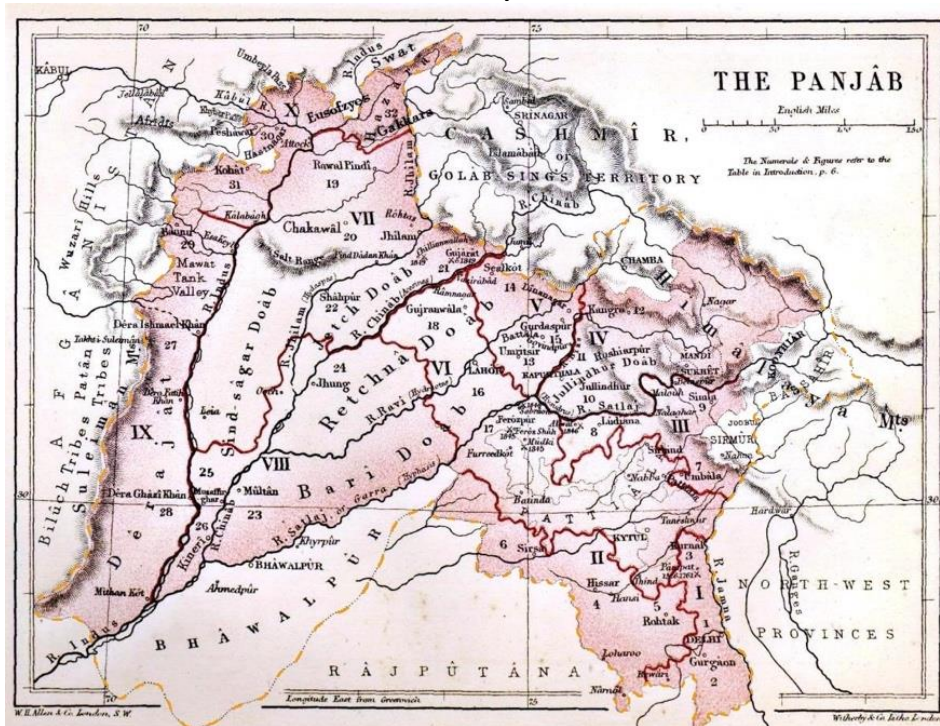# WAGENINGEN
UNIVERSITY & RESEARCH

The Need to Resist:

(An analysis of power dynamics over land use between the Nationalist and regional narratives in India)

Map of Punjab during colonial era

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Sincerely,

Jaiveer Singh Bajwa

January 2024

Abstract

This thesis embarks on a comprehensive exploration of the intricate power dynamics existing between the modern Indian Nationalist state and its minority communities, with a primary focus on the contentious issues surrounding land use and the preservation of cultural heritage. Grounded in a case study of the Puadh region—a culturally diverse expanse spanning across Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh—my research probes the multifaceted intersections of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization, dissecting their roles in shaping regional identities and influencing land use policies. This investigation spans both historical and contemporary dimensions of Puadh's socio-political landscape, unravelling the interaction between various forms of nationalism, ranging from colonial to anti-colonial, religious to secular, and their interactions with regional resistance movements. This interplay has left an indelible mark on Puadh's identity, particularly concerning land use and urban development. Of particular scrutiny is the establishment of Chandigarh, emblematic of post-independence Indian nationalism, and its profound impact on Puadh's cultural milieu and spatial memory. Furthermore, this thesis delves into the far-reaching ramifications of globalization on traditional cultural practices and land use patterns in Puadh, offering a microcosm of broader trends in cultural transformation and heritage preservation. Employing qualitative research methodologies, including ethnography, grounded theory, historical analysis, narrative analysis, and discourse analysis, we navigate the nuanced terrain of how minority communities in Puadh negotiate their identities and assert their rights within the overarching framework of the Indian Nationalist state. This study illuminates the ongoing struggle of these minority communities to safeguard their cultural integrity and autonomy amidst the dominant national narratives and development policies. As we conclude, we emphasize the pressing need for these communities to resist the homogenizing forces wielded by the Indian Nationalist state, particularly in the realms of land use and cultural preservation. This calls for a profound recognition of historical contexts in the formulation of contemporary policies and an earnest advocacy for inclusive strategies that honour the diversity and unique requirements of marginalized regions.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction:

The Indian nation-state, since its inception, has been an arena of complex socio-political dynamics, where the quest for a unified national identity has often clashed with the country's intrinsic diversity (Chatterjee, 1986) This thesis delves into the heart of this tension, examining the oppression of marginalized groups by the homogenizing forces of the modern Indian nation-state through the lens of the Puadh region—a microcosm reflecting the broader national narrative (Chatterjee, 1993). At the intersection of nationalism and regional identity, the Puadh region, with its distinct dialect and cultural nuances, emerges as a poignant case study for exploring the implications of Indian nationalism (Samaddar, 2007). The narrative journey of Puadh, from a culturally rich yet historically side-lined region to one that has endured significant transformations due to colonial and post-colonial urbanization efforts, encapsulates the experience of many such marginalized groups across India (Daon, 2016; Sarkar, 1989)

The research is structured around a set of core inquiries that guide the exploration of this subject matter. It begins with the interrogation of the spatial implications of Indian nationalism and the homogenization of identity, revealing how the creation of new urban spaces, such as Chandigarh, has led to both the literal and metaphorical displacement of local communities (Bagchi, 2001; Srivastava, 2014). This spatial reconfiguration serves as an embodiment of national priorities that often disregard the intricate cultural fabric of regions like Puadh (Daon, 2016; Srivastava, 2014). Furthermore, the thesis examines the responses of minority ethnic and linguistic groups to the overarching narrative of Indian nationalism (Chatterjee, 1986). The resurgence of cultural movements, the preservation of dialects, and political assertions of identity by the people of Puadh offer insights into the mechanisms of oppression by the state

power that have emerged in the face of national integration policies that prioritize homogeneity (Daon, 2016; Omvedt, 2020).

The relationship between homogenization, urbanization, and national identity is a central theme of this study, drawing on and extending the ideas proposed by scholars like Appadurai (1996). While urban development initiatives have often been heralded as symbols of modernity and progress, this thesis argues that they have also played a pivotal role in crafting a monolithic national identity. This argument, while drawing on Inam's (2013) work, posits a unique perspective that these urbanization efforts, often celebrated as developmental milestones, simultaneously contribute to the homogenization of diverse cultural identities. Critically, this research contends that predominant approaches to nationalism, particularly in the context of modernity and modernization, tends to underplay the significant role of urban spatial change. These insights reveal that efforts to build and strengthen nationalism are, in fact, inherently spatial projects.

Conversely, literature focusing on urbanization often overlooks how this process is intrinsically linked to nation-state building, missing the subtle and dramatic ways in which urban development can reinforce nationalistic narratives. This study bridges this gap by considering how urban development initiatives in India have led to the erasure of local identities and histories, thereby echoing a pattern of cultural dominance that has been a recurrent theme in the nation's history (Roy, 2003). In acknowledging the richness of India's diversity, this thesis critically examines the inherent contradictions in the pursuit of a singular national identity (Thapar, 2013). Through a historical and cultural exploration of the Puadh region, the research aims to illuminate the broader implications of these tensions for the Indian nation-state. This exploration, drawing on insights from Daon (2016) and Srivastava (2014) tells a story of resilience and resistance, communities striving to retain their unique identities amidst the powerful currents of nationalism and state-led homogenization.

This thesis navigates through the layers of historical context, spatial dynamics, and cultural narratives to critically examine the complex relationship between marginalized groups and the nation-state in India. Recognizing the significant impact of colonialism and globalization, it establishes a context for understanding the ongoing dynamics between the Indian state and its diverse cultural groups. Colonialism laid foundational aspects of these dynamics, while

globalization has further complicated and influenced them. While acknowledging the dual role of the Indian state as highlighted by Jayal (2012), that of being both a custodian of diversity and an agent of homogenization, the study ventures further to interrogate and challenge this duality. Contrary to Jayal's perspective, this research argues that the Indian state, in many instances, has failed in its role as a custodian of cultural diversity. Instead, it has often functioned predominantly as an agent of homogenization, particularly in its dealings with regions like Puadh. This argument is supported by an analysis of how state policies and initiatives, influenced by colonial legacies and shaped by the forces of globalization, have contributed to the marginalization of diverse cultural identities in favor of a singular, dominant narrative of Indian nationalism.

The study presents an account of how this duality of the Indian state has intricately shaped the country's socio-political landscape. It highlights the silent struggles and resistance of marginalized communities like those in Puadh, which often remain overshadowed by the grand narrative of Indian nationalism. By doing so, the thesis not only contributes to the scholarly debate but also positions itself as a critical argument against the conventional view of the state's role in managing cultural diversity. This approach offers a layered perspective on the complexities inherent in state-nation interactions, particularly in the context of managing and preserving the diverse cultural identities within India. Ultimately, this thesis is not just an exploration of historical and cultural dynamics; it is an argument that foregrounds the often-overlooked narratives of marginalized communities. It illuminates the silent struggles underpinning the grand narrative of Indian nationalism, thereby providing a more comprehensive and fine-grained understanding of the nation-state's impact on regional identities and cultural diversity.

1.2 Problem Statement and Research gap

This thesis delves into a critical exploration of the interactions between India's aspirations for a unified national identity and its different local cultural identities, with a specific focus on the understudied region of Puadh (Chatterjee, 1993; S. Guha, 2013). It seeks to unravel how the pursuit of a singular national identity by the Indian state might inadvertently lead to the marginalization of rich cultural heritages in diverse regions, particularly Puadh. Here, the struggle to maintain local dialects and traditions against a dominant national narrative becomes

a poignant case study for understanding the broader socio-political dynamics within modern India (Kaviraj, 2010; Pandey, 2001).

A pivotal research gap this thesis addresses is the theoretical intersection of nationalism and urbanization, particularly in their joint impact on shaping regional identities. Existing academic studies, while rich in discussions on nationalism and urban development individually, often overlooks the connection between these two forces. This oversight is especially evident in lesser-known regions like Puadh. My thesis ventures into this unexplored territory, providing a critical examination of how national identity aspirations and urban development initiatives intertwine (Sassen, 2008), influencing and transforming the cultural identity of regions such as Puadh. Furthermore, this study also fills a significant academic void by being one of the first comprehensive explorations of Puadh itself. The absence of detailed academic literature on Puadh's unique cultural and historical context presents another vital gap that this thesis aims to address. By offering an in-depth analysis of Puadh, the research not only contributes to the broader understanding of regional dynamics under the influence of nationalism and urbanization but also brings to light a region hitherto overlooked in scholarly studies.

The theoretical framework of this study integrates concepts of nationalism, urbanization, colonialism, and globalization, drawing upon the seminal works of Anderson (2020), Sassen, Castells, and Appadurai. It's important to recognize that both globalization and colonialism are not just standalone concepts but are influential factors on the key concepts of nationalism and urbanization. Globalization, as discussed by Castells (2000) and Sassen, has accelerated and reshaped urban and national identities, impacting the way communities interact with the state. Colonialism, on the other hand, laid the groundwork for many of the nationalist strategies and urbanization patterns observed in contemporary times, significantly influencing the context in which marginalized communities navigate their identities (Kaviraj, 2010). The thesis adopts a Foucauldian perspective (Foucault, 2003; Roy, 2007) to critique the spatialization of nationalism through urban development, suggesting that the state, in its role as a custodian of diversity, often acts more as an agent of homogenization. Foucault's concept of biopower is pivotal in understanding the governance and control mechanisms in nationalist and urbanization policies, especially their impact on marginalized communities.

Puadh, transitioning from a historically marginalized yet culturally rich area to one undergoing significant transformations due to nationalistic and urbanization policies, serves as a key case study (Daon, 2016). In narrating Puadh's story, this research illuminates the complexities and contradictions inherent in India's pursuit of a unified national identity amid its rich diversity. This study extends beyond merely filling an academic and theoretical void; it intricately explores how colonialism and globalization, while not primary focal points, significantly influence and elucidate the dynamics of nationalism and urbanization (Anderson, 2020; Appadurai, 1996; Sassen, 2008). In this context, colonialism provides historical depth to understanding the roots and development of nationalistic policies, while globalization offers insights into contemporary forces shaping urban expansion and identity transformations. These intertwined influences of colonialism and globalization, operating in conjunction with nationalism and urbanization, deepen our understanding of Puadh's evolving landscape (Castells, 2000; Kaviraj, 2010). It provides valuable insights for policymaking, particularly in preserving cultural diversity amid nationalistic and urban expansionist projects. By contributing to the academic discourse on the dynamics of identity formation, the thesis offers a substantial addition to our understanding of regional identities in the context of global and national forces.

1.3 Research Questions:

Main Research Question:

How have nationalism, urbanization, and globalization [in India] intersected to shape the regional political identity of the Puadh region?

Sub-Research Questions

1. How have different forms of colonial, religious, secular, and ethnic nationalism, interacted and conflicted with anticolonial and regional resistance movements to shape the identity of Puadh, and influence its position within the broader Punjab and Indian context?

2. How has urban development served to transform the cultural landscape and spatial memory of Puadh?

3. In what ways has globalization influenced traditional cultural practices and do such changes reflect broader trends in cultural transformation and preservation of heritage?

4. How have regional resistance movements like the one for Punjabi Suba subsumed the more localised cultural and linguistic identity of Puadh?

5. How have post-independence policies impacted regional autonomy and identity in Puadh, and what lessons can be drawn about balancing regional diversity within national frameworks?

1.4 Introduction to Puadh

Puadh, as a region, occupies a distinctive cultural and geographical position within the Indian subcontinent. The name 'Puadh' is commonly interpreted within local cultural narratives as 'Purab Punjab di Adh' (ਪੂਰਬ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਅੱਧ), symbolizing the edge of East Punjab. However, it's essential to acknowledge that while this interpretation holds cultural significance, it lacks definitive etymological backing. Predominantly located in the north-western part of the Indian state of Punjab and extending into parts of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, it is a region rich in cultural and linguistic diversity(Kaur, 2017). Known for its unique dialect, Puadhi, and a blend of customs and historical experiences, Puadh presents a fascinating case study to explore the complex interplay of nationalism, urbanisation, and globalisation in India.

Geographical Location and Present-Day Context

Geographically, Puadh is situated in a region that was historically recognized as an agricultural area, though known to not be highly productive due to a lack of sufficient irrigation (Daon, 2016). Its boundaries extend beyond mere state lines, encompassing unique cultural and linguistic characteristics that set it apart from neighbouring areas. This geographical positioning has been crucial in shaping its economic backbone, largely centred around agriculture.

Cultural and Historical Significance

Puadh's rich cultural heritage is deeply entwined with its historical narrative and geographical setting. The region's unique identity is encapsulated in its distinct dialect, Puadhi, a variation of Punjabi, which serves as a testament to its linguistic diversity. Historically, Puadh has been a crucible of diverse cultural influences, owing to its strategic location. This confluence has given rise to a vibrant mix of traditions, arts, and social customs unique to the area.

Despite its rich heritage, Puadh's historical context is complex and not extensively documented, leading to a relative lack of academic focus on the region. This thesis aims to address this gap by providing a chapter on the historical context of Puadh, elucidating its role and significance in the broader narratives of Indian nationalism and urban transformation.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In the subsequent chapters of this thesis, we will embark on an exploration of the dynamics shaping the Puadh region within the Indian nation-state, aligning with the core inquiries established in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 lays the theoretical groundwork, delving into key concepts such as nationalism, urbanization, globalization and colonial legacies, and their relevance to our study. This theoretical foundation is crucial for understanding the complex interactions and transformations within Puadh. Chapter 3 outlines our research methodology, detailing the qualitative approaches employed, including ethnography, grounded theory, and historical analysis, to ensure a robust and in-depth exploration of the subject matter. In Chapter 4, we delve into the historical context, tracing the evolution of Puadh from the pre-1900 era through the colonial period and up to contemporary times. This historical analysis is vital for contextualizing the current socio-political dynamics of Puadh. Chapters 5 and 6 form the core analytical segments of the thesis. Chapter 5 addresses the nuances of colonial, anti-colonial, and sectarian divides, examining how these forces have interacted and conflicted in shaping Puadh's identity within the broader Indian context. Chapter 6 expands this analysis by exploring the intersection of global trends with multinational and ethnic nationalism. Here, we assess how Puadh has been influenced and transformed by the forces of globalization, including economic, cultural, and technological changes. This chapter is critical in understanding the contemporary challenges and transformations faced by Puadh.

Finally, Chapter 7 serves as the conclusion, synthesizing the findings from the previous chapters. It revisits the main research questions, offering a cohesive summary of how nationalism, urbanization, and globalization have collectively shaped the regional political identity of Puadh. This final chapter not only ties together the insights gleaned from the entire study but also discusses the broader implications of these findings for understanding similar socio-political dynamics in other regions. By weaving together theoretical perspectives with historical and contemporary analyses, this thesis aims to provide an understanding of Puadh's evolution and its place within the larger tapestry of Indian nationalism and global influence. Each chapter is designed to build upon the previous one, ensuring a logical flow and understanding of Puadh's journey through the interplay of regional, national, and global forces.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Overview of Theoretical Foundations

This thesis articulates a comprehensive theoretical framework to examine the interplay of nationalism, urbanization, globalization, and the enduring impact of colonial legacies on regional identity formation, with a special focus on regions like Puadh. This framework is designed to deepen our understanding of identity formation processes in diverse socio-cultural contexts, particularly in areas that have received less attention in academic research. The framework commences with an exploration of nationalism, drawing upon Anderson's 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson, 2020). It expands Anderson's concept to more critically consider the diverse local expressions of identity, addressing potential gaps in his theory regarding the richness of regional narratives within the national context. In parallel, the framework delves into the dynamics of urbanization, guided by the insights of Sassen, Castells, and others (Sassen, 2014; Castells, 2000). This segment scrutinizes how urban development reshapes social and cultural landscapes, assessing the transformative effects of urbanization while also exploring its implications for the persistence of local cultures.

Furthermore, globalization's role in shaping regional identities is explored through the lens of Arjun Appadurai (Appadurai, 1996). This part of the framework examines how global cultural flows interact with local dynamics, potentially leading to both the enrichment and overshadowing of local cultures. Crucially, the framework also integrates the impact of

colonial legacies, drawing on the theories of Michel Foucault, Homi K. Bhabha, Frantz Fanon, and Edward Said (Foucault, 2003; Bhabha, 1990; Fanon, 2004; Said, 1977). This aspect examines how historical colonial influences continue to shape power dynamics and cultural negotiations, thus affecting contemporary regional identities.

By synthesizing these varied theoretical perspectives, the framework aims to provide a holistic understanding of the forces shaping regional identities. It underscores the complexity inherent in this process and highlights the importance of considering both historical and contemporary influences. The case of Puadh, with its unique socio-cultural fabric, serves as an exemplar, illustrating how global, national, urban, and colonial forces converge to mould regional identities in a rapidly evolving world.

2.2 Nationalism and Its Impact on Regional Identities

Nationalism significantly shapes regional identities, presenting a complex landscape of influences and interactions. At the core of understanding this is Anderson's (2020) theory of "Imagined Communities". He posits that nations emerge from shared narratives, symbols, and histories, disseminated largely through print media and other forms of communication (Anderson, 2020). These narratives foster a sense of community among people who will likely never meet, yet feel connected in a shared national identity. However, Anderson's take might not fully encompass the richness and diversity of local identities, which can both contribute to and challenge the broader national narrative. Expanding beyond Anderson's framework, we also consider Chatterjee's (1993) perspective on the importance of recognizing diverse local identities, especially in post-colonial states. His analysis delves into how these identities interact with and sometimes contest national narratives (Chatterjee, 1993). This approach acknowledges the complexity of post-colonial societies, where diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups strive for recognition and representation. However, a limitation of this perspective lies in its exploration of the varied and often nuanced local responses to national narratives, which may not always align with dominant ideologies.

Additionally, the role of cultural symbols and continuity, as highlighted by Anthony D. Smith (1991), is integral to our understanding of nationalism. He emphasizes that national identity often hinges on symbols, myths, and traditions that are continuously adapted and reinvented

over time (Smith, 1991). This continuity and adaptation of cultural symbols play a crucial role in maintaining a cohesive national identity. However, this thesis proposes an extension to Smith's argument, suggesting that cultural adaptation extends beyond being a mere choice; it becomes a necessity in the face of external pressures and evolving global contexts. This extension is based on the observation that cultural practices and symbols often undergo transformation, not solely due to internal preferences, but as a response to external factors such as globalization, migration, technological advancement, and even the impact of colonial legacies (Appadurai, 1996). This adaptation process raises questions about the preservation of cultural authenticity in an evolving national narrative. In summary, while Anderson lays the foundational concept of nations as imagined communities formed through shared narratives (Anderson, 2020), Chatterjee and Smith offer important extensions to this idea (Chatterjee, 1993; Smith, 1991). They bring attention to the diversity of local identities in national narratives and the evolving nature of cultural symbols within nationalism.

2.3 Urbanization and Cultural Transformation

Urbanization profoundly reshapes cultural landscapes, playing a crucial role in the evolution of identity. Sassen's (2014) analysis of global cities provides critical insights into this transformation. She posits that urban centres, as pivotal hubs in the global economic system, create a confluence of financial and service industries that redefine urban spaces. This change is not merely physical; it represents a cultural and social evolution, leading to a unique amalgamation of cultures, ideas, and identities. Sassen's perspective, while highlighting the dynamic nature of urban culture, might underplay the long-term cultural impacts, particularly the resilience of local cultural memory in the face of global economic forces (Sassen, 2014). Complementing Sassen's insights, Castells' theories on urban transformation provide a deeper understanding of how the development and restructuring of urban spaces influence social and cultural dynamics. Castells (2020) emphasizes the role of urban development in shaping societal structures, highlighting how the physical redesign and expansion of cities can lead to significant shifts in how communities interact and identify with their environment. While Castells acknowledges the transformative power of urbanization, his theory also raises questions about the incidental impacts on local identity and community cohesion. As cities expand and evolve, traditional social networks and cultural connections can be disrupted, potentially leading to a sense of dislocation among residents. This aspect of his work points to the need for a balanced view of urban development, one that considers both its potential to

foster new forms of social organization and its ability to alter or even diminish established cultural and communal ties (Castells, 2000).

Incorporating Lynch's urban planning perspective offers another dimension to this discussion. Lynch (1960) emphasizes the impact of urban development on cultural identity and belonging, highlighting how changes in the physical environment can deeply affect how communities perceive and connect with their surroundings. His perspective sheds light on the importance of local cultural memory, which may be underemphasized in the face of rapid urban development and transformation (Lynch, 1960). The intersection of these theories presents a multifaceted view of urbanization's impact on regional identities. Urban growth leads to a reconfiguration of social spaces, disrupting traditional communities and creating new cultural intersections. These processes create spaces where historical and cultural legacies are reimagined and reinterpreted, contributing to a fluid and dynamic urban identity. However, this identity is constantly influenced by global movements and local socio-cultural fabrics, reflecting a complex interplay between physical urban growth, technological advancement, and cultural transformation. By synthesizing the insights of Sassen, Castells, and Lynch, we gain a comprehensive understanding of how urbanization influences cultural identity formation.

2.4 Globalization's Role in Cultural Dynamics

Appadurai's framework on globalization offers a profound understanding of how global cultural flows—including ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes—profoundly influence local cultures and identities (Appadurai, 1996). His concept of deterritorialized cultural landscapes illustrates how local cultures interact with global forces, leading to the creation of modern, hybrid identities. However, Appadurai's analysis acknowledges a critical limitation, the potential overshadowing of local identities in the face of these overwhelming global influences. This aspect is particularly relevant when considering how traditional practices and heritage may be reshaped or marginalized in this process. Complementing Appadurai, Zakaria's insights delve into the challenge of maintaining local identities amid global currents. Zakaria (2008) argues for the possibility of local cultures sustaining their distinctiveness even as they engage with globalization. He highlights the resilience of local traditions and the capacity of communities to adapt while retaining their core cultural elements (Zakaria, 2008). However, a limitation in Zakaria's perspective is the

potential underestimation of the profound transformation and marginalization of traditional cultures that can occur in an increasingly interconnected world.

The synthesis of Appadurai's and Zakaria's approaches presents a dual picture of cultural interaction in the age of globalization. Ethnoscapes, referring to the movement of people across boundaries, introduce diverse cultural practices into new contexts, fostering the formation of hybrid identities. And the influx of global capital (financescapes) into local economies and the spread of dominant global ideologies (ideoscapes) further compound these transformative effects. On one hand, this integration of global influences can be empowering, introducing progressive ideas and practices, yet it also raises concerns about cultural homogenization and the erosion of traditional values. In summary, Appadurai's and Zakaria's frameworks collectively highlight the complex interplay between global and local forces in shaping cultural dynamics. They underscore the potential for both the enrichment and the erosion of local cultures in a globalized world.

2.5 Colonial Legacies and Cultural Hybridity

In understanding the impact of colonialism on cultural and political identities, Foucault's concept of biopower and Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity offer profound insights (Foucault, 2003; Bhabha, 1990). Foucault's biopower, a critical element of his analysis of power structures, explores how states exert control over populations through political technologies, including surveillance, regulation, and administration. This concept is particularly relevant to colonialism, where control extended beyond overt political and economic mechanisms to subtler influences over social and cultural life (Foucault, 2003). In colonial settings, this form of power shaped the identities of the colonized, often aligning their cultural and social norms with the colonizer's values and beliefs. The remnants of such biopower in post-colonial societies, reflected in continued influences on cultural and political identities, underscore the enduring legacy of colonial structures and ideologies. Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity complements Foucault's concept by examining the interplay between colonial impositions and indigenous cultural responses (Bhabha, 1990). Bhabha views colonial encounters as complex processes involving both domination and resistance, leading to a hybrid cultural space where imposed and indigenous cultures intersect. This process of cultural hybridity involves appropriation, adaptation, and often subversion of cultural elements,

resulting in new, often contentious forms of cultural expression. However, it is important to recognize, his perspective remains somewhat optimistic in its depiction of cultural exchange. These exchanges are rarely balanced. Often, the process of cultural hybridity is skewed, with the dominant (colonial) culture exerting a disproportionate influence over the indigenous culture (Young, 2020).

Here, integrating Fanon's emphasis on preserving original cultural practices adds another layer to this analysis. Fanon (2004) highlights the complexities of maintaining traditional cultures within globalizing societies, particularly in the face of colonial influences. His work brings attention to the ongoing struggle to preserve cultural authenticity and the challenges posed by external forces that seek to reshape or erase indigenous practices (Fanon, 2004). Said's critique of Western imperialism, as presented in "Orientalism," further enriches this discussion (Said, 1977). His analysis underscores how Western narratives have often marginalized non-Western cultures for material and ideological gains. However, Said's work also points to a limitation in capturing the diverse ways in which colonized societies adapt to and resist dominant narratives. This gap in Said's theory opens avenues for exploring how local societies have negotiated and transformed these impositions to forge their distinct cultural identities. In sum, this theoretical perspective help us understand the impact of colonialism on regional identities. While Foucault and Bhabha provide a framework for understanding the mechanisms of control and the resulting cultural hybridity, Fanon and Said bring to light the struggle for cultural preservation and the complexities of resisting dominant narratives. Together, they suggest that regional identities are shaped by a historical process marked by power dynamics, resistance, adaptation, and creative negotiation.

2.6 Contemporary Challenges and Resistance

Contemporary challenges in regional resistance movements and post-independence policies significantly shape cultural and linguistic identities in a post-colonial context. These dynamics, particularly influential in contexts where regional autonomy and identity are at stake, manifest as both resistance to external control and a response to the neglect of cultural diversity. Rose's theory of governmentality provides insight into the subtler forms of state influences on society (Rose, 1999). He emphasizes how modern governance employs a range of techniques, from policies to discourses, to guide the behaviour and perceptions of populations. However, his

theory may not fully capture the overt and more direct forms of power imposition that can dramatically alter the cultural and physical space of communities. Complementing Rose's perspective, Scott's concept of 'hidden transcripts' offers a view of the subtle forms of resistance within communities against dominant narratives (Scott, 2020). He explores how these subaltern groups express dissent and maintain cultural practices away from the public eye. This theory brings to light the risk of smaller, localized narratives being absorbed or overshadowed by dominant cultural forces, a significant consideration in understanding the complexity of cultural resistance. Thiong'o's critique of post-colonial language politics further enriches this discussion (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o's emphasizes the importance of preserving indigenous languages and cultural practices, which are often threatened in post-colonial societies. His critique addresses the challenges faced by local cultures in maintaining their linguistic heritage in the face of dominant national and global languages.

The interplay of these theories paints a complex picture of contemporary cultural dynamics. Regional resistance movements, while crucial in preserving cultural and linguistic identities, can sometimes lead to internal cultural hegemonies that marginalize smaller groups within the same region. Post-independence policies aimed at national unity often struggle to balance the diverse cultural realities within a nation, potentially side-lining less dominant regional identities. The perspectives of Rose, Scott, and Thiong'o highlight the nuanced ways in which communities navigate these challenges, often engaging in both overt and covert forms of resistance and adaptation. In summary, the contemporary landscape of cultural resistance and adaptation is marked by a variety of influences and outcomes. Understanding these dynamics requires a nuanced approach that considers both the subtle and direct forms of state influence, the complexities of cultural resistance, and the ongoing challenges in preserving linguistic and cultural diversity in post-colonial societies.

2.7 Synthesizing Theoretical Perspectives

The synthesis of theoretical perspectives within this framework offers a deep dive into the interplay of nationalism, urbanization, globalization, and colonial legacies, collectively shaping and defining regional identities. This integrated view provides a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of identity formation, highlighting both the convergences and divergences of these theoretical standpoints.

In synthesizing the theoretical perspectives of nationalism and urbanization, this framework identifies a significant gap in existing literature, particularly concerning their combined impact on regional identities. While nationalism, as elucidated through Anderson's 'Imagined Communities,' provides an understanding of how nations form collective identities through shared narratives and symbols, it primarily addresses national identity at a macro level (Anderson, 2020). This perspective, though crucial, tends to overlook the diverse and nuanced local identities that contribute to and, at times, challenge the broader national narrative. Complementing this, urbanization theories by Sassen, Castells, and Lynch highlight the transformative role of urban development in reshaping social and cultural landscapes (Sassen, 2014; Castells, 2000; Lynch, 1960). However, these theories too reveal a gap, particularly in their understanding of the long-term cultural impacts and resilience of local cultures amidst rapid urban changes. The case of Puadh, a region with its distinct cultural identity undergoing transformations due to nationalistic aspirations and urban development initiatives, exemplifies this oversight. This thesis aims to bridge this gap by providing a critical examination of how national identity aspirations and urban development initiatives are intertwined and collectively influence regional identities, such as those in Puadh. The unique position of Puadh, where global and local forces interact, serves as an ideal microcosm for exploring this theoretical intersection, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the dynamics shaping regional identities in the modern world.

In the continuation of our exploration of regional identity formation, we delve into the profound influences of globalization and colonialism. Appadurai's understanding of globalization highlights the complex interplay between global cultural currents and local dynamics, shaping and often challenging regional identities (Appadurai, 1996). This interaction creates a space where local customs and traditions are constantly adapting to the influx of global influences, leading to an ever-evolving landscape of regional identities. However, this adaptation process raises critical concerns about the potential marginalization of local cultures in the face of dominant global trends. Complementing this view, the lasting impacts of colonial legacies, as discussed in the works of Foucault, Bhabha, Fanon, and Said, provide a deeper historical context for understanding current identity dynamics (Foucault, 2003; Bhabha, 1990; Fanon, 2004; Said, 1977). These theories collectively underscore the persistent influence of colonial power structures and their role in shaping cultural narratives and practices. The colonial past,

with its complex power relations and cultural impositions, continues to influence the ways in which regional identities are negotiated and articulated in the post-colonial era. This synthesis of globalization and colonialism theories with the concepts of nationalism and urbanization offers a comprehensive view of the multifaceted forces shaping regional identities. It underscores the importance of considering both the historical context provided by colonialism and the contemporary global influences in understanding the formation and evolution of regional identities. Particularly for regions like Puadh, this theoretical framework sheds light on how global and historical forces interact with national and urban developments, influencing the community's cultural identity and its expression within the broader national and global landscape.

2.8 Conclusion

The exploration within this thesis has culminated in an understanding of the links between nationalism, urbanization, globalization, and colonial legacies, particularly in their role in shaping regional identities like those in Puadh. Moving beyond the foundational theories, this research has unveiled deeper insights and complexities that standard narratives often overlook. Key to this thesis is the identification and bridging of a crucial academic gap; the intertwined impact of these multifaceted forces on regional identity formation, a topic previously underexplored in existing literature. By delving into the specific case of Puadh, this study not only enriches the theoretical discourse but also provides practical insights into the real-world application of these theories.

The significant contributions of this research lie in its ability to:
- Offer a comprehensive analysis that intertwines diverse theoretical perspectives, providing a richer, more layered understanding of regional identity formation.
- Illuminate the specific nuances and dynamics within Puadh, serving as a template for examining other regions experiencing similar socio-cultural transformations.
- Highlight the importance of considering historical influences alongside contemporary global trends in shaping regional identities.

Looking forward, the insights from this study open several avenues for future research. There is a rich potential for applying this integrative theoretical approach to other regions, both within and beyond the Indian context, to further understand the global applicability of these findings.

Moreover, this thesis lays the groundwork for policy recommendations, particularly in areas of cultural preservation, urban planning, and national identity formation in an increasingly globalized world. As this research transitions into the methodology phase, the theoretical foundation established here will guide the empirical investigation. This next step aims to ground the theoretical insights in concrete data and real-world scenarios, enriching the study's relevance and applicability.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

The objective of this methodology chapter is to elucidate the research methods employed to investigate the central research question: "How have nationalism, urbanization, and globalization intersected to shape the regional political identity of the Puadh region?" Given the multifaceted nature of this inquiry, a qualitative research approach was deliberately selected for its effectiveness in capturing the depth of the lived experiences and perspectives of the Puadhi community. Qualitative research is particularly well-suited for this context, allowing for an in-depth exploration of the subtle and intricate ways in which nationalism, urbanization, colonial influences, and globalization influence the Puadh region. By embracing qualitative methods, this study aims to delve profoundly into the social, cultural, and political fabric of Puadh, providing detailed insights essential for a comprehensive understanding of the region's evolving identity within modern India.

3.1 Research Design

In this thesis, the research design intentionally embraces a qualitative approach, selected for its suitability in exploring the intricate social phenomena within the Puadh region. This choice is instrumental in unravelling the complex dynamics of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization as they converge to shape the region's political and cultural identity. Qualitative research, known for its focus on depth and detail, is well-suited to capture the rich tapestry of individual and collective experiences, beliefs, and practices. This methodological decision is rooted in the foundational works of prominent qualitative scholars like Denzin and Lincoln

(2011), as exemplified in "The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research." These scholars emphasize the effectiveness of qualitative methods in gaining profound insights into human behaviour and societal changes. By adopting this approach, the study delves into the multifaceted perspectives of the Puadhi community, enriching the research with valuable insights while adhering to the academic rigor advocated by Denzin and Lincoln, thus ensuring the study's credibility in the field of social science research. (Agar, 1986; Bryman, 2016; Denzin et al., 2011)

3.2 Personal Reflection and Positionality

My journey into exploring Puadhi culture in Punjab is deeply rooted in my own upbringing and experiences. Growing up in Punjab, I was always captivated by the richness of its culture and its interactions with my surroundings (Agar, 1986). My curiosity about regional subcultures was piqued during my bachelor studies when I stumbled upon the little known Puadhi culture (Bernard, 2017). This discovery was particularly striking, as it was a part of my own Punjabi heritage that even my family was unaware of. My methodological choices in this research were significantly influenced by my personal background, particularly my family's experience of displacement during the partition (Heggarty, 2014). Sharing this part of my history with the interviewees helped establish a connection, allowing them to open up about their own experiences and traumas (Palinkas et al., 2015). As a young Sikh man from Punjab, my positionality played a crucial role in my research. I shared many commonalities with the Puadhi community, which fostered a sense of kinship and trust (Riessman, 2008). The participants were receptive and open, finding solace and encouragement in the fact that someone from the younger generation was taking an active interest in addressing and bringing light to their issues. However, being closely tied to the subject matter also meant that I had to be constantly vigilant of potential biases (Rubin et al., 2012). My background, while providing me with an intrinsic understanding of the context, also posed the risk of influencing my research perspective. I had to maintain a careful balance, ensuring that my proximity to the issue enriched the research without overshadowing the diverse voices and experiences of the Puadhi community. This reflection and awareness of my positionality were essential in navigating the complexities of the research process and ensuring an authentic and respectful representation of the community's narratives (Spradley, 2016).

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were considered in shaping the research process. Implementation of informed consent was a fundamental practice, with participants being verbally informed about the study's objectives and the intent to record their conversations, to which they willingly consented (Rubin et al., 2012). To safeguard confidentiality, stringent measures were applied, including the deliberate omission of participants' names from transcripts and research documentation (Charmaz, 2014). Respectful representation of participants' experiences was diligently upheld, with careful attention to context and emotions during data integration (Riessman, 2008). Sensitivity to sensitive topics was ensured by disclosing a personal connection to the community's experiences of displacement, fostering empathy and rapport (Regina, 2014). Throughout, the research maintained unwavering commitment to ethical principles, preserving the study's integrity and academic rigor (McCullagh, 2004).

3.4 Research Methods:

3.4.1 Historical Analysis

Delving into the complex tapestry of the Puadh region's identity necessitates an expanded focus on historical analysis (Heggarty, 2014). Understanding the Puadhi community requires a deep dive into its rich historical context, as the past significantly shapes the present socio-cultural and political dynamics (McCullagh, 2004). This aspect of the research involves a comprehensive examination of historical sources, ranging from archival documents, colonial records, and local historical texts (Carr, 2003), to oral histories that capture the lived experiences of the community over generations (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The approach to sourcing these data is methodical and diverse, ensuring a wide array of perspectives are considered (Palinkas et al., 2015). This involves visiting local archives, collaborating with historians specializing in the region (Heggarty, 2014), and engaging with community elders to gather oral narratives (Spradley, 2016). Analyzing these historical data is undertaken through a critical lens, where the information is not only collated but also scrutinized for its relevance and impact on the current identity of the Puadhi community. Emphasis is placed on how historical events, especially those related to colonialism, nationalism, and urbanization, have influenced the community's cultural practices, linguistic evolution, and social structures. This thorough historical analysis forms the backbone of the research, offering a nuanced understanding of how the Puadh region's past intricacies contribute to its contemporary

character and complexities, thereby providing an indispensable foundation for the study's qualitative inquiry.

3.4.2 Interviews

For this study, six semi-structured interviews were conducted, offering a methodical yet flexible approach to understanding the Puadhi community. This interviewing style was chosen for its ability to blend structured inquiry with the openness necessary to capture the depth and variety of experiences within the community. The semi-structured format provided a consistent framework for each interview, ensuring that all key topics were addressed. This consistency was vital for comparing and contrasting responses across different participants, allowing for a more systematic analysis of the data. The interviewees, drawn from diverse backgrounds within the Puadhi community, including elders, educators, cultural practitioners, and youths, were encouraged to share their perspectives on the specific themes of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization as they pertain to the Puadh region (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Yet, the semi-structured nature of the interviews also offered flexibility, allowing the conversation to flow naturally and enabling interviewees to elaborate on their responses or introduce relevant topics that might not have been anticipated in the initial interview guide (Spradley, 2016). This flexibility was crucial for uncovering deeper insights and anecdotes that enriched the understanding of the community's experiences and perspectives. Each interview was approached with a set of guiding questions, but ample space was given for participants to express their views in an open-ended manner. This approach ensured that the interviews did not just gather predetermined data but also allowed for the emergence of new themes and perspectives, providing a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the Puadhi community's experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

3.4.3 Participant Observation

During my two-month stay in the Puadhi region, I engaged in participant observation to gain an understanding of the community's culture and norms. My interactions were diverse, ranging from engaging with passionate activists dedicated to preserving Puadhi culture to conversing with local residents who, despite residing in the region, had limited knowledge about Puadhi traditions (Spradley, 2016). I had insightful discussions with retired government officials who had served in the area, as well as current government personnel (Phillips et al., 2002). Additionally, I interacted with local shopkeepers and even struck up conversations with

passers-by. It became evident that Puadhi life now shares significant similarities with the broader regional culture (Geertz, 1973). This immersive approach enabled me to directly observe the subtle details of the Puadhi community's daily life, offering valuable insights into their cultural practices and social dynamics. Through these interactions, I was able to appreciate the rich tapestry of their traditions, their challenges, and their unique place within the broader cultural context of the region.

3.4.4 Snowball and Convenience Sampling

In this study, the utilization of snowball and convenience sampling methods was strategically chosen to effectively navigate the unique context of the Puadhi community. Snowball sampling proved particularly valuable due to its ability to tap into the interconnected networks within the community, starting with a few key informants and expanding through their referrals (Palinkas et al., 2015). This method was instrumental in accessing a wide range of participants, each adding depth and diversity to the research. The initial contacts, carefully selected for their knowledge and involvement in the community, facilitated introductions to other potential participants, ensuring a broad representation of views and experiences. On the other hand, convenience sampling provided the practical advantage of accessing readily available participants, especially beneficial during the initial phases of the study (Bryman, 2016). This approach was particularly useful in establishing a foundational understanding of the community and its dynamics. Recognizing the limitations inherent in these methods, particularly the potential for biases, deliberate efforts were made to ensure diversity within the sample (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This included actively seeking participants from different age groups, genders, and social roles within the community. Such a strategy not only enriched the study with a wide spectrum of perspectives but also contributed to the robustness and reliability of the research findings, ensuring that the study accurately reflected the complex and varied nature of the Puadhi community.

3.5 Integration of Methods

The integration of multiple research methodologies in this study has been instrumental in providing a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the Puadhi community and its evolving identity. Triangulation between historical analysis, interviews, participant observation, and snowball and convenience sampling has allowed for a detailed exploration of the multifaceted forces of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization that intersect within the

Puadh region (Geertz, 1973). The historical analysis provided a strong foundational understanding of the region's past and its impact on the present, while interviews offered direct insights into the lived experiences and perspectives of community members (Spradley, 2016). Participant observation added depth by immersing the researcher in the daily life and culture of the community, providing valuable context to the collected data. Additionally, the strategic use of snowball and convenience sampling ensured a diverse and representative sample, enriching the study with a wide spectrum of voices (Palinkas et al., 2015). The integration of these methods has created a comprehensive narrative that captures the complexities of the Puadhi community's identity, ensuring that the study's findings are both robust and well-rounded.

3.6 Reflexivity

Reflexivity played an important role throughout the research process, as I acknowledged the potential influence of my own beliefs, biases, and assumptions on the study. Being rooted in Punjab and sharing a cultural background with the Puadhi community, there was a risk of my personal experiences and perspectives shaping the research. To mitigate this, I maintained ongoing reflexivity, regularly questioning my preconceptions and engaging in critical self-examination. Dialogue with an expert on Puadhi culture, as well as discussions with my peers in the field of social science research, proved invaluable in this regard. These conversations provided external perspectives and constructive criticism, helping me refine my approach and interpretations. By continually interrogating my positionality and seeking external input, I aimed to ensure that the study remained impartial and authentic, prioritizing the voices and experiences of the Puadhi community over my own predispositions. This commitment to reflexivity not only contributed to the research's credibility but also enhanced the rigor of the study by fostering a nuanced and respectful representation of the community's narratives.

3.7 Challenges and Methodological Adaptability

Throughout the research process, I encountered various challenges that demanded both adaptability and a commitment to ethical standards. One of the primary challenges was initially locating spaces within the Puadh region where I could engage with individuals relevant to my study, which was a daunting task in the beginning (Bryman, 2016). However, as time progressed, I managed to identify more individuals who could provide valuable insights, making this aspect of the research more manageable. Additionally, the emotional nature of the

conversations with participants posed another challenge. I was concerned that my emotions might inadvertently introduce bias into my analysis. To address this, I developed a strategy of revisiting the interviews and my notes several months later (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This allowed me to approach the transcripts from a more analytical perspective, ensuring that my emotional reactions did not compromise the integrity of the research. These challenges underscored the need for flexibility and adaptability in the research process while maintaining a steadfast commitment to ethical principles (Beauchamp et al., 2001). Addressing these challenges was essential to ensure the credibility and reliability of the study, as they ultimately shaped the way in which the research was conducted, and the depth of understanding achieved.

3.8 Conclusion:

In summary, this methodology chapter forms the bedrock upon which a comprehensive and empathetic exploration of the Puadhi community's cultural and social intricacies is built. It underscores the deliberate choice of a qualitative research approach, renowned for its ability to deeply probe the lived experiences and perspectives of the Puadhi people, as the guiding principle of this study. By embracing qualitative methods, this research aspires to unravel the nuanced interplay of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization in shaping the political and cultural identity of the Puadh region. This chapter meticulously outlines the research design, drawing inspiration from eminent qualitative scholars such as Denzin, Lincoln, Agar, and Bryman. The design harmoniously integrates multiple methodologies, ensuring a comprehensive grasp of the Puadhi community's dynamics. Moreover, ethical considerations are paramount in this research, evident in practices such as securing informed consent, safeguarding confidentiality, respecting participants' experiences, and a dedicated commitment to addressing sensitive topics with empathy. This ethical foundation underpins the study's academic rigor and integrity. The research methods themselves encompass historical analysis, interviews, participant observation, and strategic sampling techniques. These methods are not disparate but seamlessly woven together to explore the multifaceted forces moulding the Puadhi community's identity. Historical analysis sets the historical context, interviews provide direct insights into lived experiences, participant observation immerses the researcher in daily life, and sampling methods ensure diverse representation.

Furthermore, this chapter acknowledges the importance of reflexivity, recognizing the potential influence of the researcher's personal background. This introspection promotes a balanced

approach, ensuring that the study remains impartial while respecting the richness of the community's narratives. Challenges faced during the research process, such as initial difficulties in identifying participants and managing emotional involvement, highlight the need for adaptability while upholding ethical principles. In essence, this methodology chapter offers a cohesive and thoughtful framework for the forthcoming comprehensive, empathetic, and credible exploration of the Puadhi community. It exemplifies the interplay between methodological rigor, ethical responsibility, and the commitment to amplify the voices and experiences of this unique community.

Chapter 4: Historical Context and Background

This introductory chapter embarks on an exploratory journey through the rich and varied history of the Puadh region, tracing its evolution from the pre-1900 era to contemporary times. It provides a panoramic view of Puadh's past and segments the history of Puadh into distinct eras. Each era is accompanied by a concise description of major events and their subsequent impact on Puadh's cultural and social landscape. This narrative is designed to lay a solid foundation for the subsequent in-depth analysis of various forms of nationalism that have influenced the region. To enhance understanding, the chapter includes a strategically designed flow chart. This visual tool delineates the transitions through different forms of nationalism, thereby elucidating the multifaceted nature of Puadh's history and its intricate interplay with broader regional and national narratives.

Pre 1900: In the pre-British era, Punjab, including Puadh, was dominated by various dynasties, notably the Mughals, and had an agrarian society with traditional social structures. British colonization in the 19th century established control over Punjab, indirectly affecting Puadh. This era saw the introduction of colonial administrative systems and laws and a shift in land ownership patterns due to colonial land revenue policies (I. A. Talbot, 2011). Economic and infrastructural changes included an emphasis on cash crops for export, transforming traditional agriculture, and developing railways and roads for resource extraction and control. Culturally and educationally, the period marked the introduction of English education and missionary schools (Minault, 1982). The Puadhi dialect was recognized, but the focus remained on urban and affluent zones, leading to the marginalization of rural areas and traditional cultures in Puadh

(Daon, 2016). Socio-politically, traditional power structures were challenged under British rule, leading to the emergence of new social classes, including educated elites and bureaucrats. This period significantly altered the landscape of Puadh, setting the stage for future transformations.

Images taken after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
Source: Times of India

1900-1920s: In the early 20th century, British policies in India intensified with increased taxation, economic exploitation, and infrastructure development aimed at colonial benefits, alongside strict law enforcement and suppression of dissent. World War I (1914-1918) significantly impacted India, including heavy recruitment of soldiers from regions like Puadh and widespread economic strain(B. D. Metcalf, 2006).

This period saw the rise of nationalist movements, with the Indian National Congress and other groups gaining momentum and demanding self-governance and rights for Indians. A pivotal event was the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919, where peaceful protesters in Amritsar, Punjab, were brutally suppressed, marking a significant turning point in the Indian freedom struggle (Datta, 2020). The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 introduced limited self-governance reforms, sparking increased political activity in Punjab, including the Puadh region. These developments were instrumental in shaping the nationalist movements and the struggle for independence in India(Chandra, 2016).

Image of Non-violent protests
Source: National Gandhi Museum

1920s-1947: From 1920 to the 1940s, India, particularly Punjab and Puadh, saw significant anti-colonial movements. The Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-1922) involved a widespread boycott of British goods, with strong support in Punjab (Chandra, 2016). The Simon Commission (1927), boycotted for its lack of Indian representation, highlighted the demand for self-

rule. The Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-1934), led by Gandhi against British taxes and the salt monopoly, saw active participation from Punjab, including Puadh (Gandhi, 2008). The Government of India Act (1935) introduced limited self-governance, increasing political activity in Punjab. World War II (1939-1945) brought forced recruitment and economic strain, fueling anti-British sentiment. The Quit India Movement (1942) called for an immediate end to British rule, receiving strong support but facing crackdowns in Punjab (Spear, 1965). Concurrently, the Pakistan Movement in the 1940s, led by the Muslim League, demanded a separate Muslim nation, gaining traction in Muslim-majority areas. In Punjab, the Punjabi Suba Movement sought a Punjabi-speaking state, focusing on linguistic and cultural identity, resonating strongly in the Puadh region (Ahmed, 2022). These movements collectively intensified the struggle for independence and state reorganization in India.

Image of Muslim Refugees leaving for Pakistan.
Source: National Gandhi Museum

1947: In June 1947, the Mountbatten Plan irrevocably altered the Indian subcontinent's landscape, announcing the partition of India into two separate nations, India, and Pakistan (Wolpert, 2006). This division was delineated by the Radcliffe Line, which not only split Punjab and Bengal but also set in motion one of the largest mass migrations in history.

Millions of people, Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs found themselves crossing newly drawn borders amidst a backdrop of escalating communal violence (Ahmed, 2022). This period saw widespread riots and atrocities, leading to a high death toll and extensive devastation. The joy of achieving independence on August 15, 1947, was deeply marred by the turmoil of partition (Wolpert, 2006). The end of British rule brought freedom but also plunged regions like Punjab and Bengal into chaos. These areas became epicenters of violence and displacement, witnessing profound demographic shifts and social upheaval (Ahmed, 2022). Communities that had coexisted for centuries were torn apart, reshaping the cultural and social dynamics of these regions in a manner that would have lasting effects for decades to come. The partition's legacy was one of mixed emotions: a celebration of independence shadowed by the grief of division and loss.

Image of Le Corbusier on his way to explore the site of the future Chandigarh.

Source: Photograph by Pierre Jeanneret, Fonds Pierre Jeanneret, CCA, ARCH264657

1950: The planning of Chandigarh in the mid-20th century marked a significant development in the Punjab region, particularly following the partition which led to Lahore becoming part of Pakistan. Envisioned as the new capital for Punjab, Chandigarh was a symbol of post-independence progress and resurgence (Bagchi, 2001). The city's design was entrusted to the renowned architect Le Corbusier, whose vision was to create a modernist urban space, emphasizing contemporary architecture, urban planning, and abundant green areas (Prakash, 2002). This was not just an administrative endeavor but also a cultural project, intended to reflect the modern ethos of India while serving as a hub for the entire region, including the Puadh area. As construction commenced, Chandigarh came to be seen as a model city, showcasing India's aspirations and architectural innovation. For the Puadhi-speaking community, the city's development was a step towards regional integration, offering new administrative and cultural opportunities. However, it also presented challenges in maintaining the Puadhi linguistic and cultural identity amidst the modernist urban landscape (Daon, 2016; Prakash, 2002). Chandigarh's emergence as a significant urban center in the region thus played a pivotal role in shaping the socio-cultural fabric of Puadh and Punjab as a whole.

Punjabi Suba movement in the 1950s

Source: Panjab Digital Library

1940s- 1966: The Punjabi Suba movement, originating in the 1940s, was a significant chapter in the history of Punjab and the Puadh region, emphasizing the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state based on linguistic and cultural identity. The Akali Dal, a Sikh political party, played a pivotal role in advocating for this movement (Grewal, 1998). Gaining momentum in the 1950s, the

movement saw widespread support among Punjabi speakers, manifesting in numerous rallies and protests. Despite the linguistic reorganization in other parts of India, the States Reorganization Act of 1956 did not lead to the formation of a Punjabi state, fueling further agitation in the 1960s, characterized by intensified and varied forms of protests. The decisive moment came in 1966 with the formation of the Punjabi Suba, reorganizing Punjab to create a state for Punjabi speakers. Concurrently, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were established for non-Punjabi speakers (I. A. Talbot, 2011). Significantly, the Puadh region, rich in its unique Puadhi dialect and culture, was divided into three parts: one incorporated into the new Punjabi-speaking Punjab, while the others were absorbed into Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. This division not only altered the political landscape but also impacted the cultural and linguistic continuity of the Puadh region, with the Puadhi-speaking community finding itself split across different administrative boundaries (Daon, 2016). This reorganization marked a crucial point in the history of Puadh, affecting its cultural identity and linguistic heritage.

Anti-Sikh Violent in Delhi (capital of India)
Source: Hindustan Times

1966-1991: In the late 20th century, Punjab, including the Puadh region, experienced significant upheavals. The declaration of Chandigarh as the shared capital of Punjab and Haryana led to ongoing disputes, highlighting the complexities of regional politics (Kapur, 1986). During this period, Punjab witnessed considerable agricultural growth due to the green revolution, which also transformed the agrarian landscape of Puadh. The 1980s were marked by the rise of Sikh militancy, with demands for greater autonomy, significantly impacting Puadh's socio-political context. This unrest reached a peak with Operation Blue Star in 1984, where the Indian Army's actions at the Golden Temple in Amritsar intensified tensions, severely affecting the Puadhi community. The same year, the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi triggered anti-Sikh riots, escalating the violence and unrest in the region. The Punjab Accord of 1985 was an attempt to resolve these political and religious conflicts, but it only achieved partial success (Dhillon, 1993). The late 1980s continued to be marred by ongoing militancy and counter-insurgency operations, adversely impacting Punjab's economic and social fabric. Puadh, with its unique cultural and linguistic identity encapsulated in the Puadhi dialect,

faced its own set of challenges amidst this turmoil, as the region struggled to maintain its cultural integrity while navigating the broader political and social upheavals of Punjab.


High Court designed by Le Corbusier
Source: archdaily.com

1991-Present: From the early 1990s to the present, Punjab, including the Puadh region, and the Chandigarh Tricity have witnessed significant transformations. The end of Sikh militancy heralded a new era of peace and political stability in Punjab and particularly affected areas like Puadh, known for its distinct cultural identity (Kapur, 1986). This stability facilitated economic diversification, with a shift towards industrialization and IT, alongside traditional agriculture. Despite progress, Puadh, like the rest of Punjab, grappled with inter-state water disputes and issues over Chandigarh's status as the joint capital for Punjab and Haryana. The development of Mohali and Panchkula alongside Chandigarh, forming the Tricity, brought infrastructural and urban growth, impacting Puadh's connectivity and economic opportunities (P. Singh, 2007). This period also marked a cultural renaissance, with revitalized Punjabi culture and language, in which the Puadh region, with its unique cultural heritage, played a significant role. Environmental challenges arose from intensive agricultural practices and industrialization, affecting Puadh's predominantly agrarian landscape. Advances in technology and education further contributed to the region's development, with the Tricity, including areas in Puadh, experiencing urban expansion and modernization. Collaborative economic and development policies across the Tricity, encompassing Puadh, have been central in shaping the region's contemporary dynamics.

In conjunction with this chapter's detailed historical analysis, the 'Flow Chart: Types of Nationalism in India' is incorporated as a visual guide. Positioned adjacent to this text, the flow a flow chart that maps the evolution of various forms of nationalism within India, which is important to understand Puadh given that it does not exist in a vacuum.. From colonial to anticolonial, and eventually to the multifaceted landscape of multinational nationalism and globalization, this chart offers a clear visual roadmap of the nationalistic currents that have influenced Puadh's evolution over time. It serves as a pivotal interpretive

tool, enhancing the reader's comprehension of the historical processes discussed in this chapter.
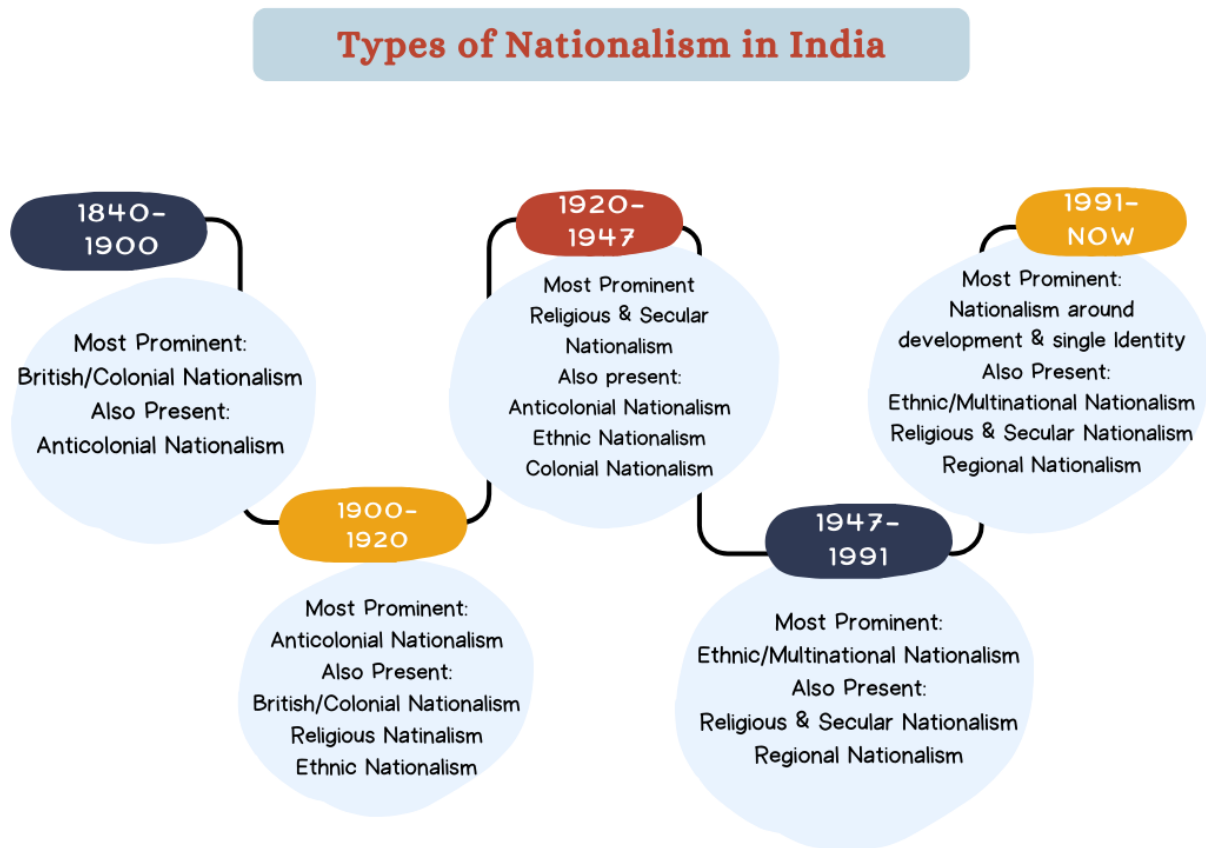
Flow Chart: Types of Nationalism in India

This chapter concludes by summarizing the profound influence of historical events and transformations on Puadh, from its roots in the pre-1900 era through the tides of colonialism, anticolonialism, and into the modern age of globalization. These varied epochs have intricately shaped Puadh's identity, embedding layers of cultural, social, and political nuances within its fabric. This historical foundation is crucial for understanding the region's evolution and sets the stage for an in-depth exploration of specific forms of nationalism in the subsequent chapters. As we transition from this broad historical canvas to a focused analysis of nationalism, readers are equipped with a contextual understanding essential for grasping the complexities and subtleties of Puadh's ongoing narrative within the wider tapestry of Punjab's history.

Chapter 5: Colonial, Anti-Colonial, and Sectarian Divides

This chapter embarks on a journey through the transformative era of colonial rule in Puadh, unravelling the complex layers of colonial and anticolonial nationalisms. It provides an exploration of how British colonial dominance and the subsequent grassroots resistance forged Puadh's socio-political and cultural identity. This period marked a critical phase in the region's history, where the emergence of religious and secular nationalisms played a pivotal role in shaping the regional fabric. Through this examination, we will delve into the origins, evolution, and enduring impact of these diverse forms of nationalism on the collective consciousness of Puadh. By dissecting the interplay between colonial hegemony and the spirited response of anticolonial movements, this chapter aims to illuminate the multifaceted nature of Puadh's historical narrative, offering crucial insights into the forces that shaped its past and continue to influence its present.

5.1 Colonial/British Nationalism – *And its impact on Identity, Space and Culture.*

During the British colonial era in Punjab, profound changes reshaped the region's identity, space, and culture, marking a significant shift in the socio-cultural landscape. The British reconfiguration of Punjab's urban spaces involved more than the construction of cantonments and creation of culturally exclusive zones (B. D. Metcalf, 2006). Their architectural endeavors, symbolized by symbolic and administrative buildings, were not just physical constructs but also represented a form of dominance over the region. This reshaping extended beyond mere construction, leading to a redefinition of social and cultural dynamics that profoundly impacted Punjab's identity (Prakash, 2002). This strategic manipulation of space and society significantly influenced the control over populations, affecting social order and cultural norms.

Puadh's unique experience under British rule is particularly noteworthy. Traditionally marginalized for its less fertile lands, Puadh's trajectory during this era was distinct. Despite the British administration's general neglect, their limited recognition of the Puadhi dialect paradoxically lent it a degree of legitimacy, subtly but significantly underscoring Puadh's unique identity within Punjab's linguistic mosaic (Daon, 2016). However, the colonial focus was often skewed towards urban centers and economically affluent areas, typically overlooking rural regions like Puadh (Sharma, 1997). This approach led to an imbalance in focus and development under colonial rule, laying the groundwork for a complex legacy of spatial and cultural disparities in Punjab, particularly in regions like Puadh.

These transformations under British rule in Punjab were characterized by a blend of colonial dominance and emerging cultural hybridity. The introduction of the railway system, symbolizing economic progress and enhanced connectivity, catalyzed profound changes in the region's socio-economic fabric (Talbot, 2011). This infrastructural development, promoting economic growth, also had significant implications for traditional lifestyles and political dynamics in Punjab. Reflecting on this, one respondent noted, *'British strategies included leveraging illiteracy and internal feuds for control'* (Interview 1). This statement highlights the nature of these transformations, suggesting they were not merely socio-economic developments but also strategic moves for political dominance. Such infrastructural advancements played a role in reinforcing political control, exacerbating social divisions, and reshaping cultural identities, profoundly affecting both the socio-economic fabric and the political landscape of Punjab.

The introduction of English education through Christian missionary schools and the establishment of the first printing press in Puadh's Khadar area significantly altered the region's cultural and educational dynamics (Minault, 1982). One participant noted, *'The British established Christian schools to spread their religion and education skills that they needed'* (Interview 1). This aspect of the British educational strategy in Punjab included the use of Urdu, alongside English, as the medium of instruction, rather than Punjabi. This decision reflects a deliberate move to shape the cultural and linguistic landscapes in a way that reinforced colonial control while marginalizing local languages (Metcalf, 2006). The colonial strategy of cultural and educational dominance is evident in these developments. The British effort to reshape and control the region's cultural narratives through the establishment of

infrastructure like schools and churches was multifaceted. While symbolizing progress, these institutions also functioned as tools for religious conversion and recruitment, as particularly evident during the World Wars (Interview 1). This approach was part of the British imperial agenda, using educational and religious institutions not just for education but also as instruments for instilling a new cultural identity that served their colonial interests.

The Monolith Next to Darbar Sahib, Amritsar: A Symbol of Colonial Dominance

Source: sikhmuseum.com

The construction of a monolithic structure next to Darbar Sahib in Amritsar symbolizes a significant colonial imposition and highlights the struggle between indigenous and foreign architectural styles. This construction represents more than just physical dominance; it also signifies a cultural and religious assertion over a revered Sikh site (Metcalf, 2002). During this era, 'mass conversions to Christianity occurred, exploiting caste divisions' (Interview 1). This architectural dominance symbolized a broader colonial strategy aimed at overshadowing and controlling indigenous cultural and religious spaces. British architecture in Punjab, as exemplified by this monolith, served as a distinct symbol of colonial power. However, this era also witnessed instances of resistance and adaptation, with local architects beginning to incorporate indigenous elements into their designs. This blend of styles reflects a subtle yet significant assertion of local identity, demonstrating how Punjab and Puadh responded to

colonial dominance by integrating their own cultural influences into the evolving architectural landscape.

The British redesign of Punjab's urban spaces, notably in Puadh, was marked by the creation of cantonments and deliberate urban planning. These efforts served not only as tools to control and segregate populations but also acted as catalysts for unexpected cultural interactions (Metcalf, 2002). These interactions often took place in newly formed spaces where the local population and the British overlapped, fostering a unique cultural exchange. During this period, there was the emergence of a 'middle-class', characterized not by wealth but by linguistic proficiency in English and Urdu, and their role as intermediaries between the British and the local populace (Minault, 1982). This new class emerged as a strategic by-product of colonial policies, with individuals seeking upward mobility through language and cultural adaptation. This development blurred the traditional boundaries between the colonizers and the colonized, leading to novel social and cultural dynamics. The rise of this new middle class in colonial Punjab exemplifies the fluidity of identities and cultural practices that emerged in response to dominant power structures. This evolution within Punjabi society under British rule demonstrates how colonial strategies inadvertently shaped new social hierarchies and cultural identities, adding complexity to the region's social fabric.

The transformation of urban spaces in colonial Puadh revealed a pattern of cultural segregation coupled with spatial reorganization. While this segregation altered the social fabric, it paradoxically preserved some traditional practices alongside the emergence of new cultural dynamics. The architectural landscape in Punjab and Puadh showcases influences from this period. This dual narrative emerged from the tension between British architectural impositions and indigenous responses. The British introduction of Victorian and Gothic styles in their buildings and urban planning was intended to establish their cultural dominance and modernize the landscape. However, this colonial imposition was met with varied responses from local architects and communities. A significant example of this interaction is the work of Bhai Ram Singh, whose designs incorporated local motifs with colonial styles. His creations, such as the Khalsa College in Amritsar, symbolize a fusion of traditional Indian aesthetics with Victorian elements, indicating a form of cultural exchange and adaptation, rather than a mere imposition (King, 1984).

The Khalsa college, Amritsar. A blend of local and British architecture styles.

This narrative of dual influence is further enriched by the way local communities and architects either assimilated or resisted these colonial influences. While some embraced the new styles, incorporating them into the local architectural language, others sought to preserve traditional designs, maintaining the cultural identity inherent in indigenous architectural forms (King, 1984). In Puadh, this blend of colonial and local architectural elements led to a unique urban fabric. It was a landscape marked by British structures standing alongside traditional Punjabi buildings, each telling its own story of cultural interaction, resistance, or adaptation. Puadh's architectural development during the colonial period highlights the nature of cultural and spatial transformations, shaped by both colonial ambitions and the resilience of local traditions.

The creation and manipulation of national identity under colonial rule can be understood through the following theoretical perspectives. Anderson's (2020) analysis posits that colonial powers might recognize local dialects as a strategic move to shape the national identity of colonized regions. This strategy, aimed at pacifying resistance or facilitating administrative control, emphasizes the use of language as a central cultural aspect in defining national identity. Bhabha (1990) builds upon this by highlighting the mutual influence between the colonizer and the colonized, although he points out that this relationship is marked by the dominance of the colonizer's narrative. However, empirical evidence from subcultures like Puadh suggests that the extent of resistance and adaptation by the colonized is often severely constrained within the power dynamics of colonialism. This contrasts with narratives of oppressed voices finding expression, indicating that such actions are frequently overshadowed by colonial dominance, thereby limiting the effectiveness of local agency.

Said's (1977) critique elucidates the reductionist nature of Western imperialism, which often leads to the marginalization of local cultures and perspectives, primarily for material gains. This marginalization is a direct consequence of colonial strategies designed to control and reshape colonized societies. Complementing this view, Sassen (2014) and Castells (2000) focus on the role of infrastructure in establishing colonial dominance, asserting that infrastructural changes are primarily aimed at resource extraction and control, with the impacts of this spatial change on local identity and social structures being significant yet often considered incidental by-products. Appadurai's (1996) perspective on the creation of modern, hybrid identities through the interplay of global and local influences adds another layer to this understanding. However, this framework is critiqued by empirical evidence from places like Puadh, which reveals that pre-existing local identities and narratives are frequently overshadowed in the process of forming these new hybrid identities. This gap highlighted in Appadurai's approach underscores the need for greater attention to the nuances of local cultural dynamics and histories in the face of global colonial influences. Overall, these theories and empirical insights collectively paint a complex picture of cultural transformation under colonial rule, marked by strategic manipulation of identity by colonial powers, change in space, constrained resistance, and adaptation by the colonized, marginalization of local cultures, and the emergence of hybrid identities often at the expense of traditional local narratives.

The British era in Puadh, an integral part of Punjab, represented more than a political and economic venture; it was a profound cultural encroachment that reshaped local identities, spaces, and cultural norms. This era bequeathed a complex legacy characterized by dominance, adaptation, and resistance, which in turn nurtured the seeds of anticolonial sentiments. The transformation of Puadh under British rule – marked by altered cultural and social identities, reconfigured spaces, and the emergence of new cultural dynamics – stands as a pivotal chapter in its history. This period underscored the need for Puadh to navigate its path amidst the overarching narratives of British dominance, prompting a quest for identity and autonomy within the larger context of Punjab and India. As we transition from discussing colonial/British nationalism to anticolonial nationalism, this analysis broadens its scope to include not just Puadh but also the broader contexts of India and Punjab, recognizing that Puadh does not exist in a vacuum. In doing so, we delve into the interplay of historical events, cultural shifts, and architectural evolutions across these regions, examining them through various theoretical

perspectives. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of how these interconnected areas influenced and were influenced by the sweeping changes of the era.

5.2 Anticolonial Nationalism in Punjab – *A look into the Indian Freedom movement and its spatial impact.*

In Punjab, as stated in the chronology in chapter 4, the oppressive weight of colonial rule catalyzed a burgeoning anticolonial sentiment. A pivotal event in this movement was the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919, where British troops fired on peaceful protesters, marking a brutal episode in the history of the struggle (Datta, 2020). This tragic incident transcended communal lines, forging a united front against colonial oppression. It became a crucible for resistance across various communities, illustrating the profound impact of colonial suppression on uniting diverse groups in their opposition to British rule. Eminent personalities like Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai emerged as icons of resistance during this time. Bhagat Singh's radical approach and martyrdom resonated deeply, particularly with the youth, symbolizing a new, vigorous phase of the nationalist struggle. Additionally, the Ghadar Party, rooted in the Punjabi diaspora, signaled a significant shift from intellectual resistance to active insurgency (Chandra, 2016). This reflected the growing discontent among the populace and a readiness to adopt more direct and assertive forms of rebellion against colonial rule.

The British Empire's divide-and-rule policy was aimed at fragmenting religious communities, playing a significant role in the colonial strategy of control. However, the unified response to events like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre highlighted the limitations of this approach. Instead of fostering division, such events inadvertently united diverse communities against colonial oppression (Gandhi, 2008). Amritsar and Lahore evolved beyond their roles as urban centers to become emblematic arenas of struggle and assertion. These cities transformed into pivotal stages for protests, intellectual discourse, and acts of defiance, visibly manifesting the unfolding struggle for national identity. The anti-colonial struggle was also evident in the architectural landscape. A notable example is the dismantling of the Monolith next to Darbar Sahib during the Singh Sabha movement, an act that symbolized resistance against colonial dominance (Talbot, 2011). This movement and others like it reclaimed colonial structures, where colonial structures, once symbols of British power, became focal points of resistance. This architectural reclamation represented a challenge to colonial dominance and a vision for a future where indigenous values and aesthetics held prominence.

The anticolonial movement in Punjab was more than just a quest for political independence; it represented a profound struggle for cultural identity and social dignity. The unified response against the British directly challenged their colonial strategy of divide and rule, marking a pivotal moment in the anticolonial narrative of Punjab (Talbot, 2011). Rooted in the response to British atrocities like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the movement evolved into a broader struggle that encompassed various aspects of nationalism and identity formation. This evolution played out in the unique socio-political landscape of Punjab, and by extension, in Puadh, reflecting the complex interplay between cultural identity, social resistance, and the quest for self-determination.

The introduction of print media in the region, originally a by-product of colonial influence, ironically became a significant tool for disseminating anticolonial sentiments. The proliferation of newspapers and pamphlets in local languages, including Punjabi, played a crucial role in mobilizing public opinion against colonial rule (Chandra, 2016). The British had enforced Urdu as the vernacular language for administrative convenience, leading to heavier censorship compared to the Punjabi vernacular. This situation allowed Punjabi to be used as a comparatively uncensored medium of expression, contributing to the popularity of Punjabi literature in the early 19th century, even without official support or recognition from authorities. This cultural resistance against colonial rule also manifested in music, art, and other forms of traditional expression. Folk songs, traditional art forms, and literature in local languages became powerful tools for expressing nationalist sentiments and mobilizing the masses (Minault, 1982). These forms of cultural resistance played a vital role in strengthening anticolonial sentiments, contributing to the broader struggle for independence and cultural affirmation.

In Punjab, the anticolonial nationalism movement saw a significant intersection with religious nationalism, particularly evident within the Sikh community. This intersection stemmed from a disconnect between the British and the Sikhs in Punjab, initially centered around the control of Gurudwaras (Sikh temples). This conflict gave rise to the Singh Sabha movement, culminating in the passing of 'The Sikh Gurudwaras Act' in 1925 (Grewal, 1998). This legislation officially defined the Sikh identity and transferred the control of Sikh Gurudwaras to an elected body of Sikhs. The distinct religious and cultural traits of the Sikh identity, known

for a history of uniting against oppression, became closely intertwined with the broader nationalist movement (K. Singh, 1985). The Sikh identity, while maintaining its unique characteristics, played a crucial role in the larger narrative of Indian nationalism, reflecting a complex blend of religious and national aspirations.

Foucault's (2003) idea of biopower, which discusses controlling life and populations, is seen in action with the British Empire's divide-and-rule policy in Punjab. This strategy, aimed at controlling diverse communities by keeping them separate, unexpectedly ended up uniting them in resistance against British rule. This outcome echoes Foucault's views on the complex and sometimes unintended consequences of power. However, his focus is more on how governments control their populations, which is slightly different from the control seen in colonial settings. On the other hand, Said's (1977) analysis of colonialism focuses directly on these colonial dynamics. He looks at how the British portrayed and treated Indian societies, using cultural and ideological dominance to maintain power. This matches well with the historical events in Punjab, where the British tried to reshape Indian societies to their advantage. While Foucault shows us how power and control work, Said's ideas help us understand the British approach to portraying and influencing the Indian people. The resistance and transformation of colonial structures in Punjab, as detailed in these sections, provide real examples of what Said (1977) discusses. This resistance also ties in with Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity, where the colonized redefine their identity in the face of colonial rule. However, my empirics suggest, this redefinition is not just about blending cultures but also about actively maintaining cultural traditions, which aligns more with Fanon's (2004) emphasis on preserving and reviving original cultural practices.

Anderson's (2020) theory about the role of print media in creating a sense of national identity is also evident in Punjab. The use of print media, especially in local languages, helped unify people and bolster resistance, supporting his approach. However, these sections show that the story is even richer; cultural expressions and direct resistance were just as important in building a sense of national identity. This suggests that Anderson's ideas, while valuable, can be expanded to include a broader range of factors that contribute to the development of national consciousness. In essence, this research not only corroborates but also extends the scope of existing theoretical perspectives. It provides an intricate understanding of how colonial power dynamics, cultural identity, spatial manipulation and resistance strategies interplayed in the

historical context of Punjab, contributing valuable insights to the broader discourse on colonialism and nationalism.

The legacy of the anticolonial movement in Punjab, particularly its impact on cultural and national identity formation, laid the foundation for the post-colonial era's challenges and conflicts. The transition from colonial oppression to self-governance was marked by a need to reconcile the diverse nationalist sentiments that had united against a common oppressor. This transition phase, influenced by the lingering effects of colonial policies and the newfound freedom, set the stage for the complex interplay of identities and ideologies in post-colonial Punjab and India. It laid the groundwork for future conflicts, influencing the subsequent interplay between religious and secular nationalism. As we move beyond this segment, it becomes essential to understand how the anticolonial struggle in Punjab, with its multifaceted dimensions, influenced the subsequent developments in the region. The narrative of Punjab and Puadh's journey through colonialism to independence and its aftermath provides a rich context for exploring the themes of nationalism, identity, and cultural resilience in the face of external and internal challenges. This segment sets the stage for understanding the complex socio-political dynamics of regional identities in pre-colonial Punjab and India.

5.3 Religious vs. Secular Nationalism - *The Prelude to Partition*

As British rule in India weakened, Punjab emerged as a crucial battleground for contrasting nationalisms. As presented in the chronology in chapter 5, this historical scenario was marked by mixing of power, identity, and nationalism as Punjab navigated its colonial transition. During the 1930s and 40s, the political landscape of India was characterized by divergent visions: the Indian National Congress (INC) advocated for a secular state, while the Muslim League, in contrast, championed the cause of a separate Muslim identity (Gandhi, 2008). Concurrently, a movement advocating for a Sikh homeland also began to take shape in Punjab, adding another dimension to the blend of national and religious identities during this period (Talbot, 2011). This dynamic was further complicated by the British strategy of emphasizing religious divisions that aligned with their interests, contributing significantly to the eventual partition of India. This approach not only influenced the political landscape but also had a profound impact on the marginalization of diverse regional identities, leading to far-reaching consequences for regions like Punjab.

The shift from anticolonial nationalism to a tug-of-war between religious and secular nationalism in Punjab marked a significant historical transition. Initially, anticolonialism served as a unifying force against British rule, but it began to fracture along religious lines over time. This shift saw the emergence of national identities that were predominantly rooted in either religious or secular nationalist ideologies. As a result, this surge of religious and secular nationalism overpowered and sidelined a multitude of regional identities, thereby diminishing the rich tapestry of local narratives in favor of more homogenized national stories. This development had profound implications for the cultural and social landscape of Punjab, reshaping the region's identity dynamics and influencing its path towards independence and beyond.

The partition of India in 1947, as said in the chronology in chapter 5, executed hastily by Lord Mountbatten and Cyril Radcliffe, was a critical misjudgment of Punjab's geographical, cultural and linguistic complexities. This decision resulted in one of the largest human migrations in history, accompanied by widespread violence. Punjab, divided by the Radcliffe Line, epitomized the tragic consequences of this decision, with profound implications for the region's cultural and linguistic identity (Ahmed, 2022). This is example of how control by dominant narratives can cause cause such spatial implications. Particularly in Puadh, the partition led to significant demographic shifts, as half of its Muslim population was displaced, leading to what has been termed as Puadh's 'first tragedy'(interview 1). The partition not only divided land but also deeply impacted cultural and historical ties, fundamentally altering the identity dynamics in the region (Talbot, 2011). This period marked the marginalization of traditionally anti-British Punjabi narratives, replaced by a simplified religious dichotomy, and precipitated an identity crisis in areas like Puadh.

In the aftermath of partition, Punjab, and by extension, regions like Puadh, faced the daunting task of redefining their identities within the new national framework of India. This period marked a resurgence of regional narratives, as they strove for relevance amidst the dominance of national discourses. The creation of Haryana from Punjab's division and other administrative changes significantly influenced this dynamic, reshaping the cultural and political landscape and prompting a reassessment of regional identities (Talbot et al., 2009). Beyond geographical alterations, the transformation of Punjab and Puadh was deeply cultural, spatial and political.

The post-colonial state's influence, often motivated by electoral politics and power consolidation, played a significant role in shaping these evolving narratives. This state approach to managing population and cultural identities led to the emergence of a modern Punjabi narrative, blending traditional elements with new national and global influences. Despite the Punjabi narrative gaining recognition in areas like music and cinema, it faced challenges in integrating diverse subcultures like Puadh. The fear of cultural erosion within the Puadh community, a concern highlighted in the interviews, illustrates a defensive form of nationalism, indicative of their struggle to maintain a unique identity amidst broader national and global currents.

While Foucault's (2003) ideas about power and control provide a lens to view the influence of large systems, they sometimes miss the subtleties of how local communities in Punjab and Puadh resist and maintain their identities. This is where the empirical stories come in, showing grassroots movements and local resilience in navigating larger forces. For instance, while broader Punjabi or Indian narratives are embraced during common challenges, this often leads to the side-lining of local subcultures like Puadhi. Their struggle to preserve identity amidst these broader narratives is crucial to understanding the socio-cultural fabric of these regions. Kaviraj's (2010) insights into identity formation, focusing on political manipulation, resonate with Foucault's analysis of how power structures influence society. Yet, in the context of Puadh, empirical data reveal a striking contrast: local stories and identities continue to thrive, even when overshadowed by larger political strategies. This scenario presents a notable tension, where vibrant local identities within their communities' struggle to gain visibility against the more dominant Punjabi or Indian narratives. This situation raises a critical point about the nature of cultural hybridity, as conceptualized by Bhabha (1997). It's not just about cultures blending; in the case of Puadh, there's an active, two-way cultural exchange. However, this exchange is imbalanced – the smaller narrative risks being absorbed to the point of disappearance, while the larger one remains predominantly intact.

Anderson's 'imagined communities' theory offers an important perspective on the formation of national identities. However, this theory may not fully capture the richness and depth of local identities, a fact evident in Punjab's diverse cultural and linguistic landscape. The empirical evidence from Punjab underscores this oversight, highlighting the complex interplay between local traditions and broader national narratives. This complexity is particularly evident in

Puadh, where the unique cultural identity engages in a continuous negotiation for recognition and preservation within the broader national context. Chatterjee (1993) highlights the detrimental effects of overlooking diverse local identities. In Puadh, ignoring these identities can lead to a loss of cultural narratives and traditions, essential to the region's social fabric. This aligns with Smith's (1991) emphasis on the importance of cultural symbols and continuity, though empirical evidence from Puadh suggests that cultural adaptation and change are often not just choices but necessities. This adaptation, is often a response to the external forces and changing socio-political landscapes that leave little room for maintaining traditions in their original form.

The post-partition era in Punjab, especially in areas like Puadh, marked a critical period of identity reformation and recognition. This era was more than just about redrawing boundaries; it was a time of redefining national identity amidst deep societal divisions. As Punjab transitioned through this tumultuous period, various forms of nationalism emerged, each seeking its place in the region's evolving narrative. This backdrop sets the stage for the next segment of our analysis: Multinational/Ethnic Nationalism. Here, we will explore how these diverse nationalist movements within Punjab influenced the region's socio-political landscape and identity, particularly focusing on the multifaceted nature of these nationalistic expressions in shaping Puadh's future.

In concluding this chapter, we reflect on the profound outcomes of the colonial, anticolonial, religious, and secular nationalistic movements and their indelible impact on the cultural and social fabric of Puadh. These historical events have not only reshaped the region's identity but have also set the stage for the emergence of more complex forms of nationalism. As we transition to the next chapter, we will explore how these foundational movements paved the way for the advent of multinational nationalism and the influence of globalization. This progression highlights the evolving nature of nationalism in Puadh, where the interplay of past and present continues to shape its identity in the face of global influences. Thus, the story of Puadh's nationalism is one of continuous transformation, deeply rooted in its historical context and dynamically interacting with the forces of a globalized world.

Chapter 6: *The Intersection of Global Trends and Multinational Nationalism*

This chapter delves into the dynamics of multinational nationalism and the pervasive influence of globalization, as they have shaped the identity of Puadh within the broader context of Indian and global history. Bridging the gap between local intricacies and wider influences, we examine the relationship between the regional specificities of Puadh and the overarching currents of global change. In the backdrop of significant post-independence political shifts and cultural developments, this analysis focuses on how Puadh, with its distinct linguistic and cultural identity, navigates the complex terrain of modernity, economic globalization, and evolving forms of nationalism. From the aftermath of partition and the reorganization of states to the rise of Sikh militancy, the establishment of Chandigarh, and the implications of technological and economic progress, this chapter contextualizes Puadh's transformation in the milieu of national and global narratives. This exploration is crucial for a holistic understanding of Puadh's position and response to the dual forces of regional identity affirmation and global integration, providing a comprehensive framework to appreciate its current socio-political and cultural standing.

6.1 Multinational/Ethnic Nationalism - *A Mosaic of Identity, Space, and Crisis*

The cultural fragmentation ensuing from the partition emerged as a stark consequence of the newly drawn boundaries, leading to significant urban and spatial consequences. This period saw efforts to reconstruct and assimilate communities within urban landscapes that had been rapidly transformed. However, the drive to create inclusive spaces in a diverse yet unified India often led to a modernist approach, which at times resulted in the neglect or suppression of historical and cultural legacies (Guha, 2017). This tendency in postcolonial India, driven by the pursuit of national unity, sometimes risked continuing forms of suppression, albeit in a new guise, utilizing remnants of colonial structures (Chatterjee, 2004). Policymakers and urban planners faced the challenge of striking a balance between fostering inclusivity and preserving India's rich, multifaceted history. The post-partition era marked a significant evolution in Indian nationalism, which initially leaned towards secular modernism. This shift was noticeable in the transition from regional architectural styles to a modernist approach, reflecting a broader transformation in the nation's identity (Metcalf, 2002). However, this transition was not without its challenges. Finding a way to balance the diverse religious and cultural identities within a secular framework became a central issue in post-partition India, representing the ongoing struggle to reconcile traditional diversity with contemporary national aspirations.

The legacy of partition and the British 'divide and rule' policy continued to resonate in newly independent India, leaving a profound mark on cities like Amritsar and Lahore. These cities, once hubs of cultural confluence, now bore the scars of partition, with their urban landscapes irrevocably altered (Talbot, 2006). In stark contrast, Chandigarh emerged as a beacon of hope and unity. More than just the new capital of Punjab, it represented the aspirations of the Indian nationalist narrative for a modern, unified India (Vikramaditya, 2002). This development was crucial in understanding Puadh's narrative, which is deeply woven into Punjab's historical fabric, especially with the construction of Chandigarh within its boundaries. This situation in Punjab, and particularly in Puadh, highlighted the complex blend of multinational and ethnic nationalism that came to define the region. Puadh, with its unique historical and cultural identity, found itself part of a broader, reimagined identity in post-partition India. Chandigarh's construction not only symbolized this new identity but also brought about significant changes in the regional dynamics of Punjab. It signified a shift towards a modern Punjab, aligning with the narrative of a unified, modern Indian state, but this often came at the cost of overshadowing Puadh's distinct regional identity (Prakash, 2002). This transformation of Puadh reflects the

intricate socio-economic and political changes that were driving nationalism in post-colonial India, reshaping the region in profound ways.

The dawn of independent India, with its multicultural and multi-religious identities, was juxtaposed against the backdrop of partition—a geopolitical upheaval that bisected Punjab. The division resulted in the western part merging with Pakistan, where Sikh and Hindu communities faced persecution, while the eastern part, now in India, saw rising hostility towards Muslims (Ahmed, 2022; Wolpert, 2006). This era in both Punjab and Bengal was marked by significant sacrifices, reflecting a situation far more complex than just the struggle against colonialism. It involved deep-seated communal conflicts that transcended the simplistic narrative of anti-colonial nationalism. As India navigated its newfound independence, the initial unified struggle against colonial rule evolved into a more intricate task of nation-building. This process involved the task to integrate the diverse ethnic and cultural narratives within the single framework of the nation-state (Metcalf, 2006). The partition, therefore, marked a transition period for India. It was not just about gaining freedom from colonial rulers but also about addressing the internal challenges of forming a cohesive national identity that could accommodate the country's inherent diversity. This complex process of nation-building in post-colonial India was characterized by efforts to reconcile a multitude of internal ethnic and cultural diversities within the overarching concept of a unified nation.

Chandigarh, born out of the territorial division of 1947, was initially envisioned as a symbol of Punjabi resurgence. However, as the city developed, its narrative increasingly came under the shadow of a broader central nationalist agenda. The development of Chandigarh, characterized by modernist authoritarianism, illustrates the tensions that can arise between different forms of nationalism (Metcalf, 2002). The urban planning and architecture of the city, emphasizing efficiency and uniformity, reflect the dynamics between religious and secular nationalisms. This project, while representing a modern India, also marked a significant change in the cultural and historical fabric of Punjab and Puadh. The creation of Chandigarh was more than just an urban development project; it was an exercise in crafting a narrative that aligned with certain nationalistic goals. This process often came at the expense of local identities, histories, and displacement of populations, intensifying the struggle between the pursuit of a unified national identity and the preservation of diverse local and regional identities. Chandigarh thus stands as

a testament to the interplay of urban development, nationalism, and cultural identity in post-partition India.

The emotional and psychological impact of large-scale urban projects is powerfully illustrated in the heart wrenching story of a woman displaced by the creation of Chandigarh, as told by her son in Interview 6, *"My mother fell sick, and the hospital in the 15th sector, is 30 km from here. I took her from here, until I reached the university gate of 14 sector, my mom was still alive. We enter and just 4 houses pass, and she passes away. I spend the car gate and look outside, I could not see the fancy houses or the showrooms, because of what she had instilled in me during her life, I saw the fields and her house that used to be there. I wondered why my mother passed away at this exact point and not in the 30 km journey through traffic. She had passed away at the very land where she was born. This is what I could interpret and wrote in my book for Puadh. This was the very reason my book was born."* This narrative underscores the deep-rooted connection between people, their land, and the cultural upheaval they endure due to historical changes like the creation of Chandigarh. It also aligns with the sentiment expressed in another interview, where such displacement events were referred to as the 'second tragedy' of Puadh (Interview 1). These stories collectively highlight the complex human dimension of urban development and its far-reaching impacts on individual lives and communities due to projects like the creation of Chandigarh.

Another significant shift in Puadh's political and cultural landscape was marked by the Punjabi Suba Movement, which, beginning in the 1940s, initially emerged as a blend of religious and anti-colonial nationalism and evolved into a form of multinational nationalism (Daon, 2016; Grewal, 1998). This transition from British colonialism to the establishment of Punjabi Suba in the mid-20th century highlights Punjab's, including Puadh's, ongoing struggle for cultural and linguistic legitimacy. This struggle represented not only resistance to the linguistic hegemony under British rule but also a reaction against the post-independence policies of the Indian central government, which often favored Hindi, echoing the colonial-era imposition of Urdu and English. The post-independence period intensified the sense of linguistic and cultural disenfranchisement among the Punjabi-speaking population, as the replacement of Urdu and English hegemony with Hindi and English signified the central government's ambivalence towards regional linguistic aspirations, a pattern also observed in regions like Nagaland (Rai, 2001; P. Singh, 2007). This centralizing tendency reflects the powerful role language plays in

cultural and political spheres. It often serves as a tool for states to assert dominance or strive for uniformity across diverse cultural identities. In this context, the Punjabi Suba movement became a focal point for Punjab's quest for linguistic recognition and regional autonomy. It encapsulated the region's challenge to the national narrative, seeking acknowledgment of its unique linguistic identity within the Indian state's multinational framework (Talbot & Singh, 2009). The creation of Punjabi Suba in 1966 marked a critical juncture, signifying not just a political achievement but a cultural affirmation for the region. This event was a pivotal moment in Punjab's ongoing negotiation of its identity amid evolving nationalistic ideologies and state policies. The success of the movement mirrored a broader trend in post-colonial India, where regional and linguistic identities increasingly sought and achieved representation within the nation's federal structure.

The 1966 triumph of the Punjabi Suba movement, significant in reinforcing linguistic identity, simultaneously fostered alienation and economic challenges. The central government's varied reactions, oscillating between resistance and manipulation profoundly affected regions like Puadh, which, being geographically small, found itself divided among Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh (Talbot & Singh, 2009). This division which has been described as the *'third tragedy'* by Interviewee 1 posed unique challenges, requiring Puadh to adapt to three different administrative systems, highlighting the intricate difficulties and unintended consequences of political restructuring on smaller communities and their cultural integrity. Moreover, the movement significantly influenced not just the political and linguistic landscape of Punjab but also its urban development, cultural practices, and identity formation. The post-movement era saw a reshaping of Punjab's urban and cultural landscape, reflecting the interplay between political movements, linguistic identity, and regional autonomy. Building on the profound changes brought about by the Punjabi Suba movement and its impact on regional politics and identity, the aftermath also saw a contentious issue arise over the possession of Chandigarh (Dhillon, 1993; Kapur, 1986). In the wake of the movement, the newly formed states of Punjab and Haryana engaged in a dispute over the city, eventually leading to Chandigarh becoming a shared capital for both states, while also being designated as a Union Territory. This unique political arrangement meant that Chandigarh, despite serving as the capital of Punjab, fell under central government control.
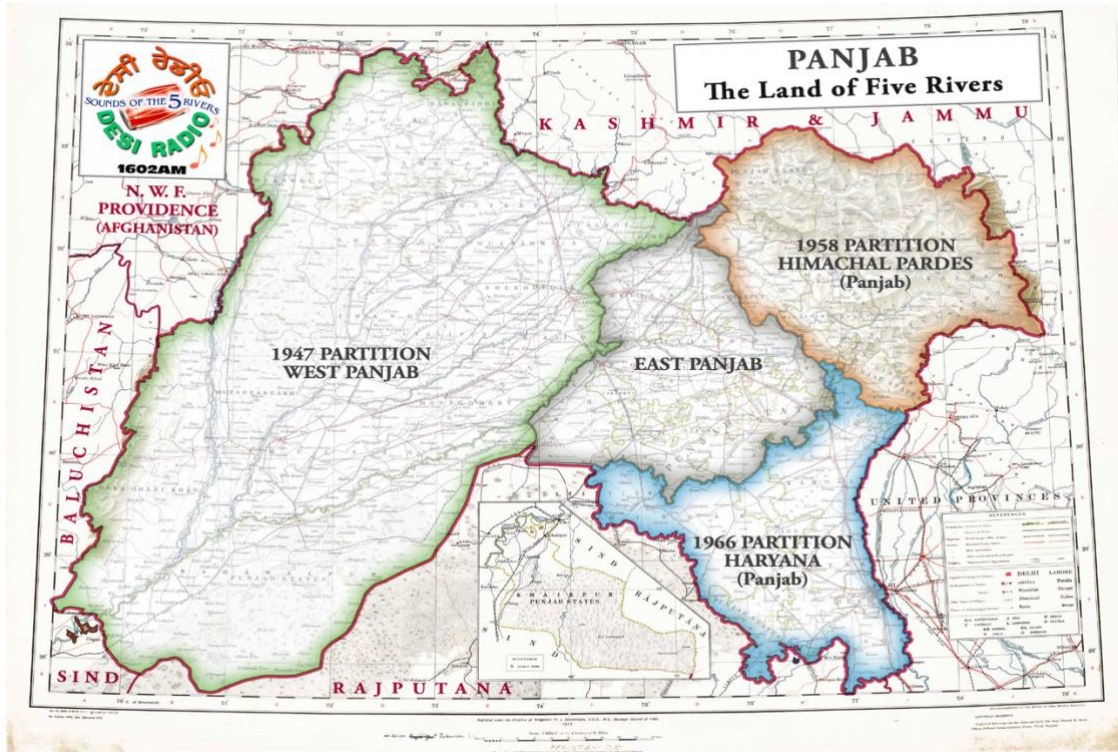
The map depicts the divided state of Punjab after the Partition of India in 1947 and the subsequent separation of Punjab in 1966, leading to the creation of the new state of Haryana.

Source: desiradio.com
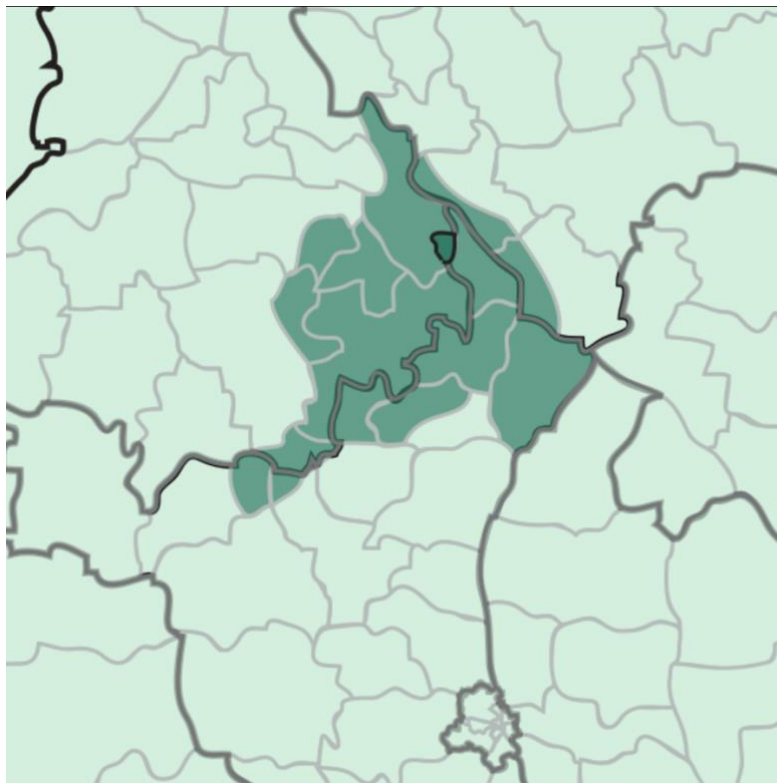
The dark green map depicts Puadh's location within the divided state of Punjab and Haryana after the separation of Punjab in 1966, leading to the creation of the new state of Haryana.

Source: wikipedia.com

This development had significant linguistic implications as it not only challenged the political prominence of the Punjabi language but also pushed Puadhi, a local dialect of Punjabi, further into the margins (Kaur, 2017). The relegation of these languages in an administrative center like Chandigarh symbolizes the complex layers of cultural and linguistic politics in post-partition India. An anonymous public employee at the Secretariat, the state's administrative head, elaborated on this in Interview 4, *"In Chandigarh, you will not receive any response to a letter written in Punjabi. You can try it. Write it in English or in Hindi along with it. In UT administration, they never reply to your letters in Punjabi. The reason is that - Who runs the government? Bureaucrats, Bureaucracy. All the IAS, and IPS officers are from other states... They hate those employees who speak Punjabi and transfer them to some other place. They say that we need experts in English, experts in speaking, and experts in writing. This ignorance towards our Punjabi mother tongue is by the Bureaucrats, Bureaucracy. They look at Punjabi speakers with hatred."* This situation, despite the Indian constitution's prohibitions against it, shows that the bureaucratic machinery still operates in a colonial manner.

The marginalization of the Punjabi language and dialects like Puadhi is a prime example of this, resonating with post-colonial dynamics where nationalistic agendas often drive cultural and linguistic homogenization. Furthermore, the urban transformation of Chandigarh, under the guidance of Le Corbusier, led to the creation of spaces that inadvertently marginalized Puadh's political and cultural claims (Prakash, 2002). This, combined with the language policies of the period, underlines how nationalist drives, as discussed by Bhabha (1990), can result in cultural and linguistic uniformity, often at the expense of regional diversity and identity. The urbanization of areas like Chandigarh played a crucial role in shaping the post-colonial identity of Punjab. The creation of this city, as a symbol of modern India, represented not only a physical but also a cultural and ideological shift (Prakash, 2002). This transformation exemplifies how urban spaces can reflect and enforce nationalist ideologies. The physical layout of cities like Chandigarh embodied the aspirations of a new nation-state, yet also brought to the fore the challenges of cultural preservation and the complexities of managing diverse ethnic narratives within a single national framework.

The post-Punjabi Suba era, marked by significant developments such as the Green Revolution and the contentious issues surrounding the Sutlej-Yamuna link canal, along with the ongoing dispute over Chandigarh, represents a notable shift in Punjab's quest for resource control and

regional autonomy (Kapur, 1986). These developments heralded a period of profound transformation, wherein the struggles for autonomy transcended mere resource control and morphed into broader identity conflicts. The marginalization of Sikh narratives within the broader Indian national context, and the state's failure to adequately address their regional demands, has led to lasting geopolitical repercussions (Dhillon, 1993). This dynamic has notably influenced the evolution of Punjabi nationalism, increasingly centering around the Sikh identity, which in turn has contributed to the alienation of Punjabi Hindus from this emerging identity framework. The state's approach to addressing these challenges, characterized by a strategic manipulation of language policies and urban planning, reflects a broader trend of governance aimed at controlling and regulating social dynamics (Singh, 2007). This approach, often disproportionately impacting marginalized communities, highlights the complexities involved in managing the intricate web of cultural preservation, identity politics, and regional autonomy. The state's strategies, while ostensibly aimed at fostering national unity and stability, have inadvertently deepened regional disparities, fueling further divisions. This situation underscores the urgent need for a more inclusive and nuanced approach in addressing issues of national identity and regional autonomy, emphasizing the importance of respecting, and integrating diverse regional narratives like that of Puadh into the broader national discourse.

The dynamics of governance and its influence on societal narratives, as observed in Puadh, are crucial in understanding the interplay between state policies and cultural identity. This is where Foucault's (2003) concept of biopower becomes highly relevant. In Puadh, the imposition of urban planning and language policies, largely beyond the community's control, resonates with his idea of the state exerting control over the social and cultural aspects of life. Yet, this perspective is further nuanced when considering Sassen's analysis of urban transformations. Sassen's (2008) insights shed light on how such state-driven initiatives can reshape communities, often disregarding their existing cultural narratives. This aspect of top-down governance aligns with the experiences of Puadh's residents, who faced significant changes in their cultural landscape due to external decisions. Contrasting with this notion of direct control, Rose's (1999) explanation of governmentality introduces a subtler form of state influence. In Puadh, the decision to establish a new city without local consent exemplifies not just an overt imposition of power but also reflects the nuanced mechanisms of governance that shape local

realities. The national narrative, dictating the creation of this new urban space, illustrates a complex form of control that impacts both the physical and cultural space of the community.

Here, Anderson's (2020) concept of 'imagined communities' elucidates how Puadh's identity is intertwined with broader national narratives, yet possesses its distinct characteristics. This theory helps to understand how Puadh, while forming part of the larger Indian narrative, simultaneously strives to maintain its unique cultural identity. Complementing this, Scott's (2020) idea of 'hidden transcripts' reveals the underlying tensions and subtle forms of resistance within Puadh against overarching nationalistic currents. This perspective is crucial in appreciating the nuanced interplay between Puadh's regional identity and the dominant national narrative, which often overlooks or subsumes local narratives. Said (1977) and Bhabha's (1990) critiques further enrich this analysis, specifically in the context of urban development and language policies. Their insights offer a critical lens through which to view the marginalization of the Puadhi dialect and the transformation of Puadh's urban landscapes. This theoretical viewpoint underscores how urban spaces and language policies can serve as tools for cultural homogenization, often resulting in an uneven relationship between local and national narratives. The creation of Chandigarh, a project steeped in national aspirations, significantly altered Puadh's cultural and physical landscape, often at the cost of local identity.

The struggle for linguistic and cultural legitimacy in Puadh is a critical empirical point that resonates with Thiong'o's (1986) critique of post-colonial language politics. This struggle highlights the challenges faced in preserving indigenous languages and cultural practices under the shadow of dominant national narratives. Simultaneously, Nussbaum's (1998) emphasis on inclusivity intersects with this narrative, introducing a critical debate about the potential unintended consequences of inclusivity efforts, particularly from the perspective of Puadh. While the recognition of diverse identities is fundamental, the pursuit of inclusivity in Puadh has, at times, led to the inadvertent overshadowing of local narratives and cultural practices. This phenomenon reflects a darker aspect of inclusivity, where efforts to integrate diverse cultural elements into a broader national framework can inadvertently dilute or marginalize those very elements. This examination of Puadh's transformation through various theoretical and empirical lenses unveils the dynamics of identity, power, and resistance, emblematic of post-colonial contexts.

Puadh's journey through the labyrinth of multinational and ethnic nationalism illustrates the complexities of maintaining a distinct regional identity amidst broader nationalistic currents. The region's struggle to navigate the intertwined paths of cultural preservation, linguistic rights, and political autonomy is a testament to the enduring impact of historical events and state policies on its identity and social fabric. This narrative, rich in theoretical insights and historical context, underscores the critical need to acknowledge and address the diverse cultural and linguistic realities within national frameworks. As we transition to a global context, it becomes evident that Puadh's regional narrative is not isolated but is continually shaped by and responds to globalisation forces. This interplay between local, national, and global factors offers a unique perspective on the challenges of nationalism and cultural preservation in an increasingly interconnected world.

6.2 Nationalism and Globalization

Puadh stands as a testament to the interplay between local identities and global influences. From its agrarian roots to grappling with the forces of nationalism and globalization, its narrative is one of transformation and complexity. As we have seen that the end of British colonial rule marked a new chapter for Puadh, yet the scars of partition and colonial policies continued to shape its socio-cultural fabric. The emergence of independent India brought challenges in integrating diverse ethnic and cultural narratives, including those of Puadh, into a cohesive national identity (Daon, 2016; Roy, 2007). The creation of Chandigarh, envisioned as a symbol of modern India, mirrored these aspirations. The city's modernist architecture, a departure from Puadh's traditional aesthetics, signified a new identity for post-independence India, attempting to balance tradition with modernity.

The expansion of Chandigarh into a tricity encapsulates the interaction between nationalism and globalization, with the latter actively influencing this growth (Prakash, 2002). This urban expansion signifies a fusion of local and global identities, merging traditional Punjabi culture with contemporary global architectural and urban planning influences. However, those remembering the old Puadh criticize such a position. For example, interviewee 1 articulates this concern by referring to the globalization-led growth as the *'fourth tragedy'* of Puadh, underscoring the ongoing suppression of Puadhi culture. He goes on to remark, "*It is still going on as it continues to suppress Puadhi culture one way or another*," highlighting the persistent

trend of cultural overshadowing in the wake of urban expansion. This change, driven by global economic forces and national development policies, brings its own set of challenges. While fostering growth and modernization, these policies often neglect the cultural and social implications for local communities, leading to cultural dilution and socio-economic disparities. Interviewee 1's insights reveal the persistent nature of the challenges faced by local cultures and communities, noting, *"the fourth tragedy is still ongoing"* as the peri-urban area around Chandigarh continues to expand.

During my fieldwork in Puadh, a narrative emerged from a conversation I had with a local shopkeeper over tea, which is captured in my field notes. He shared a story about an old man who regularly sat under an old Banyan tree beside a road. At first glance, the man was perceived as crazy or abandoned by his family. However, upon deeper interaction, it became clear that his presence at the tree was deeply significant. The Banyan tree was a remnant of the village where he had grown up, a place that held the memories of his youth. This area, once a communal space where village elders gathered and children, including himself, played, had been a vibrant part of his life. With the expansion of Mohali, a symbol of early globalization, the village had been erased, leaving the tree as the only physical testament to his past. The old man's presence under the tree was not a sign of abandonment or madness, but rather a profound expression of connection to a lost time, a personal act of remembering and retaining his cultural identity amid the sweeping changes brought by urbanization and globalization. These narratives from Puadh are not just personal anecdotes; they serve as powerful metaphors for the resilience of cultural memory amidst changing landscapes. The story of the old man under the Banyan tree reveals the enduring influence of physical spaces on our collective memory and cultural identity. It brings to the forefront the importance of recognizing and including marginalized narratives within the broader regional and national discourses (Chatterjee, 2004). The contemporary Punjabi narrative, while gaining broader recognition and while resisting dominant Indian nationalism, grapples with the challenge of incorporating the unique subculture of Puadh. This highlights a persistent sense of threat and insecurity within the community regarding cultural erasure.

In Puadh, the transition from a traditional, nature-oriented existence to a more modern, *'artificial'* lifestyle marks a significant shift under the influence of globalization. This change is vividly described by Interviewee 2, who notes, *"Our life was natural, and now we can say*

it has become sort of artificial.'' This evolution mirrors the broader trend of global influences reshaping local settings, where the essence of traditional life is being gradually supplanted by urban modernity. The development of the new tricity, as observed by Interviewee 1, serves as a striking example of this phenomenon. They remark, *"the new tricity is a multicultural city which has places for all cultures but that of Puadh."* This observation encapsulates the current urban development trend, where efforts towards multiculturalism and modernization often result in the overlooking and marginalization of local cultures like Puadhi. This situation starkly illustrates the challenges inherent in urban development processes, highlighting how the unique cultural identities and traditions of local communities can be neglected amidst the push for globalizing influences.

The transformation in Puadh, influenced by state policies and globalization, has notably impacted the region's identities (Daon, 2016). This evolution, particularly in the context of economic development, has often led to a preference for globally appealing or economically beneficial cultural elements, leaving traditional expressions, including local dialects like Puadhi, marginalized (Appadurai, 1996). Interviewee 2's remark, *"The Puadhi dialect has remained at the bottom,"* poignantly captures this reality. Beyond altering the physical landscape, this urban transformation profoundly affects collective memory and identity (Lefebvre, 2010). As traditional landmarks change or vanish, the community's connection to its cultural heritage shifts. Globalization, while bringing opportunities to Puadh, has also disrupted its agrarian roots and unique cultural expressions. The post-colonial governance in India, although distinct from colonial rule, has continued certain patterns of dominance and alienation, reflecting echoes of colonial history.

In places like Puadh, this governance, albeit not overtly colonial, often clashed with indigenous cultural ethos, imposing an overarching Indian nationalism that frequently side-lined sub-national identities (Brass, 2005). This situation hints at a paradox where the pursuit of a unified national identity under post-colonial rule can unintentionally replicate the marginalization tactics reminiscent of colonial governance. This dynamic leads to a diminishment in the diversity of cultural and linguistic expressions within the region (Sen, 2007). This complex dynamic is encapsulated in the words of Interviewee 5, who contrasts the British Indian State with the current Indian state: *"Even Britishers were better than them...They were not biased. They were fair, even though their atrocities, they were fair."* This reflection conveys a profound

discontent with the current state's handling of cultural diversity and regional identities, hinting at a deeper, more intricate rationale. It suggests that, despite the acknowledged atrocities of the British era, there was a perception of impartiality in their governance, a stark contrast to the perceived bias in the post-colonial state's approach. This comparison reveals another perspective of historical and contemporary governance in India, indicating that the current state's policies might be viewed as more discriminative in their impact on minorities and regional cultures, despite the overt intentions of unity and national integration.

The narratives from Puadh illustrate a region contending with the transformative effects of globalization on its socio-economic landscape. Historically, Puadh, known for its unique dialect and distinct identity, has faced challenges in preserving its cultural heritage amid the sweeping tides of national and global influences (Daon, 2016). This struggle for cultural preservation becomes more pronounced when considering Puadh's historical context, particularly during the post-Partition period and the subsequent reorganization of states based on linguistic lines in India. These events marked the beginning of a complex journey for Puadh, as it navigated the pressures of aligning with broader Punjabi identity while retaining its unique cultural characteristics. The state's role in Puadh's transformation is a critical aspect of this narrative. The actions of the state, often driven by electoral politics and the consolidation of power, have significantly impacted the region (Kaviraj, 2010). This is evident in the state's approach to language policies, urban planning, and development initiatives, which have often favored national and global priorities over regional cultural needs (Guha, 1989). The consequences of these policies are not just cultural but also socio-political, leading to cycles of violence and militancy in the region. The history of the Punjabi Suba movement and the demand for linguistic and cultural recognition, along with the turbulent period of militancy in Punjab in the 1980s and 1990s, are emblematic of the state's complex relationship with the region (Kapur, 1986). These historical episodes highlight the ongoing struggle of Puadh to maintain its cultural identity amidst the ever-changing dynamics of state politics and globalization.

The empirical evidence from Puadh, derived from my research, underscores the profound emotional and cultural impacts of urban development, resonating with the theoretical emphasis placed by Lynch (1960). This is exemplified in the story of the old man under the Banyan tree, which demonstrates how changes in physical landscapes profoundly affect cultural identity and

belonging. However, this empirical perspective also highlights a gap in Lynch's theory, particularly in the underemphasis on long-term cultural impacts and the resilience of local cultural memory. In contrast, Sassen's (2008) theoretical focus on urban life under globalization aligns closely with the transformation observed in Puadh, especially in the community's transition from a nature-oriented existence to a modern, '*artificial' lifestyle*'. Nevertheless, my empirical findings from Puadh bring to light the transformation of physical spaces and its profound impact on cultural identity and memory, an aspect that Sassen's theory might not fully address. This discrepancy points to a need for a more holistic understanding of globalization's impact, advocating for an approach that integrates environmental considerations alongside cultural and social changes.

Zakaria's (2008) insights into the complexities of maintaining local identities amid overpowering global currents find a reflection in the tensions between traditional culture and modernization witnessed in Puadh. However, considering the empirical findings from Puadh, this perspective might seem overly optimistic or simplistic. The empirical content reveals not just a tension, but a profound transformation and even marginalization of traditional culture, as seen in the case of the Puadhi dialect and the socio-cultural changes following the creation of Chandigarh. This reality presents a starker contrast than Zakaria's notion of balance, pointing to a more intricate and often challenging interplay between globalization and local cultures. Moreover, Foucault's (2003) concept of biopower and Chatterjee's (1993) analysis of post-colonial states' control is deeply resonant with the marginalization of local culture and dialect in Puadh. They elucidate the strategic suppression of local culture amid globalizing trends, a phenomenon clearly observable in the diminishing presence of Puadhi culture and language. The empirical evidence from Puadh, especially regarding the marginalization of the Puadhi dialect, adds a critical dimension to these theories. It highlights not just the outcome of these suppressive policies but also brings to the forefront the layered ways in which local communities respond to these challenges.

While Foucault (2003) and Chatterjee (1993) discuss the overarching power dynamics and control mechanisms, the situation in Puadh may paint a more complex picture of local response. It's worth considering whether the actions of the local communities in Puadh can be fully characterized as forms of resistance and adaptation, or if they represent a more passive response, a sense of helplessness where reminiscing and missing the past are the only available

means to cope with change. The narrative of the old man under the Banyan tree, for instance, could be interpreted not just as an act of cultural persistence but also as a testament to a community's sense of loss and inability to influence the tides of urbanization and globalization. This perspective suggests that the local agency in Puadh might be constrained, with the community more in a position of reacting to, rather than actively shaping, the changes imposed by state policies and global forces (Appadurai, 1996). Such a viewpoint adds a critical layer to the discourse, highlighting the potential limitations of local agency in the face of overwhelming external pressures. It underscores the need for a deeper exploration of the spectrum of local responses, ranging from active resistance to resigned nostalgia, in understanding how local cultures navigate the complexities of cultural transformations. This approach to local agency, which moves beyond the binary of resistance and acquiescence, enriches our understanding of cultural dynamics in contexts like Puadh, and addresses a theme that is less explored in the frameworks of Foucault and Chatterjee but is critical for a comprehensive understanding of cultural transformations.

As Puadh integrates into the global economy, it faces a challenging balance between new opportunities and the impact on its traditional agrarian society and unique cultural identity. The story of Puadh is one of a community adapting to these global changes. This evolution has led to some degree of marginalization, particularly affecting aspects of Puadh relating to their distinct dialect and identity. This situation highlights the difficulty of preserving cultural heritage amidst powerful national and global influences. As we move towards the final segment of this analysis, we aim to connect these observations with the broader research questions of the study. This concluding part will synthesize the diverse experiences of Puadh, from its historical roots to its current globalized state, examining how various forms of nationalism have influenced urban development and cultural transformation. The goal is to provide a comprehensive view that links Puadh's unique experiences to wider patterns in nationalism and urbanization, offering insights into the interplay of local, national, and global forces.

This chapter concludes by summarizing the profound effects of multinational nationalism and the sweeping currents of globalization on the identity and fabric of Puadh. It highlights how these forces have worked together to redefine Puadh's cultural, social, and political landscapes in the post-independence era. The emergence of multinational nationalism, with its complex tapestry of ethnic and regional identities, and the pervasive influence of globalization, with its

transformative economic and cultural impact, have together sculpted a new paradigm for Puadh. This sets the stage for the final chapter, where we will synthesize all findings from the historical journey of Puadh through various forms of nationalism. The upcoming chapter aims to provide a comprehensive conclusion, drawing together the threads of Puadh's past and present, and offering insights into its future trajectory in an increasingly interconnected world.

Chapter 7: Final Discussion and Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, we revisit the core aim of this thesis: to unravel the intricate tapestry of Puadh's identity as it has been sculpted by the multifarious forces of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization, against the backdrop of a deep colonial imprint. This exploration has been a journey through the annals of Puadh's history, tracing the subtle yet profound ways in which the colonial legacy has intertwined with the fervor of nationalism and the sweeping currents of globalization, reshaping and redefining the region's very essence. We have delved into how the urban landscape of Puadh, a crucible of cultural and political transformations, has evolved under the se pervasive influences, forging an identity that is as much a testament to its historical lineage as it reflects its contemporary aspirations. In synthesizing these complex dynamics, the study has strived to present a comprehensive narrative that not only illuminates the past but also sheds light on the present and future trajectory of Puadh in a rapidly globalizing world.

The synthesis of Puadh's historical context with its current dynamics emerges as a pivotal component of this study, offering a rich, multidimensional understanding that transcends mere chronological narration. This integration is not merely an academic exercise; it serves as a crucial lens through which the nuanced interplay of past influences and present realities can be discerned, illuminating the complex tapestry of Puadh's evolution. By weaving together, the threads of colonial legacies, nationalist fervors, and global transformations, we gain invaluable insights into how historical undercurrents continue to shape contemporary socio-political and

cultural landscapes. This holistic approach enables a deeper comprehension of the region's identity, allowing us to appreciate the subtleties of its transformation and the ongoing negotiation between its heritage and modern imperatives. It is through this synthesis that the study contributes significantly to the broader discourse on regional identity formation in the face of global change, providing a nuanced narrative that captures the essence of Puadh's unique journey through time and change.

7.1 Puadh's Historical Canvas and Its Modern Echoes

Embarking on a journey through Puadh's rich historical tapestry, we uncover how each epoch—colonial, post-colonial, and the modern era of globalization—has intricately woven its unique threads into the region's evolving identity. The colonial era set in motion a profound transformation in Puadh, introducing foreign governance that reshaped societal norms. A burgeoning spirit of anticolonial resistance challenged these narratives, sowing seeds for a distinct regional identity that crystallized during the seismic shift of India's Partition. These changes altered Puadh's spatial, social, and cultural landscape, leading to the birth of a new urban epicentre—Chandigarh. Symbolizing a new India, Chandigarh marked an era of modernist aspirations and urban reinvention, juxtaposing traditional values with contemporary influences. In the present, Puadh's historical legacy casts a long shadow, with the enduring structures of colonialism still shaping societal norms. The narrative of urbanization, epitomized by the creation of Chandigarh, signifies a significant shift in Puadh's social and spatial dynamics. As globalization's winds weave a tapestry of global influences into Puadh's fabric, a multifaceted cultural identity emerges, enriched yet challenged by these external forces. The contemporary dynamics of Puadh, informed by its historical journey, illustrate how the past continues to resonate within its present. The region has preserved its foundational elements – the resilience of spirit, richness of cultural heritage, and vibrancy of linguistic diversity – amidst the ebb and flow of time.

However, this historical journey is not without its complexities. The positive aspects of globalization, such as cultural enrichment and modernization, are counterbalanced by challenges including potential cultural erosion and economic impacts. This duality underscores the nuanced role globalization plays in Puadh's transformation. Understanding Puadh's evolution is crucial in addressing contemporary issues, offering insights into the future prospects of regional identity in an increasingly interconnected world. Moreover, Puadh's story

links back to broader themes of national identity formation in India, highlighting the persistent tension between regional diversity and national homogenization. This narrative invites reflection on the intricate dance of cultural identity and heritage in an ever-evolving world. Puadh's story is a testament to the region's ability to adapt and evolve while cherishing the essence of its historical legacy. As we consider Puadh's past and its present, we are reminded of the broader implications for regions grappling with the dual forces of tradition and modernity. This conclusion not only wraps up the empirical exploration but also opens avenues for further contemplation on the enduring interplay between local narratives and overarching national currents.

7.2 The Interplay of Theory and Reality

The transformation of Puadh presents a multifaceted narrative when analysed through a diverse array of theoretical lenses. Foucault's concept of biopower and Chatterjee's analysis of post-colonial state control intricately depict the profound influence of the state over the socio-cultural dynamics of Puadh. These theories effectively unravel layers of strategic manipulation and control over regional identities, echoing both historical and contemporary experiences of Puadh's community. On the other hand, Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity and Anderson's notions of imagined communities and the role of print media offer a complex understanding of identity formation and cultural negotiation. They portray Puadh as a dynamic space where local traditions engage with external influences, fostering a distinctive, hybrid identity. Furthermore, Sassen's exploration of urban transformations under globalization provides critical context, highlighting significant shifts in both physical and cultural spaces in Puadh due to global economic and cultural forces.

However, juxtaposing these theoretical perspectives with Puadh's empirical realities reveals certain limitations. For instance, Foucault's framework, while insightful in exploring control and resistance, tends to marginalize the depth of grassroots resilience and cultural continuity that is a hallmark of Puadh's story. Chatterjee's critique of post-colonial dynamics, although capturing the marginalization of Puadh's identity, requires expansion to fully encompass the region's vibrant local cultural negotiations. Similarly, Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity, while enriching our understanding of evolving identities, occasionally glosses over the struggle to preserve traditional elements amidst dominant narratives. In addition, the empirical stories from Puadh – the voices and lived experiences of its people – add crucial depth to this analysis.

They exhibit a spectrum of responses, from active cultural resilience to adaptation under external pressures. This intersection of theory and empirical evidence brings to light a critical nuance: the role of space in identity formation. Many theorists discuss identity and institutions without adequately considering space, yet the Puadh case exemplifies how space is integral to these dynamics. For example, the power imbalances in cultural exchange, highlighted by the plight of recessive narratives in Puadh, underscore a critical facet often overlooked. Dominant narratives, with more power, have the option to absorb, while recessive ones, with less power, are compelled to adapt or risk eradication. This adds a significant layer of complexity to our understanding of identity negotiations within specific spaces.

Moreover, the phenomenon of narrative eradication, where dominant narratives overshadow or erase less powerful ones, is a dimension seldom explored in depth by theorists who engage with identity and space. Puadh's transformation, therefore, not only enriches our understanding of the intricate interplay between identity, institutions, and space but also underscores the need for a more holistic approach that accounts for the power dynamics shaping these interactions. This comprehensive view is crucial in fully appreciating the socio-cultural evolution of regions like Puadh in a globalized world.

7.3 Addressing Research Questions

The findings reveal that Puadh's regional identity is a multifaceted construct, intricately shaped by various forms of nationalism, including colonial, anticolonial, religious, secular, and ethnic manifestations. Additionally, the transformative process of urbanization, particularly exemplified by the development of Chandigarh, and the pervasive currents of globalization have all played pivotal roles in shaping Puadh's identity. These forces have collectively influenced Puadh's socio-cultural evolution, leaving an indelible imprint on its contemporary landscape. While colonial and Indian nationalisms have uniquely altered Puadh's societal fabric, urbanization, especially through the creation of Chandigarh, marked a significant shift in the region's demographic and architectural character. Furthermore, the rise of Indian nationalism post-independence and the development of Chandigarh further contributed to shaping Puadh's narrative. However, it's important to note that the regional resistance movements, often in response to dominant national narratives, have significantly influenced

Puadh's identity. These movements sometimes have led to the marginalization of Puadh within the larger Punjab context. This research underscores the role of nationalism aspired urban development, particularly the creation of Chandigarh, in transforming Puadh's cultural landscape. This transformation extended beyond the physical aspects, significantly influencing Puadh's social dynamics and cultural fabric. The shift in spatial memory, driven by change in space, contributed to reshaping collective memory, reflecting broader changes in cultural practices and traditions. Additionally, globalization has emerged as a significant force in reshaping traditional cultural practices in Puadh. This phenomenon is marked by an integration of global cultural and economic elements, resulting in a hybridity within Puadh's identity, which can easily assimilate into the larger narratives with no possibility of the same from happening from the perspective of the larger narrative. While regional resistance movements aimed to protect and promote regional languages and cultures, they sometimes unintentionally overshadowed localized identities. This case highlights the importance of accommodating regional diversity within national frameworks, emphasizing the need for an equitable approach to national identity that celebrates regional variances.

In conclusion, this study of Puadh's identity, influenced by the interplay of nationalism, urbanization, coloniality and globalization, offers a comprehensive exploration of how regional identities are shaped within broader national and global contexts. The findings underscore the complexity of maintaining a unique regional identity amidst dominant national and global narratives. This study contributes valuable insights to our understanding of regional identity formation and provides relevant lessons for other regions experiencing similar dynamics in our globalized world.

7.4 Broader Implications and Lessons Learned

Universal Relevance

The exploration of Puadh's regional identity, shaped by the intricate interplay of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization, extends beyond its geographical boundaries. The findings of this study hold universal relevance for post-colonial regions facing similar challenges of identity formation, cultural preservation, and adaptation in a rapidly globalizing world. Puadh's experience serves as a microcosm of the complex dynamics that many regions worldwide encounter as they grapple with the legacy of colonialism, navigate the forces of urbanization,

and respond to the impacts of globalization. The nuances discovered in Puadh's journey offer valuable insights into the broader processes of forced identity evolution and cultural transformation. The coexistence of multiple forms of nationalism, as observed in Puadh, underscores the need for sensitivity to diverse cultural and ethnic identities within a single nation. Policymakers and community leaders in other regions can draw lessons from Puadh's history so as not to head that way by striving to create a balance between acknowledging and celebrating these identities while fostering a cohesive national narrative. The experiences of Puadh also highlight the importance of recognizing regional resistance movements as agents of cultural preservation and change, even if their impact on localized identities may be complex. These lessons transcend borders, offering a nuanced perspective on how regional diversity can contribute to the richness of a nation's identity.

Policy and Community Insights

Puadh's journey offers valuable advice for policymakers and communities alike, particularly in regions where cultural heritage intersects with the demands of modernization. One key insight is the importance of culturally sensitive policymaking. Post-independence policies that neglect the unique cultural and linguistic nuances of a region can inadvertently lead to the erosion of traditional identities. Therefore, policymakers should adopt a more inclusive approach, one that respects and nurtures the distinct identities of various regions within a nation. For communities within such regions, the experience of Puadh highlights the significance of actively participating in the preservation of their cultural heritage. Puadh's current predicament at the hands of modernity is a call for all the communities to resist. Communities can play an active role in embracing their cultural heritage and traditions, finding innovative ways to merge them with contemporary life. This approach ensures that cultural practices are not lost but evolve and thrive in a changing world.

Global Contextualization

Situated within the larger global narrative, Puadh's experiences resonate with the challenges faced by many regions worldwide. In an era of globalization, where information flows seamlessly across borders and cultures, Puadh's condition where they have no choice but to integrate global elements into its identity reflects a broader trend. The delicate balance between preserving traditional practices and embracing global influences mirrors the global struggle to maintain cultural heritage amidst a rapidly evolving world. Puadh's story underscores the

helplessness of regions like it as they have no choice but to adapt while trying to retaining their unique identities in a globalized context. The interplay of nationalism, urbanization, and globalization in Puadh echoes the global dynamics at play in various contexts. As regions around the world urbanize and globalize, they grapple with questions of identity, space, cultural preservation, and adaptability. Puadh's journey offers a case study that resonates with global conversations about how the ability to preserve cultural heritage is being lost due to challenges of identity formation, and spatial manipulation by national and global narratives.

7.5 Overall Conclusion

In the complex web of urbanization and land use, this study has delved deep into the heart of a nation's identity politics. We embarked on this journey to unravel the intricate tapestry of how a homogenized national identity can deftly harness the powerful forces of urbanization. Throughout this exploration, we have witnessed the transformation of spaces, which have been deftly moulded to favour those who align with the dominant narrative. Yet, in the process, we have also observed the gradual erasure of spatial presence—physical and metaphorical—of marginalized minority communities. This investigation has taken us on a multidimensional voyage, navigating the turbulent waters of identity politics, nationalism, urbanization, and land use. At every turn, we have encountered complex intersections that challenge our understanding of space, power, and representation. In these intersections, we have discerned the hidden mechanisms that shape the physical landscapes we inhabit, as well as the ideological landscapes that guide our perceptions.

As we conclude this odyssey, we are left with profound insights into the interplay between nationalist agendas and the ever-evolving landscapes of identity. We have witnessed how urbanization acts as both a catalyst and a canvas for these agendas, reshaping the contours of our societies. It has become evident that urbanization is not a neutral force but a dynamic actor in the theatre of identity politics. My research has underlined the pivotal role of urbanization in either accommodating or erasing alternate narratives. It has illuminated the struggles of marginalized communities as they seek to resist and redefine their spatial identities. Through various theoretical lenses, we have observed the tensions and conflicts that arise when the dominant narrative seeks to monopolize space, often at the expense of those who do not conform. In our exploration of case studies, theoretical frameworks, and empirical findings, we have woven together a narrative that transcends the boundaries of academia. It is a narrative

that speaks to the very essence of our societies, urging us to critically examine the consequences of a homogenized national identity. It challenges us to recognize that the spaces we inhabit are not just physical but also ideological battlegrounds, where the contours of power and belonging are negotiated. As we step away from this study, we are reminded that the need to resist is not a mere academic concept but a call to action. It is a recognition that the spaces we create, whether intentionally or inadvertently, shape the narratives of inclusion and exclusion. It is an acknowledgment that the erasure of alternate narratives is not inevitable, but a consequence of choices we make as individuals and as a society.

In the end, our exploration of the relationship between urbanization, land use, and identity politics beckons us to reflect on the future we wish to shape. It challenges us to envision a society where the intricate tapestry of diverse narratives is celebrated rather than erased. It calls on us to resist the forces that seek to homogenize, reminding us that the true richness of a nation lies in the mosaic of identities that coexist within its borders. As we part ways with this study, may we carry forward the lessons learned, and the questions raised. May we engage in a collective dialogue about the spaces we inhabit and the narratives we weave. And may we, as individuals and as a society, recognize the imperative need to resist the erasure of alternate narratives, for in doing so, we embrace the true essence of diversity and inclusion in our ever-evolving world.

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