CHAPTER VI

ASPECTS OF POWER AMONG HINDU PUNJABI REFUGEES IN DELHI
The study of Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi along the dimension of power occupies an important place in understanding their lifeworlds and social systems. This specific focus on the aspect of power completes the agenda that we had set for ourselves at the beginning of this research, that is, to understand the lifeworlds and social systems of the aforementioned category of people along the major dimensions of stratification.

It is important to recall that there is a significant overlap between these dimensions, so that any one of them cannot be fully comprehended in isolation from the other two. Therefore, when we talk of 'power', both caste and class, to an extent could be seen as social formations that are related to power differentials. While in the previous chapters there has been a subtle discussion on the issue of overlap, here we make an attempt to understand these aspects exclusively from the perspective on power.

This chapter focuses firstly, on understanding the concept of power by highlighting some of the major approaches to its study. It is important to note here that we discuss power also because it is a concept that is an indispensable aid to understand the notion of elite. Thus we shall focus on the concept of elite and the approaches related to its understanding. Secondly, through our discussion of the concepts of power and elite, we shall try to formulate an approach towards the understanding of power in the context of this study. This might involve a combination of two or three approaches as no single approach could be complete in terms of its
suitability for the present study. The applicability of the approaches to the study of elite among the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi has been dealt with while understanding it in terms of informants’ perception of elite and also at other points where they seem to aptly fit the purpose of this chapter. Thirdly, all this will in turn enable us to identify the ‘power holders’ among our target group, that is, Hindu Punjabi refugees.

**APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POWER**

In social and political theory, power refers to social power. Social power can be described as an ability to do things, capacity to produce effects, which specifically derives from the existence of social relationships and organized social interactions (Sharma 1999:16).

As a starting point Bauman’s treatment of power needs a special mention especially so because of its universal applicability to any of the realms of social activity, be it political, economic or even cultural. For him power works by making the predictability of behaviour the prerequisite of some groups as distinct from others. Or alternatively some groups can make themselves relatively more unpredictable for others, this gives them more power (Kilminster and Varcoe 1996: 219).

However Max Weber’s conception of power was first and foremost approaches to the study of power. His work influenced modern social scientists the most. For him the power of an individual, or a number of
individuals, is very generally, 'the chance...to realize their own will in a social relationship' (Munvar 1985:13). For analytical convenience Weber separates power into three spheres of activity – economic, social and political. Within these three spheres, power is expressed in terms of class, status and party. It should be noted that Weber's classification is not a static one, each sphere completely isolated from the other. On the contrary, he considered the interactions and tensions between these spheres.

Weber's characterization of classes, status groups and parties as phenomena of the distribution of power in a community could be viewed in terms of the fact that individuals pursue structurally generated interests in the economic, social and political spheres. Secondly, in doing so they come into conflict with each other and finally, some of them due to their situationally superior resources, are more successful than others in getting what they want.

Talcott Parsons (1951) proposed the structural-functional approach to the study of power. For him, power is a generalized aspect of society and a necessary mechanism of system integration. It is a relational possession in the sense of rights of any actor to count on certain reciprocal action of others. Thus seen in this sense, all possessional facilities are possession of power, as it facilitates a control over the action of others. Parsons focuses on two types of power – economic and political. While economic power is quantifiable, political power is hierarchical, that is of higher or lower levels.
Power as a rational system is a system of reward-possessions and hence it becomes an allocative problem of resources and facilities. The rewards may be both physical and cultural objects. Thus, power implies society's approval and responsiveness and to the power wielder it implies goal attainment and esteem.

Dahl (1961) defines power in terms of its effects, as the capacity that produces effects. It is an attribute of individuals that they exercise in their relationships with other individuals. He identifies it as that which secures compliance, thus power is equated with domination.

Bourdieu (1992) talks of symbolic power. He is basically concerned with the distribution of resources and the form of system of classification such as thought, conduct, feeling and judgement of social agents. He refers to social organization of political fields (Bourdieu 1992:170). It incorporates electoral politics and institutionalized political parties, and this is related to the theme of language and symbolic power. Symbolic power should be seen in terms of the differentiation of distinct spheres or fields of practices, each involving specific forms and combination of capital and value as well as specific institutions and institutional mechanisms.

Another important contribution to the understanding of power comes from G Lenski (1966), especially because of the relationship he draws between power, privilege and prestige. He argues that most human action is motivated either by self-interest or by partisan group interests, and this
suggests that power alone governs the distribution of rewards. Despite cooperation, power determines nearly all surplus possessed by a society, and privilege is largely a function of altruism. Thus most of the distribution of privileges in a society can be explained by determining the distribution of power (Lenski 1966:44-45).

The above discussion on the concept of power brings into sharp focus the concept of elite, which is widely used by social and political theorists. The concept of elite refers to individuals and social groups par excellence in different walks of life. Based on a distinctive superiority of a select few over large masses of people, elite find themselves at the top of the social hierarchy. Hence, elite are found in economic, cultural as well as political fields (Sharma 1999:34).

Mosca (1939) and Pareto (1963) were concerned with the study of the exercise of political power. Mosca observes that in all societies, two classes of people are found – a class that rules, and a class that is ruled (ruling class has several attributes; it performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoy the advantages of that power). Thus, Mosca explains the rule of the minority over the majority.

Pareto while emphasizing on the inequality of individual endowments in every sphere of social life focuses on the governing elite as the real subject matter of his study. According to him, there are two kinds of elite, the governing and the non-governing. He even spoke of the 'circulation of
elite' whereby one set of ruling elite is replaced by another and each has definite attributes and values attached to it.

Lasswell (1952) is of the view that political elite comprises the power holders of a body politic. The power holders include the leadership and the social formations from which leaders typically come and to which accountability is maintained during a given period. Thus Lasswell includes the idea of social formation to understand the social base of power elite. Similarly, Raymond Aron (1950) has also discussed the relation between elite and social classes. He emphasizes on the plurality of elite and the social influence of the intellectual elite on the system of political power.

Bottomore (1964:14) employs the concept of elite to functional, mainly occupational groups, which have high status (for whatever reason). He distinguished within the political class (ruling minority) a smaller group, the political elite, which includes those individuals who actually exercise political power in a society at any given time. The power elite would therefore include members of government, politically influential families of an aristocracy and leaders of powerful economic enterprises. The power elite may also comprise leaders of political parties that are out of office and all those who are active in politics as trade union leaders, businessmen and intellectuals.

Mills (1963) distinguished between three types of elite in the USA – the corporate heads, the political heads and the military chiefs. He delves
into the question of whether these three groups form a single power elite and also finds out what binds them together. These three in a way do form a single elite because they are drawn from an upper class, hence can be considered as a ruling class. Mills recognizes the upper class background of these elite, but he is not sure that such a class rules through the elite.

According to Mills, power is scarce and the means of power are centralized. He writes: 'The power elite is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environment of ordinary men and women, they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences' (Mills 1963:3).

These are some of the important approaches to the study of power and elite, however in order to study power in concrete situations we need appropriate techniques of identifying those who wield power. These techniques are positional approach, reputational approach, decisional approach and non-decision making approach (Oommen 1984:90). Positional approach denotes power that an individual wields because of his position in an organizational context. Reputational approach refers to power a person wields on account of his reputation in society while decisional and non-decision making approach are related respectively to the capacity an individual has to make a decision or block it. However each of these approaches cannot be viewed exclusively from the other three.
These approaches rather than being viewed in opposition to one another could be useful for substantive research only when blended together.

In the context of this study it is essential to make note of three important concepts introduced by Oommen (1984:92). He employs the concept of 'power pool' to refer to all the persons involved in the power arena. It consists of 'power reservoirs', the individuals who may not occupy formal position of authority but are important enough to influence the decisional process. 'Power exercisers' are those who occupy formal power positions and thus have authority derived from office.

Having put forward some of the major approaches to the study of power and elite we now analyze the aspects of power among the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi. However to begin with, we discuss the informants' perception of elite. Thus the question here is to understand who from the peoples' point of view are elite in the society?

**INFORMANTS’ PERCEPTION OF ELITE**

Until now we only tried to understand the aspects of power and elite from a theoretical and researcher's perspective, hence the need also to understand it from the informants’ perspective. This would enhance our understanding in terms of experiences or the informants’ perception of happenings in everyday life. This was a rather difficult task because of the fact that for a layman to comprehend the concept of elite itself is problematic. Thus the first task was to break down the concept into simpler
terms and language for gaining understanding of the way in which the informants perceived it.

There were varied views expressed by the informants. First and foremost is the issue of whom the informants consider to be elite? Forty-two percent of the informants are of the view that those who are economically and politically at a high place in society are the ones who are powerful. This is the positional approach when viewed from a sociological perspective, that is, those who wield power because of the positions (formal or informal) they hold in the society. However here it is important to note that at times people may not occupy such positions of power, yet be important by playing a role in either decision-making or decision-blocking processes. All of who together constitute the 'power pool'.

Informants recognize the existence of two predominant types of elite belonging to the economic and political realms. They expressed their view that the power of money and political position is strong enough to get most work done. Informant UMMB 24 pointed out that:

If you have money, in a country like India most things can be done. But of course, I do not myself make use of my money power to get work done. I think we should not encourage such things.

Another informant MMFO 6 noted:

Those who are in high political offices can get a lot of things done for themselves. Many times they do things out of the way and through wrong means. This way they are unable to sustain themselves in the
chair for long. Whatever you do you have to pay for it in this birth itself.

Viewed from people's perspective, the above kind of judgements in a way point to certain discrepancies that exist in electing our representatives who have a crucial role in law making and policy making. Thus when people say something like the above, it means that wrong people are getting into positions of legitimate power who in turn under its guise become corrupt for their selfish ends. Thus from people's point of view it is not a question of distinction between legitimate and non-legitimate power, but it is all about the positions of power falling into some deceptive hands.

Informants hold that economic and political power is the 'real power' rather than merely being symbolic. It is these types of power that in turn could give them power to dominate social realms. They do try to present a picture that in their own personal lives they do not use their money or influence in order to get anything done. But in case of dominance in the economic realm it has to be noted that, while at times it accrues real power to its holders, at other times it accrues mere symbolic power (such as enhancing status) to the people who dominate this sphere. However they do talk about people who dominate cultural realms such as art, theatre, music, cinema etc. and thus constitute 'cultural elite'. Here informants feel that it is solely an individual's talent that helps one to wield power in society. Still others refer to those who wield power more because of their exceptional personal attributes especially those concerning ethical qualities (such as being reputed for impartiality, integrity and ability to converse).
This is what is referred to as reputational approach when viewed from a sociological perspective. The recognition of different types of elite, however, is a view from the above. The lower class informants feel that a combination of both economic and political is what sustains elite. In fact, for them all the 'so called' types of elite are synonymous. Thus the opinion of the informants varied across different class groups.

From informants perspective three kinds of elite could be identified in society. These are the political elite, cultural elite and economic elite. Of course it is essential to note that there is a substantial overlap between these categories. Thus those who view the existence of different types of elite in society attach different kinds of prestige to them. Political elite are regarded differently as compared to elite from other realms. This is largely evident when the informants expressed their desire to be in the pool of economic elite. Informants do not hold political elite in very high regard. Sixty-nine percent of the informants pointed out that the political elite are guided by selfish motives and it is only the power of office that attracts them to it rather than a desire to do selfless work to bring about a change and betterment for the masses. Informant LLMW 8 is of the view that:

*Politicians only come to us during election time when they need our support. Once they are in power, they do nothing.*

Another informant MMMB 21 pointed out:

*The MPs are all corrupt people and have one or the other criminal cases against them. How can they run the country efficiently when they themselves are corrupt.*
Though the informants are critical of those wielding political power and desire for a change in the system, they themselves do not want to take the responsibility of spearheading this change. Majority ruled out their possibility of becoming an elite in the political sphere by remarking that, 'politics is a dirty game so we better stay out of it'. However those informants from the lower class who expressed their desire to become political leaders, at the same time admitted that they have far too many inadequacies in terms of class, education, linguistic competence and social network that cannot ensure them a place of elite in society.

However, what is common to informants irrespective of caste and class is their desire for an improved and changed lifestyle through economic prosperity. Informants in general viewed the prosperity in the economic and social realms as correlated and co-terminus. Social realms could denote anything such as socializing groups (includes gyms, clubs, associations) and also being patrons of various art and aesthetic fields. It is important to note that all the above spheres of activity serve as status enhancing devices and moreover membership here can be gained primarily through a strong monetary position. That is probably the reason why prosperity in economic and social realms is viewed as correlated.

Here it is important to probe whether in the informants’ opinion the elite performs a function in society, as Parsons (1951) pointed out. The informants feel that there is a section of elite, though a minority whether in
the political, economic or cultural realm who do perform a constructive function. Constructive function implies different meanings in different fields. In the political realm it has more to do with policy making which in turn could contribute to the well being of people. In the economic realm, industrialists can do their bit for the country by initiating major industrial and commercial projects, all of which could put the country on the road to modernization and development. And when it comes to the cultural realm, certain individuals through their mastery in their respective fields of art and culture could play the role of cultural ambassadors and thus bring about recognition for the country.

However, the informants articulated these views as given below:

Informant UMMP 16 is of the view:

There are some leaders who do perform important functions likeformulating policies and implementing programmes that are beneficial for the masses. Similarly, many big industrialists have taken our country towards the road to prosperity.

Another informant UUFU 21 pointed out that:

There are cultural ambassadors who represent India and perform a positive function of building up a good image of India abroad. The politicians also play an important role especially when they make policies for the benefit of the people.
Thus viewed, power is a means to determine who gets what. As all are not equals, it is a way of stratifying individuals. Drawing from Lenski's (1966) work, one notes that some positions have prestige attached to them while others may have greater economic rewards. Informant LLMM 5 pointed out that:

*There is a law of balance. We are equal. God gives everyone something or the other. Everyone gets something that balances the relationship between what he has and what he does not.*

The informants feel that the path to become an elite may sometimes be through the ascriptive aspects and at other times through the achievement oriented aspects and at still other times through the combination of both, with one of the factors playing a manifest or a latent role. As informant UUFO 22 remarked:

*One finds the perpetuation of one family in Indian politics. Many times one finds that all the members of a family hold power at political level. They are born with a political legacy. This is especially true of the Nehru-Gandhi family in India.*

Similarly another informant MUMB 13 expressed his opinion in the following words:

*Sometimes people get power because of family heritage. If you are born into a family that wields power, your own chances of wielding power also increase manifold, such as those born into big industrial families or those born into families with high political connections.*
According to informant LLMM 10:

All those who are rich, educated, upper caste and into good jobs have everything. They have everything that you are talking about.

Informant MMO 3 insisted:

There are those who have got educated and are doing well professionally and they are earning well. I never ask anyone for any favours and do not bribe anyone to get my work done. If I need to get work done I contact people responsible for doing that work and if that does not happen I go to their higher ups also. That is because I am well educated and know how to get my work done.

Thus one can conclude that informants thought of power in varied ways and there was not much similarity of opinion on any of the aspects dealt with in this section. However, having understood some of the important aspects such as who in the informants' view wield power and how they get this power, it is now important to focus on three major types of power wielders, that is the political elite, the cultural elite and the economic elite. It is important to bear in mind that there could be some overlaps between these three groups. However, here we try to focus exclusively on each one of them.

POLITICAL ELITE

In order to understand the extent to which Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi have been able to occupy the center stage of the political realm, it is important to analyze the role of Hindu nationalist politics in Delhi. This is
important because the refugees were the product and victims of partition based on religious nationalism. To be in the pool of political elite in independent India, would then be facilitated by taking interest in Hindu nationalist politics.

As mentioned in chapter IV, the Hindu revivalist organizations played a significant role in the Punjab and appealed extensively to the masses of the Punjab. It is therefore essential to analyze whether the adherence to Hindu revivalism and nationalism was carried on into the new context once the refugees moved to Delhi. Further, these organizations were important for another reason; by emphasizing on Hindu nationalism, they alienated the 'Other' religious collectivity. This fact makes it necessary to study the role of these organizations because partition was also a result of an advocacy of the idea of religious nationalism.

Many significant leaders who were important activists in the nineteenth century Hindu social reforms, were influenced by Western education and they undertook a critical assessment of Indian society as a result of their exposure to Western ideas. Thus developed two kinds of reactions in the Indian society and the modernists and the revivalists came up. While the former adopted models of social and political change based on Western patterns, the latter looked to Hindu antiquity. They included those who wanted to preserve the traditional social order as well as those who sought to reform Hindu society as a way of strengthening Hindu
solidarity. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has its origins in the roots to revivalism (Anderson & Damle 1987:7)

Thus an attempt was made by revivalist organizations to blend religion and nationalism. It was in the aftermath of the Khilafat movement when the Hindu-Muslim riots broke out that the RSS emerged in the 1920's. Religious nationalism grew rapidly during this period. It has been pointed out that the challenge to Islam in the early 1920's was viewed by many as a threat to their self-esteem. The emergence of Hindu sabhas and other defensive Hindu associations were reactions to the growing communal violence, the increasing political articulation of Muslims, the cultural Islamization of the Muslim community and the failure to achieve independence. It was the ideology of Hindu nationalism around which the various Hindu nationalist organizations such as the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha came up. Since the RSS was an organization focussed around Hindu nationalism and had a major impact in the Punjab, most Arya Samajists were attracted to the RSS, which had been founded in 1925, (Malkani 1980:14) and became its members.

While in the early years after partition it was the Congress that emerged as the strongest political party in Delhi, the significant role played by political parties associated with Hindu nationalism cannot be negated. In fact, it has been argued that the strong adherence to Hindu nationalism
is largely because the RSS movement had grown rapidly in the Punjab in the 1940s (see Jaffrelot, 2000:200).

It is useful in this context to briefly recall how the various political parties fared in the Provincial Assembly elections of 1946. These elections were held in the Punjab in February 1946 for which nominations were collected in December 1945. The franchise in the elections was restricted by property and literacy which excluded about three-fourths of the adult people in British India for the reason that they were not literate or did not have enough property (Kuwajima 1998:21).

The results showed that the Muslim League had gained substantially in the elections of the Punjab. Talbot (1980:89) points out that the Pirs and the traditional channels of political mobilization through the biradri system and the use of religious appeal tried to advocate the idea of Pakistan right across to the rural areas. This was a move successful in making landlords change their affiliations in favour of the Muslim League. Thus a serious blow was dealt to the Unionist Party in the Punjab which always had a strong rural support.

The Congress, another major political player in the Punjab had a strong appeal and had support among the Hindu urban population. While the Unionists drew their support from the agriculturists and landlords, who were settled in rural areas cutting across religious lines, the urban Hindu population was in support of the Congress. At this point of time the
Congress was the only party that was seen as representing the interests of the Hindus. However, this was not the case after partition when other parties too tried to stake their claim as those working for Hindu interests.

In this connection it is important, having understood the role and support base of the major political groups to focus on the role that the Hindu nationalist organizations played in the political structure of Delhi right after partition.

In 1950s, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee along with other prominent citizens of Delhi and RSS activists formed the Jan Sangh. In fact, gradually a large number of refugees with RSS background such as Balraj Madhok, K. N. Sahney, V. K. Malhotra, Bhai Mahavir became its active members. What is interesting to note here is the fact that all of them are Khatris, the middle caste group. The presence of a large number of refugees in the RSS and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS) can be attributed to the fact that the symbolic appeal of these organizations being associated with Hindu nationalism helped them to cash in on support from the refugees. However, it failed to emerge as a political winner. The answer for its failure at the political level probably lies in the fact that the Congress unlike the BJS was more pragmatic rather than ideological in its approach. The extensive resettlement and rehabilitation programmes undertaken by the Congress government could be the major factor in garnishing support of the masses and staying in power. Moreover, before partition the Congress was viewed
as the only Hindu political party. According to Jaffrelot (2000:211), the BJS was never a party of the refugees but more a party of the urban Hindu middle classes that also included those with non-refugee background.

While the Hindu nationalist organizations could not muster enough support to be able to come to power during the early years after partition, they did attract a large section of those with refugee background. This was so probably because it provided a sense of comfort to these people who had been displaced only because they were a minority religious collectivity at their earlier place of habitation. Thus by supporting those who advocated Hindu nationalism they were able to give vent to their feelings of dislike for the members of ‘Other’ religious collectivity at whose hands they suffered.

During the very first election of 1952 the BJS, the earlier incarnation of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), polled twenty-six percent of votes as against forty-nine percent of votes polled by the Congress Party. Barring two elections (1957 and 1984), in all subsequent elections the BJS/BJP or the Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD)/Janata Party (JP) secured more than one-quarter of the total votes polled in Delhi. As far as the number of seats is concerned, the BJS won six of the seven seats in Delhi in the 1967 elections. In 1977, the Congress drew a blank. All the seven seats were cornered by JP of which the BJS was a major constituent. As part of the JP, it polled thirty-eight percent of votes but won only one seat in 1980. However, 1984 turned out to be the worst election year for the BJP. After
1984, the BJP gained supremacy over the Congress in all subsequent elections. In alliance with the Janata Dal (JD) it won five seats in 1989 and in both 1991 and 1996 Lok Sabha elections it won five seats each. In 1998 elections, while both the major parties improved their share in votes, only the BJP benefited in terms of seats, winning six out of seven (Singh 2000:210). In the present, thirteenth Lok Sabha the BJP has bagged all the seven seats in Delhi. Thus even when the BJP could not come to power at the all India level it did substantially well in the politics of Delhi.

Thus at the national level, Delhi is represented by members of the BJP. Out of the seven Members of Parliament (MPs), three are those with refugee background. They are Madan Lal Khurana from Delhi Sadar, Jagmohan from New Delhi and Vijay Kumar Malhotra from South Delhi constituency.

Madan Lal Khurana was born in Lyallpur (present Pakistan) in 1936 and joined the RSS in 1943. He is a M.A. and B. Ed degree holder and is a businessman by profession. He served in various capacities, the prominent ones among which are as the General Secretary of BJS from 1965-67. He was also a member of Delhi Metropolitan Council from 1966-89. He served as the General-secretary (1980-86) and President (1986) of the BJP and became the Chief Minister of Delhi in 1993.

Jagmohan was born in Hafizabad (present Pakistan) in 1927 and was the first Lieutenent Governor of Delhi from 1980-81 and 1982-84. He is a
M.A. degree holder. He has held a number of important posts including being a nominated member to the Rajya Sabha and a Minister in the Union Cabinet.

Vijay Kumar Malhotra was born in Lahore (present Pakistan) in 1931 and holds M.A. and Ph. D degrees. He had been a member of the RSS before Partition. He served as a member of the Municipal Corporation (1958-67) and Metropolitan Council of Delhi (1967-72). Apart from numerous other posts held by him, he was the Chief Executive Councillor of Delhi (1967-72). He also served as President of the BJS (1972-77). He was made President of the JP (1977-80) and BJP (1980-84). He has also held post as Minister in the Union Cabinet.

One finds that forty-three percent MPs from the Delhi region in the Lok Sabha are those with a refugee background. They are prominent leaders and are quite actively involved in political affairs.

However in the present Legislative Assembly of Delhi, one finds the strong presence of the Congress. Out of a total of seventy seats, fifty-one are held by the Congress Party members. According to a rough estimate nineteen percent of the members of the Assembly are Punjabis. However, due to lack of availability of data on their social background, their refugee status could not be ascertained.
From the above discussion it is clear that in the case of national level political power in Delhi, Punjabi refugees seem to have done well for themselves. Having looked at political elite it is now essential that we also look at other kind of elite in society who can be located in the cultural and economic realms and also wield tremendous power but of a different nature.

**CULTURAL ELITE**

The concept of culture for the present discussion includes the creations of the mind, of hands and of imagination that is the works of art, theology and philosophy. Here we also include performing arts. These creations occupy the space above the surface of everyday life and thinking. The access to this realm is not inherited but is gained through one’s own talent and creative abilities through which one creates works of art. Thus cultural elite are those who dominate the cultural realm such as art and aesthetics (including everything ranging from painting, music, literature to performing arts such as theatre, dance, drama, cinema etc).

There are a number of Hindu Punjabi refugees such as Satish Gujral in the field of painting, Kuldeep Nayar and Mulk Raj Anand are known for their literary works and Balraj Sahni and Vinod Khanna in acting, among many others who hold prominent positions in this realm of society.
Thus these individuals were able to make a mark because of the talent and prowess that they exhibited in their respective cultural fields. The source of power for these cultural elite is nothing but their talent or prowess in their respective fields of art, literature and culture. Power in this context does not manifest itself in ways such as decision-making, decision blocking or as setting standards for others to imitate. Here it manifests itself in terms of creating a special place and bringing valuable recognition for its holders in society. Thus to put it simply it is talent that leads to recognition which leads to power in turn.

However, it must be pointed out that to this category of cultural elite also belong the patrons of culture, that is, those who patronize and promote various forms of art and culture. These people are usually the economic elite (and at times also political elite) who because of their strong economic position have substantial financial resources to patronize such arts. In fact, Bourdieu (1992:27) pointed out that there is interdependence of access to culture with economic, political and social position. This in a way helps them not only to enhance their status further but also get recognition in the society. It is thus cultural elite's taste that determines what is good in a society.

Only about sixteen percent of the informants of this study patronized cultural forms of art. In fact theatre, dance and musical recitals seem to be
most preferred forms of art for the informants. What is interesting to note here is the words of informant UMMN 13:

*I do not understand these things such as classical dance or music, but if there is a programme on popular songs or dance on movie numbers I do not mind going.*

What comes out from this view is that the informant was really talking about cultural tastes of the masses, which it must be pointed out is different from the tastes of the elite. Thus it is the difference in taste that is important when considering the cultural elite.

**ECONOMIC ELITE**

The previous section on the approaches to the study of power and elite contended that in society there exists a distinct class in terms of ‘power elite’ in whose hands political, cultural and economic power is concentrated. Thus, elite are not just confined to the political realm alone, but are also present in the economic and cultural realms of the society. Thus, as Pareto (1963) emphasized that elite need not be synonymous with political elite only. His idea was of a class of people who have the highest indices of capacity or performance in every branch of human activity. This conception of elite by Pareto aptly fits the cultural and economic elite.

What is interesting to note here is the fact that the influence elite exercise over society in general can be overtly political or very subtle in the form of lifestyle and value preferences. Yet, where the elite are not
homogenous, those powerful in political terms may seem to undermine the political power of those who are powerful or influential in terms of wealth or status. However, there are situations where there is collaboration or in other words, elite integration as delineated by C Wright Mills (1963). This is especially true with regard to two types of elite – the economic elite and those who are elite in the social realm of society.

However, in examining the interrelationship of the two types of elite, one can point out that while the social elite are generally those who belong to the higher class group in the economic realm (as elite status in the economic realm helps to sustain one as an elite in the social realm), this need not be true the other way round. This is so because those who are economic elite, may be unable to bring about a substantial change in lifestyle patterns, values etc. to make them elite in the social realm of society. They use power primarily in setting standards for people in social realms. Therefore, both these types of elite – social and economic – are being analyzed together in order to understand them in an appropriate manner. Further, they are studied together because it is rather difficult to present a clear-cut distinction between the elite in these two realms of society.

Following Weber’s (1992) analysis of class, it is necessary to point out that he sees ‘class’ as the characteristic of the economic sphere. In his analysis all people with similar economic interests and economic power
belong to the same class. For Weber, 'classes are pluralities of individuals of similar market power (that is, control over income producing goods and skills) and therewith of similar life chances in all those respects which are related to power'.

Thus economic elite are those who have considerable influence in the economic realm. Their power derives from the fact that their business deals and decision-making activities have a significant impact on the other players in the market. The other market players may have to alter their economic decisions in relation to those undertaken by the elite in the economic realm of society.

Weber also spoke of social power in terms of status groups. According to him all persons who enjoy in society's estimation similar honour or prestige and who follow similar lifestyle generally belong to the same status group. Its members share feelings of affinity toward each other and on that basis act to maintain social distance from outsiders whose 'honour' is considered inferior. In addition to lifestyle and patterns of consumption, levels of education, kinship and occupation are also used as the bases for evaluating status of persons in society.

The factors that play a predominant role in helping one to become an elite are those of education, occupation, maintenance of a certain lifestyle, psychologically related factors such as innovativeness and initiative etc. on their part. Along with these one also finds a relation with other primordial
categories such as that of caste. Here, it must be kept in mind that some power would necessarily dwell in each of the caste groups. Thus, there can be multiple sources of power. Further, power also derives from individual achievements and personal attributes (Oommen 1970:78).

It is interesting to note here as to what makes Hindu Punjabis socially and economically an important group in Delhi. The answer probably lies in the fact that they are quite open to new ideas and adapting to new ways of doing things and to the processes of modernization. In fact, as pointed out earlier they are an enterprising set of people who have initiative and drive to venture into new projects and activities. This attitude of the informants can be traced to their refugee background whereby most restarted from scratch. Since the refugees had to struggle and rise up from the base to find a secure place and standing in society they are not afraid to be pioneers in certain new projects. Examples such as Nandas of Escorts and Kapurs, the manufacturers of Atlas cycles illustrate the point. As informant MMFU 9 said:

_We had a lot of property, land and money in Pakistan. We were a rich family and we saved for our future. However our future later was much different and something we could not even think of in the worst of dreams. Therefore, we have learnt to live for the present and neither in the past that cannot be undone nor in the future which is beyond comprehension._

This attitude is not only beneficial in the economic realm whereby the innovativeness of the refugees helped them to be economically successful.
but also in adapting to new social and cultural lifestyle patterns. Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi have been quite open to experimenting with new ways of leading life. Informant UMMN 15 is of the view that:

The way we have led our lives has been full of hardships so we are not afraid of anything. We have tried to rebuild our lives after partition whereby we had to take up even degrading occupations, live in worst of situations only to meet the need of the hour.

This attitude has led to the prosperity of the Punjabi refugees. Another aspect that has played a crucial part in their success is their spending patterns. It is often viewed that the Punjabis have extravagant spending habits. However, careful analysis reveals that their lavish spending habits are also a means to ensure a high standing in the social realm. As informant MMO 14 pointed out that:

Punjabis are different. We try to balance our saving and spending which is unlike the case of 'Banias' in Delhi who focus mainly on saving.

Another informant MUFB 20 is of the view that:

Punjabis are known for their spending habits. We are the kind of people who know how to enjoy life.

Thus the informants are themselves quite aware of their spending patterns, but at the same time view it as necessary in order to lead a 'good life'. They acknowledge the fact that it helps to enhance their status. After all today in their experience it is important to have a good status which is indicated by the lifestyle choices. Thus in this sense power could be merely
symbolic as it confers upon the individuals, prestige and a sense of social recognition due to their lavish ways of leading life. As informant UMMP 16 observed:

*I think it is important to maintain a certain standard. It is also a way to enhance my status in society. Everyone has to live upto his standard for which he has to spend accordingly.*

Another informant MUMO 1 is of the opinion:

*I have always lived in the best possible way. When I was in service I lived in a big house and was at a high position. Therefore, after retirement too, I have to ensure that I lead life in a similar fashion.*

Thus one finds that lavish spending patterns are a means to ensure a high standing in the social realm. This kind of spending pattern ensures the refugees an access to the latest set of goods and services which helps them to maintain a high standard and good lifestyle patterns. A combination of openness to trying new things and experimenting with new ideas along with a flexibility in spending habits is helpful in making the Punjabi refugees successful in the economic realm and socially an important group for exerting power in society through enhancing of status. Further, it needs to be pointed out that the success in the economic realm is a means to ensure ‘success’ in social realm.

It is also important here to analyze the aspect of club membership that is seen as a means to enhance one’s status in society. In fact, not only has membership in clubs turned into the most sought after recreation but
more importantly is seen as a lifestyle statement and as a definitive status symbol (Vinayak 2002:83).

A large number of informants from the upper class group (76%) of this study have an association with some club; either directly or through their children. In comparison to the upper class, only thirty-two percent of the middle class informants (or through their children’s membership) are members of a club, while among the lower class there are no instances of association with a club.

Here it is found that ninety percent of the informants from upper class locality were members of the locally run associations, Bharat Vikas Parishad and the Senior Citizen Club. Others are members of clubs such as the South Delhi Club, Panchshila Club etc. that are in the vicinity of their residential area. However only about eight percent from amongst the total informants are members of prestigious clubs such as the India Habitat Centre, Gymkhana Club and Rotary Club. Four percent of informants are also members of clubs such as Defence Services Officers’ Institute and Country Club etc.

Informants have diverse views on the aspect of membership of clubs.

Informant MUMO 9 pointed out that:

*After retirement I have become very active in the club. I am also a voluntary member of some social service organizations. I have time for such activities now and this is a good way to make constructive use of my time.*
Another informant MMFP 11 while speaking in favour of club membership noted:

*Clubs provide a good meeting place for like-minded people. Those who share similar interests can meet together at these places. They are a good source of meeting new and interesting people and making friends.*

Thus while thirty-nine percent of the informants feel that a club membership is significant as it does perform an important role in their lives, there were other informants (34%) who had a completely opposite view on the issue of club membership. Informant UUMO 14 expressed his opinion in the following words:

*I have the resources but never felt the need to join a club. I keep myself busy in other activities. I have friends in the colony and we meet in the evenings. There are some or the other lectures on issues such as health, nature, old-age problems etc. Therefore I have no time to go to a club.*

Among informants there was also a section of people who viewed club membership in terms of both moral-ethical and economic issues as unacceptable. Informant UMMN 23 thought that:

*Going to a club is not a good habit. In clubs people drink and gamble. We are simple, middle class people.*

Informant UUFU 8 provides a rationalization for her not being a member of any club thus:
I am not a member of a club but my children are and they have taken me to the club a few times. Earlier I used to think it is not a good place, but after my children took me there, I changed my opinion. However I do feel that I am old fashioned for going to a club as am not well versed with social etiquette and mannerisms.

For informant MMFO 6 it is a matter of affordability:

- If one wants to become a member of a club today, one would have to shell out thousands of rupees and then there be a regular monthly expense also. Even if we go to eat in the club only once a month then also it will amount to spending a lot more than we can afford. Moreover we don’t have time to go everyday. Whenever we want a change we find places to go to, eat and spend time with friends etc.

Among the lower class informants the idea of club and its membership is an alien issue for most of them do not even understand clearly what functioning of a club is all about. In fact, they have simple ways of recreation which are inexpensive and do not have much need for prestige.

Thus, for the upper class informants club membership is a good way of expanding their social circle and establishing contacts. Club is also a good place for recreation. For the middle class informants it is an expensive pleasure pursuit. They are in a dilemma for they aspire to get membership of clubs but at the same time cannot afford such a luxury. Therefore, they have to reconcile to the situation and they try to find other cheaper avenues for entertainment and activities such as gym membership in order
to enhance their social status. But both view membership in associations—clubs or gyms—as status enhancing devices.

Success in the economic realm is very often seen as a precondition to be able to make a mark in the social realm of society. For the upper class it is the power of money that helps to support their indulgence in socializing. This, therefore, is a good way of building up of social network. It is the techniques of socializing and the display of manners and etiquette that are important in increasing one’s social circle and to have standing in it.

It can be pointed out that the success of Punjabi refugees has not been single or isolated cases of individuals and families who have prospered and have been influential. Rather, one finds that the widely held notion that the Hindu Punjabi refugees have done well for themselves comes from the fact that in their case it has been the prosperity of the community particularly the upper and middle classes. In fact, from the community and collectivity point of view the Hindu Punjabis seem to have done well for themselves. Moreover, many had to start from the scratch and therefore their phenomenal success stories make their case an interesting one with regard to refugee resettlement.
This study explores the circumstances that lead to the emergence of refugees in the creation of a nation. Whenever attempts have been made to create a nation by invoking identities anchored to religion, race and secular ideology, refugees result in huge numbers. The phenomenon of refugees is a world-wide one as has been brought out by analyzing some of the cases from across the globe in chapter I. However, the analysis has been pursued with special reference to the religious factor in this study.

It is argued that conceptualization of nation and nationalism anchored to religion is superficial, untenable and unsustainable. This is so because there is no coterminality between religion and territory, the latter being essential in the context of creation of a nation (Oommen 1997). Yet many have and many are advocating and are involved in the process of creating religious nationalism. It has been shown in this study that this trend has been a predominant one in the Indian subcontinent also where the three major religious collectivities – Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims – have been demanding separate homelands and sovereign states.

The idea of creating Pakistan was built by advocating religious nationalism. The growth of religious nationalism was pursued through the political processes. This has been brought out in chapter II through an exploration of historical events from the partition of Bengal in 1905 to the partition of India in 1947. The partition of the Indian subcontinent based on religion was a landmark in its history. The division between Hindus and
Muslims was engineered by arousing their religious consciousness. This not only resulted in creating new territorial boundaries but also adversely affected the lives of millions of individuals and families inhabiting the subcontinent, particularly the regions of the Punjab, Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir which were divided to carve out the state of Pakistan. However, exchange of population occurred only from the Punjab and Bengal resulting in refugee problem.

Partition created a situation whereby not only individuals and families were displaced, but families were also split across the India-Pakistan border. Many of those Hindus who stayed back in Pakistan grew up believing in Allah while those families who crossed the border continue to believe in Hindu Gods or Sikh Gurus as the case may be (Vinayak 1997:76).

The large-scale displacement and movement of individuals and families as a result of partition created refugees in large numbers. In this work an analysis of the refugee problem is undertaken and an attempt is made to understand the interdependence of the lifeworlds and social systems of the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi with particular reference to the aspects of caste, class and power. In chapter II we discuss the rationale behind selecting Hindu Punjabi refugees as our target group and why with specific reference to Delhi as the area of fieldwork. Even though partition had a serious impact on the lives of the Hindus and the Sikhs, the case of
the latter has not been accommodated in this work in the light of the demand by them for a separate homeland and the fact that they were moving into a polity where they were to be a minority group. This affected the self-definition by Sikh refugees and others' definition of them, both of which came in the way of their adaptation and integration in the Indian polity. This work has been accomplished by undertaking the study of the life history of informants, along with the study of the historical account of partition in order to explore the thought processes that resulted in partition, migration and its consequences for the common people.

The analysis of the lifeworlds and social systems helps us to understand that there is reciprocity between these two realms. The conditions of partition resulted in the lifeworld of the Hindu Punjabi refugees undergoing a change in relation to the experience of displacement and resettlement. This in turn had its impact on the macro structures, that is, social systems (caste, class and power). Further, these in turn have had their impact on the lifeworld. The lifeworld influences the social system and vice-versa. This mutual relationship is a continuous and never-ending process, which is also a cause for dynamism in society and in its social dimensions of caste, class and power.

It has been shown that each of these dimensions plays a significant role in the lives of the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi who were displaced at the time of partition. Depending on their position in each of the separate
yet interconnected dimensions of the stratification system, refugees had diverse experiences in their displacement and resettlement processes, that is due to the place the refugees occupied in the social structure.

In the context of decision to move or stay back, for the lower castes the situation was the same in that they did not gain in psychological-moral sense or in socio-cultural and economic terms. They were ill treated and discriminated at both the places. The main, if not the only, motivation for them was the retention of their religious identity in India. In comparison, the higher castes were in an advantageous situation in that it was a matter of keeping parity in their economic conditions and/or preserving their religious identity intact. Similarly, in terms of the class factor one may point out that the individuals from upper class were in a better situation whether in terms of movement or re-establishing themselves. Their privileged class position gave them 'social capital', which means to be well informed and having better organizational skills. This helped the upper class refugees in comparison to those from the lower class group who lacked these and thus were in a disadvantageous situation. In terms of the power dimension the resettlement of the refugees was facilitated by their adherence to Hindu nationalism in the political context. It is the 'so-called' middle caste groups among Hindu Punjabi refugees who played a significant role here. Power in the economic realm comes about through the spirit of initiative and enterprise that these refugees had. However what
unfolds from the discussion in this work is the congruence between these three dimensions of stratification.

In the present day context these dimensions have undergone a change due to the new ways of perceiving and defining the system of stratification by the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi, which prompted us to investigate these changes.

The caste aspect assumes a much changed role. Many of its traditionally associated features are no longer applicable as a system and have undergone substantial changes. However, caste still seems to dominate in certain aspects of life of the Hindu Punjabi refugees especially in the aspect of marriage. Its features such as the practice of untouchability and occupational specialization, though have receded into the background, are manifesting through other channels due to the correlation of caste with other dimensions of stratification.

It is the conditions of urban living where heterogeneous groups of people have come together from different regions, which makes the practice of certain aspects related to the ascriptive dimension difficult. The ideas of social status and prestige are not confined to primordial categories any more. Therefore, emphasis is being laid on factors such as class manifested through consumption and lifestyle patterns as these have become important in governing the social life of the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi. Class is significant in governing social relationships as is evident
from the fact that it is an important criterion in fixing marriage alliances. It is also important in determining the pattern of socializing, maintaining social interactions and in shaping the perceptions of individuals in society. Additionally, the aspect of power (whether political, cultural or economic) is also seen as a determinant of lifestyle. It is the capacity that power provides in influencing others that is significant here. The Hindu Punjabi refugees have done well for themselves in each of the above mentioned realms of power. The factors that have contributed in this process have been elaborated in chapter VI. The dimension of power has also become important factor for determining one's status in society. Thus one can say that many dimensions have been added and/or subtracted in the aspects of caste, class and power as can be seen from the discussion undertaken in chapters IV, V and VI.

It is the examination of the interrelationship between all the three dimensions of stratification that helps us to understand the manner in which the stratification system operates among the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi. The hierarchies of caste, class and power overlap and also cut across each other. The social system has acquired a much more complex and dynamic character and there is a tendency for cleavages also to cut across one another (Beteille 1965:45).

For the Hindu Punjabi refugees the conditions of partition devastated their lives in a significant way, whether it was in terms of disintegration of
families, the change in lifestyle patterns, a change in their psychological-moral makeup or a breakdown in the relationship which they shared with old structures and institutions. They also had to cope with a situation where they had to get integrated into the host society.

It is essential to point out here that while partition created refugees leading to large-scale displacement and resettlement, these refugees were not flung into a completely alien environment in physical or cultural terms. They were, however, sufferers in economic and psychological terms and therefore had to recreate the lifeworld in the changed circumstances based on their own experiences of displacement and that of the specific dimensions of the social structure in which they were placed.

It is important to note that urbanization exposes the resettlement of migrant groups to a different milieu as compared to settlement in a rural area. This was also true for the thousands of refugees who came to Delhi from West Punjab at the time of partition. Thus, we find that a number of rehabilitation programmes as mentioned in chapter III were undertaken by the government for their easier settlement which the refugees viewed as instruments of change and mobility. However not only do urbanized forms of living provide conditions that are more conducive to those inclined to struggle for upward mobility, they themselves get transformed as happened in the case of Delhi due to the large scale influx of Punjabi refugees.
The study analyzed the processes of adjustment, assimilation and alienation in the case of the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi. Since these concepts have already been discussed in chapter II, here we only attempt to understand them with respect to the findings.

In the case of the Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi the three processes of alienation, adaptation and/or assimilation in isolation cannot capture their experiences. This is so because the Hindu Punjabi refugees are not an alienated section. In fact, they are very much a part of the cultural mainstream of independent India. Further, their case has also not been one of total adaptation; the Hindu Punjabi traditions, values, customs etc. have been preserved and there has been mutual give and take between the Hindu Punjabis and the members of the other communities. Finally, the condition of assimilation too, does not hold true in their case as they are partly integrated into, yet are distinguishable from, the host society in socially significant ways.

Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi, it is widely believed, have integrated with those from other communities and form a larger whole along with them. But their's is not a case of total integration, rather it can be seen as ‘selective assimilation’ which signifies that they are not totally indistinguishable from the members of the other community living alongside them. This is so because the Hindu Punjabi refugees still preserve and maintain their own cultural identity, customs, values and
traditions in certain segments of life. At the same time they are getting influenced by the culture and traditions of those living alongside them and influencing others to adopt some aspects of the Punjabi culture and tradition into their way of life. While the members of other communities, especially non-Punjabi North Indians, have been seen to borrow much from Punjabi way of life, one cannot ignore the fact that Punjabis too have adopted some of the practices and way of life from them. Further, there is also a move towards a greater westernized pattern of living on the part of the urban population, particularly the families of Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi.

Analyzing the case of preservation of the traditions and values of Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi, it is important to point out that the refugees from different parts of West Punjab too try to maintain their specific customs and traditions. They do this by maintaining their differences from people belonging to other parts of the Punjab. Here the case of Multanis is a significant one. Multan is a part of the Punjab in Pakistan, yet for the Multani refugees settled in Delhi, their greater dread today is to have their identities confused with the larger mass of Punjabis. They are proud of their Multani identity preserved in their language, festivals and cuisine (Subramanian 2002).

What is important to note here is that for most of the informants (62%) there has been a feeling that they have done much better because of
their migration to India. There has been a substantial change in their lifestyle thanks to educational and/or better occupational facilities, which have been made available to them and which they were also forced by circumstances to take up. Ninety-two percent of the informants openly admitted that they feel they are a part of the new society into which they moved. However there is one wish that all of them share, that of being able to go back to Pakistan just at least once to see their earlier place of habitation.

It is interesting to note that for the offsprings of Punjabi refugees, there is only a partial sense of belonging to the Punjabi culture. The daughter of informant MUMO 5 expressed her feelings thus:

As a child when everyone at school would go to their native place during holidays, I could not understand why I had no native place to go to? I always grew up thinking I am a Delhite and failed to understand why I was even called a Punjabi?

Therefore one finds that for the new generation the strong adherence to aspects of Punjabi identity is losing its grip. The traditional occupations are giving way to more savvy occupations. There is a move towards adopting cosmopolitan attitudes and lifestyles. It is only 'partial Punjabiyat' that has been imbibed at the neglect and ignorance of the totality.

One finds that for the emerging generation there is also a sense of disorientation from the roots. While on the one hand, they are being held by ties and threads that bind them to Punjabi culture, on the other hand
they are also trying to form new ties due to the impact of westernization. For a majority of them their Punjabi identity only comes to the surface during festivals and ceremonies which are observed only as a matter of tradition. This is so because they have not been well informed to understand their meaning. In fact, in the case of many there has been no planned effort even to learn 'their' Punjabi language or culture. For most Hindu Punjabi refugee families in Delhi, the refugees are the last link through which their families have an association with the Punjab. However, this association with the Punjab is only through memories and experiences, which their elders narrate and discuss amongst themselves.

Finally, it is important to note that development and the building up of a global world cannot be achieved by limiting the role of individuals to that of signifiers of a religious community. When this happened in the case of partition, it resulted in the creation of refugees, who therefore had to undergo trauma and trials of a high magnitude as seen in this work. However, Hindu Punjabi refugees in Delhi present an exemplary case of how lives can be rebuilt and a pattern of resettlement achieved in a harmonious manner.