SIKH ETHNIC CONFLICT:

What Explains the Differences Between Sikhs' Security in India

and Pakistan?

EDGAR OROZCO

California Polytechnic University, Pomona

Ethnic conflict towards Sikhs has been a reoccurring issue in India and Pakistan following the separation of Pakistan. Most Sikhs reside in Punjab, India but Pakistan also conflicts with Sikhs, in fact, most diverse minority ethnicities experience conflict within the state. The theoretical explanations concerning ethnic conflict against Sikhs ultimately fall into four variables: events of disobedience or secessionism, economy, culture, and institutions. However, the literature on the Sikh ethnic conflict has resulted in multiple inconclusive attempts to use a single variable to determine an answer. Hence, this thesis uses a process tracing line of action to test the four variables in the two Sikh conflicted states; Pakistan and India. In its testing of different social contexts in each of these two cases, this method allows this thesis to analyze these variables to ultimately distinguish the effects of these four variables.

Introduction

The topic of this thesis is concerning the ethnic conflict existing in Punjab, India and Pakistan. India needs future solutions to its ethnic conflicts, with this thesis, it aims to address what the causes of ethnic conflict are between the majority group of the Hindus versus the minority group of the Sikhs. The proposed thesis question therefore is, "What Explains the Differences Between Sikhs' Security in India and Pakistan?" This question effectively pinpoints multiple aspects and different studies used within Ethnic Conflict literature to understand how each event, feeling, government role, factor, etc. has led to the magnitude of ethnic nationalism that exists in India and Pakistan. Also, with India's development being on pace to becoming one of the world's most developed nations, it is therefore important to appreciate how understanding Sikhs first and foremost, and the causes of this ethnic conflict can further allow for an understanding of autonomy for all minority groups following their cases. This thesis will further guide scholars in the near future to form enough understanding of the conflict so that a solution will be the next anticipated stop in Sikhs' future.

Literature Review

Ethnic Conflict has been a reoccurring issue in many developing nations. India is a state with many diverse groups of different ethnic backgrounds and religions. With the vast amount of diversity has come a unique India that has thrived in its economy through recent years, however; despite its quick industrialization and capability of becoming an efficient economy, there still remains multiple ethnic

conflicts against many groups within their nation. This literature review will analyze what the causes of ethnic conflict are towards the Sikh religion and how it began, from individual actors that affected the conflicts, to significant events that sparked a movement by the Indian government, as well as domestic decisions in India's government that have tried to affect this conflict (whether by trying to suppress or transform the Sikh religion to even creating a diverse democracy that attempts to end the conflict through policy changes and ideological democratic movements). However, these movements have been minuscule to the marginalization against Sikhs in the Hindu majority ruled nation. This paper will reflect what current literature has on this current issue, and what kind of literature will be needed to reconstruct a better future for India's multi-ethnic state, that in doing so would result in a better future for Sikhs in Punjab, India.

The issue originated when the partition of India with Pakistan occurred; the Muslims led their new state to be religiously oriented and required quick Hindu and Sikh emigration from the Pakistani area that was once part of India and forced the Hindu and Sikh ethnic groups to fill the smaller area now known as Punjab, India. Cheema (2006) and Kundu (1994) explain in their articles how the Sikhs came to possess such a strong sense of identity and how it came to conflict with India. Due to pressures that formed when Sikh extremist Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale came to the front, there was no way for Indira Ghandi not to take action since Bhindranwale was very much against the Akali Dal (a Hindu interest group) that was in charge

of the Indian Punjab. Indira Gandhi responded by ordering" Operation Blue Star" to kill Bhindranwale in June of 1984 in Amritsar, Punjab (Golden temple), the religious nexus of the Sikhs. The operation followed years of later political, economic, and religious grievances which led the Sikhs towards separatism, and other movements focused on preserving their ethnic identity apart from India. Mahmood (1989) further reiterates in her article of Asian Studies how Sikhs originated from Southern Asia. She adds how Hindus have attempted to absorb the Sikhs to remove their religion but have only resulted in hatred and an inability to absorb them. The Sikhs historical center lies in Punjab but is run by Hindus. The operation and killing of the Sikhs' holy leader created a conflict and ultimately caused the death of India's prime minister Indira Gandhi by radical Sikh assassins. Operation Blue Star was a direct breach of India's constitutional guarantee to provide equal protection to all groups. Gandhi's death caused a massive backlash that killed 3,000 Sikhs and forced 50,000 more out of their homes.

Furthermore, in addition to the Blue Star operation, a history of caste systems also has contributed to the birth of the Sikh conflict. Meeta (2007), Puri (2003), and Reetz (1997) bring up the roles of the caste system in retrospect to the Sikhism issue in Punjab. Meeta explains how the central issue in Punjab ruler groups is the pre-existing caste divisions that have instilled tensions in both powers. Overall, this explains how mainstream rulers have promised alternatives to the marginalized groups, but these kinds of promises have always excluded the Sikh. This issue shows that Punjabi India has a deep concern for the Sikh religion and their accommodation of other groups raises tensions for the Sikh community. Puri also examines the caste hierarchy that exists towards Sikhs and the new patterns that have come from the competition of ethnic groups today. The main issue for Sikhs, a religious-based group like the Hindus, has been a struggle for religious/ethnic legal representation, at least fair representation for their people in Punjab. Most of these misrepresentations have been the results of a caste system that laid the foundation for a deep divide between Sikh and Hindu citizens. Reetz looks at the history of India through the study of how three parties were cast in India and how tracing back, the Pathans as Redshirts, the Sikhs as Alkalis, and the Tamils who were the Congress. Examining each group during the first half century, he understood that each group had been only partially represented. India has almost always only shifted power unevenly. This misrepresentation seems to be apparent and has resulted in ineffective power-sharing in India's government today. The ethnic nationality of the Sikhs in India is very complicated. Gopal Singh (1997) ends off his study with caste systems stating there to be a lack of scholarship/analyzation to understand the ethnic group and their present issues as well as the reasons behind the sporadic mobilization which has resulted in large diasporas. He explains how the Hindu's vision to continue attempting to delegitimize Sikh religion results in more conflict. The differences are too strong, and there must be a form of autonomy to seek some meaningful resolution.

Individual Events

An important method of understanding how an ethnic conflict came to exist between Hindus and Sikhs ties into significant individual events that played a prominent role in making the conflict more legitimate. Tan (1995)'s article goes back to the Alkali movement during their years of 1920-1925, through understanding the government's policy during this movement and what policies were made toward them to preserve the Sikh on behalf of the British administration. The Alkali were disrupting Hindu political goals when martial law made it very difficult for Punjab to distribute power equitably to the Sikhs. This misuse of power resulted in the beginning of many grievances that played out after this separation of Sikh powers in the early 1920s. The conflict becomes salient again after Operation Blue Moon was carried out as discussed earlier, and multiple articles will explain how the massacres in 1947 were both a result and cause of further ethnic conflict.

The massacres were very bloody, and multiple scholars share the rise in India's ethnic tensions resulting from the event. Copland (2002), Gupta (2007), Ray (2017) focus on this aspect of the Sikh experience unlike the previously studied articles which explained how the Sikh came up and why briefly they have experienced conflict. Copland explains that the trigger to this event was Britain helping to separate New Punjab and create a separate New Punjab from India, exclusively for Sikh. This attempt was only another reason for India to pursue alternative methods, afraid and still in remembrance of Pakistan. Although the two-state method sounded easy, in this case, it only further added gas to the flames of ethnic tension. Gupta also looks at how the independence of Pakistan affected how India's Hindus looked at the Sikhs hope for a new Punjab. He goes in depth describing the difference between the communal people and the rest of the democracy of India, and the "majoritarian" vs. the "minority marginalization" dynamic in place against Sikhs in both Pakistan and India. This difference is relevant to the proposed thesis, especially when comparing multiple states, as we can see how one has

affected the other while how their situations progress in their state. Ray adds on to the massacres on how mobilization succeeded in some instances but not in others. There were two events where Sikh mobilization attempted but the latter was victorious. The first attempt failed because the initial mobilization left the duty of mobilizing the whole group in the hands of a few Sikh elites, ignoring that the ethnic group had very serious caste and class inequalities that did not allow for an equal and safe method for all to mobilize. In the second instance, they emphasized that there was a deprivation of land and this gave likely reasons for those to fight and defend their rights to the land. This deprivation of lands allowed for inter-group land dispossessions to blur the intra-group dispossessions and allowed for mobilization to occur due to cooperation that Sikhs had to go through. This literature is crucial when an outside group does something like taking one's rights or land. This lack of cooperation allows one to end little misunderstandings and issues within one's group and put one's focus on becoming united.

India's Effects on Sikh Ethnic Conflict

One of the methods to try and end ethnic conflicts, one is too simplistic and has huge issues that arise just from the process, is trying to part ways from the dominant group via a partition, like the Sikhs from the Hindus. Butt (2017) and Horowitz (1977) go in their research to explain the possibility of partition and secession and its effects. Butt goes to explain multiple strategies that show why and how India is against the separatism movement from its multiple ethnic groups. Due to India's very complex ethnic makeup, it is very apparent why India treats the problem of multiple groups wanting to secede very seriously. Butt's central argument that this chapter goes to show with examples of India's multiple programs and laws that have shown India's thoughts on ethnic groups having their sovereignty and pursuing separation is extensive due to the fact that India despite its diverse, ethnic group issues it is a highly developed nation that has high ambition for its near future and it is prudent for what occurs to its state now. They need to do more to ensure that these groups get represented because without that, India can see its development hindered greatly. Horowitz's literature shows that he believes Sikhs are afraid to lose their identity. However, he explains that Hindus are afraid of having too much power sharing, and especially that more cases like Pakistan will occur. He ultimately believes that revivals of grievances occur when setting a boundary, but with no boundaries, people are still afraid of losing their connection. Therefore, autonomy should be given to both groups, but policies should get made where religion is not relevant in politics and freedom in Punjab. There should be more focus for autonomy but, ideologies should be far more significant than ethnicity or race in a state like India.

Furthermore, the partition is discussed by scholars as becoming a backward solution. Brancarti (2006) discusses the possible methods of solving the ethnic conflict, and although the paper is not specifically on solving an ethnic conflict, this form of "solution" has proven to be a double-edged

approach versus actually serving a positive end. Therefore, it is understood how this general idea of decentralization can line up with the ethnic conflict causes in India against Sikhs. The idea of partition, although it sounds like the most feasible solution to split group conflicts, has never been that easy; the areas in which ethnic groups reside are often very mixed and never concrete enough to build a border around. Also, in creating a border and giving a country/ethnic group its centralized government, it only reinforces their identity, therefore, giving the ethnic conflict just a stronger actor in the overall conflict. He uses over 30 democracies from 1985-2000 to explain how decentralization ultimately favors the dominant group and then marginalizes any other group involved in its way.

Other movements noticed in India are nationalist and self-determination movements, many comparable to the prior secession literature previously referenced. Kinnvall (2002) explains how various forces of globalization have resulted in a dislocation for many people around the world. Religious groups are organizing nationalist movements faster than ever according to his studies, and it could relate to the trauma that is shared through a group, they become connected through tough times and form a nationalist group for their group in order to survive against persecutors. Another part that affects nationalism through religion is that India is filled with and ruled by religious groups, although very diverse, their diversity becomes a root for many issues to arise, especially in groups like Sikhs who are underrepresented by their government, they face unfair government treatments. The concern that Kinnvall capitalizes is how it is that Hindus have been able to monopolize on both their religion and fusing nationalist groups, while Sikhs have been less successful in forming a successful group of religion or nationalist group to mitigate the change in India. With this article, it is apparent that Hindus have a better connection to the government due to their mass religion that is carried out through most of the Indian Government and its decisions.

Self-determination may not always be the best route. With the rise of Sikh nationalism and movement to secede from India, many countries around the world expected that after a decade of violence their movement was going to change and cause disruption in Indian politics. However, as the 1990s arrived Kohli (1997) and Wallace (1986) note that Sikh self-determination movements slowed down substantially and through his research, he explains how democracies can accommodate ethnic nationalism and why movements like the Sikh in India have declined. Kohli argues that India's central government managed the Sikh conflict and was able to stall the movement from progressing into a secessionist movement by providing some power to them and incorporated multi-cultural democracy measures to accomodate the Sikh and calm their movement. Although the conflict continues as we speak, this article helps identify how in India can this be performed efficiently to ensure Sikh rights today and

prevent migration (diasporas) that will later get analyzed as a separate topic in this literature review.

Singh (2007) focuses more on an analysis of the recent political conflict between Sikh militants and the Indian state and concludes by drawing out the policy implications of that analysis for the politics of the modern Indian state regarding the Sikhs of Punjab. It identifies federal arrangements and human rights as issues of crucial importance in the political economy of this relationship. He explains overall that the choice of violent/non-violent actions for the Sikh identity has come down more to achieve their political-economic goals versus any doctrinal adherence. Therefore, if a deal gets made and if there's a better economic opportunity or other types of opportunities both Hindu and Sikh will break that cause and spoil any time of policy decisions. This type of method is thought to be a cause for spoilers, and usually occurs when moderate leaders attempt to achieve peace, but extremists disrupt this process to continue to achieve their own agenda that they believe is for the betterment of their state.

The Punjab problem according to Gurharpal (1987) is whether or not Sikhs are willing to take part in a further ethnic consolidation in one state with Hindus, or if they are going to make further actions towards becoming a self-governing state. Why and how will they reach either of these conclusions? Gurharpal explains that there needs to be a further polarization in Punjab in order to create for either Hindu or Sikh groups to seek a separate state. He believes that neither Punjab or Sikh groups make an effort to fix everyday differences like castes, education, and other inequalities for fear of losing their identity. Narendra answers another important question of when does high ethnic mobilization co-exist with social pluralism? Other words when does ethnicity tolerate and how much does it tolerate before choosing to take lower incentives in order to find common ground between Hindu and Sikh organization. The only way for there to be a solution is when within a state the groups in the conflict choose to seek pluralism and learn to tolerate each other. Therefore, the question is not on mobilizing but how can each group compromise enough for it to be possible for both groups to coexist with each other, without either group feeling like their security is infringed. Especially in a place like Punjab India, there must be the notion for better understanding for both to survive. There should be more of India's focus on this literature. Additionally, Telford (1992) shares in his article how the economy plays a significant role in India pursuing a solution.

Telford's article focuses on what the economy's role was in the military power of the Sikh ethnicity in Punjab during the late 1800s and early 1900s. His views present a different idea of the cause of ethnic conflict. He does not deny that Hindu and Punjab governments play a part in Sikh ethnic conflict. However, his different idea in defining the cause is how secular the Sikh have become. There has been a higher amount of cleavages like different visions of nations, class, religion, and leadership rivalry. In order for there to be a better representation or at least a movement towards a resolution or policy, the Sikh governmental leader must bring Sikhs together and form a unity to really make sure that the decisions made are representing the whole community without leaving some out that will cause a conflict within the Sikh community between themselves. So first the Sikh must achieve a degree of unity or develop a level of tolerance of differences in order to allow for a democratic system in India, only then will Indian government experience a shift that could finally represent the Sikh community fairly without ambiguity. There is a gap and a need for additional literature to explain furthermore on how modernization affects Sikhs, some view religion as their identity, others respect it but focus on more prominent ideologies that represent them based on different perspectives separate from their ethnic ties.

Khalistan Movement

Although Khalistan was a movement that fits under individual events, this event was far too significant not to reserve its own section in this review. Many scholars use this event to explain the conflict, and this event is by far the closest Sikhs have gotten in pursuing a separate state. Jetly (2008) contributes with an article that examines what the Khalistan movement is. The Khalistan movement was a movement in the 1980s when Sikhs sought to have a separate state away from India. This eventually declined in the 1990s and Jetly explains the rise, fall and the continuance of the conflict now through three parts. The first part, the nature of the movement like the leadership, and cultural forces and led to the weight of the movement — secondly, the response of India, and Punjab against the Sikh ethnic group and the strategies they used like coercion, conciliation, and policies. Moreover, lastly, the international support from other countries and the role of organizations like supporting arms and other forms of support for either the Indian government or the Sikh minority. All these explanations help explain the cause of not only these events in the 1980s but explains the aftermath.

More scholars describe not how the event

started but more on what the event meant for the groups, explaining more of what the movement was for, what drove the Sikhs during this decade or more of fighting, and ultimately what caused it to fade. Jodhka (1997) explained the Khalistan movement in how ethnically aware it made people from India and Punjab during the 1980s and 1990s. Although unsuccessful, this was a significant step for Sikhs because it made people very aware of the situation. This Khalistan Movement helped legitimize the ethnic conflict against Sikhs and that the study of their ethnic conflict became salient for international relations. The birth of this "Punjab Studies" subdivision of Political Science has helped me to understand how important the event of the Khalistan movement is towards my overall thesis on Sikh conflict. Kaur (2009) reiterated the movement but added literature on the post period. She explains how the failure of the Khalistan movement made some Sikhs understand the loss and accept to live under Hindu rule, while driving other Sikhs away and causing the formation of a diaspora in countries like the U.S., U.K., Canada, and Singapore. The aim of her literature was to explain how the migration of most of the impacted Sikhs during the Khalistan movement, was a big reason for the failure of the movement, it lost its move-makers and further spread the Sikh population elsewhere. The subject of diasporas will receive further evaluation in the last section of this literature review.

Van Dyke (2009) was a scholar who also viewed the impact of the Post-Khalistan movement and explained how the fight did not endure long enough to cause the expected outcome. Van Dyke has a different perspective on why Sikhs' Militant movement had slowed since the experience of the Khalistan movement during the 1980s (before it flatlined and ultimately lost sight of Sikh trying to fight for separation from India and become its own state). Van Dyke feels that militant power will not form anytime soon due to the Sikh communities' exhaustion from the all too recent Khalistan movement. Although she explains that there are instances that show that coalition politics (cooperation between ethnic groups in politics) have achieved serious results, the actual representation of Sikhs in the Punjab government remains substantially underrepresented. There must be further research made to show how the Bharatiya Janata Party has not been as effective to allow for an equal Sikh community in Punjab. Although militant powers have not reemerged, it is only a pause in the Khalistan independence movement, and if inequality in Punjab continues, it will only take another event to awaken the same wound that Sikhs experienced during Khalistan and Operation Blue Star. We have seen how secular Jews have responded with the 2018 Pittsburgh synagogue shooting. This kind of event can awaken the Sikh Khalistan movement and bring the military action back despite the "coalition politics".

Additionally, Yaeger (1991) explains the significance of the attack on the golden temple in 1984, the "Holy of Holies" (before Khalistan, one of the starting points), and how this ultimately played a part in creating tensions between Sikhs and Hindus. He explains the desire for ethnic identity,

and religious purity created the goal of creating Khalistan, a Sikh state. However, he concludes that the failure of Khalistan explains that not enough Sikh peoples feel strongly about the work needed to create their own nation. Their experience in hostile India continues to and will continue until either absorption occurs, autonomy gets granted, or they physically fight for a separate state and create borders to establish sovereignty for their people.

International Factors: Diasporas

The conflict has involved much international attention, not just because they want an end for India's conflicts. However, partly because the conflict has caused Sikh migration into many states. The following literature from multiple scholars; McCann (2011), Nayar (2004), and Dusenbery (1997), explains how Sikhs are represented in their respective locations. McCann uses Singapore as an example for India to follow, on how to treat multi-ethnic populations. His paper does a good job in explaining how successful Sikh socialization has been in Singaporean society. It shows an example that Sikh could coexist in diverse communities. What can Punjab do differently to allow this cooperation between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Northern India? Nayar contributes to McCann, using interviews of three different Sikh Generations to show effects of the Vancouver Sikh Diaspora. Explains how each generation deals with the quick language barrier but with time, modernization and adaptation, Sikhs are a lot more content in living in a country where, although there are less of them, their views aren't affecting the rights they receive even if their religion remains unchanged with modernization. Dusenbery adds that without modernization no change would occur, he believes these Sikh populations that are raised in developed countries can benefit the conflict, allowing for more educated, moderate Sikhs to return to India to help break down grudges and work towards cooperation, moving on from conflicts their parents experienced. He compares diasporas in both Singapore and Canada comparing how the use of ideologies versus race allows for equality for their small representation despite their difference in religions with the majority of the states' population.

Pakistan's Sikhs Ethnic Conflict

Although the number of Sikhs in Pakistan is significantly smaller than the number of Sikhs in Punjab, India there still remains a large enough portion that has also experienced conflict since the partition and creation of Pakistan. The Sikh population has been reported to be over 2,000 and has remained rather consistent since the partition. Dusenbery has added small info that explains that the Sikh population number being small is explained by it being just a population of Sikhs who remain in Pakistan due to its holy lands that are very important to the Sikh religion. The cities of Lahore and Delhi Gate are known for having not a majority of Sikhs as in their numbers outnumber Muslim majorities but the significant majority of those 20,000+ Sikhs are in those cities respectively for the importance of maintaining their temples. Although the number is small it is crucial for the thesis project to test

how the separate factors play a role in their stability across the borders of India. although very little literature exists for their explanation a variety of studies utilizing those factors of minorities alone will help us reach a coherent enough image as to why the factors differ against Sikhs so much in one country with a wealth of literature versus the neighboring state and why there is a lack of literature on top being a very small population in Pakistan. This paper will explain why the population is small and how the Sikhs in Pakistan differ from Sikhs in India while also trying to find ties in similarities in the two Sikh ethnic groups but their unique differences of their two seperate states in which they reside

Conclusion

After doing an extensive literature review, there seems to be different aspects that affect the overall ethnic conflict between the Sikhs and the Hindus. Through more empirical data there can be a deeper connection with how these multiple literature focuses contribute to events, movements, and overall the overall divide in India that continues to exist. With focusing more on literature from areas closer to the conflict. Rather than by people who are experiencing the conflicts versus just interviewing diasporic Sikhs who are separated not only physically, but by being born in a different state and being modernized with different races/values. Although they help explain that migration is painting the picture of Sikhs leaving for a better land, they can only help so much, looking at other camps within the area of India and Pakistan would help. Unfortunately, there lacks sufficient literature of ethnic conflict against Sikhs in Pakistan to pursue a compare and contrast, this needs to be further addressed so that future work can help achieve the understanding of the conflict to bring hopes of future change for the Sikhs in their homelands.

Methodology

Through the research design of taking advantage of case studies from a vast amount of scholars who each focus on different reasons of ethnic conflict ranging from individual events to broader social issues and many more in between the two, this will show the significance of some events versus others by seeing how much literature has been written. The design will also shed light on the lack of literature regarding Sikh conflict is being found, or better yet not found in the neighboring state of Pakistan, where before its secession of India, Sikhs were living within its proximity with Hindus and Muslims, experiencing conflict from both groups. With the case theories, there will be the use of testing the theories

in each of the literature articles found, and it will perform process tracing. With performing these testing method/measurements, it will result in finding out how valid the case studies are. If not valid there will be gaps that will be further addressed within the thesis project to explain further the lack of critical empirical data that needs to be addressed in order to understand the conflict against Sikhs in an objective manner where solutions can become a possibility. The thesis, therefore, will focus on the significance of testing and comparing/contrasting the factors of disobedience, economy, cultural aspects, and finally institutions in order to pinpoint what is the currently security of Sikhs and what else can be understood in order to comprehend the conflict with multiple aspects further to see the bigger picture, ultimately.

Case Study: Pakistan

Testing the events of disobedience or secessionism:

Relations between Sikhs and the majority ethnic Muslim ethnicity in Pakistan have been adversarial since the partition; because of it the creation of Pakistan as a state was rough and fueled from religious hatred. Partition caused the same hatred towards the two groups in the new west Punjab. Since its separation with India's Punjab region, events of conflict have continued to occur in regards to Sikhs and religious groups that are not in line with Pakistan's strict religious style of leadership. Their guidelines for leadership have resulted in religious persecution of Sikh minorities and have created hostile living conditions that continue to affect Sikhs today. On top of the religious guidelines practiced by Pakistani leadership, this section further focuses on how events in chronological format and how they have transpired in regard to significant event of secessionism, rebelling, and even terrorism. This section will test events in Pakistan and their explanatory significance in chronological order to see how each has added to the flames of ethnic conflict against Sikhs in the Pakistan, specifically Pakistan's Punjab where Sikhs have resided with both Hindus and Muslim ethnicities.

Beginning with Punjab before the split between India and Pakistan. Punjab was diverse in the fact that Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims were all present in this part of India. However, with the separation of Pakistan from India, this event played a critical role in the mass migration of Sikhs and Hindus out of the new Pakistan homeland. The same manner in which Muslims fled killings from Hindus, the Sikhs and Hindus fled the new Pakistani state from mass killing and communal mass murder. This event since the 1940's caused there to be a hostile environment

between not only Muslims and Hindus but made the Sikhs feel left as if they too were battling through racial hierarchy as well. This explains from its birth as a nation why Sikhs' population numbers have declined to just in the 20,000 numbers versus the millions of Sikhs currently residing in India today. However, the events in Pakistan alone are not explanatory enough to describe how, through the years, the situation of ethnic conflict has not changed where Sikhs have been welcomed or even reports on how Sikhs inside Pakistan have experienced more freedom compared to the Indian Sikh ethnicity. After the partition, many Sikhs decided to stay despite the hostile role that Muslim religion took in controlling their government to ensure that no other minority religious/ethnicity group became too powerful and remind Pakistan of the Hindus situation prior to their partition. Even during one of India's significant partition movements for a sovereign Sikh state Pakistan saw some migration of Sikhs seeking safety from mass killing and massacres that were being used on them by Hindu nationalists. This shows that other events also demonstrate reasons for Pakistan being a preferred state but only during circumstances where India was dangerous at the moment. During times of stability we still see that only religious Sikhs remain to ensure that temples and religious lands that are dominant in Amritsar and Lahore are untouched, while the majority of Sikhs flowed back into Punjab, India after the Khalistan movement decreased in danger (Jetly, 2008). Despite the partition and the violent events, Pakistan, (from its birth until recently in 2001 when Afghanistan became involved with the region with through civil war and conflicts that derived from hatred across the globe), due to their pro-Islam terrorist ideas has caused far more emigration and hostility than any anti-Muslim group. Despite this hatred, a small population of Sikhs still decide to reside inside Pakistan due to its religious connections to its lands and temples.

Since the emergence of growth in the monolithic idea of Muslim ideals in Pakistan, the Sikhs as a group haven't received violence as they received did during the acts of civil disobedience in the neighboring state of Punjab, India. This is largely owed to the fact that the constitutional makeup of Pakistan nominally secures them religious freedoms. Despite their nation being a majority-Muslim, they have inscribed within their constitution that religious freedom must be protected for anyone seeking asylum in Pakistan. The population of Sikhs in Pakistan according to Dipanker Gupta, continues to remain small because the decisions/ events of elections have shown that minority populations in Pakistan do not represent the minority groups fully and only respect the reserving of religious homelands; but do not allow for chairs to be fulfilled by minorities to make country wide decisions regarding the government body. The growth of Sikhs' rights continues to grow in Pakistan but outside events like terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS have utilized Pakistan's monolithic pro-Muslim state in order to achieve their goals in their Islamist agendas. This separation of focus, and using states to utilize terrorist groups, has af-

fected the ethnic diversity and equality ensured to the diversity of minorities as compared with India's new methods of providing safety and autonomy. The effects of a violent partition from India and terrorist groups consistently utilizing Pakistan's state to further their goals have contributed to the hindering of ethnic safety towards Sikhs; in its birth and in recent years events have added to the religious ideologies that Pakistan practices to ensure Islamist religion remains its majority for political and religious unity. In fact, in the most recent census Sikhs were excluded from being counted in Pakistan. Islamist-groups have a huge role in controlling Pakistan's goals despite its constitution being written for the equality of religions (due to its issues with India prior to its partition). However, these events alone are not sufficient to understand what ideals have constructed Muslim views in Pakistan to prefer terrorist groups versus different ideologies to be favored, or years of different factors that have added flames to cause these events. These events, although they create more ethnic conflict, they have less value as a factor that can be traced more consistently to show a more transparent timeline in Pakistan in the study of ethnic conflict against Sikhs.

Testing the effects of economy:

When considering the factor of economy, Pakistan has not dealt with a consistent change in its economy. Pakistan as a whole has dealt with difficulty in its GDP, and has suffered the effects of poor literacy based on how the government has reallocated those funds. Toward Sikhs they have been rather neutral regarding their minority group, and their cooperation or even responsibility they hold in participating in the economy. Relationships in the early 1950's-1990's remained strong between Sikhs and Pakistanis largely due to the fact that Sikhs had a strong presence in Pakistan's cities of Lahore and Delhi. Refugee communities inside those cities had a strong influence in the economy and culture that Pakistan could only appreciate when regarding the economy. Pakistan's Sikhs were very close with India's Punjab and many of them had acquired agricultural methods that allowed them to become more efficient in farming, making Sikhs a large part of Pakistan's economic prosperity in their agricultural sector.

Although India's economy is larger and Sikhs in Punjab, India have better opportunities in other sectors, Sikhs still play a large part into the economy of Pakistan today. Sikhs still have remained far too little in size to even be considered at fault, or used as a scapegoat to blame for the stagnant economy of Pakistan today. In 2011, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom reported its findings on Madrassa regarding the interviews of Madrassa students of how they felt of non-Muslims and their interactions in the economy. Other students (USCIRF, 2010), unnamed due to the research being done confidentially to prevent hatred from different beliefs, stated during a survey in Punjab, Pakistan," We should treat them with good behavior when doing business; as a result they would become Muslims." The results in today's time and attitudes

show that Sikhs and other minority groups are not being used as a scapegoat of any kind, and are actually commended for their achievements in participating well in the economy of Pakistan. However, the line remains thin because Pakistan's Muslims are more concerned with transforming these groups by being respectful to their businesses and economic prosperity versus appreciating their differences and enjoying their freedoms as two separate religions who live in peace within one nation. The economic factor being tested here shows that Sikhs have not been treated harsh due to their economic position inside Pakistan, but rather has have been used as a tool from Pakistan's Muslims to try and persuade Sikhs and minority religions in Pakistan to convert to Islam. That has not remained the case with Sikhs being devoted to their religious lands in Pakistan and their religion remains sacred. The factor of economy itself is not a very strong factor to explain the instability or reasons for low population and low levels of literature on Sikhs in Pakistan. This section does however show us that economy can be malleable if attitudes towards Sikhs were to change if a threat were posed to the religion of the majority Islam population. The next section shows us how cultural differences play a critical role in defining the Sikh's stability in Pakistan's majority-Muslim state.

Testing the effects of cultural differences:

The Founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah stated with this cultural speech of acceptance for minorities following the Pakistan partition, "Minorities, to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed." Culture is very connected with religion but in a country where religion is so intertwined with its government the focus of this factor will focus and prioritize the difference in cultural values that differ from the diversity between Sikhs and Muslims rather than how their religions differ with their situation. At its founding Pakistan was created to ensure that castes and systems of hierarchy in India would not transfer across borders and limit the freedoms of the citizens in Pakistan. This section will trace how events have occurred to further explain how the level of cultural understanding between Pakistani Muslims and Sikhs have contributed to the overall results of culture factoring in the overall ethnic conflict stability of Sikhs in Pakistan. Despite the acceptance of diversity expressed in Mohammad Ali Jinnah's speech, the feelings towards cultural differences were mixed among many extreme Muslims who were terrified of the violent massacres in Muslim settlements when Punjab was a territory shared amongst Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. The event of Bharat prior to the 1947 partition was involved with many massacres that would catalyze the massacres of thousands of Muslims and resulted in the emigration of 12 million Muslims to their new state of Pakistan. Literature however, is very confused as to who was really massacred during these times. The Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims all claim that their group was targeted during these years in Bharat and all have used it to claim their actions for pursuing a partition. Muslims were the group who committed the action and migrated in an efficient manner to create their state. Because of this massacre, despite the belief of moderate Muslims who believed in creating a "better India", many extremists were against the cultures of any groups beside Muslims being a significant group in the new Pakistan following the violence that had transpired against the Muslims predominantly by Hindus. Sikhs however, were considered to have been amongst those militant groups, and are recognized as also being responsible for the mass killings of Muslims inside of the Indian Punjab city of Bharat. One of the critiques, based on teachers' general views according to the Education and Religious Discrimination Studies in Pakistan by the U.S. Commission, is the concept of Sikh's practicing of the Caste system that is practiced by the strong believers of Sikhism in Pakistan, has been culturally accepted by the majority of Muslims. Sikhs have experienced these views as hostility against them for their negligence of accepting the Islamic beliefs, rather than it being solely on their practice of the caste system in their holistic views.

The love for Islam from the majority of Muslims in Pakistan explains how their culture defines how they feel about minority groups in their state. They believe in their constitution and the equality for minority groups, but it's a belief with little proof in their actions. Pakistan studies have instilled that the danger for many Pakistanis is in losing cultural values, if Pakistan were to accept the religious diversity that is seen being practiced in India, United States, and even Israel, all of which are considered enemies to Pakistan. Their fear of losing their strength, and their culture are detrimental to their core beliefs. Therefore, the economy, and their dependence on Sikhs as a business partner varies depending on their relations religiously and how those relations stand. Since the

majority of Sikhs residing in Pakistan are present in the state largely for the fact of maintaining their presence in historical temples critical to their religion (and overall the origin of their identity), their beliefs are very contrary to the main belief of Muslims in wanting to keep a pure Islamist ethnic state. Therefore, economic relations have been a factor that has been omitted from Sikhs, and the overall rough economy that shows divides even in the religion of Islam itself, shows how unequal their governmental system remains due to their reliance on comparing power and success to their devotion to their Islamist religious groups. The economy will continue to decline for Sikhs because their situation gets worse every year with more movements of conversion, which causes remembrances and grievances within the Sikh temples. Furthermore, this causes kickback to conversion attempts, and is overall transmitted to Pakistani Islamist Elites as a sign of disrespect to their culture. Therefore, businesses and the overall health of economic prosperity of Sikhs remains at a stagnant low-leveled state due to the difference in religion.

However, while it is not normally practiced in Pakistan, there are some Muslim moderates who believe that with the push for more business involvement and invitations to economic intertwining with the country's minorities, peace can be maintained and built upon. According to a preferred anonymous Madrassa student (a Balochistan Pakistani, US-CIRF 2011), she stated in a recent survey performed by the U.S., " As we have business and social links with people of other religions, we should treat them well. They are good in business ethics despite their differences in faith." This result from the survey shows that there are some Muslims who, despite the current situations in rough economy and the push for conversion, still believe that relations should, regarding their economic success should, be favorable because their ethnicity has no pre-existing issue in doing business with one another. However, in the same survey completed by the U.S. there were results that fell along the same lines but only under an exception of hoping for further division following the incentivizing of promoting business with Sikhs. Two Muslim students who were also anonymous but were confirmed to have reported from Balochistan, Pakistan and the other a student from Punjab, Pakistan reported that business relations and even cultural relations should be pushed away from hostility towards Sikhs and non-Muslim minorities for the anticipated result of conversion. The Balochistan student stated," We should treat them with good behavior; as a result they would become Muslims." While the other answered the same question of how should non-muslims be treated in economic relations with: "They should be preached to about Islam so that they could be on the right path." These answers manifest the true feeling of Muslims towards the religious minorities. If it becomes about conversion and remains dominant, being practiced for the hopes of converting minorities, then the basis for which these actions are to be made is not neither feasible nor stable. Therefore, the inequality and lack of economic relations result from the large cultural differences that were a basis for the partition and the creation of Pakistan. Without fixing the issue, and accepting change for a different form of government ideology in which religion is not the method of being successful or not being successful can be left behind. Changes must be made to ensure a bright future of inclusivity and stability for all individuals in Pakistan, including improving the conditions of Muslim citizens as well with these democratic governmental ideologies as a possible method for further success. Until then the economic factors shows strong evidence for the results of religious cultural differences that have continued to transpire against the Sikhs and the non-Muslim individuals in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Testing the effects of institutions:

Institutional choices have made it clearer beyond the clear signs of social segregation in society. Institutional laws and acts that have been passed in Pakistan are important in telling us what kind of laws and acts are currently being practiced. By examining these in depth from Pakistan's official government policies, it is imperative to find out where these laws originate and how these laws are further reinforcing certain behaviors and actions in the state of Pakistan on the security of Sikhs. Laws continue to be vague and contain too many loopholes that allow for arbitrary halts to any progress for any minorities in Pakistan, Sikhs being a very affected group. On a positive note it was reported by the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA, p. 127) that their program was utilized by Pakistan's government in order to register Sikh marriages in order to give legitimacy and recognition to the difference of culture. However, despite this institutional implementation other laws have not been so favorable towards the Sikh community.

Although the previous intuited progress of allowing for reports to reflect the marriages of minority groups in Pakistan, no initiative has been made to make concise changes in the actual law itself. Sikhs and even Hindus have dealt with the lack of law representation for their marriages and have been married illegally under the government of Pakistan. This has made it difficult according to USSDIRF (2012) for marriage registration and has resulted in difficulty in inheritance of property, accessing health services, voting, retrieving proper identification, and even being able to buy or sell homes. This lack of recognition of groups has been touched base on earlier in this text on how Pakistan did not even make the initiative to identify Sikhs as a minority group during the most recent census. Not only is it wrong to not include numbers that a country is sure aware of but the lack of needed laws to ensure a safe and sustainable life to Sikhs has only disabled their hopes for better living and freedoms.

The issue is that most laws are available and implemented for muslims only. Therefore most of the solutions proposed solutions that the current government of Pakistan proposes are only available upon converting to Islam.

Section II of USSDIRF (2012) report expands on how all

marriages are accepted as religious acts but the only religion in Pakistan that receives government recognition and registration is Islam and that clearly separate equality within the state only making the issues and differences between groups deeper and inviting hatred. Furthermore beyond the lack of marriage recognition and the only solution to that being convergence for more rights, a tax has also been imposed that makes Sikhs pay a tax only on the basis of being a non-Muslim citizen. Not only is the tax mandatory, but there is not a specific reform or recognition of rights that results from the tax. The tax is named Jizya, According to the report of the State of the World's minorities and Indigenous Peoples (2011), Sikhs were forced by government permitted talibans to pay these taxes and were pressured heavily if payments were not made in a timely manner. Following the tax laws there were a series of beheaded Sikhs who were found in result of inability to pay the tax. Furthermore, if payment cannot be made the government permits for the transferring of property of Sikhs without due process of any kind through the use of the Pakistan's Defense Housing Association according to the same report from the State of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples (2011, p.149). Government officials pushing for converging and even pushing for tax reforms in order to coerce minorities has been ineffective even for Muslim leaders following this rhetoric. According to the Times of India News (2017), most of these actions have been attributed to Yaqab Khan of Thall who has pushed for the removal of Sikh communities in the form of violent convergence if necessary.

These changes to laws and the stigma for conversion to be the way around inequality only makes it harder and harsher for relations to heal. Although President Zia has specified 10 seats for non-Muslims including Sikhs to ensure spread of leadership and acknowledgement for their rights, the results have been shown that it was not enough. More needs to be worked on and institutionally there is a lot of weight and proof on why the situation is worsening and how laws are allowing and giving incentives for conversion for muslim leaders. As a Sikh or any minority living in Pakistan it is violent to even hope for equal needs without the loss of your identity that means so much to you for the adoption of another identity that is also a religion. Methods of autonomy would see different results however the government of Pakistan believes in the strength of having a unity of Muslim religious identities and uses its laws to further enhance the stigma of diversity and has resulted at the loss of rights, religious lands, and freedoms of innocent Sikhs.

Case Study: Punjab, India

Testing the events of disobedience or secessionism:

Relations between Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab, India have built up through the years. Their relationship has been longer standing than the relations of Sikhs in Pakistan. Although the partition was a very crucial event for Muslims in creating their own state of Pakistan the partition actually exacerbated tense relations with Hindus and Sikhs that had been dormant during their focus on the partition of Muslims. However with the partition the Hindus saw a threat to their identity from muslims and with that fear came a movement of protection and hostility against Sikhs following the hostility endured during the split of Punjab following the partition. Of the multiple movements that Sikhs have attempted to utilize to succeed, the most significant event that has bolstered the ethnic conflict and made it aware to all Sikhs worldwide of the issues of India's government with Hindu nationalism was the Khalistan movement during the 1980's.

The Khalistan movement was the attempt for Sikhs to undermine the Punjabi government following a high respected leader for the ethnic group named Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. According to Cheema (2006) the identity of Sikhs became stronger after his death because it was a moment of fear where Sikhs realized that Hindu nationalists like in the situation of the death of Bhindranwale, Indira Gandhi, were willing to kill Sikh ethnic leaders in order to dissipate the identity of Sikhs. Although there was more context that had been connected to violent crimes that Bhindranwale had committed, Sikhs saw this solely as an attempt for Hindu nationalism to remain strong and a time to seize the momentum of Sikh ideology movements. However the movement failed following the military intervention performed by India's army. Although the loss resulted in an unwanted defeat for Sikhs sovereign state, it was objectively a key event to future success. The event of Khalistan, although violent, resulted in more moderate Sikhs, due to the large emigration and diasporas of hard fought Sikh nationalists that were making negotiations for a solution to the movement. The result of more moderate Sikhs made Hindus reduce their nationalist views, and with time more moderation and compromises were made to focus on not allowing and preventing this event from occurring ever again.

Instead of silencing, and planning to defeat Sikhs all together, they embraced the diversity within Punjab and accept that changing underlying governmental issues would be more effective than fixing something that would favor one group at the cost of

the other. Meeta (2007) states in his article of Castes and Religion (2007) that India's response to faulty issues within government and allowance for caste and other differentiations in class was not moral and these changes could be utilized in reestablishing a stronger relationship with Sikhs following the movement of Khalistan that reminded Hindus that minority groups are people with rights who seeks representation and if not granted are willing to fight. But it also reminded Sikhs that India was their home and that leaving would not be a feasible option, they resulted in less extremism despite views of nationalists that still exist today, they overall have been more accepting of differences and are working towards movements of autonomy and representation for their religion instead of seeking a full secession.

56

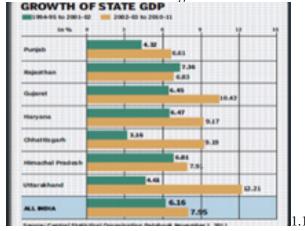
This factor of secession events shows clearly that the Khalistan movement was a key event in formulating salient solutions to real problems that were facing India's diverse ethnic groups. Although the conflict resulted in murder and overall violence. The Sikhs and Hindus were able to build upon preventing an event like Khalistan to ever reoccur. India has given more autonomy and has kept the improvements consistent to meet the goals of diverse groups and utilizing differences to enhance their successes. However India still refrains from taking responsibility for the violent acts taken upon Sikhs following the death of their leader Indira Gandhi that Sikhs feel still lights a flame in their memories as an act of hate and lack of acceptance for further forgiveness. Despite it pending to occur to further finalize the events for both groups and acknowledgment to be pursued by both groups respectively, the issues of secessionism and disobedience have been an important factor in explaining what key event was a critical point in relations between Hindus and Sikh. It reminds us of the factors that led up to this case and gives us a perspective and a start line to see how further India decisions have changed with the acceptance of Sikhs as a majority in Punjab, India.

Testing the effects of economy:

When it comes to the economy Sikhs have always played a big role in India's economy and have continued to grow throughout the years. As explained earlier in the factor of disobedience, the event of Khalistan was not only hindering their group rights, but it also hindered the economic success of Sikhs, and overall the Punjab region affects the broader economy of India. Economy overall took a detrimental hit but after Khalistan in which relations were the least cordial, the economy has been growing consistently with the growth and amending of relations that has played a part in the economic growth. Although the economy has not been reinforced in particular for Sikhs, there have not been any laws that have prevented their chances for a successful life as well. According to Ghuman (2008) in his chapter in Sikh Community, he expands on the fact that the difficulty for Punjab to reform after a period of militancy during Khalistan has been an issue in limiting economic reform but has been a factor that has affected both Hindus and Sikhs. This means

that although both groups are ware that the lack of economic focus and government programs are lacking due to their violence, they don't point the finger, but instead focus on what solutions as overall Punjabi ideology, can be the best step for a more effective economy that works for all Punjabi citizens regardless of religion.

A move forward from violence and towards effective laws and autonomy for Sikhs has changed stigmas and has created a new era for Punjabi politics. A new era in which most Sikh who participated in the diasporas during the 1980-1995 period have been noticed to have been making their ways back toward their homeland. This mass of remembrance of the homeland still being seen as Punjab, India has allowed for the processing of forgiveness and more successful attention from successful Sikhs all over the world to come back and cooperate with native Sikhs and native Hindus to recognize the infrastructure issues and as a community build upon the rubble in order to build for a better foundation for a brighter future in India. According to Singh (2007) the focus on education and better economic decisions has created a successful cross-cutting cleavage between both groups where economic and overall stability of one's group is more important than violence when weighing decisions out (p. 555-570). This shows clearly how effective a factor the economy has been in removing stigmas despite the horrific 15 year period of war between two groups. Economy overall if successful pushes groups towards peaceful negotiations and the denial of laws that will inhibit the growth of the economy, further pushing for more future dependence and community between Hindus and Sikhs seeing how rates are growing in current times. To conclude on the economic growth strength in ensuring Sikh's security find the following chart 1.1 provided by the Central Statistical Organization Data Book (2011), showing the growth of Punjab, India as a whole despite the ethnic conflict endured during the Khalistan movement:



Testing the effects of cultural differences:

When comparing cultural differences, despite there being division in religion, in the creations of both religions and certain values that may differ, culturally Sikhs and Hindus hare a lot in common in having respect for one another and within their religion acceptance of other religions is a strong point that is followed and practised by

both groups. Reetz (1997) explains in his article on Sikh culture that despite the Khalistan issue that occurred from extremism rather than large cultural evidence, there has never been a basis of cultural differences that have been evident to have been an issue for Sikhs' security in India. Instead of it being a factor of enhancing dangers for Sikhs, to Reetz he believes cultural values like the use of caste systems in prior history have been more of an issue for both Hindus and Sikhs rather than their own respective religions cultures conflict with others. Since the culture is so intermingled with one another despite the differences of religions, the relationship has remained respectable by both sides since they each have a hope and high regard for India and acknowledgement it is a home to many groups of different religions and cultures.

Fortunately despite the conflicts that exacerbated with Khalistan, Sikhs and Hindus have maintained a strong relationship and have molded into the relative culture of a "greater India", an idea that was proposed since its birth. Thandi (2014) explains in his text that diasporas have painted negative light on the conflict in Punjab, India and that once Sikh extremists that are still heavily affected by the horrific memories come back and realize the real change in cultural acceptance of diversity and momentum towards a better future, scholarly work will reflect those changes regarding the ethnic conflict (p.52-56). Therefore, culturally, the same factors that were running the extremists during the Khalistan movement for Sikh extremists, and before that the Hindu nationalists during the partition and following the partition of Pakistan, have now switched and constructed into a new idea of what it means to be India. Cultural acceptance is not to say they accept to be only one religion, but it is for Sikhs and Hindus to realize that being Indian comes first than any other identity they associate themselves with. Cultural similarities therefore is a strong factor that has allowed for the improvement seen in India regarding the security of Sikhs.

Testing the effects of institutions:

Institutions in this paper's use is examining how laws have helped or have worsened the security of Sikhs. During the Khalistan movement for the attempt of secession, laws were broken by both Hindus and Sikhs so although it may be that one may have broken the law first and killed Bhindranwale, it was still a violation of the law for retaliation in the form of massacres. Following this tragic decade of conflict and worries of India not being able to maintain a strong connection due to its large influx of diverse ethnicities, India made productive reforms. The reforms were effective because like stated earlier by Reetz (1997), the issues at hand were not just about one group being in the wrong and the other being in the right, what needed to be addressed was India's overall system and fix the faults wherein caste systems provided for an acceptance of the arbitrary reasoning

of hierarchy. By implementing article 17 in their constitution after 1989 India's government according to State.gov's most recently updated Indian constitution, the article allowed for further implementation of reserved government spots and better placement for Sikhs in government and academic institutions along with other minority groups in the State of India.

Although there are articles present for the protection of Sikh rights, there are still some that remain ambiguous that need attention crucially in order to hash out any dilemmas in the future like a possible reemergence of a Khalistan type of movement. Under the Indian Constitution article 25 (a) Sikhs are allowed rights and given full rights to practice their religion. However under the same article there remains ambiguity that causes contradiction with text stating that Sikhism is considered protected due to its being considered a "sect" of Hinduism. Sikhs understand and practice this law to strengthen their rights and have a sort of balance of power, but feel the need that it should be amended because they strongly oppose that their religion is similar enough to be considered a sector of another religion. This is a concern but is not detrimental to the progress India has pursued besides that article. Also according to the International Religious Freedom Report (2011) the most significant in recent times that helped for future cordial relations between the ethnicities and for a better future in Punjab, India was the Government's decision in December of 2009. The government provided a rehabilitation package of 7.2 billion rupees extended to affected Sikh families during the anti-Sikh movement that completed the Khalistan movement. To this day the central government has settled 36,336 claims from migrant families that were affected during the 1980-95 era. Institutionally India is moving towards the right way for friendly relations and strong laws to help implement those rights. Sikh actions groups remain strong and diligent on making sure those rights are met and have seen progress and expect a successful cooperation in Indian politics. Institutional factors have been a critical variable that is largely significant in providing Sikh security with its constant attention on the closing of gaps on ethnic conflicts.

Conclusion:

After all of the results and findings in both cases studies of: Pakistan and India. It is important to understand that population and recognition of the status of Sikhs is heavily lacking, therefore to decipher the explanatory power for the variables since in Pakistan the population of Sikhs is not significant in some forms to provide a clear picture. Given that limitation this paper still only focused on the two case studies and went beyond to look for evidence in each factor tounderstand which factors have more explanatory power in each case and what the future studies could

focus on. Pakistan and India both showed a heavy difference in all four factors but the two most significant factors that apply significantly to Pakistan is its lack of economic health and government supported violence in order to pursue conversions versus embracing diversity in the state. In order to see better signs of Sikh peace in Pakistan, it is crucial for Pakistan to look at politics beyond the belief of making a religion its main priority and use of power. Pakistan needs to follow the example of Hindus and Sikh moving past differences and adapt to those differences in order to adopt better ideologies that can forget its militant focus and adopt a more infrastructure focused state.

India, on the other hand, has had more Sikhs and the results showed effective explanatory power from the factor of economy and overall institutions as well. The factors of culture and secessionism are key but have not shown enough explanatory power to explain why the relations are rather more cordial than the reciprocal violence of the 1980's. Therefore it is pertinent for India to continue to encourage economic cross-cutting cleavages that improve the mindset that being Indian is more important than one's religious identity. By further applying new laws, India can continue to give more autonomy that by doing so would give Sikhs incentives towards maintaining peace and learning to accept Punjab as homeland shared with another diverse group that although different, is looking towards also bringing success to Punjab as a common identity of being Indian rather than being conscientious only for their own religion. Although malicious acts were practiced against Sikhs, the movements by India's stake holders and leaders in acknowledging the period of violence and accepting the wrongful actions and further implementing laws and aid to help recover no matter what group has shown how successful and resilient the Indian government can be in representing its people of an array of diversities, ethnicities, and religions.

References Cited:

- Brancati, Dawn. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization*, vol. 60, no. 3, 2006, pp. 651–685. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3877823.
- Butt, Ahsan I. "India's Strategies against Separatism in Assam, Punjab, and Kashmir, 1984–1994." *Secession and Security: Explaining State Strategy against Separatists*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca; London, 2017, pp. 83–124. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1w0d9w9.8.
- C. (2013, August 9). Pakistan Country of Origin Report. Retrieved April, 2019, from https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/11/26/pakistan.pdf
- Cheema, Iqtidar Karamat. "Sikh Communal Consciousness and State Violence in India." *Pakistan Horizon*, vol. 59, no. 3, 2006, pp. 67 –82. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41394 371.
- Chima, Jugdep S. "The Punjab Crisis: Governmental Centralization and Akali-Center Relations." *Asian Survey*, vol. 34, no. 10, 1994, pp. 847–862. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2644 965.
- Copland, Ian. "The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2002, pp. 657–704. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/3876650.
- Dusenbery, Verne A. "The Poetics and Politics of Recognition: Diasporan Sikhs in Pluralist Polities." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 24, no. 4, 1997, pp. 738–762. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/64
- Ghuman, R. S., & Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh. (2012). The Sikh Community in Indian Punjab: Some Socio-Economic Challenges. Retrieved April, 2019, from http://punjab.global.ucsb.edu/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.gisp.d7_sp/files/sitefiles/journals/volume19/no1/5-GhumanSikhCommunity 19 1.pdf
- Gupta, Dipankar. "Citizens versus People: The Politics of Majoritarianism and Marginalization in Democratic India." *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 68, no. 1, 2007, pp. 27–44. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor. org/stable/20453124.
- Horowitz, Donald L. "Cultural Movements and Eth nic Change." *The Annals of the American Acad emy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 433

- 1977, pp. 6–18. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/1043224.
- Jetly, Rajshree. "THE KHALISTAN MOVEMENT IN INDIA: The Interplay of Politics and State Power." *International Review of Modern Sociol ogy*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2008, pp. 61–75. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41421658.
- Jodhka, Surinder S. "Crisis' of the 1980s and Chang ing Agenda of 'Punjab Studies': A Survey of Some Recent Research." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 6, 1997, pp. 273–279. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4405070.
- Johnston, Hugh. "Sikhism and Secular Authority." *Re ligion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by MARGUE RITE VAN DIE, University of Toronto Press, 2001, pp. 346–362. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/10.3138/9781442679191.22.
- Kaur, Harpreet. "DIASPORIC SIKH ORGANISA TIONS." *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 70, no. 4, 2009, pp. 1085–1098. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/42744021.
- KINNVALL, CATARINA. "Nationalism, Religion and the Search for Chosen Traumas: Comparing Sikh and Hindu Identity Constructions." Ethnicities, vol. 2, no. 1, 2002, pp. 79–106. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/23889942.
- Kohli, Atul. "Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism? Rise and Decline of Self-Determina tion Movements in India." The Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 56, no. 2, 1997, pp. 325–344. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2646240.
- Kundu, Apurba. "The Indian Armed Forces' Sikh and Non-Sikh Officers' Opinions of Operation Blue Star." Pacific Affairs, vol. 67, no. 1, 1994, pp. 46– 69. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2760119.
- Lacina, Bethany. "Regional Opposition, Central In transigence: Punjab's Descent to War." *Rival Claims: Ethnic Violence and Territorial Autono my under Indian Federalism*, University of Mich igan Press, Ann Arbor, 2017, pp. 104–126. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.8877283.9.
- Mahmood, Cynthia Keppley. "Sikh Rebellion and the Hindu Concept of Order." *Asian Survey*, vol. 29, no. 3, 1989, pp. 326–340. JSTOR, JSTOR, www. jstor.org/stable/2644668.
- Malik, I. H., Dr., & Minority Rights Group Interna tional. (2002, September). Religious Minorities in Pakistan. Retrieved April, 2019, from https://www .refworld.org/pdfid/469cbfc30.pdf
- Malik, Yogendra K. "The Akali Party and Sikh Mili tancy: Move for Greater Autonomy or Secession ism in Punjab?" *Asian Survey*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1986,

- pp. 345–362. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/2644196.
- McCANN, GERARD. "Sikhs and the City: Sikh His tory and Diasporic Practice in Singapore." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 6, 2011, pp. 1465–1498. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/41330645.
- Meeta, and Rajivlochan. "Caste and Religion in Pun jab: Case of the Bhaniarawala Phenomenon." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 42, no. 21, 2007, pp. 1909–1913. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4419630.
- Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implemen tation. (2011). Statistical Year Book India 2011. Retrieved April, 2019, from http://mospi.nic.in/statistical-year-book-india/2011/
- Minority Rights Group International. (2011, July).
 State of the World's Minorities and Indigenous
 Peoples 2011 (J. Hoare, Ed.). Retrieved April,
 2019, from https://minorityrights.org/wpcontent/uploads/old-site-downloads/download
 -1077-Full-text.pdf
- N. (2012). Automated Border Control. Retrieved April, from http://www.nadra.gov.pk/index.php? option=com_content&view=article&id=47:auto matedborder-control&catid=4:solutions&Itemid =17 Date accessed 20 May 2013
- Nayar, Kamala Elizabeth. "Community Honour among Three Generations: Social Control, Cul tural Preservation, and Ethnic Insularity." *The Sikh Diaspora in Vancouver: Three Generations Amid Tradition, Modernity, and Multicultural ism*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto; Buffalo; London, 2004, pp. 157–188. JSTOR, www.jstor. org/stable/10.3138/9781442682368.9.
- Puri, Harish K. "Scheduled Castes in Sikh Community: A Historical Perspective." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 38, no. 26, 2003, pp. 2693–2701. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4413731.
- Qaiser, Iqbal (2012). "Gurudwara Bhai Joga Singh at Peshawar". *All About Sikhs your Gateway to Sikhism*. Gateway to Sikhism. Retrieved 13 December 2012.
- Rana, Y., & TNN. (2017, December 19). Sushma: 'Conversion' of Pakistan Sikhs: CM Amarinder seeks Sushma's help | Amritsar News - Times of India. Retrieved April, 2019, from https://times ofindia.indiatimes.com/city/amristar/conversion -of-pakistan-sikhs-cm-amarinder-seeks-sushmas -help/articleshow/62144128.cms

- Ray, Subhasish (2017) Intra-group interactions and inter-group violence: Sikh mobilization during the partition of India in a comparative perspective, Journal Of Genocide Research, 19:3, 382-403
- Reetz, Dietrich. "In Search of the Collective Self: How Ethnic Group Concepts Were Cast through Conflict in Colonial India." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1997, pp. 285–315. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/313031.
- Singh, Gopal. "Complexities of the Question of Sikh Nationality." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 29, no. 29, 1994, pp. 1877–1882. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4401490.
- Singh, Gurharpal. "Understanding the 'Punjab Problem." Asian Survey, vol. 27, no. 12, 1987, pp. 12 68–1277. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2644634.
- Singh, Pritam. "The Political Economy of the Cycles of Violence and Non-Violence in the Sikh Struggle for Identity and Political Power: Implications for Indian Federalism." Third World Quarterly, vol. 28 ,no. 3, 2007, pp. 555–570. JSTOR, JSTOR, www. jstor.org/stable/20454946.
- Subramanian, Narendra. "Ethnicity and Pluralism: An Exploration with Reference to Indian Cases." *Can dian Journal of Political Science / Revue Candi enne De Science Politique*, vol. 32, no. 4, 1999, pp. 715-744. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/sta ble/3232510.
- Tan, Tai Yong. "Assuaging the Sikhs: Government Re sponses to the Akali Movement, 1920-1925." *Mo dern Asian Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 1995, pp. 655–703. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/312873.
- Telford, Hamish. "The Political Economy of Punjab: Creating Space for Sikh Militancy." *Asian Survey*, vol. 32, no. 11, 1992, pp. 969–987. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2645265.
- THANDI, SHINDER SINGH. "THE RISE OF SIKH DIASPORA ADVOCACY: From Separatist Politics to Human Rights Discourses." India Internation al Centre Quarterly, vol. 41, no. 1, 2014, pp. 52 –66. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/447335 73.
- U.S. Department of State, & Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. (2011). India Executive Report: International Religious Freedom Report 2011. Retrieved April, 2019, from https://www. state.gov/documents/organization/193135.pdf
- U.S. Department of State. (2012). International Religious Freedom Report for 2012. Retrieved April, 2019, from https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2012 religiousfreedom/index.htm#wrapper
- United States Commission on International Religious

- Freedom, Hussain, A., & Salim, A. (2011, Novem ber). Connecting the Dots: Education and Reli gious Discrimination in Pakistan. Retrieved from https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf
- Van Dyke, Virginia. "The Khalistan Movement in Punjab, India, and the Post-Militancy Era: Struct ural Change and New Political Compulsions." *Asian Survey*, vol. 49, no. 6, 2009, pp. 975–997. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525 /as.2009.49.6.975.
- Wallace, Paul. "The Sikhs as a 'Minority' in a Sikh Majority State in India." Asian Survey, vol. 26, no. 3, 1986, pp. 363–377. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor. org/stable/2644197.
- Yaeger, Carl (1991) Sikh terrorism in the struggle for Khalistan (n.d.):