(Un)Mapping the Punjab onto Singapore's *Gurdwaras*: Diasporic Territorialities and Decolonial Spaces of Sikh Socialisation

For submission to *Geopolitics*

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(UN)MAPPING THE PUNJAB ONTO SINGAPORE'S *GURDWARAS*: DIASPORIC TERRITORIALITIES AND DECOLONIAL SPACES OF SIKH SOCIALISATION

Abstract (150 words)

This paper explores an alternative territorial sensibility – 'diasporic territoriality' – that is rooted in the search for belonging outside of a putative 'homeland' amongst dis/placed communities. Drawing on ethnographic research with 26 members of Singapore's Sikh diaspora, we examine the everyday spaces of diasporic belonging that simultaneously reproduce and resist colonial imaginings of Punjabi territory. Many first-generation diasporas continue to define themselves through regional affiliations inherited from colonial legacies, with Singapore's *gurdwaras* serving as a spatial 'fix' for mapping territorial logics from the Punjab. However, these colonial imaginaries are increasingly contested and 'unmapped' by younger generations who seek to socialise in alternative spaces of belonging based on shared pieties and upbringing. By reimagining belonging beyond essentialist framings of home-diaspora connections, the idea of 'diasporic territoriality' contributes to decolonising prevailing understandings of territory and belonging. Doing so provides a provocative counterpoint to re-evaluate state-sponsored narratives of integration within the context of multiculturalism.

1. Introduction

In the contemporary era of transnational migration and mobility, questions of belonging, identity, and integration have attracted much discussion in academia and beyond. These questions are directly felt amongst diasporic communities, whose belonging has historically been described as a yearning for a putative 'homeland' (Brah, 1996; Safran, 1991). Notwithstanding, recent efforts in geography and the social sciences more broadly have sought to dislocate diasporic belonging from discourses of 'fixed origins' by emphasising the multiple spaces of belonging and home. However, in these narratives belonging is still taken to mean exclusive 'two-way relationship involving the diaspora and the homeland, but not the host state' (Canzutti, 2019: 27; see also Finlay [2022]). Reading territorial sensibilities this way forecloses alternative modes of belonging in and of places outside of an 'origin'. Equally importantly, these narratives, with their fixation on organising social groups based on territorially discrete and bounded (ethnic) identities, remain inadequate in today's context of migration-driven social diversity.

This paper examines an alternative form of territorial sensibility – what we term 'diasporic territoriality' – that is rooted in a search for belonging amongst the dis/placed[1]. This is a territorial sensibility that expresses, and is underpinned by, a translation of territorial logics across space and time. Whilst the term 'migrant' emphasises the act of movement often within the confines of nation-state framework, 'diaspora' – derived from 'scattered across' in Greek — encapsulates a more complex form of belonging that transcends a single nation-state. Following Ashutosh (2020), diasporas create alternative geographies that question and rework the limits of political, economic, and spatial boundaries. As such, connections to, and imaginings of, a material sense of home are not unproblematically inherited, mapped, and fixed onto their place of inhabitation. Rather, these imaginings can be translated, or even 'unmapped', as they travel across space and time. The notion of diasporic territoriality thus advances a more relational reimagination of belonging based on individual agency and choice – i.e., belonging as socialised, derived from, for instance, everyday participation in local life, instead of being inherited and fixed (Antonsich, 2010; Hawthorne, 2023; Schwarz & Streule, 2024). This reimagination can better elucidate the complexities underpinning the search for ontological security amongst the dis/placed in times of flux, mobility, and uncertainty.

To illustrate these ideas, we draw on a study of Singapore's Sikh diaspora. Despite spending most of their lives outside the Punjab[2], many early arrivals who moved to Singapore before the mid-twentieth-century continue to identify with colonial imaginings of the Punjab today. Specifically, these Sikhs define themselves according to the major subregions of the Punjab: *Malwa*, *Majha*, and *Doaba*[3,4]. Sikh temples in Singapore – or *gurdwaras* (literally translated as 'door to the Guru') – are important spaces through which such colonial spatial imaginaries become translated and 'reterritorialised' beyond the borders of the Punjab. Attending a given *gurdwara* facilitates the 'fixing' of territorial logics and identities onto diasporic bodies. This usage of 'fixing' draws from David Harvey's (2001: 25) concept of 'spatial fix', which refers to how ideas or problems are secured in a particular space. Whilst Harvey's (ibid.) 'spatial fix' was originally deployed to understand capital's relationship with space, we use this idea to illustrate how colonial logics are fixed in space (i.e., the *gurdwaras*), which in turn provide an identity fix for Sikh diasporic communities.

These colonial territorial imaginings are, however, negotiated by younger generations of the Sikh diaspora. Many young Sikhs develop more inclusive ways to be and belong in the diaspora by socialising into alternative spaces of belonging: spaces of shared religious piety and involvement in local life. Political imaginations of space like these exceed and transgress essentialist notions of identity inscribed in colonial territorial imaginaries of the Punjab. By carving out such spaces of socialisation, Sikh diaspora youth disrupt colonial narratives of nation and belonging that attempted to 'fix' them in place. Such a focus highlights the possibility of developing more inclusive and emancipatory imaginings of diasporic belonging. It recognises that people in the diaspora may have multiple identities and thus better reflects the reality of diasporic lives, which are often multi-layered and span multiple space-times.

By thinking with Sikh diasporic territorialities in and from Singapore, this paper makes three contributions to ongoing geographical discussions of diaspora, territory, and belonging. First, we develop the idea of 'diasporic territorialities that advances a more progressive and relational understanding of belonging. This idea challenges the fixed boundaries of identity that are rooted in colonial, Eurocentric ideas about territory. In so doing, it contributes to broader moves to decolonise prevailing understandings of territory and belonging.

Second, this paper offers a situated perspective on the concept of 'religeopolitics' (Nyroos, 2001; see also Kong, 2010) by focusing on *gurdwaras* as sites where everyday geopolitics

unfolds. *Gurdwaras* are imbricated in and facilitate territorial struggles within the diaspora. This perspective serves as a corrective to prevailing studies of religeopolitics, which have mostly centred on the spaces, discourses, and transnational organisations of Islam and Christianity (Agnew, 2006; Öcal, 2022). Moreover, by focussing on the role of *gurdwaras* in 'fixing' identities amongst the Sikh diaspora, the paper challenges traditional, state-centric understandings of geopolitics. It responds to Dodds' (2007: 5) calls for understanding how geopolitics gets used by non-state actors and with what consequences in everyday life.

Third, this paper addresses and responds to Halvorsen and Zaragocin's (2021: 128) calls to move beyond Latin America as a 'reified, decolonial master narrative' in territory studies. We do so by examining the territorial sensibilities of the Sikh diaspora in Singapore, therefore directing attention to a broader range of geographies and their pathways to decolonising extant understandings of territory and belonging (ibid.). This empirical focus is important, not least because the Sikh diaspora has tended to be 'reduce[d] to merely a product of a territory (the Punjabi homeland)' in current discourses (Sian & Dhamoon, 2020: 51; see also Dusenbery, 1997a; Shani, 2008; Taylor, 2015). Our intervention allows for those who identify as Sikhs to participate in determining 'the contours of what it means to be a Sikh', without privileging a Punjabi or Indian identity (ibid.: 52).

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature on diaspora, belonging, and territorial socialisation in political geography and the broader social sciences. It argues for the importance of rethinking territorial sensibilities more fitting for societies characterised by migrant-led multiculturalism. Section 3 offers a contextual overview of the colonial imaginaries of the Punjab. Section 4 introduces the Sikh diaspora in Singapore. Section 5 draws on empirical data to discuss how colonial territorial logics of the Punjab are 'mapped' onto Singapore's *gurdwaras,* and become renegotiated and contested – or 'unmapped' – amongst the younger generations. We conclude by reflecting on diasporic territorialities as an alternative form of territorial sensibility that problematises prevailing state-led narratives surrounding integration, socialisation, and identity politics in contemporary multicultural societies.

2. Beyond an Ethnic Spatial Fix: Reimagining Territorial Sensibilities amongst the Diaspora

As societies worldwide grapple with the expanding and quickening mobility of people, questions of belonging and territorial attachments amongst the dis/placed are a growing cause of concern. Underlying these changes is the need to make sense of a world where identities are increasingly *differently* territorialised, rather than entirely deterritorialised, and thus lay out new terms of belonging (Malkki, 2008[1992]). For many diasporic communities, 'belonging' is not just a distant, abstract idea. Importantly, the idea of home — as a durably fixed place that ties people to specific territories of shared ancestry and ethnic origins — remains inadequate in apprehending their search for belonging in times of flux and dispersal.

In advancing more inclusive and hopeful pathways to belonging, this section discusses the relationship between territoriality, identity, and diaspora for rethinking diasporic belonging. It does so through two subsections. The first highlights the potential of 'diasporic territorialities' in rethinking belonging beyond essentialist framings of home-diaspora connections. The second reviews recent discussions surrounding territorial socialisation, and illustrates how understanding belonging as socialised can facilitate more emancipatory accounts of diasporic home.

2.1 Diasporic territorialities and reconceptualising home-diaspora connections beyond essentialist framings

For a long time, diasporas have traditionally been theorised as 'nations unbound' (Cohen, 1997: 2). However, scholars increasingly sought to underscore its territorialising element: diasporas as migrant populations with a sense of common origin and 'homeland' – real or imagined – in a different geographical locale from where they live (Brubaker, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2018). The centrality of the 'homeland' in the identities and experiences of diasporic communities is particularly notable in the literature on return migration and diasporic tourism. Whilst Basu (2007) discusses how diasporic Scots construct a sense of belonging and identity through narratives of ancestral origins, Christou (2006) explores how second-generation Greek Americans negotiate their identities by balancing their American upbringing with their Greek heritage. In a parallel vein, Brah's (1996) notions of 'diaspora space' and 'homing desire', and work emphasising the 'bifocality' (Rouse, 1991), the 'dual frame of reference' (Smith &

Guarnizo, 1998), and 'binationality' (Kyle, 2000) of migrant identity are some examples of interventions that underscore migrants' refusal to simply be located in just one place (Vertovec, 2004).

Together, these studies problematise the assumed sedentarism and singularity of the diasporic home. They underscore how the home can emerge out of the regular reiteration of social processes and sets of relationships. However, such a focus can obscure the 'subversive geographies of diaspora – the concept's 'multiple lines of connection', geographies of dispersal and global connection in favour of a linear routing back to the homeland' (Ashutosh, 2020: 898). Echoing this sentiment, Finlay (2022: 606) argues that such conceptualisations '[do] not necessarily provide, or want to provide, a complete dislocation from the idea of one original "homeland"'.

In this reading, diasporic home and belonging are primarily conceptualised through essentialised links between subjects/identities and territories. This essentialism is evident at two levels. On the one hand, subjects and their spaces of belonging remain primarily defined through descent-based models of kinship (Schwarz & Struele, 2024). On the other hand, subjects are seen as both physically and discursively contained by and fixed in territory (Garuba, 2002). This comprises the physical containment that circumscribes the natural mobility of the body (in space) and discursive containment to 'define the limits of the cultural (identity) mobility available to the subject' (ibid.: 87). Conceptualising home-diaspora connections through such essentialist framings thus restricts the possibility of diasporas – particularly for the later generations — to forge new terrains of belonging and home outside a putative 'homeland' (Harris, 2023).

That said, there is a small but growing body of work seeking to dislodge diasporic territorial sensibilities from the narrative of fixed origins by emphasising the possibility of forging new terrains of belonging. Drawing on the Palestinian Youth Movement, Salih and colleagues (2021: 1141) argue for the possibility of belonging that refuses to rely on 'racial, territorial, or cultural terms' to define Palestinian-ness. They call for identifying 'Palestinian-ness as a condition' symbolised by shared pain and 'feelings of a lack of a homeland, of a place, a home'. Similarly, Finlay (2022) argues that diasporic belongings are not always limited to the parameters of the nation, but can be informed by the intersections of urban and regional cultures, religions and histories. The Moroccan diaspora in the Spanish city of Granada, for instance, is found to

develop strong connections to the city. This is in part due to the embeddedness of Muslim histories in Granada's urban architecture and the built environment (ibid.). Conceptualising diasporic belonging beyond the bounds of the 'homeland' reveals the possibility of diasporic communities to identify with, and belong in, places that disrupt discourses of origins, sameness, and roots traditionally used to characterise their subjectivities (Ashutosh, 2020; Craib, 2004).

Thinking with these perspectives, this paper develops the idea of 'diasporic territorialities' as a way of extending ongoing decolonial efforts in territory and diaspora studies. The idea of territory, in a Eurocentric reading, is characterised by 'fixity' (Craib, 2004; Halvorsen, 2019). Territories are seen as bounded containers that fix a unitary cultural (often ethnic) group, such that territorialisation produces racialised subjects (Quijano, 2000). The idea of 'diasporic territorialities' thus leverages the 'subversive geographies' of the diaspora and disentangles diasporic subjectivities from such essentialist framings of identity (Ashutosh, 2020: 898). In this paper, we draw attention to 'alternative' formations and belonging forged through deliberate choice, practices, and participation (Antonsich, 2010; Hawthorne, 2023; Probyn, 1997). To do so, we turn to recent geographical discussions on 'territorial socialisation' to explore how diasporic members – especially the later generations — can be socialised into places outside the 'homeland'.

2.2 Socialisation as inclusive belonging

In political geography, the notion of socialisation has been used to describe how people are 'socialised' into internalising territorial mindsets and ideologies (Duchacek, 1986; Paasi, 1991). Through the processes of socialisation, people may form a sense of belonging to a territory, and consequently 'become members of territorial groups' (Huang, 2022: 3). For a long time, scholars have attended to state actors and institutional efforts (education, administration, and governance) as the main socialising force in promoting such 'territorial bonding' to a particular place and the state (Herb, 2004). However, the process of socialising into territorial logics also extends beyond the remit of state and institutional actors. To this end, processes and politics of territorial socialisation have recently been explored in other non-state contexts, most notably through tourism practices and encounters (Huang, 2022; Rowen, 2014). Huang (2022), for instance, explored how Chinese tourists developed and negotiated their sense of belonging to the disputed territory of the South China Sea during their visits to the Xisha Islands. This

intervention underlines the role of tourist encounters in inculcating and promoting territorial ideologies of the state to lay people.

Advancing this literature, we argue that socialisation is more than just a process that reflects and reproduces hegemonic imaginings of the territory (Huang, 2022; Paasi, 1991; Rowen, 2014). Instead, socialisation could be used to produce other territorial sensibilities that are alternative – and potentially counter – to these dominant imaginings. By emphasising belonging as not given or inherent, the notion of 'socialisation' allows for a more relational understanding of belonging. In this reading, belonging can be understood as a mode of 'becoming' which can be continually reproduced through shared ways of living based on physical proximity rather than common origins (Probyn, 1996).

This idea of 'territorial socialisation' ties into recent debates on diasporic home and belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Reynolds & Zontini, 2016). By developing the idea of 'diasporic territorialities', we contribute to these discussions that consider a more inclusive notion of diasporic belonging. In this paper, we explore how Sikh diaspora youth socialise into alternative spaces of belonging based on agency and choice, and less on predetermined racial, cultural and territorial terms. Doing so pushes the conceptual promise of 'territorial socialisation' to support the development of a more progressive politics of belonging.

3. (Un)Mapping the British India and Punjab in and to Singapore

Due to its strategic location near Central Asia, the Punjab received special attention from the British colonial administration as a frontier province (Talbot, 2007). Comprising the north-western part of India and the eastern part of Pakistan, the Punjab has been the 'historic homeland' of the Sikhs (A. Kaur, 2008: 278). Since the 1849 British annexation, the Punjab was mapped into three sub-regions: *Majha*, *Malwa*, and *Doaba* (Figure 1). The regions were divided this way based on physical characteristics (e.g., location of rivers), which were believed to influence population characteristics (e.g., regional dialects and correspondingly, 'culture') (Spate, 1948).[5] For colonial recruitment purposes, the Punjab was first divided into two regions by the Sutlej River: *Majha* and *Malwa*, and subsequently the third region – *Doaba* – between the Beas and the Sutlej Rivers (McCann, 2011).[6]

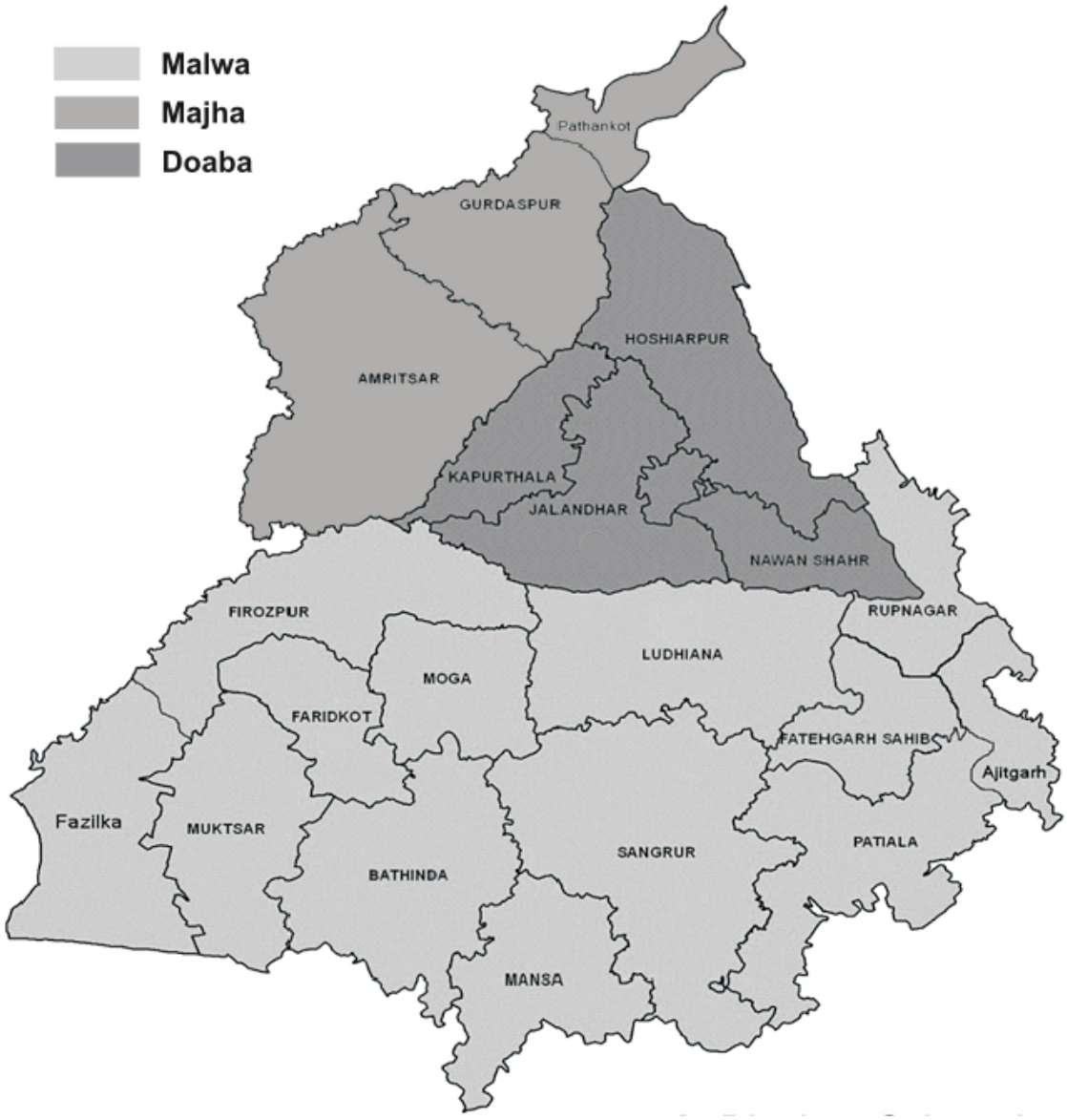

Figure 1: Map of the Indian side of Punjab and its regions, with a rough depiction of the districts

Source: Adapted from S. Kaur et al. (2017) and Walton-Roberts (2004)

These regions can arguably be understood as colonial spaces. This is not least because the political organisation of these territories follows a colonial logic that views (ethno-)cultures as singular and fixed within discrete, bounded spaces (Gupta & Ferguson, 2008[1997]; Quijano, 2000). Doing so reproduces an assumed isomorphism between culture, space, and place. As Tickell (2004: 20) argues, the conceptual image of India, and by extension, the Punjab and its regions, is created through the entwining of colonial categories of identity and

geographical survey data, which serves as a 'practical necessity for the military and political domination of the subcontinent'. For instance, the British colonial authorities designated the *Jat* people, an agricultural community in *Malwa* and *Majha*, as a 'martial race'. They were positioned as temperamental fighters and survivors who possessed the qualities of bravery, militancy and loyalty (Talbot, 2007).

Whilst such essentialisation of bodies and spaces was to facilitate imperial expansion, they consequently generated divisions amongst the subregions and 'their' peoples. These differences are arguably more imagined than real. They are reinforced through colonial narratives, rather than reflecting true cultural distinctions. Yet, as will be shown in Section 5, such divisions continue to endure over multiple, dispersed generations. In this sense, colonial cartography in India involved more than just the drawing of new borders; it was a political tool that fixed ostensibly similar cultures to particular spaces. Consequently, it created new borders, communities, identities, and histories amongst the Punjabis (Pandey, 2001: 43).

The Sikhs first arrived in colonial Malaya (now Singapore and Malaysia) in the early nineteenth century, serving as *sepoys* (soldiers) in the British Indian Army. Subsequently, more Sikhs – primarily men employed by the police regiment under the British Commission in the late nineteenth century – began their journeys to, and establish families in, Singapore. The Sikh migration to colonial Malaya continued well into 1950s, as more Sikh businesspeople migrated to Singapore following the 1947 India-Pakistan partition. Despite this, the peak of Sikh migration to colonial Malaya occurred before the major upheavals of the Punjab, namely the 1947 Partition and the Khalistan political movement in the 1980s that called for self-determination and independence for the Punjab. As scholars observed, the Khalistan movement is arguably an issue of no small concern to Sikh diasporas in the global North, such that Axel (2001) argues that it is the Sikh diaspora that created the Punjabi homeland rather than the reverse. However, most Sikh diasporas in Singapore, particularly the early generations, continue to relate to a Punjab shaped by the socio-political context preceding these events.[7]

In Singapore, the *gurdwara* in particular plays a vital role in reproducing such colonial territorial logics. There are seven *gurdwaras* in Singapore. Most of the initial *gurdwaras* were established by immigrants hailing from the three major subregions of the Punjab in the early twentieth century. Initially situated within a one-mile radius, these *gurdwaras* were created

due to 'regional rivalries between Sikhs who trace their ancestry to the *Malwa* and *Majha* regions of Punjab' (Dusenbery, 1997b: 249). The proximity between these *gurdwaras* was not a matter of residential convenience, nor set up to serve the needs of a homogenous Sikh community (McCann, 2011). Instead, this proximity can be understood as a form of territorial expression that helps define the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion between diasporic communities primarily from the *Majha and Malwa* subregions of the Punjab (ibid.: 1480). For instance, the *Gurdwara* Khalsa Dharmak Sabha at Niven Road was first formed in 1924 when the diaspora from the *Malwa* subregion broke away from the *Majha*-dominated Central Sikh Temple and Sri Guru Singh Sabha due to 'nascent rivalries triggered by financial scandal' (ibid.; see also A.Kaur [2008]).

Such sub-regional divisions rooted in colonial legacies are, however, less observed amongst Sikh diasporas and *gurdwaras* in other parts of the world. Whilst Singapore's *gurdwaras* reflect regional divisions rooted in colonial legacies, the Sikh diaspora in Italy experiences internal divisions of a different nature. These are often based on gendered differences between established male leaders and others (Gallo, 2012). Additionally, studies have found that there are two main categories of *gurdwaras* in the UK (G. Singh & Tatla, 2006; J. Singh, 2014): one is what they call 'mainstream *gurdwaras*' — comprising approximately 85 per cent of all *gurdwaras* — that cater to Sikhs of all caste groups and ideologies; and the other comprises caste-focused *gurdwaras* predominantly belong to the Ramgarhia and Bhatia communities (15 per cent). Far from spaces of community and diaspora integration, the *gurdwaras* in Singapore not only facilitated the mapping of territorial divisions from the colonial past to the present, but also fixed such logics onto the Sikh diaspora. The mapping of such logics – inherited from colonial legacies – on and through Singapore's *gurdwaras*, and concomitantly the bodies of multiple generations of Sikh diaspora has implications on how they negotiate their subject positions.

4. Placing the Sikh Diaspora in Multicultural Singapore

Often described as a 'minority within a minority' (Press Trust of India, 2019), the Sikh community in Singapore is a small and distinctive group. At present, there are about 13,000 Sikhs in Singapore. They are placed within the minority 'Indian' population in terms of racial categorisation. The resident Indians constitute 9.0 per cent of the total population. Of this, a majority identifies as Hindu (57.3 per cent), followed by Muslim (23.4 per cent), and Christian

(12.6 per cent), with Sikhs (and 'Other' religions – the categories are conflated) comprising just 4.6 per cent of the Indian population (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2021). Whilst Sikhs are placed within the 'Indian' population in Singapore, they are qualitatively distinct from 'Singaporean Indians', which are primarily associated with Hinduism and the Tamil language. In this light, the Sikh community in Singapore exists at the margins of the state's framework of multicultural belonging along racial 'CMIO' (Chinese, Malay, Indian, Other) and religious (Buddhist, Muslim, Hindu, Christian/Catholic) lines (Woods & Kong, 2023).

The dominant imagination of Singapore is closely linked to, and subsequently naturalised by, colonial ethnocentric narratives of territory (Ang & Stratton, 2018). The Chinese-Malay-Indian trichotomy in the Singaporean discourse is a categorical classification developed and imposed during the colonial period, which has now been naturalised in government policies and discourses. However, the prevailing ethnic/race-based models of multiculturalism inherited from the colonial past overlook the increasingly complex patterns of contemporary cultural formation in Singapore today. A decolonial and arguably more inclusive perspective on identity and belonging is thus needed to reveal how belonging is actively sought and practised amongst the Sikhs amidst growing diversity.

The empirical analysis draws from qualitative data collected from mid-2019 through mid-2021. The data are part of a wide-ranging project exploring the role of religion in enabling or not the integration of migrants into Singapore society, which involved extensive qualitative research conducted amongst Buddhists, Christians/Catholics, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, and individuals identifying as religious 'nones' (see Gao et al. 2023; Kong and Woods 2019; Shee et al. 2024; Woods 2023; Woods and Kong 2020; 2022; 2022; 2023; 2023). For the Sikh component of the project, in-depth interviews were conducted with 27 participants who self-identified as Sikhs, of which 25 were Singaporean, and two were non-Singaporeans/migrants. The sample was relatively evenly split in terms of gender (12 males, 15 females) and well-distributed in terms of age (respondents were between their 20s and 60s) and occupation (including students, housewives, retirees, gig workers, civil servants, and private sector employees). All names used are pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

5. (Un)Mapping the Punjab onto Singapore's *Gurdwaras*

Since the arrival of the first Sikhs in colonial Malaya in the early nineteenth century, more Sikhs have since moved to and established families in Singapore. Today, the Sikh diaspora is an established community, spanning at least four generations that have spent most of their lives in Singapore. Even though most members of the Sikh diaspora in Singapore do not envision any form of return to the 'homeland', the territorial attachments amongst the Sikhs are far from homogenous. Not only do Sikhs articulate multiple belongings, but these attachments are highly complex and contested.

The following subsections illustrate the making of diasporic territorialities. The first illustrates how colonial territorial logics of the Punjab become 'mapped' onto and reproduced through Singapore's *gurdwaras.* These socio-spatial visions reproduced in and through the *gurdwaras* continue to shape how the Sikhs in Singapore understand their identities and positions in the community today. As such, they represent how regional 'fissures moved far beyond the amorphous regional divisions of Punjabi society' (McCann, 2011: 1481; see also Ballantyne, 2006). The second subsection shows how such territorial logics are renegotiated and contested – or 'unmapped' – amongst the younger generations. In making these interventions, our analysis highlights the possibility of forging alternative spaces of belonging tied less to a putative 'homeland' – what we call 'diasporic territorialities'.

5.1 Making diasporic territoriality: translating the Punjab in and to Singapore

Despite leaving their ancestral home more than six decades ago, many Sikhs continue to identify and affiliate themselves with the colonial visions of the Punjab. This is a territorial logic that sees the Punjab as divided into three main regions that remain salient amongst the earlier generations of Sikh migrants. Paramjit, a 36-year-old civil servant, explained that this regional identity remains "quite central […] for some Sikhs who are older, especially if they were first-generation migrants or maybe even second-generations. They do affiliate, associate themselves along those lines whether they are *Majha* Sikhs or *Malwa* Sikhs." Gurdit, a 22-year-old undergraduate who identifies as a '*Majha*' Sikh, put this into perspective:

> "What happened was when they came from India to Singapore, many of them are soldiers, like my grandfather who was a World War II

> soldier [and] he fell in the *Majha* category […] There are few pockets of individuals, mostly from the older generation, who still keep this distinction."

Whilst the Sikh community in Singapore is relatively small, it is diverse in how its members identify with the Punjab. These territorial logics are not only inherited from stories that provide the diaspora with shared experiences, history, and memories (Paasi, 1998). Importantly, they are also actively translated and (re)materialised in the present, especially through the *gurdwara* — the designated community space for Sikhs. Many of these *gurdwaras*, established by early Sikh immigrants, mirror the regional divisions of the Punjab.

Jasmin, a third-generation Sikh in her 30s who attends the Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha on Wilkie Road – often referred to as a '*Majha*' *gurdwara* – explained, "people that came from the *Majha* community in India built the one on Wilkie Road. Those from the *Malwa* community built the one on Niven Road. That is how they [most *gurdwaras* in Singapore] came to be." Avneet, a retiree in her 60s, added, "as more and more people came, they stuck to their own *Majha*, *Malwa* [affiliations], and built their own temples." These observations highlight how *gurdwaras* signify a continuing 'claim' to specific territorial heritages and (subregional) identities. These *gurdwaras* thus enable the Sikh diaspora to maintain a tangible connection to their 'roots' (Taylor, 2015).

Since their establishment in the early 1900s, these *gurdwaras* continued to be led by Sikhs who share a common ancestral background, even though most of today's leaders – often second or third generation Singaporeans – were born and raised locally. Jaimall, a 21-year-old undergraduate, noted that these *gurdwaras* "just want the people from their own villages, their own community, to manage it by themselves". Similarly, Niranjan, a 48-year-old second-generation Sikh, explained how the territorial logics inherited from colonial legacies are not only still present, but are reinforced through the *gurdwara*'s institutional practices: "If you can get your own kind of people, then the voting and all kinds of things can be played right? So, you tend to [see] the same *kampung*[8] people help[ing] each other." He continued:

> "[W]hen it comes to board members and all that, it's still very clique-ish. It's impossible for a *Majha* to lead a *Malwa* temple. It's

> impossible… it just won't happen. Their membership form asks which village you come from, so you can't run away from that."

These instances illustrate how *gurdwaras* have become sites of everyday geopolitics that are implicated in the struggle to belong (see Öcal, 2022). *Gurdwaras* are not simply religious sites of worship, but are perceived as territories to be exclusively 'claimed' by people of a common ancestral lineage as well. Such practices of territorialisation often draw on an essentialisation of communities that view identities as relatively spatially bounded and fixed, and inherited from colonial legacies. By associating with specific regions of the Punjab, Sikh diasporic subjects may dominate leadership positions or resource distribution based on their regional origins. As such, *gurdwaras* in Singapore can contribute to internal hierarchies and social divisions within the Sikh diasporic community.

Besides institutional practices, attending a given *gurdwara* facilitates these processes of 'fixing' territorial identities onto the bodies of the temple-goers. This 'fixing' of identities endures over space and time as diasporas and their descendants continue this practice outside the Punjab. Meeta, an 18-year-old Sikh recalled her experience of frequenting what is popularly known as a '*Majha*' temple on Wilkie Road:

> "[T]his [Wilkie Road] temple is known as the *Majha gurdwara*. Our grandparents came from the *Majha* district. They came here, then our parents were all brought up here [in Singapore]… then our fathers brought us here. So, we automatically identify this as our family *gurdwara* that we always go to. My friends from the *Malwa* villages tend to go to that [Niven Road] temple down the hill."

Later generations of the Sikh diaspora, like Meeta, frequently visit the *gurdwaras* established and managed by the first-generation immigrants from their ancestral hometowns. As a result, they are more likely to view themselves as part of a homogenous group that is distinct from Sikhs from other Punjabi regions. By territorialising and geopoliticising everyday relations amongst the Sikh diaspora, these *gurdwaras* become spaces where belonging is both contested and redefined. They materialise geopolitical imaginations of the Punjab, reinforcing distinctions between 'us' and 'them'.

However, many interviewees perceived these regional differences to be minor or even imagined. Niranjan explained, "there are no physical differences… it's almost psychological. For some people, it's the comfort level." Others argue that these distinctions were initially political, not cultural. They were reified for colonial recruitment and imperial expansion (I. Singh, 1965). Gurdit noted that the colonialists used the strategy of "divide and conquer to fuel hostility between the three districts". As a result, "the *Majhas* thought they were better… stronger than the *Malwas*, the *Malwas* thought they were better than the *Majhas* and the *Doabas*." Abinaash, a 29-year-old third-generation Sikh, remarked, "if you are from the north [of Punjab], there's a certain way you speak. If you're from the south, there is a certain way you behave".

Apart from slight differences in dialect, there is almost no difference in the visual appearance and architecture of these *gurdwara*s. Imagined regional differences have been internalised, embodied, and passed down through multiple generations of the diaspora. Kajal, a 24-year-old undergraduate, believes these territorial divisions as "linked to some caste system in Punjab", that is tied to the formation of particular (future) communities. Rani, a preschool teacher in her 30s, shared how in the past, "If we see someone from the Katong [temple] (frequented by *Doaba* people), the high society, get married to a *Majha* girl, they'll just gossip behind the girl. [T]he mother-in-law will talk down to the girl because the girl came from a 'lower caste' family." Jasmin, a Sikh in her 30s who identifies as *Majha*, recalled how her "auntie wanted to marry someone from the *Malwa* region and there was a bit of tension in the family, so that is one thing you see in homes."

Compared to the rest of India, the caste hierarchy is relatively more relaxed in the Punjab, partly due to Sikhism's doctrinal stance against hierarchy (Sharma, 2012). Nonetheless, caste distinctions persist, and predate the colonial division of the Punjab. Colonial techniques of census and classification entangled geographical regional divisions with caste hierarchies. For example, the *Malwa* and *Majha* regions became associated with *Jat* Sikhs, an agriculturally dominant caste linked to land and military service, whilst *Doaba* had a more mixed population, with a higher concentration of Dalits and artisanal castes (ibid.). These regional differences are not just remnants of the colonial past; they continue to play a divisive role in organising the present and future Sikh community. Consequently, this process generated profound social consequences that redraw and reinforce boundaries within the diaspora.

5.2 Creating decolonial spaces of Sikh socialisation

As the Sikh community becomes more entrenched within the socio-spatial fabric of Singapore, the links to India/the Punjab appear to be increasingly 'nebulous' (McCann, 2011: 1491). The territorial consciousness inherited from colonial legacies is increasingly negotiated amongst the younger generations, which signals a reimagination of 'home' and 'community' amongst the diaspora over time. However, the reimagination of 'home' does not take the form of resistance observed in diaspora grassroots activism and popular movements (see, for instance, Halvorsen, 2019; Salih et al., 2021; Schwarz & Streule, 2024). Instead, the younger Sikhs often found to negotiate and contest these colonial narratives of territory in much more nuanced ways. They articulate more inclusive forms of territorial sensibilities by socialising into spaces based on shared piety (5.2.1) and involvement in local life (5.2.2).

i. Socialising into spaces of shared piety

Whilst many younger Sikhs recognise their district heritage, they increasingly developed alternative modes of territorial belonging different from the previous generations. Many younger Sikhs do not understand how such sensibilities remain associated with the regional territories of the 'homeland', and how such sub-regional divisions persist amongst the older generations of diaspora. To this end, Jasmin lamented, "In my parents' and grandparents' generation, they are like "oh, he is a *Majha*", which is, like, okay, but he is still a Sikh, right?" Echoing Jasmin, Gurdit "agree[s] to a certain extent that there is a bit of a divide, especially within the older generation […] the newer generation, like my parents and many new parents, do not care much about these things."

Instead of visiting the *gurdwara* their family traditionally associated itself with, many younger Sikhs are found to 'unmap' Punjab by becoming less bound to a specific *gurdwara*. This is especially so as Sikhs increasingly intermingle and marry between factions, causing the territorial sensibilities they articulate to become more fluid and flexible than those of their parents and grandparents generations. Avneet, a 63-year-old second-generation Sikh, explains that "[she is] a *Malwa*, my children married a *Majha*, so they will go to the Singh Sabats [*gurdwara*] – the one at Wilkie Road." Accordingly, many Sikhs like Meeta – the 18-year-old third-generation Sikh introduced in the previous section – felt that "we can go to any *gurdwara*.

Our generation tends to not, 'oh, we only go to that *gurdwara* because it's for [people from] that district'".

Besides visiting any *gurdwaras*, some younger Sikhs were found to frequent the newer gurdwaras that are less aligned with colonial Punjabi regional affiliations. Due to proximity to her home, Meeta and her family would sometimes visit the *gurdwara* at Yishun (located in northern Singapore) instead of the "family *gurdwara*" at Wilkie Road (in southern Singapore). Niranjan explained how the *gurdwara* at Yishun comprises "a collection of people from Sembawang and Seletar[9] [so] they are quite interesting, they have a collection of everybody: *Majha, Malwa* and *Doaba*."[10] He added, "Central [Sikh *Gurdwara*] is basically… because it's under the board[11] right, as well as Silat Road temple, they are [where] everyone come together."

Unlike the more established temples affiliated with Punjabi territories, these newer *gurdwaras* could be understood as spaces of shared piety that articulate more flexible and open-ended notions of belonging. By socialising into these spaces of shared piety, younger Sikhs sought to subvert and contest colonial narratives of belonging to carve out new ways to be and belong in the diaspora. Such practices of socialisation represent new spaces of politics for the younger generation, as they carve out spaces which may be influenced, but simultaneously subvert and disagree with the colonial visions reinforced by the older generations such as their parents and grandparents (see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2013; Mavroudi, 2023; Michail & Christou, 2016; Wilmers & Chernobrov, 2019).

Besides these newer *gurdwaras*, a notable space through which such socialisation occurs is the *Naam Ras Kirtan Darbar*, or *Naam Ras*, which loosely translates to 'Festival of Sikh Music'. Since its first event more than twenty years ago, *Naam Ras* has been lauded as the 'largest gathering of the Sikh community in Southeast Asia' (Rashith, 2018). Bringing together Sikhs and non-Sikhs, this biennial event is organised and carried out by volunteers from various *gurdwaras* in Singapore. It celebrates Sikh faith and traditions through speeches from gurus, devotional music, and heritage exhibitions, amongst other events.

However, the development of such spaces was initially fraught with much tension and opposition. Malminder, a 21-year-old undergraduate explained that this opposition stemmed from fears from the older generations: "The opponents of [*Naam Ras*] are definitely older, the younger ones are in their thirties minimally, end twenties and early thirties [….] because they

[older generations] feel that people will go to this [event] more than their own temples". Notwithstanding the initial tensions between the earlier and younger generations, such spaces ultimately aim to socialise Sikhs into a unified community that transcends subregional divisions inherited from colonial legacies. When asked why the younger Sikhs feel the need to create an event like *Naam Ras,* Malminder "thinks it's important to have a big-scale event that everybody can come together and just pay respects to our God." Echoing Malminder, Paramjit reflected how the "[*gurdwara*] institutions work together, very organised together, they band together, and they show a very collective front […] people feel a close affinity and bond from participating in an event like this." In a similar vein, Harpreet, a female retiree in her 70s, enjoyed participating in this biannual event. As she recalls, "*Naam Ras* is a really nice thing because it brings all the people together". She went on to explain how:

> "All temples come together, don't care [whether it's] *Majha*, *Malwa*, *Doaba*. [I]t doesn't matter which temple you go to. Every temple contributes…. The crowd is huge [and] no single group can manage. Every day, different temples are responsible for preparing the food."

By emphasising that "it doesn't matter which temple you go to […] whether it's *Majha*, *Malwa*, [or] *Doaba*", spaces like *Naam Ras* help to socialise various generations of Sikhs from different *gurdwaras* into an apparently "collective [Sikh] front", the idea being to, in Malminder's words, "come together for the love of God". Rather than identifying with people of shared ethnic origins divided into discrete, bounded sub-regions, spaces like *Naam Ras* transcend such divides to forge new affiliations based on shared piety and faith (see Mustafa, 2016). These sentiments highlight how territorial sensibilities articulated by the diaspora are not always delimited by pre-existing parameters of the nation or a 'homeland' (i.e., the Punjab). These sensibilities, particularly in this context, can be developed through ongoing socialisation into a Sikh space that may or may not transcend borders.

ii. Upbringing and involvement in local life

Besides socialising in spaces of shared piety, many younger Sikhs also sought to socialise in their place of inhabitation. As asserted by Jasmin, "You're not even there [in Punjab] anymore. You're here, in Singapore, so you should just live together, we have much bigger problems to solve […] so why do you have these divisive factors within your own community?" Like

Jasmin, many younger Sikhs like Paramjit claim that "we are more well integrated into [the] Singapore society", compared to their grandparents generations, who still "associate themselves along those lines whether they are *Majha* or *Malwa* Sikhs". However, the socialisation of many younger Sikhs takes place more prominently through and at a local scale such as the neighbourhood they are born and raised in:

> "For Sikhs who have now been in Singapore as the third or fourth generation, actually we have no clue […] I don't even know if I am *Majha* or *Malwa*. When people ask me which village I belong to, I will tell them 'Clementi'[12]. That's my village, right? [Laughs]"

Paramjit's sentiment reveals his estrangement from the Punjab – his sense of 'being in but not really of society', similarly shared by the younger Sikhs. Yet, Paramjit remains engaged in local life, gradually becoming part of the community. Rescaling their belonging provides opportunities for younger Sikhs like Paramjit to claim a stake in and to the country in which they were raised. This is a form of belonging less predicated on cultural or ethnic similarities, but in sharing physical proximity and long-term involvement in local life.

Whilst earlier generations of the Sikh diaspora may have had stronger ties to the Punjab due to the fact of them being first generation migrants, later generations naturally feel more attached to Singapore. However, such inter-generational differences in belonging are not merely a result of assimilation into Singapore society. This is because younger generations continue to participate in Sikh cultural and religious practices, such as *Naam Ras*, and uphold traditions like visiting the *gurdwara* with their families. Additionally, the multiculturalism policy in Singapore encourages ethnic groups to practice cultural identity within a broader framework of national identity. As such, the younger generations' evolving sense of identity is not simply due to local pressures to assimilate. Instead, their distinctive sense of belonging is derived from negotiating multiple attachments (see Woods & Kong, 2023).

Such articulations of socialisation may seem emancipatory, but they are underpinned by nativist notions of belonging that emphasise shared cultural upbringing, and are shaped by their upbringing. Many earlier Sikh migrants differentiate themselves from newer arrivals. Gurdit emphasised how "we are Singaporean Sikhs, right? We have a unique identity." Harpreet similarly described this Singaporean Sikh identity is "unique" because, as she explained, "we

were born here and brought up here, so our thinking is more modern, and they are very traditional. For example, Indian Sikhs [recent arrivals], I would say, are very family-oriented. I think we are more used to freedom." Gurdit added that this "conservatism" is "part of them", who "have [been] brought up in that generation and that mindset".

Harpreet's and Gurdit's sentiments illustrate the temporal hierarchies of territorial belonging and socialisation amongst different generations of the diaspora (Clarke, 2020; Erdal & Strømsø, 2021). Whilst participation in local life and holding citizenship status may foster belonging *in* a territory (Singapore), belonging *to* the territory, however, is based on shared cultural upbringing, memories, histories, and values, or what interviewees often expressed as being 'born and bred'. This suggests that belonging to Singapore is reserved for certain generations of diaspora, particularly those born and socialised in the country.

Socialisation into local communities can foster attachments to the place of inhabitation. However, it can be loaded with moralistic – and even hierarchical – understandings of belonging (Woods & Kong, 2023). This is evident from the growing divisions within the Sikh community between Singaporeans and new arrivals, primarily low-wage temporary migrant labour[13]. These divisions are underpinned by derogatory attitudes towards migrant workers which are reproduced in *gurdwaras* (Shee & Woods, 2024). Reflecting on the dynamics at *gurdwaras*, Abinaash said, "They [Singaporeans] do treat them differently because they are workers. I am a Singaporean, and you are from India… it is a mentality." This illustrates how territorial practices of socialisation can reinforce exclusive models of nationhood and redraw boundaries amongst different generations of diaspora.

Despite these nativist and moralistic tendencies, such spaces of socialisation still offer some openings for later diaspora generations to reimagine belonging beyond colonial frames of cultural essentialism. Paramjit acknowledged that whilst institutional practices at *gurdwaras* "are not going to change overnight", he remains optimistic about overcoming the narratives of belonging inherited from colonial times. He went on to share how "I've also seen instances where they [Sikh youth] buck the trend or they are not subscribing to that any longer. It's no longer the case in some temples you are *Malwa* only. I mean, there are still some of that [now]. But it looks like it's going to change for sure…"

Paramjit's optimism highlights the potential of the diaspora to reconstruct alternative forms of belonging based on agency and choice, rather than merely inheriting traditions from previous generations or colonial legacies. In the context of the Sikh diaspora, this reading of belonging challenges and exceeds the longstanding 'territorialisation of Sikh socio-political identity in the homeland of Punjab' (Shani, 2008: 3). It recasts the territory of Punjab from an exclusively ethnocultural space in colonial socio-spatial visions (Sian & Dhamoon, 2020). Such imaginaries are starting points for generating a progressive politics of belonging and becoming, from which new modes of integration and living in difference might emerge.

6. Conclusions

This paper has developed the idea of diasporic territoriality, an alternative way of understanding and forging territorial sensibility amongst the dis/placed. This can be observed amongst the Sikh diaspora in Singapore, which expresses diverse modes of belonging that both reproduce and challenge colonial imaginings of the Punjab. Colonial visions of the Punjab are not just historical – they continue to be reinforced today, particularly through *gurdwaras* in Singapore. The 'fixing' of such logics is particularly apparent amongst the early immigrants. In response, many younger members of the diaspora have sought to contest and 'unmap' these inherited logics by socialising into alternative spaces of belonging. These spaces of socialisation transgress colonial territorial imaginings inscribed in inherited racial and ancestry terms. Instead, they reveal how diasporic belonging could be forged in non-essentialist terms based on individual choice (such as religious piety) and ongoing participation in local life. Such spaces of socialisation, however, can also create new hierarchies of belonging between the earlier immigrants and more recent arrivals. Nevertheless, these spaces offer opportunities for diasporas to reimagine and forge new connections to places beyond a supposed 'homeland'.

By examining the Sikh diaspora and *gurdwara*s in Singapore, we achieve three key goals. First, we introduce the idea of 'diasporic territorialities' that presents a more emancipatory and progressive notion of belonging. This concept challenges the 'uncritical conflation [of belonging] with notions of identity and citizenship' (Antonsich, 2010: 645). In so doing, it opens up the possibility for rethinking how diaspora can belong to places outside their traditional 'homelands'.

Going further, this intervention has implications for evaluating state-sponsored narratives of integration in multicultural contexts. In these narratives, groups are often defined by rigid ethnic or racial categories (Ho & Kathiravelu, 2021; Ortiga, 2015). By framing integration policies along ethnic lines, such state narratives, especially in host societies, risk falling into the trap of essentialism, which treats groups as stable, homogenous entities. Recognising (diasporic) identities as always shifting across spaces and times allows for more inclusive and flexible forms of integration. This perspective encourages crafting integration policies that focus on shared values, without relying on rigid categories of identity or limiting nationalism to the spatial boundaries of the nation-state.

Second, this paper highlights the important role of religious spaces like *gurdwaras* in territorial struggles and negotiations of belonging. By examining *gurdwaras* as sites of religeopolitics, it sheds light on how religious spaces shape and facilitate political identities and power relations. Third, the focus on Sikh diaspora in Singapore contributes to decolonial conceptualisations of territory, which have often draw from Latin American indigenous epistemologies. This focus also broadens studies of the South Asian diaspora, which have predominantly emphasised South Indian Tamils (see Ballantyne [2006], Rai [2004], Rai & Sankaran [2011] for exceptions).

In recent years, the rise of right-wing nationalism and populism in major cities worldwide has intensified questions of belonging. In particular, the targeting of migrants, refugees, stateless persons, and more, fuel fears and panic over migration. These anxieties are not only felt across most Western liberal democracies but increasingly, in other parts of the world as well. Underlying these nationalisms is the perceived threat posed by the growing visibility of immigrants to the stable distribution of identities. In this context, the idea of diasporic territoriality offers a space of critique to traditional understandings of belonging. It points to connections that do not merely encircle territories of origins, roots, or sameness. Through this intervention, we hope to open up new pathways for thinking about what it means to belong amidst difference, flux, and mobility in the twenty-first century and beyond.

Endnotes

[1] The use of the term 'dis/placed' draws attention to the *ongoing navigation of identity* amongst people considered displaced and uprooted. It seeks to capture both immediate and historical layers of dislocation, rather than equating the experiences of refugees, stateless, and forced migrants with settled diasporic populations, and the experiences of people considered uprooted and displaced to only a traumatic removal.

Whilst forced migrants and the homeless face an acute crisis of removal, diasporic populations might engage with dislocation more in terms of identity, memory and cultural negotiation over multiple generations. The use of 'displaced' in this context thus allows an understanding of the dual processes of 'displacement' – physical and/or social removal, and 'placement' -- finding new footing or identity in another place, underscoring the ongoing search for ontological security.

[2] The British province of Punjab was divided between the new sovereign states of India and Pakistan when India gained independence in 1947. This paper focuses on India Punjab.

[3] The spelling of the three major Punjabi regions varies across scholarly texts. For consistency, we refer to the spelling used in the official websites and documents of the Punjabi government (e.g., Department of Rural Development and Panchayats, Punjab, n.d.).

[4] The first-generation Sikh immigrants in Singapore (formerly British Malaya) came largely from *Malwa* and *Majha* regions of Punjab, not particularly from *Doaba*.

[5] The boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab are demarcated based on 'ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims' (Spate, 1948: 205). Underpinning such conclusions is a colonial logic that sees ethnocultural commonality as congruent with territorial space. See Spate (1948) and Fitzpatrick (2019) for more details.

[6] *Majha*, means 'in the middle', was located in the middle of the historic Punjab region, comprising about 17 per cent of Punjab's total area. Located south of the Sutlej River, *Malwa* is the largest region comprising about 65 per cent area of the state.

[7] The 1947 Partition and the Khalistan movement in the 1980s are examples of events that threatened the perceived spatial stability of the Punjab since the Sikhs' migration to colonial Malaya in the early 20th century. However, as many Sikh scholars have noted, the Sikh's status as a 'model minority' in Singapore, especially 'the prominence of Sikhs in the machinery of states throughout Southeast Asia' might have contributed to 'insulating' the Sikhs in Singapore from such upheavals (Ballantyne, 2006: 73). Specifically, McCann (2011: 1495) argues that the agitation in the wake of the Khalistan 'was rare and principally the preserve of younger males […] Certainly, those who emerged as community leaders shunned Khalistani politics in favour of working within boundaries set by the state. The local politics of recognition indeed socialised Singaporean Sikhs more effectively than almost anywhere in the diaspora.'

[8] *Kampung* means 'village' in the Malay language.

[9] Sembawang and Seletar are residential towns respectively located west and east of Yishun. These three towns are found in the northern part of Singapore.

[10] Echoing Niranjan, Kaur (2008) states that the *gurdwara* at Yishun is an amalgamation of two earlier *gurdwara* in northern Singapore: one is the *gurdwara* at Sembawang tracing back to 1925 which is associated with the Sikh police and employees of the Naval Base, and the other at Jalan Kayu, established in the 1930s by Sikh employees at the Seletar Air Base.

[11] Amongst the seven *gurdwaras* in Singapore, the Central Sikh Gurdwara and the Silat Road Gurdwara are managed and represented by a nonpartisan 'elective body' called the Central Sikh Gurdwara Board (Dusenbery, 1997a: 752).

[12] Clementi is a mature residential town in western Singapore.

[13] The recent Sikh arrivals in Singapore comprise two main employment groups: (a) professionals -- many of whom share similar race and class identities with locals and (b) 'migrant workers' – low-waged temporary workers often concentrated in the manufacturing, construction, and domestic service industry.

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