

SIKH IDENTITY

Sikhs are Passing Through

ARTICLE

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INTRODUCTION

Who is a Sikh? Is a person who claims that he follows the teachings of Aad Guru Granth Sahib, a Sikh? Is a person who follows the “*Bachitar Natak*”, also referred by some as *Dasam Granth* or as *Dasam Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, a Sikh? Is a person who follows the Sikh code of conduct, a Sikh? Is a person who believes in one God, a Sikh? Is a person who maintains beard and long hairs and wears a turban, a Sikh? Is a frequent visitor to a Gurdwara, a Sikh? Is a person born in a Sikh family, a Sikh? Is a person whose middle/end name is *Singh* or *Kaur*, a Sikh? Is a person as defined by SGPC or DGPC, a Sikh? Such and a similar set of other queries come to mind when one wants to identify a member of the community. But before identifying a Sikh, how does one identify a Sikh faith community (Sikhism) from the faith communities of the world?

This paper attempts to provide answers to the above set of queries with special reference to Sikh community in general and, a Sikh, in particular. Such an attempt raises, in turn, such vital issues as relate to the identification of the main holy scripture of the faith and, if available, a supplementary work thereof. Apart from this, it calls for the identification of necessary conditions that lays bare the essentials of the belief system of the followers of the faith and

A Sikh is a learner. For a Sikh, God - a unique transcendent invisible entity present in all existence - is a part and parcel of life that originates from a clean source and, as such, a search for spiritual ideals is free from the bondage of personal possessions and wealth. The ‘worship’ of Aad Guru Granth Sahib by a Sikh implies action as per the ‘philosophy, ethics, culture and way of life’ as prescribed in the teachings treasured in Aad Guru Granth Sahib and communicated to the learner through the Sabds (hymns) - the pivotal force of Sikhism. No wonder, Guru Arjan refers Aad Guru Granth Sahib “The Holy Book as the home of the Transcendent God.” And, Guru Gobind Singh declared it to be eternal Guru of Sikhs.

A glance through Aad Granth yields the seven intertwined layers that lay bare the necessary condition of the value-cum-belief system of the identity of a Sikh. The three sufficiency condition related elements of the identity of a Sikh, namely the dress code, the nomenclature, and the formal initiation procedure to Sikh Brotherhood, bear the signature stamp of Guru Gobind Singh. Consequently, there exists a landscape of people who profess Sikhism faith in the Census statistics, namely Amrit-dhari, Keshdhari and clean-shaved Sikhs, the numbers that are boasted by the faith as well as political leadership of Sikhs.

The rising preponderance of clean-shaved Sikhs, particularly amongst the Sikh youth, in rural Punjab, more so, among the members of Sikh diaspora, is, indeed, a sign of worry. As a response, a number of research issues are listed for diagnostic analysis in the context of Indian Punjab and diaspora. These research issues call for empirical investigation to objectively delineate the causes and only, thereafter, changes required in the present pattern of institutional leadership of Sikh faith can be deciphered and deliberated upon.

the sufficient conditions that portrays the visible presence of the faith followers. Finally, **how far is the observed reality in tandem with the expectations?**

These issues are discussed in four Sections. Section I deals with issues relating to the identification of Sikh community via the Holy Sikh Scripture that details the unique belief system of Sikh Brotherhood (community). Section II probes the essentials of the Sikh belief system and the visible presence portraying signs of the members of Sikh faith. Section III delves into the landscape of persons who claim that they are members of Sikhs community. In the concluding section, Section IV, relevant research questions are raised that require empirical investigation based answers.

1. SIKHISM: IDENTIFICATION OF SIKH COMMUNITY

Every religious community is identified with a holy religious text, called scripture. Its content is believed to be divinely inspired and revealed and, as such, sacred. It is considered central to the religious tradition of the community. For, it lays down the under-currents of the specific religious values and belief system that manifests in the behaviour pattern of its disciples; that is, amongst the members of the community and, vis-à-vis, members of other communities. For instance, the holy scripture of Christian community is Christian Bible (a set of books), that of Muslim community is Quran, that of Hindu community is Vedas, that of Jews community is Torah written in Hebrew, and that of Sikh community is Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS), popularly known as Sri Guru Granth Sahib (SGGS).

To communicate the revealed message to masses, the prophets, the learned men, have deployed different modes of communication. Whereas the instruments of miracles and words have been deployed by Moses and Jesus to communicate the revealed message to masses, the instrument of verse (*Ayats or Ayahs and Sabds*) were the main tool used to communicate the revelations by Prophet Mohammed to masses in the Islamic scripture Quran³ and through God inspired *Sabds*, as enshrined in the Sikh scripture, AGGS, by Sikh Gurus.

Sikh Gurus are known to have used the power of their *Sabds* (revelations) to transform the direction of life of a variety of strayed people such as a robber (Sajjan), a cannibal (Kauda), a magician (Nur Shah), those who lived in forests after deserting their families (many Sidhs and Yogis), those who had forgotten the teachings of Koran (many mullahs) and those who had overlooked the message of Gita and Vedas (many pundits), etc. In contrast, the main tool of communication used by Moses - the central figure of Judaism - and Jesus - the central figure of Christianity - are such visible miraculous powers as healing blind, crippled and deaf people; reviving a couple of dead people; creating food for thousands of people from the thin air; walking on the water surface of a lake; commanding a rising storm to yield a passage to some friends⁴, etc.

There are two miracles associated with the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak, namely, (i) turning a branch of *the reetha* tree to bear sweet fruit (*reethas*) instead of usual bitter

fruit (*reethas*) – where Gurdwara Reetha Sahib⁵ is located, and (ii) holding of a huge rock with his palm that left his hand print on the rock - Gurdwara Panja Sahib⁶. Though Sikh faith recognizes miracles, their exposition (or display) is considered arrogance and discouraged; such acts in Sikh faith are believed to compete with the powers of the God.

God, as per the visualisation of Sikh Gurus, is a Transcendent Entity that is indefinable (ਅਲਖ⁷), incomprehensible (ਅਲਖੁ⁸), imperceptible/ unfathomable (ਅਗੋਚਰ⁹), formless (ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ¹⁰), infinite (ਬੇਅੰਤ¹¹), inaccessible (ਅਗਮ¹²), without any fault (ਨਿਰੰਜਨ¹³), etc. These attributes of God are deciphered in the opening lines of AGGS¹⁴ as well. As such, God has not been assigned any specific/ descriptive name (ਕਿਰਤਮ ਨਾਮ) in AGGS¹⁵.

2. SIKH IDENTITY

Who is a Sikh? What are the traits that help to identify members of a faith community? The identification of a faith community among the world faith communities and members thereof, like that of any specific category of a substance, calls for deciphering (i) **the necessary condition** - the core scripture, based on the revelations, that enunciates the teachings that lays down the basic traits of the behaviour of disciples amongst the community of faith followers vis-à-vis followers of other faith communities, and (ii) **the sufficiency condition** – the institutional set up where visible interaction takes place amongst the disciples of the faith community, where members from other

communities are also welcome. In general, members of such a faith community evolve a lot of cultural and political commonalities as followers become conscience of the traits of unity, coherence and interests. In the context of Sikhism, the mother source of value and belief system is *Sabds* enshrined in Aad Guru Granth Sahib, often referred to as, the principle of Will of God, *Raza*; and the institution of Gurdwara, in which AGGS is housed on a raised platform, acts as the nerve centre of faith, culture and political activity that have a bearing on the Sikh Brotherhood (*Khalsa Panth*).

2.1 Values and Belief System of Sikhs: A Necessary Condition

A **necessary condition** to identify a Sikh is, obviously, internalization of knowledge embedded in *Sabds* engraved in **Aad Guru Granth Sahib** that forms the basis of values and belief system of Sikhs and its institutionalised observance in life related acts. The occurrence of word ਸਿਖ (Sikh) written in Gurmukhi script - as such or as a root - in 216 *Sabds* of AGGS amply brings out the learner dimension of the Sikh trait. This and other related seven constituents of Sikh values and belief system are detailed below:

A Sikh believes in learning¹⁶, like a student who longs for and listens to the advice of Guru's Teachings¹⁷, from each encountered obstacle in the pursuance of his actions and prepares himself to better handle similar or more complicated situations¹⁸ - a behaviour unlike that of a fatalist who accepts each obstacle as an act of pre-destined fate (destiny - *niyati* - as per non-personal cosmic principle) that does not call for any rectification effort¹⁹.

Such learning endeavours of a Sikh not only reinforce his **self-confidence** level but also motivate him to bypass the new obstacle and move on and, when unavoidable, consciously plan and confront the obstacle and move on for a better tomorrow²⁰. Such a behaviour is simply an adaptation of the usual survival techniques a person deploys to move forward in the desired destination direction through a dense forestation by bending, crawling, climbing, jumping or hiding (temporarily in a cave) when confronted with different types of physical or life-threatening obstructions. He remains, however, humble despite the acquired status of an expert through lifelong learning.

Sikhs are, no wonder, always in high spirits (***Charhdi Kala***) and spread Guru's Teachings²¹. In other words, a Sikh is generally free from, and immune to, negative and disheartening thought generating feelings associated with anxiety, sadness, hopelessness, pessimistic resignation, aversion to activity, inferiority complex, wretchedness, despondency, depression, etc.

A Sikh is, owing to his positive thinking (***Charhdi Kala***) attitude, a staunch believer in putting intense labour input, both physical and intellectual, with full sincerity and honesty – the two essentials constituents of proper conduct²² - in all enterprising endeavours²³ that he undertakes to achieve the goal of prosperity and is always willing to share one-tenths of the earnings as dividends (*dasvandh*) for the betterment of community of which he is an integral part²⁴. In other words, a Sikh does not believe in generating wealth by adopting such

undesirable means as snatching, usurping or robbing the right of others, i.e. via fraud, dishonesty, cheating or robbing²⁵. As all members are loved alike by the Guru²⁶, Sikhism is a commune religion. A true Sikh will rarely live on charity.

A Sikh staunchly believes in the existence of one God who is unique, omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient creator, sustainer and destroyer that can never take any human form²⁷. Being a monotheist, he believes that a knowledgeable human being can, at most, lead the pathway to some of the virtues of God. It is probably in such a context says Guru Ram Das²⁸ "*I bow forever in deepest respect to that Sikh of the Guru, who walks in the Way of the Guru.*" For, "*Just as the mortal dies without water, so does the Sikh die without the Guru?*" And, the eternal Guru for a Sikh is AGGS; not the fake gods, created by a group of people for their economic-cum-sectarian interests.

A Sikh believes that body is a temple where God, in the form of soul, resides and not a prison for the soul as regarded by Vedantic Hinduism²⁹. The power of the soul can be discovered by maintaining internal peace and calmness (an individual act) and serving and living with fellow human beings, the *Satsangat*³⁰ (a commune/social act). It is this twin set of individual as well as a commune related beliefs that allows Sikhs to focus their energies for the goal of prosperity for all – a consensual view in the context of environment held by the two diametrically opposing views of the Judeo-Christian and the Hindu-Vedantic traditions³¹.

Being a staunch believer in the Will of

God³², a Sikh lives in humility and considers births and deaths to be an integral part of life³³. Instead of fearing death, he considers death to be a finale of human life on Earth which involves the rejoining of each of the five elements that constitute the body (namely air, water, fire, earth and ether) to their respective base. Being a learner, he has learned that death can only be delayed (i.e. life expectancy can be enhanced) by observing a disciplined life³⁴.

Towards this end, he observes a schedule of:

(a) **early to rise** to free the mind from unwanted thoughts - by reciting the *Sabds* from Aad Guru Granth Sahib in **remembrance of the God**³⁵ and to cleanse the body from body wastes - by taking bath and answering the call of nature;

(b) a series of honest engagements in the productive **physical and intellectual** set of **activities** that are associated with the chosen enterprise³⁶, be it a work of his own or other's entrepreneurial ventures, and to indulge in supplementary exercises for less-used body parts, whenever necessary;

(c) a series of **right choices** of diet, habits and culture to satisfy the body needs in the light of evolving knowledge additions³⁷; and

(d) to **thank the God all the time** for blessed blissful activities (whether or not of instant personal liking) during the day, particularly before going to sleep at night³⁸.

Note: Life expectancy is rising over time due to scientific advancements that have led to prolongation of the life of one of the five elements of the human body, the **ether**- a bonding substance³⁹ of other four elements, namely air, water, fire and earth.

A Sikh believes that the real pilgrimage to attain liberation in this

life lies in meditating on the Naam⁴⁰ via Sabd (Word) and living a truthful life (*Sachiar*⁴¹). In addition to meditating on the Naam (*Piri* – a transcendental philosophical conceptualisation), a Sikh is always prepared to struggle, under Guru's advice without clever plans, politics and tricks⁴², for justice, humanism and peace (*Miri* – a temporal philosophical conceptualisation). The Gur-Sikh, who on getting Guru's advice blossoms forth like the child seeing his mother⁴³, faithfully believes in social as well as spiritual realms⁴⁴.

A Sikh believes that there is no life before birth or after death and to enjoy this life, he lives a **family life**⁴⁵ and engages himself in such pursuits that reward his hard and honest labour; he, thus, disagrees with the theory of reincarnation and other-worldliness. Apart from family life, a Sikh believes in the importance of philanthropy, service and defence of the faith. In this context, Norman Buchignani notes⁴⁶ "*Sikh philanthropy has been extensive, especially in support of local Gurdwaras and increasingly of pan-Canadian social causes and the arts.*" He further says that "*Service has been traditionally interpreted in terms of service to the religion and the community, but this notion of service is slowly incorporating a broader perspective of Canadian social issues.*"

2.2 Visible Sikh Identity Parameters: Sufficiency Conditions

In the context of Sikhism, the **sufficiency condition** to identify a Sikh is observance of visible identifiers as propagated by Guru Gobind Singh at the time of initiation of Khalsa Panth

(community of Sikh Brotherhood) on March 29, 1699 (some sources say 1698⁴⁷). From then onwards, the initiation ceremony is performed by the Five Chosen Ones (*Panj Piaray*) with sacred nectar (*Amrit*), composed of water and sugar stirred with a double-edged sword (*Khanda*), prepared by them while reciting *Sabds*⁴⁸; the Sikh initiation nectar ceremony is known as *Khande di Pahul*. Since the basis of Sikh initiation ceremony is *Amrit* (nectar) prepared during the recitation act of *Sabds* (the Word), the ceremony is also known as *Amrit Samskar*. For, *Amrit* in holy hymns (Gurbani) is repeatedly equated with Naam, the Name, the Word or Sabd in AGGS.

We may recall, when Guru Gobind Singh launched visible format of Sikh Brotherhood (*Khalsa Panth*), he laid down a few conditions for those who wanted to get initiated to Sikh Brotherhood so that they become visibly identifiable. The sufficiency conditions that bear the signature stamp of the Guru Gobind Singh are broadly divisible into three groups: (i) dress code, (ii) nomenclature and (iii) formal initiation to Sikh Brotherhood⁴⁹.

2.2.1 Dress Code: 1ST Sufficiency Condition

Dastar - the *Sikh turban* is a unique visible head covering - a symbol of honour - that acts as not only the seal of Sikh faith but represents an essential part of Sikhs' dress code, belief system and way of life⁵⁰. A turban, along with a well-kept or flowing beard and moustache, represents a symbol of dignity, devotion, and a willingness to uniquely stand out in a massive gathering. Sikh turban is, however, not a pre-formed turban⁵¹ or a hat. Besides, a turban provides a covering

to the long unshorn hairs (*Kes*). Trimming of the hair from any part of the body is, in fact, forbidden to a Sikh. Hairs on the head must be kept neat and clean by acts of combing and washing. For combing the hair, a wooden *Kangha* (comb) is always kept attached to the tied knot of the hair (*Joora*). When interacting in public, a Sikh must cover his hairs with a turban (*Dastar*) and, at home, with its smaller version, *Keski*. Apart from *Dastar*, ladies may cover their hairs with a *Dupatta* (a piece of cloth sufficient enough to cover the hairs). ***Kara – wrist ring*** made of steel or iron⁵² worn on right wrist is another visible identifying feature of a male as well as female member of Sikh community. Apart from acting as a reminder to avoid un-Sikh like acts, it encourages the bondage of Brotherhood. Besides, he wears a *Kachhehra* – shorts stitched breeches in a specific style; it is a symbol of Sikh royalty and morality.

Kirpan – Sword made of steel is another article of faith for an initiated Sikh since March 29, 1699, although it has been in use by Sikhs since the period of Guru Hargobind Sahib. It is usually worn in a *Gatra* (a specific belt of cloth) hanging from right side of the shoulder to the left side of the waist. For a Sikh, sword is essentially “a symbol of defence of the poor, the weak and the oppressed”⁵³. It stands for justice, honour, righteousness and readiness for duty and sacrifice.

2.2.2 Nomenclature: 2nd Sufficiency Condition

It is obligatory for a Sikh to use **Singh** (for males) and **Kaur** (for females) as the last part of his/her name. Where suffix ‘Singh’ stands for ‘lion’ and ‘Kaur’ for a ‘prince’ (not ‘princess’). Use of family name is not considered as an authentic Sikh practice. There is, however, a caveat; the usage of

Singh and Kaur suffix has been, and continues to be, common among members of Rajput and some other tribes in India. The frequency of occurrence of same first as well as second component of the name, often, force Sikhs to add third name after Singh or Kaur for complete identity.

2.2.3 Formal Initiation: 3rd Sufficiency Condition

As per Sikh Code of Conduct (*Rehat Maryada*), a Sikh must get formally initiated into Sikh Brotherhood (Khalsa Panth) on the pattern started by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699. For initiation purpose, a novel rite of *pahul* (initiation of the sword) was inaugurated by the Guru and those who took part in the initiation ceremony were later called **Amrit-dhari** (“nectar bearing”) Sikh. The initiation implies a commitment of the self to lead a pure and pious life on the footsteps of God.

To sum up, the visible identity of a Sikh man is one who covers his head with a turban (*Dastar*) and maintains beard and moustaches, wears a wrist ring of steel (*Kara*) in his right wrist and a sheathed sword on his left hip and uses Singh as a suffix to his name; a Sikh woman covers her head with either a small turban (*Keski*) or a *dupatta*, wears a wrist ring of steel (*Kara*) in her right wrist and a sheathed sword on her left hip and uses Kaur as a suffix to her name. **Such visibly identifiable symbols of Sikh identity make a statement that is both strong and eloquent about the expected behaviour of that person.**

The real strength of a Sikh is, however, his well institutionalised, understood and practised belief system. Its main constituents being:

(i) to remain a learner from each of the encountered real life situations and be prepared for more complex situations, (ii) to retain a positive thought process during work and social related dealings with sincere honesty, (iii) to believe in the existence of one God that never takes human form, (iv) to accept birth and death as God’s Will, and act accordingly, (v) to make a balanced use of all body parts, varietal food forms and entertainment forms, (vi) to display same behaviour pattern with others as he expects from them, and (vii) to actively participate in situations that demand intervention for the protection of rights of the underprivileged.

3. LANDSCAPE OF SIKH FAITH FOLLOWERS

The identifiable symbols of an individual’s faith identity portray the reification of expectations associated with those symbols of faith. For instance, **the wearing of turban and tidy beard, a strong symbol of a Sikh’s identity, indicate that the person is a devotee of Sikhism who not only subscribes to but vehemently follows the principles laid out in the teachings of Guru; namely observance of family life, a life of honest dealings with no scope for lie and cheating, industrious and entrepreneurial outlook and the one who possess generous and trustworthy attributes in social as well as business relationships.** It is a set of these traits that explain (i) the success of the “business networks” of Sikhs of Thailand⁵⁴; (ii) the success of Sikhs in “transport sector” across nations; (iii) the success by Sikhs in the “farm sector” in the provinces of California (USA) and British Columbia (Canada); and similar other achievements of

Sikh diaspora.

In the religion based Census data, the professed (self-declared) religion of a person is accepted and categorised as his religious affiliation; it does not consider the degree to which the person observes the values, beliefs and practices associated with the professed religion. In other words, such data sets have nothing to do whether the included person satisfies, partially or fully, the above discussed necessary and/or sufficiency conditions. However, to drive political mileage and state patronage, such religion related data sets are accepted, on face value, by both political leaders and religious custodians⁵⁵. These are, however, considered suspect and only a segment of it is allowed to elect members to the governing bodies of religious institutions. For instance, only *Keshdhari* Sikhs are allowed to elect *Amritdhari* Sikhs as members of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee (SGPC) – a body that controls the management of all those Gurdwaras that generate revenues above a threshold in the Indian states of Punjab and Haryana.

A formally initiated person into Khalsa (“the pure”) order (under the direct authority of Guru Gobind Singh as opposed to other religious or political leaders) is known as an **Amrit-dhari** (“nectar bearing”) **Sikh** who displays all the visible signs according to Sikh Rehat Maryada. A person who is not formally initiated by the Five Beloved (Panj Pyare) into the Sikh Brotherhood but is born in a Sikh family and displays all associated visible signs of Sikhism except prominent display of Kirpan is known as a **Keshdhari Sikh**. There is, however, a large chunk (almost four-fifths as per some estimates) of clean

-shaved persons who claims to be **Sikhs** as they adhere to and fulfill most or all of the necessary conditions of Sikhism. A majority of whom are the offspring’s of Sikh families and are frequent visitors to Gurdwaras where they participate in listening to Kirtan and voluntarily contribute in cash and kind and serve in the Guru Ka Langar but partially observe the visible sufficiency conditions (say wear a *Kara*; use surname: Singh or Kaur).

Should these be considered Sikhs as they prefer to call themselves? For instance, Khaira (2014) in his editorial titled “Who are Sikhs?”⁵⁶, recommends recognition of Sikh identity based mainly on his virtuous and righteous living – a reflection of above listed necessary conditions. He quotes a Sabd⁵⁷ of Guru Nanak “*Those who have purity on the inside and are dressed in rags are better ones in this world.*” From which he infers that Sikh religion is not a religion of the outer symbols; it is the religion of the interior purity and righteous living.

Outer symbols based identity of the members of Sikh community, captured in this paper as sufficiency condition, may, at times, be accompanied by a lot of hardships to its members: (a) when it gets perceived as unapproved adoption of *similar identity* of others, (b) when its similarities gets mixed up with those of members of other communities – a *mistaken identity*, or (c) when unique identity of its members is accepted - a *recognized identity*. In fact, Sikhs have historically suffered hardships⁵⁸ owing to resemblance of their outer symbol with those of the Muslims in India during 18th and 19th centuries (*similar identity*); with Afghans and

Muslims in North America in the post-September 11, 2001 attack on twin centres of WTC (*mistaken identity*); and owing to their *recognised identity* following the assassination of Prime Minister of India (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) in 1984.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In most Sikh families in India as well as abroad, interestingly, the three forms of Sikh identities, namely *Amrit-dhari* Sikhs, *Keshdhari* Sikhs and clean-shaved Sikhs coexist side by side. While a majority of the senior members (above 40 years of age, more so, grandparents) of a Sikh family are *Keshdhari* Sikhs and a few *Amrit-dhari* Sikhs, the younger members, the offspring of Sikhs, are mostly clean-shaved Sikhs. Such a scenario exists even among some of the representative families of Sikhs.

What has led to the going astray of such a large chunk of Sikh youth from amongst the Sikh Brotherhood among the constituents of rural Punjab as well as amongst Punjabi diaspora? Is it owing to slow and steady shrinkage of employment openings in the state? Is it owing to deteriorating quality of education, particularly in rural Punjab to which four-fifths of Sikhs of Punjab belong? Is it owing to growing richness in rural Punjab in the post-green revolution era? Is it owing to diversion of energies of the youth to such addictive’s as drugs, alcohol, etc.? Has it something to do with militancy era of Punjab? Has it something to do with the formation of a linguistic based Punjabi, the so called Sikh, state and its bearing on the Sikh politics and Sikh institutions and emergence of religious *Dera* culture? In the light of empirical answers to these queries, which remedial efforts would be required to

strengthen the existing institutions? Alternatively, which supplementary institutions would be required?

The research issues that come to mind in the context of diaspora are:

In view of the fact that Gurdwaras started by initial Sikh immigrants has provided a networking base to the stream of migrants that followed them, why have they failed to keep intact the visible form and presence of Sikh Brotherhood, particularly amongst their progeny? Is it owing to pressures associated with employment opportunities? Is it owing to peer pressure on young minds to adapt to new cultural values? Is it owing to lack of awareness, relevant facilities and resources? What kind of institutional interventions are needed to rectify the scenario so that their affluence can go hand in hand with Sikh cultural values and identity?

END NOTES

¹ I was provoked to develop this piece by Harjinder Singh Dilgeer’s book, “Who are Sikhs?” The availability of an online source sriganth.org enabled me, a trained empiricist economist, to venture this work. I am indebted to Professor Devinder Singh Chahal for his candid observations on the earlier draft(s) of this paper and for supplying his published material. Unless otherwise specified, the source of referred English translation of all the hymns in this work is Dr. Sant Singh Khalsa MD as available on sriganth.org. In reverence to magnanimous and voluminous work embedded in SriGranth.org, my heart bows to the relentless efforts put in by the remarkable team work of Dr. Kulbir Singh Thind MD.

² For a comprehensive treatment of the strengths and weaknesses of Sikh definition detailed in the code of conduct prescribed by SGPC (Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee) and DGPC (Delhi Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee) - the two officially recognised bodies by the Indian state to represent Sikhs and manage Sikh shrines in the Indian state of Punjab and Delhi respectively, refer to Chahal, D.S. (2008), Defining a Sikh, <http://www.iuscanada.com/journal/articles/definingASikh.pdf>

³ The first ayahs in Quran are “Read [O Muhammad!] in the name of your Lord who created. (96.1) He created man from a clot. (96.2) Read, and your Lord is the Most Honorable (96.3) who taught with the pen from sura Al-Alaq”; from Sura Al-Fatiha “In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate”; and from Sura Al-Baqara “Alif Lam Mim. This is the Scripture whereof there is no doubt, a guidance unto those who ward off (evil)”. Retrieved on 19.08.2015 from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayah>.

⁴ For more details of material contained in this paragraph refer Kapoor, S.S. (2010), “Miracles versus the power of Sabd”, Sikh Review, February, 2010.

⁵ http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Gurdwara_Reetha_Sahib

⁶ http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Gurdwara_Panja_Sahib

⁷ The word ਅਲਖ occurs in 91 *Sabds* in AGGS. For instance, ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤੁਠੈ ਪਾਈਐ ਪੂਰਨ ਅਲਖ ਅਭੇਵ ॥੧॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥ When the True Guru is

pleased; we obtain the Perfect, Unseen, Unknowable Lord. ||1||Pause|| (AGGS, M5, 53).

⁸ The word ਅਲਖੁ occurs in 76 *Sabds* in AGGS. For instance, ਅਲਾਹੁ ਅਲਖੁ ਅਗੰਮੁ ਕਾਦਰੁ ਕਰਣਹਾਰੁ ਕਰੀਮੁ ॥ He is Allah, the Unknowable, the Inaccessible, All-powerful and Merciful Creator. (AGGS, M1, 64)

⁹ The word ਅਗੋਚਰ/ ਅਗੋਚਰੁ occur in 136 *Sabds* in AGGS. For instance, ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਅਗਮ ਅਗੋਚਰ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਮਿਲਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਹਰਿ ਰਸੁ ਕੀਚੈ ਜੀਉ ॥੧॥ The Lord God is our Lord and Master, Inaccessible and Unfathomable. Meeting the True Guru, I enjoy the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||1|| (AGGS, M4, 95).

¹⁰ The word ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ/ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ occur in 115 *Sabds* in AGGS. For instance, ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਰਵਿ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ॥ Day and night, the Name of the One Lord, the Fearless and Formless One, dwells within the heart. (AGGS, M3, 32)

¹¹ The word ਬੇਅੰਤ (as such or as root) occur in 86 *Sabds* in AGGS.. For instance, ਅਮੇਘ ਦਰਸਨ ਬੇਅੰਤ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥ Forever fruitful is the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; He is Infinite and Incomparable. (AGGS, M5, 98)

¹² The word ਅਗਮ (as such or as root) occur in 268 *Sabds* in AGGS . For instance, ਗੁਰੁ ਸਮਰਥੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਊਚਾ ਅਗਮ ਅਪਾਰੁ ॥ The Guru is All-powerful, the Guru is Formless; the Guru is Lofty, Inaccessible and Infinite. (AGGS, M5, 52)

¹³ The word ਨਿਰੰਜਨ (as such or as root) occur in 195 *Sabds* in AGGS.

- For instance, ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਜਨੁ ਭੈ ਭੰਜਨਾ ਦੇਖੁ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਭਾਇ ॥ The ointment of spiritual wisdom is the destroyer of fear; through love, the Pure One is seen. (AGGS, M1, 57).
- ¹⁴ ਐ ਸਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ (AGGS, page 1). “God is one; call Him Eternal Truth; He is the Supreme creator; He knows no fear and is at enmity with none. His being is Timeless and Formless; He is autogenous, attainable through the grace of the Guru.” As translated by Gurbachan Singh Talib in his entry “MUL MANTRA” in Encyclopedia of Sikhism. <http://www.learnpunjabi.org/eos/>
- ¹⁵ For details refer to Chahal, D.S. (2004), *Sabd Guru to Granth Guru: An In-depth Study*, p 25 http://books.sikhbookclub.com/2013/pdfbook/Sabd_Guru_To_Granth_Guru_By_Devinder_Singh_Chahal.pdf
- ¹⁶ ਸਿਖੀ ਸਿਖਿਆ ਗੁਰ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥ Contemplating the Guru, I have been taught these teachings. Or Sikhi is the learning and reflection on the Guru’s thought process. (SGGS, M1, 465)
- ¹⁷ ਮਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਰਤਨ ਜਵਾਹਰ ਮਾਣਿਕ ਜੇ ਇਕ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਿਖ ਸੁਣੀ ॥ Within the mind are gems, jewels and rubies, if you listen to the Guru's Teachings, even once. (AGGS, M1, 2); ਗੁਰੂ ਸਮੁੰਦੁ ਨਦੀ ਸਭਿ ਸਿਖੀ ਨਾਤੈ ਜਿਤੁ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ The Guru is the ocean, and all His Teachings are the river. Bathing within it, glorious greatness is obtained. (AGGS, M1, 150); ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਜਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਸੇ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਸਿਖੀ ਕੰਨੇ ॥ The Sikhs listen to the Teachings imparted by the True Guru. (AGGS, M4, 314).
- ¹⁸ ਰਉ ਤੁਧੁ ਆਖਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਾਇਆ ਤੂੰ ਸੁਣਿ ਸਿਖ ਹਮਾਰੀ ॥ I say to you, O my body: listen to my advice! (AGGS, M1, 155); ਸਚੁ ਤਾ ਪਰੁ ਜਾਣੀਐ ਜਾ ਸਿਖ ਸਚੀ ਲੇਇ ॥ One knows the Truth only when he receives true instruction (AGGS, M 1, 468).
- ¹⁹ ਘਰ ਕੀ ਬਿਲਾਈ ਅਵਰ ਸਿਖਾਈ ਮੁਸਾ ਦੇਖਿ ਡਰਾਈ ਰੇ ॥ The house-cat has been taught otherwise, and is terrified upon seeing the mouse. (AGGS, M5, 381).
- ²⁰ ਪਾਲਾ ਕਕਰੁ ਵਰਫ ਵਰਸੈ ਗੁਰਸਿਖੁ ਗੁਰ ਦੇਖਣ ਜਾਈ ॥੨੭॥ Even in the cold, the frost and the snow, the GurSikh still goes out to see his Guru. ||27|| (AGGS, M4, 758)
- ²¹ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਏਕੇ ਗੁਰ ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਚਲਾਏ ॥ The Guru's Sikh, and the Sikh's Guru, are one and the same; both spread the Guru's Teachings. (AGGS, M4, 444); ਸਿਖੀ ਸਿਖਿਆ ਗੁਰ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥ ਨਦਰੀ ਕਰਮਿ ਲਘਾਏ ਪਾਰਿ ॥ Contemplating the Guru, I have been taught these teachings; granting His Grace, He carries His servants across. (AGGS, M1, 465)
- ²² ਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿ ਚਜੁ ਅਚਾਰੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਤੁਧੁ ਕਦੇ ਨ ਲਗੈ ਦੁਖੁ ॥੩॥ Meeting with the Guru, be a sincere student of proper conduct, and suffering shall never touch you. (AGGS, M5, 50); ਸਚਿਆਰ ਸਿਖ ਬਹਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਾਸਿ ਘਾਲਨਿ ਰੂੜਿਆਰ ਨ ਲਭਨੀ ਕਿਤੇ ਥਾਇ ਭਾਲੇ ॥ The truthful Sikhs sit by the True Guru's side and serve Him. The false ones search, but find no place of rest. (AGGS, M4, 305); ਰੂੜਿਆਰ ਰੂੜਿਆਰੀ ਜਾਇ ਰਲੇ ਸਚਿਆਰ ਸਿਖ ਬੈਠੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਾਸਿ ॥੨੬॥ The false go and mingle with the false, while the truthful Sikhs sit by the side of the True Guru. (AGGS, M4, 314)
- ²³ ਉਦਮੁ ਕਰਤ ਸੀਤਲ ਮਨ ਭਏ ॥ ਮਾਰਗਿ ਚਲਤ ਸਗਲ ਦੁਖ ਗਏ ॥ **Through sincere efforts, the mind is made peaceful and calm.** Walking on the Lord's Way, all pains are taken away. Or **Those who are quick to take initiative enjoy peace of mind. Those who tread the path of righteousness become free from troubles. (AGGS, M5, 201)**
- ²⁴ ਘਾਲਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥਹੁ ਦੇਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਇ ॥੧॥ One who works for what he eats, and gives some of what he has - O Nanak, he knows the Path. (AGGS, M1, 1245); ਗੁਰਸਿਖਾ ਕੀ ਭੁਖ ਸਭ ਗਈ ਤਿਨ ਪਿਛੈ ਹੋਰ ਖਾਇ ਘਨੇਰੀ ॥ The hunger of the GurSikh is totally eliminated; indeed, many others are satisfied through them. (AGGS, M4, 451)
- ²⁵ ਜਿ ਠਗੀ ਆਵੈ ਠਗੀ ਉਠਿ ਜਾਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਨੇੜੈ ਗੁਰਸਿਖੁ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ॥ One who comes to deceive, who rises up and goes out to deceive - the GurSikhs shall never come near him. (AGGS, M4, 317); ਮਨ ਮੂਰਖ ਅਜਹੂ ਨਹ ਸਮਝਤ ਸਿਖ ਦੈ ਹਾਰਿਓ ਨੀਤ ॥ The foolish mind has not yet reformed itself, although I have grown weary of continually instructing it. (AGGS, M9, 536)
- ²⁶ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਾ ਇਕੇ ਪਿਆਰੁ ਗੁਰ ਮਿਤਾ ਪੁਤਾ

ਭਾਈਆ ॥ The Guru loves all of His Gur-Sikhs equally well, like friends, children and siblings. (AGGS, M4, 648)

²⁷ ਆਪ ਹੀ ਧਾਰਨ ਧਾਰੇ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਹੈ ਦੇਖਾਰੇ ਬਰਨੁ ਚਿਹਨੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਖ ਨ ਮਸਾਰੇ ॥

He Himself supports the Universe, revealing His All-powerful Creative Potency. He has no color, form, mouth or beard. (AGGS, M5, 1386)

²⁸ ਤਿਸੁ ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਕੰਉ ਹੰਉ ਸਦਾ ਨਮਸਕਾਰੀ ਜੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਗੁਰਸਿਖੁ ਚਲਿਆ ॥੧੮॥

(AGGS, M4, 593); and, at page 757, “ਜਿਉ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਜਲ ਬਿਨੁ ਹੈ ਮਰਤਾ ਤਿਉ ਸਿਖੁ ਗੁਰ ਬਿਨੁ ਮਰਿ ਜਾਈ ॥੧੫॥” (AGGS, M4, 757)

²⁹ As per I.J. Singh’s formulation in “Singh, I.J. (1998), SIKHS & SIKHISM: A View With a Bias,” (Centennial Foundation, Toronto, Canada.) as reproduced in <http://www.sikhchic.com/article-detail.php?cat=22&id=2630>

³⁰ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਚਟਸਾਲ ਹੈ ਜਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਸਿਖਾ ॥ Satsangat satgur ch̄atsāl hai jīṭ har guṇ sikhā. The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the True Guru, is the school of the soul, where the Glorious Virtues of the Lord are studied. (AGGS, M4, 1316)

³¹ For details, see Singh, I.J. 1998. Ibid.

³² ਸੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਸਖਾ ਬੰਧਪੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਜਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਆਵੈ ॥ He alone is a Sikh, a friend, a relative and a sibling, who walks in the Way of the Guru's Will. (AGGS, M3, 601)

³³ ਸਿਖਹੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਪਿਆਰਿਹੇ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਨ ਕੀ ਟੇਕ ॥ Study the Word of the Sabd, O beloveds. It is your

anchoring support in life and in death. (AGGS, M5, 320, 916).

³⁴ ਜਮ ਦੁਆਰਿ ਨ ਹੋਹੁ ਖੜੀਆ ਸਿਖ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਮਹੇਲੀਹੇ ॥ You shall not have to stand at Death's door, O sisters, if you listen to these teachings. (AGGS, M1, 567).

³⁵ ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਜੋ ਸਿਖੁ ਅਖਾਏ ਸੁ ਭਲਕੇ ਉਠਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵੈ ॥ One who calls himself a Sikh of the Guru, the True Guru, shall rise in the early morning hours and meditate on the Lord's Name. (AGGS, M4, 305)

³⁶ ਸੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਕਥੀਅਲੇ ਸੇ ਵੈਦੁ ਜਿ ਜਾਣੈ ਰੋਗੀ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਕੰਮੁ ਨ ਧੰਧਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਧੰਧੈ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਜੋਗੀ ॥੫॥ He alone is said to be a Guru, he alone is said to be a Sikh, and he alone is said to be a physician, who knows the patient's illness. He is not affected by actions, responsibilities and entanglements; in the entanglements of his household, he maintains the detachment of Yoga. ||5|| (AGGS, M1, 503).

³⁷ ਬਿਲਛਿ ਬਿਨੇਦ ਆਨੰਦ ਸੁਖ ਮਾਣਹੁ ਖਾਇ ਜੀਵਹੁ ਸਿਖ ਪਰਵਾਰ ॥ Revel in Naam, delight in Naam, be happy and enjoy peace, and live long, O Sikhs and brethren. (AGGS, M5, 618)

³⁸ ਤਿਨਾ ਗੁਰਸਿਖਾ ਕੰਉ ਹਉ ਵਾਰਿਆ ਜੇ ਬਹਦਿਆ ਉਠਦਿਆ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵਹਿ ॥੧੧॥ I am a sacrifice to those GurSikhs who, sitting and standing, meditate on the Lord's Name. ||11|| (AGGS, M4, 590).

³⁹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ether>

⁴⁰ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਨਾਵਾ ਜੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਾ ਵਿਣੁ ਭਾਣੈ ਕਿ ਨਾਇ ਕਰੀ ॥ If I am pleasing to

Him, then that is my pilgrimage and cleansing bath. Without pleasing Him, what good are ritual cleansings? (AGGS, M1, 2); ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਚਰਣ ਸਰੇਵਣੇ ਤੀਰਥ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਉ ॥ Worship the Feet of the Guru. Let the Name of the Lord be your sacred shrine of pilgrimage. (AGGS, M5, 52); ਦੀਨਾ ਨਾਥ ਅਨਾਥ ਕਰੁਣਾ ਮੈ ਸਾਜਨ ਮੀਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਮਹਤਰੀਆ ॥ ਚਰਨ ਕਵਲ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਗਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਭੈ ਸਾਗਰ ਸੰਤ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਰੀਆ ॥੨॥੨॥੧੧੫॥ O

Master of the poor and helpless, O Embodiment of Compassion, You are my Friend and Intimate, my Father and Mother. Nanak holds tight to the Lord's Lotus Feet in his heart; thus the Saints cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||2||115|| (AGGS, M5, 203)

⁴¹ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਰਿ ਸਚੈ ਸਚਿਆਰ ਹਰਿ ਹਉ ਤਿਨ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੈ ਜਾਉ ॥ O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who are found to be true in the True Court. ||4||21||54|| (AGGS, M3,35).

⁴² ਮਤਾ ਮਸੂਰਤਿ ਅਵਰ ਸਿਆਨਪ ਜਨ ਕਉ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਇਓ ॥ ਜਹ ਜਹ ਅਉਸਰੁ ਆਇ ਬਨਿਓ ਹੈ ਤਹਾ ਤਹਾ ਹਰਿ ਧਿਆਇਓ ॥੧॥ The humble servant of the Lord has no plans, politics or other clever tricks. Whenever the occasion arises, there, he meditates on the Lord. ||1|| (AGGS, M5, 498)

⁴³ ਗੁਰਿ ਡੀਠੈ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਿਖੁ ਬਿਗਸੈ ਜਿਉ ਬਾਰਿਕੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਮਹਤਾਰੀ ॥੩॥ Seeing the Guru, the GurSikh blossoms forth, like the child seeing his mother. (AGGS, M4, 1263); ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਿਖ ਕੇ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਸੁ

- ਆਪਿ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਦੇਵੈ ॥੨॥ How rare are those who receive the Guru's Teachings. O Nanak, he alone receives it, whom the Lord Himself blesses with glorious greatness. ||2|| (AGGS, M3, 509)
- ⁴⁴ In response to the martyrdom of Guru Arjun, at the hands of Mughal Empire headed by Emperor Jahangir in 1606, the Sixth Guru, Hargobind, took up the symbol of the double-edged sword to display to the followers that now onwards Guru-ship is vested with the worldly (Miri) as well as spiritual powers (Piri), that is, Miri-Piri.
- ⁴⁵ Thus, ruling out the possibility of premarital or extramarital sexual relations. In this context Guru Arjan states “ਗਿਰਸਤੀ ਗਿਰਸਤਿ ਧਰਮਾਤਾ ॥The householders assert their faith in family life. (AGGS, M5, 71)
- ⁴⁶ For details, refer to Norman Buchignani observations regarding “Canadian Sikh Diaspora”. Based on material retrieved on 10. 06.2015 <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sikhism/>
- ⁴⁷ Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh (2010), “Who are Sikhs?”, 3rd ed., Printwell, Amritsar, p.57.
- ⁴⁸ Prior to this ceremony, water obtained by washing the feet of Saints, charanamrit, was usually used for initiation of new followers. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panj_Pyare
- ⁴⁹ However, Sikh Rahit Maryada, a 37 page document, a product of 13 years (1932-1945) of deliberations by the Khalsa Panth about the contents of the Sikhs sub-committee report by Teja Singh (1st October 1932) and published in 1950 by Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee, lays
- more emphasis on the visible retention aspect of its members rather than on how to retain and bring new youth into the fold of Sikh Brotherhood. Despite this weakness, it rightly lays emphasis on the personal aspect, namely observance of a schedule of a set of prayers [including praying for the welfare of all –sarbat da bhala – and use of reason for regulation of passions – mun neevan, mut ucchi], living according to the teachings of the Gurus and service to others. Apart from the belief in One God (Akal Purukh, Timeless Entity), the ten Gurus and the teachings thereof, it calls for the exercise of a voluntary choice to get baptised (amrit shakna) and become a member of the well-knit Khalsa Brotherhood and commit, thereby, to a self-imposed code of conduct of the Brotherhood (Khalsa Panth). The Khalsa Panth of the baptised Sikhs is a contemporary body, which is vested by Guru Gobind Singh to lead Sikhs, which provides leadership in the light of guidance enshrined in SGGS on crucial issues that confronts the Sikh community.
- ⁵⁰ Turban being an article of Sikh faith, Sikhs fought for the right to wear turban at work places in England (the famous Mandla case), Norway (drive taxicabs and passport photographs), Sweden (railway jobs), Canada (police and armed forces), etc. In fact, Sikhs have earned the right to serve in the armed forces with their unshorn hair intact and covered by a turban in Britain, Canada, Malaysia, Singapore, India, Pakistan and some other countries.
- ⁵¹ Apart from Sikhs, head coverings are valued in the two historically rich traditions of Judaism and Christianity, though they differ on its meaning as these are removed to show respect to God. Even today, Bishop's and Cardinal's miter (ceremonial headdress) is a reminder of head coverings, as is the nun's habit. Even Muslims wear, mostly on ceremonial occasions, turban usually wrapped over a kulla or skullcap. Historically, for a man of substance, a turban in the Indian and the Middle-Eastern cultures has been a necessary accoutrement to his clothes. Pretied turban is mostly donned by high caste Hindus on the occasions of marriage or death. For details, refer Singh, I.J. (2010) “Dastaar Bandhi: The Why & the Wherefore” <http://www.sikhchic.com/article-detail.php?cat=22&id=1771>
- ⁵² It is not made of gold and to call it a bracelet is improper.
- ⁵³ ਹਰਿ ਹੋ ਹੋ ਕਿਰਪਾਨ ॥੧॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥ The Lord shall be Merciful to you. (AGGS, M4, 1297)
- ⁵⁴ These Sikhs migrated to Thailand around the annexation of northern Indian states by Pakistan in 1947. For details, refer to Theingi and Sharon Purchase, “The role of Sikh actor identity in business relationship development” <http://www.impgroup.org/uploads/papers/7352.pdf>
- ⁵⁵ A public admission by such authorities as the President of SGPC (Mr. Avtar Singh Makkar) and President of Institute of Sikh Studies (Dr. Kharak Singh Mann) that four-fifths of the professed Sikh population is non-kesadhari is, indeed, a noteworthy

recognition of ground reality. For detailed observations, refer to Chahal, D.S. (2008), a researched article on “Controversy Over Sehjdhari Sikh: But Who is a Sikh?” <http://www.iuscanada.com/journal/articles/sehjdhari.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Khaira, Gurpal Singh (2014), Who are Sikhs?, The Sikh Bulletin, Vol 16 No. 7&8, July-August issue <http://sikhbulletin.com/Bulletins/SikhBulletinJulAug2014.pdf>

⁵⁷ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਟੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਗੁਦੜੁ ਤੇ ਭਲੇ ਸੰਸਾਰਿ ॥ (SGGS, M1, 473)

⁵⁸ For details, refer to Editorial – “Religion and World Peace: Mistaken Identity, Recognised Identity and Similar Identity” **Understanding Sikhism: The Research Journal**, January-June 2002, Vol. 4, No. 1 <http://www.iuscanada.com/journal/archives/2002/j0401p03.pdf>