

# SOCIAL EXTERNALITIES AND SIKHISM A VIEW FROM THE PRISM OF AAD GURU GRANTH SAHIB

ARTICLE

## Baldev Singh

Dean, Head & Professor (Retired),  
Department of Economics, Punjabi University,  
Patiala Residence: 41-Phase-I, Urban Estate Patiala, India  
668-Panora Way, NW Calgary, Canada.  
baldevsandha@yahoo.com

### INTRODUCTION

Externality is a side effect or indirect effect or spill over effect of an object specific action/activity on the objects located in its neighbourhood or surroundings in the short-run and at far distance locations in the long-run.

**Externality is an unintended outcome of an action in economic arena and, in the social religious milieu, an unintended outcome of a habit forming influence/tendency.**

In social milieu, externality is the unintended **habit forming influence** of the usage pattern of acquired or inherited knowledge by the lead (not necessarily head) member of a family, group or community on the other members of the family, group or community. For, communication based linkages pass on the habit forming influence of the acts of one member of a family/social group on to another (and another member and so on in the communication network) that comes in regular contact or regularly observes the behavioural outcomes and discusses these at the family level, group level or community level. In economics arena, externality is, however, an unintended **cost or benefit** that affects a party who did not choose to incur that **cost or plan**

**that benefit** during the process of production or consumption. Nevertheless, externality is a macro/societal outcome of an act performed at a micro/individual (factory/family) level in social milieu as well as in economic arena.

As per the philosophy of Sikh Gurus, the society is bifurcated into **Gurmukhs** and **Manmukhs** depending upon the fact that they acquire or possess a set of attributes of goodness that resemble that of **Guru** (christened as a **Gurmukh** by Sikh Gurus) **or** not (called a **Manmukh**

The study attempts to integrate conceptualisation of externality as found in economic discipline with that of its counterpart in social-cum-religious arena. By using a random sample of hymns enshrined in AGGS, it enlists the set of attributes of a **Gurmukh** – a symbol of positive externality - and that of its counterpart, a **Manmukh** – a symbol of negative externality. Commonalities involved in the creation process of a Gurmukh and production on one hand, and destructive attributes of Manmukh and consumption on the other, and their respective positive and negative externalities on the rest of the society and environment are deciphered as well. To minimise the adverse societal effects of the extreme segment of Manmukhs, Jails, at present, act as a quarantine institution. To promote the growth and spread of attributes of a Gurmukh, the institutions of education, schools, colleges and universities need due societal attention commands the philosophy propagated by Sikh Gurus.

by Sikh Gurus). While the word **Gurmukh** (as such or as a root) is associated with 1612 hymns in **Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS)**, the word **Manmukh** (as such or as a root) is associated with only 531 hymns. What are these attributes that are spelled in hymns (**Gurbani**) adorned in **Aad Guru Granth Sahib**? Are external influences on society of a **Gurmukh** and a **Manmukh** also spelled by Gurus? The rest of the paper attempts to find an answer to these questions and explore their policy import.

## GURMUKH: A SYMBOL OF POSITIVE EXTERNALITY

A set of attributes which a *Gurmukh* possesses are that he is (i) without selfishness and conceit, (ii) without deception and wickedness, (iii) without egotistical pride, (iv) never utters a bad/harsh word to anyone, and (iv) totally truthful, content and pure. Such a person who understands and deliberates within – a thoroughly conscientious person - and “sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day, and manifests the excellence of the Lord”, a *Gurmukh*, is, obviously, a rare person. Apart from according social recognition to a *Gurmukh*, the **positive externalities** of a *Gurmukh's* acts assure social recognition to the other members of his immediate family and, at times, even the distance members of the family. For, a company of the holy persons, according to Sikh Gurus, slowly transforms the habit forming such ingredients of the value system of its existing and new entrant members as enable them **to keep at bay the five evils**, namely passion, anger, greed, attachment and ego; **to admit wrong doings** to free oneself from their filth, **to settle conflicts, to stabilise the mind and to manifold enhance endurance**. The ultimate impact of such positive changes on one's friends, acquaintances and relatives is that they too get redeemed.

Interestingly, there are **commonalities in production** – an economic conceptualisation - and *Gurmukh* – a social-cum-religious conceptualisation. Both deal with creation. While production deals with creation of utility to satisfy the human body needs, a *Gurmukh* focuses on creation of such mind controlling attributes as may channelize and direct its energies for production of such goods as may maintain environmental harmony as well as social harmony. Similarly, economic production process invariably involves the production of, apart from the focussed product, a by-product and an externality. For instance,

production of wheat, an agricultural crop, side-by-side produces straw - an animal feed – on which blossoms wheat; excreta produced by animals – a by-product of animals - acts as crop yield enhancing manure, thus, putting a multiplier process in motion. Pollination of neighboring crops by bees kept for production of honey is another example of positive externality (also called external benefit or external economy or beneficial externality).

## MANMUKH: A SYMBOL OF NEGATIVE EXTERNALITY

In contrast, the set of attributes of a *Manmukh* are (i) self-willed, (ii) polluted with egotism, wickedness and desire, (iii) live in filthy dwellings and eat filth from filthy kitchen, (iv) engrossed in emotional attachment to egotism their behaviour is not balanced or detached, and (v) darkness abounds in their bodies and mind which makes them restless. As a consequence, a *Manmukh* becomes a filthy, rude and evil, stubborn and falsehood practitioner and, as a consequence, loses his honor and behave like an **unwanted bride**, and, ultimately, get **stuck like a fly on sweet molasses to rot** or drowns himself without water. Because of their ingrained behavioural past actions, *Manmukhs* refuse to be taught and as such do not fit at all with others. In brief, a *Manmukh* can be characterised as a self-willed, self-opinionated and ego-centred or ego-guided individual whose council is generally base and demeaning. Being under the control of five base emotions of lust, anger, greed, attachment and egotism, a *Manmukh* displays the corresponding five outward tendencies of being amorously passionate, furiously aggressive, covetously possessive, blindly infatuated, and proudly egoistic. Apart from according **poor social recognition** to a *Manmukh*, the negative social externality of a **self-willed *Manmukh*** member of a family

is that other close and distant members of his family/clan also get the tag of social disrepute. This is owing to the fact that they practice falsehood and deception and endlessly slander others to enjoy falsehood rewards in the company of like-minded wicked persons who often pass off as genuine persons but retain their behaviour of a venomous snake who even when fed on milk remains filled with poison. In brief, the company of wicked persons, the *Manmukhs*, steadily transforms the habit forming ingredients of the value system of their close-knit families, initially; and, slowly but steadily, that of the society at large.

Interestingly again, there are **commonalities in consumption** – an economic conceptualisation - and *Manmukh* – a social-cum-religious conceptualisation. Both deal with destruction of utility. While consumption destroys inherent utility of goods, a *Manmukh's* mind gets controlled by body related propensities that direct its energies for production of such goods as may destroy environmental harmony as well as social harmony. For instance, self-driven leadership resulted in the partition of Indian continent during 1947 that caused massive dislocation and killings – a vivid example of negative social externality. Pollution of air in the vicinity of a factory is an economic example of **negative externality** as it results in lowering utility of air; initially, it causes displeasure owing to its adverse effect on life-style of the residents and, later, higher medical expenses owing to deteriorating health of the community, particularly of its youngsters and senior members.

## CONCLUSIONS

The hallmark of Sikh philosophy is propagation of attributes associated with the concept of a *Gurmukh*; its reference weight is three-fold higher (1612 hymns) than that associated with a *Manmukh* (531 hymns). The policy import of the preceding analysis is the

need to exercise caution when picking up company where choice is available, and when the choice is constrained, exercise control over the windows of your mind to the behavioural acts your conscience refuses to approve. It is in this context, Gurus Nanak recommended the spread of good people, the Gurmukhs, across space to optimise the societal gains from their positive social externalities on the one hand, and quarantine the wicked persons, *Manmukhs* so that society is protected from their negative social externalities, on the other hand.

Under the reform movement, jails represent an application of such a thought process to restrain the extreme segment of *Manmukh*. School and Universities, the pyramids of cultivating the mind in positive direction represent another application of this thought process; the place where young minds are prepared to climb the ladder that develops the traits of a *Gurmukh*.

To promote the growth and spread of attributes of a Gurmukh, the institutions of education, schools, colleges and universities need due societal attention commands the philosophy propagated by Sikh Gurus. Unfortunately, Sikh leadership in the Indian Sikh State of Punjab do not endorse this; otherwise, rural youth of Punjab would not have been as neglected as it happens to be; only 4 percent of University students of Punjab came from rural Punjab during 2005-06 though 79.27 percent of the Sikhs lived in rural areas as per the 2001 Census.

### SUPPORTING INFORMATION

1. Guru may be considered as a living replica of God who is unique, invisible, indestructible, creator and maintainer of universe.
2. ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਆਪੁ ਗਵਾਏ || The Gurmukhs eradicate selfishness and

- conceit from within. (AGGS, M3, p 125)
3. ਅੰਦਰਹੁ ਕਪਟੁ ਵਿਕਾਰੁ ਗਇਆ ਮਨੁ ਸਰਜੇ ਜਿਤਾ || Deception and wickedness have departed from within him, and he easily conquers his mind. (AGGS, M3, p 512)
  4. ਰਹਿਮੈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਖੇਈਐ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਸੁਖੁ ਹੋਇ || The Gurmukhs shed their ego; attuned to the Naam, they find peace. (AGGS, M3, p 29)
  5. ਮੰਦਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਆਖੀਐ ਪੜਿ ਅਖਰੁ ਏਰੇ ਬੁਝੀਐ || Do not call anyone bad; read these words, and understand. (AGGS, M1, p 473)
  6. ਸਤੁ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਸਭੁ ਸਚੁ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਵਿਤਾ || The Gurmukh is totally truthful, content and pure. (AGGS, M3, p 512)
  7. ਕੇਈ ਬੁਝੈ ਬੁਝਣਹਾਰਾ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਬਿਬੇਕੁ ਕਰਿ || (AGGS, M4, p 646); ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਬੇਕ ਬੁਧਿ ਹੋਇ || The Gurmukh is blessed with spiritual wisdom and a discerning intellect. (AGGS, M3, p 317)
  8. ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁਆ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੁ ਕਰਿ ਰਖੀਐ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਲਾਈਐ ਚਿਤੁ || Hold this mind steady and stable; become Gurmukh and focus your consciousness. (AGGS, M4, p 314)
  9. ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਗੁਣ ਰਵੈ ਗੁਣ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਕਿਤਾ || Night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and manifests the excellence of the Lord. (AGGS, M3, p 512)

10. ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਗਲੇ ਤਾਰੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਨਮੁ ਸਵਾਰਣਿਆ ||੩|| They save themselves, and save all their families and ancestors as well. The Gurmukhs redeem their lives. ||3|| (AGGS, M3, p 125); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਮੰਨਿ ਵਸਾਵਣਿਆ || They save themselves, and save all their families and ancestors as well, when they enshrine the Lord's Name in the mind. (AGGS, M3, p 128); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਦਰਗਹ ਠਾਕ ਨ ਪਾਵਣਿਆ || They themselves swim across, and they save all their ancestors and families as well. In the Court of the Lord, they meet with no obstruction. ||7|| (AGGS, M5, p 130); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਉਧਾਰਾ || They save themselves, and save all their family and ancestors as well. (AGGS, M3, p 160); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੈ || They save themselves, and save all their generations as well. (AGGS, M3, p 117; M3, p 230; M1, p 662; M1, p 877); ਨਾਮੇ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਉਧਰੇ || Through the Naam, all one's generations are saved. (AGGS, M5, p 863); ਨਾਨਕ ਆਏ ਸੇ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ਭਏ ਜਿ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੇਨਿ || O Nanak, their coming into the world is approved; they redeem all their ancestors. (AGGS, M3, p 951); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਤਿ ਸਿਉ ਜਾਇਦਾ || You shall save yourself, and save all your generations as well. You shall go to the Court of the Lord with honor. (AGGS, M5, p 1076); ਆਪਿ ਤਰੈ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰੇ ਜਿਨੀ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮਿ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਈ || Those who are lovingly focused on the Lord's Name save themselves; they save all their ancestors as well.

- (AGGS, M3, p 1131); ਆਪਿ ਤਰਹਿ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਤਾਰਹਿ ਜੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ ॥ Those who enter Your Sanctuary, Lord, save themselves, and save all their ancestors as well. (AGGS, M3, p 1155); and ਬਿਦਰੁ ਦਾਸੀ ਸੁਤੁ ਭਇਓ ਪੁਨੀਤਾ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਉਜਾਰੇ ॥ Bidar, the son of a slave-girl, was purified, and all his generations were re-deemed. (AGGS, M5, p 999).
11. ਸਾਧ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਆਵਹਿ ਬਸਿ ਪੰਚਾ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, the five passions are brought to rest. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  12. ਸਾਧਸੰਗਿ ਮਲੁ ਸਗਲੀ ਖੇਤ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, all filth is removed. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  13. ਸਾਧਸੰਗਿ ਸਭੁ ਹੋਤੁ ਨਿਬੇਰਾ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, all conflicts are settled. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  14. ਸਾਧਸੰਗਿ ਅਸਥਿਤਿ ਮਨੁ ਪਾਵੈ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, the mind becomes stable. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  15. ਸਾਧੂ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਅਜਰੁ ਸਰੈ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, one can endure the unendurable. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  16. ਸਾਧਸੰਗਿ ਸਾਜਨ ਮੀਤੁ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੈ ॥ In the Company of the Holy, one's friends, acquaintances and relatives are redeemed. (AGGS, M5, p 271)
  17. ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮੈਲੇ ਮਲੁ ਭਰੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਵਿਕਾਰੁ ॥ The self-willed manmukhs are polluted. They are filled with the pollution of egotism, wickedness and desire. (AGGS, M3, p 29)
  18. ਮੈਲਾ ਚਉਕਾ ਮੈਲੈ ਥਾਇ ॥ ਮੈਲਾ ਖਾਇ ਫਿਰਿ ਮੈਲੁ ਵਧਾਏ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮੈਲੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਪਾਵਣਿਆ ॥੭॥ Filthy is that kitchen, and filthy is that dwelling; eating filth, the self-willed manmukhs become even filthier. Because of their filth, they suffer in pain. ||7|| (AGGS, M3, p 121)
  19. ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਮੇਹਿ ਵਿਆਪਿਆ ਬੈਰਾਗੁ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਨ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਲਾਗਿ ॥ The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in emotional attachment; they are not balanced or detached. The self-willed manmukhs wander around lost, but they do not know the True Guru. They are inwardly attached to egotism. (AGGS, M3, p 29)
  20. ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਅੰਧੁ ਹੈ ਤਿਸ ਨਉ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਠਾਉ ॥ The minds and bodies of the self-willed manmukhs are filled with darkness; they find no shelter, no place of rest. (AGGS, M3, p 30)
  21. ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮੈਲੀ ਕਾਮਣੀ ਕੁਲਖਣੀ ਕੁਨਾਰਿ ॥ The self-willed manmukh, the foolish bride, is a filthy, rude and evil wife. (AGGS, M3, p 89)
  22. ਮਨਮੁਖੀ ਮਨਹਠਿ ਹਾਰਿਆ ਕੂੜੁ ਕੁਸਤੁ ਕਮਾਇ ॥ The self-willed manmukhs, through stubborn-mindedness and the practice of falsehood, lose the game of life. (AGGS, M3, p 87)
  23. ਆਵਣੁ ਜਾਣਾ ਜੰਮਣੁ ਮਰਣਾ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਪਤਿ ਗਵਾਈ ॥ Coming and going through birth and death, the self-willed manmukhs lose their honor. (AGGS, M3, p 31)
  24. ਮਨਮੁਖ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਵਣੇ ਜਿਉ ਦੇਹਾਗਣਿ ਤਨਿ ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ॥ The self-willed manmukh performs religious rituals, like the unwanted bride decorating her body. (AGGS, M3, p 31)
  25. ਗੁੜੁ ਮਿਠਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਪਸਰਿਆ ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਲਗਿ ਮਾਖੀ ਪਚੈ ਪਚਾਇ ॥੧॥ Maya spreads out like sweet molasses; the self-willed manmukh is stuck like a fly, rotting away. ||1|| (AGGS, M4, p 41)
  26. ਮਨਮੁਖ ਅੰਧੁ ਨ ਚੇਤੀ ਡੂਬਿ ਮੁਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਪਾਣੀ ॥੧॥ The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not even think of the Lord; they are drowned to death without water. ||1|| (AGGS, M3, p 31)
  27. ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਲੋਕੁ ਸਮਝਾਈਐ ਕਦਰੁ ਸਮਝਾਇਆ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਰਲਾਇਆ ਨਾ ਰਲੈ ਪਇਐ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਫਿਰਾਇ ॥ The self-willed manmukhs may be taught, but how can they really be taught? The manmukhs do not fit in at all. Because of their past actions, they are condemned to the cycle of reincarnation. (AGGS, M3, p 87)
  28. The feverishness of this pursuit causes the man to remain in continual turbulence and suffering in the karmic whirl of birth and death. For details refer to Jaswant Singh Neki's entry on "MAN" in Encyclopedia of Sikhism, Punjabi University, Patiala.
  29. ਆਪਿ ਡੂਬੇ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਡੇਬੇ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਬਿਖੁ ਖਾਵਣਿਆ ॥ They drown themselves and drown their entire family; speaking lies, they eat poison. (AGGS, M3, p 124); ਦੁਸਟਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਦੇਸਤੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਸੰਤਾ ਵੈਰੁ ਕਰੰਨਿ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਡੂਬੇ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਸਿਉ ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਡੇਬੰਨਿ ॥ Those who make friendships with the wicked, and harbor animosity to the Saints, shall drown with their families, and their entire lineage shall be obliterated. (AGGS, M3, p 755)

30. ਕੁੜ ਕੁਸਤੁ ਕਮਾਵਦੇ ਪਰ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸਦਾ  
ਕਰੇਨਿ ॥ ਓਇ ਆਪਿ ਡੁਬੇ ਪਰ ਨਿੰਦਕਾ  
ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਡੇਬੇਨਿ ॥ They practice  
falsehood and deception, and  
endlessly slander others. Slandering  
others, they drown themselves, and  
drown all their generations as well.  
(AGGS, M3, p 951)
31. ਇਕਿ ਕੂੜਿ ਲਾਗੇ ਕੂੜੇ ਫਲ ਪਾਏ ॥ ਦੂਜੈ  
ਭਾਇ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਏ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਡੁਬੇ  
ਸਗਲੇ ਕੁਲ ਡੇਬੇ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਬਿਖੁ  
ਖਾਵਣਿਆ ॥੬॥ Some are stuck in  
falsehood, and false are the rewards  
they receive. In love with duality,  
they waste away their lives in vain.  
They drown themselves, and drown  
their entire family; speaking lies,  
they eat poison. ||6|| (AGGS, M3,  
p 124)
32. ਦੁਸਟਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਦੇਸਤੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਸੰਤਾ ਵੈਰੁ  
ਕਰੰਨਿ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਡੁਬੇ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਸਿਉ ਸਗਲੇ  
ਕੁਲ ਡੇਬੰਨਿ ॥੫॥ Those who make  
friendships with the wicked, and  
harbor animosity to the Saints, shall  
drown with their families, and their  
entire lineage shall be obliterated.  
||5|| (AGGS, M3, p 755)
33. ਠਗੈ ਸੇਤੀ ਠਗੁ ਰਲਿ ਆਇਆ ਸਾਬੁ ਭਿ  
ਇਕੋ ਜੇਹਾ ॥ ਬਹੁਤੇਰੀ ਥਾਈ ਰਲਾਇ  
ਰਲਾਇ ਦਿਤਾ ਉਘੜਿਆ ਪੜਦਾ ਅਗੈ  
ਆਇ ਖਲੇਹਾ ॥ The deceiver abides  
with the five deceivers; it is a  
gathering of like minds. Mixed and  
mingled with others, he was passed  
off as genuine in many places; but  
now, the veil has been lifted, and he  
stands naked before all. (AGGS, M5,  
p 960)
34. ਸਪੈ ਦੁਧੁ ਪੀਆਈਐ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਵਿਸੁ ਨਿਕੋਰ  
॥੧੬॥ Even if the venomous snake  
is fed on milk, it shall still be filled

- with poison. ||16|| (AGGS, M3, p  
755)
35. See "Vasde raho, Ujad Jao" – Sakhi  
Series – 3. P. 6. Where Ujad Jao  
means "may you get dispersed"  
and Vasde raho means "may you  
prosper". These words were  
pronounced by Guru Nanak in the  
company of Bhai Mardana when  
he visited two different villages  
each on a different occasion. On  
questioned by Bhai Mardana, Guru  
Nanak explained "These people  
are good people with great values,  
and if they leave the village and go  
to different parts of the world  
wherever they go they will spread  
these values among the local  
population. More people will get  
influenced and become good and  
ethical (by doing their sangat). The  
world will change for the better."  
hence, the pronouncement of  
Ujad Jao. "Whereas people from  
the first village had no values and  
thus must live there only because  
these are not the values that need  
to be spread" hence, the pro-  
nouncement Vasde raho.
36. [http://www.sikhs.nl/downloads/  
english/sakhi%20series.pdf](http://www.sikhs.nl/downloads/english/sakhi%20series.pdf)
37. Ghuman, Ranjit Singh, Sukhwinder  
Singh and J.S. Brar (2006) Rural  
Students in Universities of Punjab,  
(Punjabi University, Patiala).

