

ON THE MORAL SENSITIVITIES OF SIKHS IN NORTH AMERICA

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*This pride or izzat is one of the Punjabi's deepest feelings,
and as such must be treated with great respect. Dearer to him
than life, it helps to make him the good soldier that he is. But
it binds him to the vendetta.... (Darling 1934: 50)*

The assassination of Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984, allegedly at the hands of her Sikh bodyguards, provoked mixed reactions from Sikhs in North America. News reports immediately following the assassination included pictures and accounts of Punjabi Sikhs celebrating her death in the streets of New York.¹ Nevertheless, the CBS Morning News, on the day following the assassination, was able to find Sikh representatives who, although upholding the legitimacy of Sikh grievances, were willing to condemn Mrs. Gandhi's murder. Thus were viewers of CBS Morning News presented the comments of Harbhajan Singh Puri (the "Siri Singh Sahib" or self-styled "Chief Religious and Administrative Authority for the Sikh Dharma in the Western Hemisphere") and one of his Gora (lit., "white"; i.e., Western) Sikh followers.

At the time of the CBS broadcast I was outraged that the media should once again have constituted "Yogi Bhajan" (as Puri is also known) and one of his few thousand Gora Sikh followers as representative of the tens or hundreds of thousands of Sikhs (overwhelmingly of Punjabi ancestry) residing in North America. I felt that if CBS considered itself obliged to find a "moderate" Sikh to condemn the murder, they could have found a more representative Punjabi Sikh than Harbhajan Singh Puri (a former Indian customs official who founded the "Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization" in 1969 shortly after his arrival in the United States) and they certainly need

not have included one of his non-Punjabi followers as a spokesperson for the Sikhs of North America.²

Subsequently, I have come to rethink my position. In fact, it now seems to me quite appropriate that a Gora Sikh--a North American Sikh "convert"--should have made the most unequivocal repudiation of the murder by a Sikh that I heard in those confused and emotionally charged moments following the assassination. The different moral sensitivities displayed by the Punjabi Sikh celebrants outside the Indian Consulate in New York and by the Gora Sikh spokesman in the studios of CBS present me with the outlines of what I think is a cross-culturally illuminating morality play.

But before exploring this morality play, let me recount another which came to mind often both in the prelude and aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. This one concerns an earlier assassination of a public official by a Punjabi Sikh acting, as apparently were Mrs. Gandhi's assassins, "to preserve the honor" of the Sikh community.

The scene is Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. In 1914, the South Asian community in Vancouver--overwhelmingly Punjabi and Sikh--was a mere ten years old. Nevertheless, it was already a community externally besieged and internally factionalized. Canadian immigration regulations were being manipulated to keep South Asians out of the country and to deport as many of the immigrants as could be shown to be deportable. Activities of the Ghadar (Revolution) Party were particularly worrisome to British, Canadian, and Indian authorities. To provide information on the immigrant community in Vancouver, the Canadian Immigration Department had employed W.C. Hopkinson, a Punjabi speaking Anglo-Indian and former Calcutta policeman.³ In furtherance of his investigations, Hopkinson recruited to his service members of one of the community's factions. One of

Hopkinson's informers subsequently became involved in a shootout in which he killed two and wounded four other Sikhs within the precincts of the local gurdwara ("temple").⁴ Although most Vancouver Sikhs regarded the shooting as an unprovoked and inexcusable sacrilege, Hopkinson was prepared to testify that the man had acted in self-defense. As Hopkinson waited in the courthouse to testify, Mewa Singh, a recently immigrant forest worker and sometime *granthi* (one who reads from and cares for the Guru Granth Sahib [Gurū Granth Sāhib], the Sikh "holy book" regarded as the reigning Sikh Guru), shot him dead. Mewa Singh surrendered immediately, pleaded guilty, and was quickly sentenced to death. In a letter to Hopkinson's widow he "ask[ed] her forgiveness and stat[ed] that he had not acted out of hatred . . . but to wipe off the insults hurled at his countrymen and to preserve their unity" (K. Singh 1964: 6). Mewa Singh was hanged on January 11, 1915.

Nearly sixty-five years later, when I came to do fieldwork with the Vancouver Sikh community (a community not merely still extant after decades of isolation but much grown and diversified through recent immigration, natural increase, and--even--conversion), *shahīd* (martyr) Mewa Singh was still an exemplar to the community. His death was commemorated annually; his name was attached to halls and rooms in the local gurdwaras and invoked in the congregation during the saying of *ardās* (lit., "petition", the communal prayer which includes the remembrance of significant Sikh martyrs); his martyrdom was appropriated by various groups and attached to various causes.⁵

One group which did not invoke Mewa Singh's example to the same degree as others was the group of a dozen or so Gora Sikhs at the local Guru Ram Das Ashram. My distinct impression was that these new North American Sikh converts preferred to celebrate the more socially and

temporally distant and morally unequivocal heroic martyrdoms of the Sikh Gurus (and other early exemplars) as these are recounted in the Sikh hagiographic tradition. Recent historical figures, whose political and personal motives were perhaps more transparent, and, thus, morally more complex to North Americans, seemed to provoke ambivalence. In any case, my Gora Sikh informants repeatedly emphasized that they were a "religious" group and, therefore, did not involve themselves in Indian "politics". As later would be the case in their response to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, their actions indicated that, despite affirming Guru Gobind Singh's teachings that "when all else fails, it is right to draw the sword", they were not totally comfortable resorting to murder to avenge the "insult to the Panth" suffered as a consequence of Hopkinson's perjured testimony or Mrs. Gandhi's desecration of the Akal Takht.

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In this paper I want to draw out the implications of these two morality plays--and others involving actions considerably less extreme (from the Western Judeo-Christian point of view) than murder--to suggest that the moral sensitivities of Gora Sikhs and of Punjabi Sikhs (and, in this regard, particularly those of the dominant Jat Sikhs) are not only different but differ in culturally specific ways. In particular, I want to suggest that the notion of *izzat* ("honor"), which is apparently so central to Jat Sikh "moral affect," is not shared by Gora Sikhs.⁶ As a consequence, as I will show, Gora Sikhs are largely insensitive to the role of *izzat* in the lives of Jat Sikhs (that is, as it informs both Jat Sikh actions and Jat Sikh reactions to the actions of Gora Sikhs). And this difference in moral affect, I argue,

enters into the active estrangement of Gora Sikhs and Jat Sikhs and their (mis)apprehension of one another.

Following Michelle Rosaldo, I use the term "moral affect" to indicate "emotions that involve clear conscious, social, and cultural components (and attendant questions of judgment and morality)" (1983: 136, fn. 4). A Western focus upon and valorization of rationalized, readily-codified systems of knowledge--as apparent in the anthropologist's search for the norms or rules of an alien culture as in the convert's search for *orthodoxy* in an adopted religion--has for too long led us to overlook the affective dimensions of other peoples' experience. Yet, ironically, it is precisely in the area of "emotions", less amenable to direct personal articulation and formal codification than are "beliefs", that culture shock and cross-cultural tensions are most likely to be experienced and least likely to be reconciled. Yet, because the language of the emotions so often partakes of what Pierre Bourdieu (1976: 118, fn. 1) has called "the discourse of familiarity," outsiders (be they anthropologists or converts) find it difficult to experience and represent the affective world of others. Moral affects like *izzat*, because they "involve clear conscious, social and cultural components" are perhaps easier to gain access to with our everyday or conventional social scientific vocabularies than are emotions like fear, anger, or sadness (although these, too, involve moral appraisals of social situations). At the very least, the former are more likely to emerge as overt issues in cross-cultural interaction. It is this fact that leads Rosaldo to argue that anthropologists interested in emotions "might do well to work from instances like these, where the relevance of culture is clear, towards cases where it is more problematic . . . (1983: 136, fn. 4; emphasis in the original).

But what does this mean operationally? Recent criticism of the classical "cultures of shame" versus "cultures of guilt" analyses (as per, e.g., Benedict 1949) has gone beyond contesting the empirical generality of the opposition between the two (Piers and Singer 1953) to emphasizing not only the different kinds of shame and guilt encountered in different cultures (Geertz 1973 [1966]) but also the different kinds of "selves" to which these terms can appropriately be applied (Rosaldo 1983, 1984). In the shift from "culture and personality" to "concepts of the person" and "ethnopsychology", "shame" and "guilt" have gone from being *explicans* to being *explicandum*. Anthropological attention has correspondingly shifted from using (Western) psychological idioms to characterize cultural differences towards understanding the social and cultural construction of emotions themselves through understanding various culturally constituted social "selves". Thus, for example, M. Rosaldo's insightful account of "shame" among Ilongot headhunters (1983), with its exploration of the very different cultural conception of the self that "shame" presupposes among the Ilongot and among Americans, stands as an exemplary analysis of the social construction of "self" (as moral agent) and "emotion" (as moral affect).

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As might be expected of a moral affect, "*izzat*" is a multivocalic term defying simple translation.⁷ Conventionally it is glossed in English as "honor", but it is central to a whole complex of emotionally charged values including honor, respect, reputation, shame, prestige, and status.⁸ The term is of Arabic and Persian derivation, and is thus tied to very similar concepts among Muslim groups of Southwestern (and South) Asia;⁹ but it has also gained wide currency in the languages of the non-Muslims of North India. It

infuses Sikh culture to the extent that, since the 17th century, the landholding Jats of Punjab, for whom *izzat* is a particular concern, have come to predominate within the Sikh Panth.¹⁰

It is also a deeply-rooted, affective concept which informants have a hard time defining and discussing, especially with an outsider. In attempting to make the concept intelligible and palatable to this Western researcher, informants often spoke in moral platitudes: "*izzat* means 'honor thy father and mother'" or "*izzat* means 'looking out for the good of the family'." More revealing than direct discussions of it in the abstract, therefore, were after-the-fact discussions of events in which informants asserted that *izzat* had been involved.

Retention, acquisition, or reacquisition of *izzat* is apparently a common motivating force in Jat Sikh social action. From undertaking migrations, employment, or marriages to seeking retribution (or, in less morally-loaded terms, rebalance) for wrongs and injustices (or, in less morally-loaded terms, defeats, slights, offenses) suffered at the hands of others, informants see *izzat* serving as both impetus and rationale for social action.

Joyce Pettigrew has written in some detail of the role that *izzat* plays in rural Jat Sikh socio-political life in the Punjab. I quote at length from her monograph:

Relationships of extreme friendship and hostility between families were actively involved with the philosophy of life embodied in the conception of *izzat*--the complex of values regarding what was honourable. If a Jat achieved power for his family he automatically enhanced family honour. Power was honour and honour was power. In a situation where a

family had no power it was inconceivable that it could have 'honour', as it would not be able to defend the content of that honour from another family. The rise to power of a family into an 'honourable' position was inevitably accompanied by threats and litigation, and sometimes also by violence and murder.

That aspects of *izzat* according to which the relationships between families were supposed to be ordered emphasized the principle of equivalence in all things, i.e., not only equality in giving but also equality in vengeance. *Izzat* was in fact the principle of reciprocity of gifts, plus the rule of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Giving was an attempt to bring a man of another family into one's debt, and acceptance of the gift involved the recipient in making a return, not necessarily in kind or immediately, but at the moment appropriate to the donor. Not making the return could break the relationships and develop further hostility. *Izzat* enjoined aid to those who had helped one. It also enjoined that revenge be exacted for personal insults and damage to person or property. If a man was threatened he must at least threaten back, for not to do so would be weakness. The appropriate revenge for murder was likewise murder. *Izzat* was also associated with sanctioned resistance to another who trespassed into what was regarded as the sphere of influence of one's family. This 'other' might be other Jats belonging to the opposing faction; in the past it also applied to the state and foreign powers ... (Pettigrew 1975: 58-9).

Pettigrew's account touches on a number of concerns central to *izzat*: the concerns with power, reciprocation, protection of one's social domain. The last lines of her account even suggest the way in which outsiders (such as Mrs. Gandhi or Hopkinson) may become parties implicated in the pursuit or defense of *izzat*. In a footnote which I have not quoted, she notes other crucial aspects of *izzat*: e.g., that, for Jat Sikhs, *izzat* is attached to landholding and to such occupations as military and administrative service and that it is tied to "a multitude of rules concerning the behaviour expected of men in relation to women, and vice versa ... "(1975: 240).¹¹ (Although these are perhaps less directly relevant to her concern with political factions, they are crucial to understanding *izzat* in the migrant situation.)

As Pettigrew notes, one aspect common to all of these concerns is freedom from the constraints and demands of others and a concomitant ability to put others in one's debt or under one's dominion. Pettigrew's own study is focused upon political leadership, and she has therefore stressed aspects of the sociopolitical domination of individuals by other individuals (as is exemplified in the book's title: *Robber Noblemen*). But as a moral affect, *izzat* is preeminently a concern for the honor and reputation not of individuals per se but--insofar as personal prestige is subordinate to the collective evaluation of the group--of groups (the family, faction, lineage, village, caste brotherhood, religious community, etc.). Moreover, it is a fluid and relative rather than a fixed and absolute attribute of persons. By this I mean both that it is gained and lost in the give and take of social life and that one may act in the interest of any of the collectives of which one is a part with the honor redounding to all the collectives.¹² Punjabis thus speak of *izzat* as a quality of certain persons which must be zealously guarded and continually expressed in agonistic pursuits.

Migration has long been one way through which Jat Sikh families have sought the means to maintain or raise family *izzat*. By sending away "excess" or "wayward" sons (that is, those who would otherwise cause fragmentation of family landholdings or whose actions might undermine the family's reputation) and by using migrants' remittances and connections in military or administrative circles, Jat Sikh villagers have sought to further or maintain *izzat* in the ancestral village.¹³ Foreign migration, especially to countries in the West, is, however, thought to be particularly risky. On the one hand, it has been seen as presenting unparalleled opportunities through which a Jat Sikh family might (im)prove its *izzat*. Thus, for example, by frugal living abroad, the migrant will ideally be able to remit large amounts of capital to the family back home for investment in land and farm implements, a pukka house, expensive doweries, maintenance of retainers and clients, and conspicuous philanthropy. At the same time, however, foreign migration presents considerable temptations to individuals to pursue actions having negative effects on family or group *izzat*. Thus, it is feared that the migrant may forget his responsibilities to his family by, for example, not saving and sending money home or by engaging in inappropriate sexual or marital relations abroad. A real ambivalence is felt about the risks and benefits of sending family members abroad. Most Jat Sikhs are not, however, averse to taking risks.

Moreover, in most situations of foreign migration, *izzat* is an important concern for Jat Sikhs in both the migrant setting and the home village. That is, accounts of the migrants' actions abroad circulate both within the migrant community and back in the village at home and affect the family's *izzat* in both places. Jat Sikh children living in Western countries thus continue to be socialized in sensitivity to actions which might bring

their family or community into disrepute. And, since *izzat* is crucially entailed--and becomes relationally indexed--in political contests and marital matches, much emotional energy in migrant communities continues to be put into intra-community factional politics and in arranging proper marriages for family members. Consequences of this continuing concern for *izzat* include not only the high degree of Sikh endogamy among Punjabis settled in Western countries but also the apparent willingness to forgo status gains (in Western terms) to ensure the continued good reputation of the family.¹⁴

Arthur W. Helweg, in his study of migrants from the Punjabi village of Jandiali living in the English town of Gravesend, not only notes the two communities of significant others, villagers at home and fellow-migrants, but also points to a presumed third audience. In his interesting chapter on the role of *izzat* in the lives of his informants (1979:10-19), he writes:

In Gravesend the Punjabis are deeply concerned about their *izzat* or *mann* as evaluated by three different audiences:

(1) villagers in Punjab, (2) Punjabis in England, and (3) the English host community. The first two categories have the strongest influence on their behaviour but it is interesting to note how the Punjabis have projected their own culture onto the host group. According to their self-assessment of *izzat*, esteem in the eyes of others is not dependent upon another group sharing a similar concept. *Izzat* is so entrenched in Sikh Jat culture that an appreciation of it can be projected on to outsiders. Both in England and India, Punjabis are concerned that they and their fellows exemplify honourable behaviour. In effect, this projection of their own values on the British

serves primarily to rally their own sense of superiority over the host population (Helweg 1979:11).

This Jat Sikh projection of sensitivity to *izzat* onto Western society is also an important factor in understanding Jat Sikh and Gora Sikh misunderstandings and conflicting moral sensitivities. I will return to this point shortly. First, however, let me discuss briefly the Sikh population in North America.

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Impelled by various push-pull factors (drought, epidemics, rural indebtedness in Punjab; the prospect of ready jobs and cheap passage to North America), Punjabi migrants first settled in Canada and the United States during the first decade of the twentieth century. From that point until the late-1960s, the overwhelming majority of Punjabis in North America were Jat Sikhs from Doaba (the plains area of Punjab between the Beas and Sutlej rivers). The original Sikh immigrants were predominantly male laborers and farmers who had served in the British Indian army. Most came to North America as sojourners, intent on making their fortune and returning home to the Punjab to retire in comfort and honor on the family farm. Although many of these early immigrants returned home within a few years (either through deportation or voluntary repatriation [in fact, a number returned as Ghadarite revolutionaries]), the vast majority of those who stayed eventually settled in either British Columbia, where they became concentrated in lumber and lumber-related industries, or in California, where they pursued the traditional Jat occupation of farming.

After long and arduous struggle, the early immigrants were finally permitted to sponsor for immigration their Jat Sikh wives, children, and relatives. Although the relatively few non-Jats among the early migrants

apparently mixed freely with their fellow Punjabi Sikhs, the overwhelming preponderance of Jats meant that Doabi Jat Sikh practices largely defined the Sikh identity as it developed in North America.¹⁵ Only since the liberalization of Canadian and American immigration policies in the mid-1960s have significant numbers of non-Jats been a part of an extensive Sikh immigration coming not only from India but from the United Kingdom, East Africa, East and Southeast Asia, and Fiji as well. As I have discussed elsewhere (1981, 1988), this new influx not only has led to the establishment of new Punjabi Sikh communities (especially in the larger metropolitan areas where Sikh professionals have found employment) but also has had significant repercussions in the long-established communities of British Columbia and rural California.¹⁶ Nevertheless, within most Punjabi communities in North America, as within the Panth in India, Jat Sikhs continue to (pre)dominate.

If Jat Sikhs in North America are increasingly confronted by other kinds of Punjabi Sikhs (i.e., Sikh migrants of other castes), these are at least kinds of Sikhs with whom they are familiar from Punjabi society. The unprecedented "conversion" of thousands of Westerners to Sikhism is quite another matter. Making sense of the heretofore anomalous category "Gora Sikh" has and is taking some effort.¹⁷

In 1968, Harbhajan Singh Puri, whose Khatri Sikh family had come to New Delhi at partition as refugees from Pakistani Punjab, quit his job as a customs official at Delhi's International Airport and left for Toronto to become a yoga instructor. However, the Canadian who had recruited him for the position had died in the interim. Puri was thus without job or sponsor. Fortunately for him, he soon secured sponsorship from a Punjabi Sikh in Los Angeles where he settled and began teaching yoga courses (at the East-West

Cultural Center, at a local community college, and out of a storefront). Now calling himself "Yogi Bhajan," Puri proved a compelling teacher. Having found a receptive core of students (initially: middle-age, female, "spiritual seekers"; subsequently: young, white, middle-class refugees from the "counter-culture"), he soon established for them an ashram (a "spiritual commune", as his students would have it). There he taught his "Kundalini Yoga: The Yoga of Awareness," offered occasional "Tantric Yoga Intensives," and imposed upon his followers the structure and discipline of what he called "the healthy, happy, holy way of life." In 1970, the Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization (or 3HO) was formally incorporated as a tax-exempt educational organization. By then, Puri was already sending his newly-trained "student teachers" to other cities in North America to teach Kundalini Yoga and to establish additional ashrams. During the early 1970s, the organization's primary orientation was towards recruiting new members through yoga classes and establishing new ashrams where, Puri now claims, members were being purified and prepared to accept their calling as Sikhs. At this point, however, Puri "continued to teach about Sikh Dharma in an indirect way" (Khalsa and Khalsa 1979: 119).

Puri had, however, slowly begun to disclose his own Sikh background and to introduce Sikh teachings to his closest followers. In 1971, he took eighty-four of them to India where they visited the Golden Temple and surrounding shrines. At the Akal Takht, the highest seat of Sikh spiritual and temporal power, the group was cordially received and Puri was honored for his missionary work. Returning home with what he represented as a mandate to spread the message of Sikhism in the West, Puri began to supplement and supplant his primarily yogic explanation of "the healthy, happy, holy way of life" with a more explicitly Sikh account. Puri also began

to use the title "Siri Singh Sahib," a title which, he claimed, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (the organization legally empowered to control the historical Sikh gurdwaras in the Punjab) had given him and which he rendered, liberally, as the "Chief Religious and Administrative Authority for the Sikh Dharma in the Western Hemisphere." In 1973, Puri was successful in having the Sikh Dharma Brotherhood (later recast in non-gender specific language as, simply, Sikh Dharma) officially registered as a tax-exempt religious organization legally empowered to ordain Sikh "ministers" who would have the authority to perform marriages, to provide the last rites, and to administer the *amrit pāhul*¹⁸

Puri's own transformation from "Yogi Bhajan" to the "Siri Singh Sahib" corresponded roughly to a change from a yogic to a Sikh identity on the part of 3HO members. The change did not take place overnight; but once convinced by Puri that his "healthy, happy, holy way of life" was an orthodox Sikh one, most 3HO members did not hesitate to make a formal commitment to their new religion. And Puri provided unprecedented opportunities for 3HO members to express their commitment, not merely holding the traditional *amrit pāhul* ceremonies but introducing Sikh "initiations" and "minister ordinations" as well. The change from a yogic to Sikh identity on the part of 3HO members also corresponded to a change in emphases within the organization from recruiting new members and founding additional ashrams to maintaining the established group, raising a second generation, and gaining credibility as upholders of Sikh orthodoxy in North America.¹⁹

Today, perhaps three thousand Gora Sikhs live with their families in or near the approximately one hundred 3HO ashrams in North America (and in scattered cities abroad). Their visibility (e.g., their distinctive white uniforms and Indian-sounding names), their aggressiveness in pursuing their

"religious rights" (e.g., exemptions from dress codes and safety rules which would require their giving up turbans and other external symbols), and their frequent critical commentary on the practices of Punjabi Sikhs in North America (see Kaur 1973, 1975) have made them known beyond what their numbers might otherwise warrant. Punjabi Sikhs in North America, in particular, are well aware of their existence. And this is particularly so in places, like Vancouver, where Gora Sikhs have attempted to become involved with the local Punjabi Sikh gurdwaras.²⁰

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The contrast between Jat Sikh and Gora Sikh moral sensitivities has emerged at various points in their social interaction in North America. I focus first on two cases from my fieldwork in Vancouver which suggest very different Jat and Gora perspectives on their unfolding interaction. Each case is simultaneously an instance of the Gora Sikh failure to appreciate the considerations of *izzat* which underlie the actions of Jat Sikhs and of the Jat Sikh projection of *izzat* concerns onto the actions of Gora Sikhs.

One of the Gora Sikhs' complaints about Punjabi Sikhs in Vancouver is their factionalism--or, as the Gora Sikhs put it, "East Indian politics." They express despair and frustration over the factionalism within the Punjabi Sikh community and regard the bitter and often violent struggles for control of the local gurdwaras (and other community institutions both in North America and in India) as incompatible with the practice of the Sikh religion. By the time of my fieldwork in 1978-79, most members of the local JHO ashram had withdrawn from all but very limited involvement with the management committees of Vancouver's Punjabi-run gurdwaras.

Such had not always been the case. Soon after the founding of a JHO ashram in Vancouver (circa 1972-73), Gora Sikhs attempted to become actively involved with the two preexisting Vancouver Sikh gurdwaras, both dominated by Doabi Jats. Their motivation was largely ideological. Convinced by Puri that they were the true upholders of Sikh orthodoxy in North America, Gora Sikhs had become highly critical of certain changes which had crept into local gurdwara protocol in the years since the early migration. Especially egregious to them was the practice of appearing bareheaded in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib. In pursuing efforts to ensure that this sacrilege not continue and that headcoverings be made mandatory in the main gurdwara, the Gora Sikhs became involved in an escalating conflict between local Sikh factions.²¹

During previous research with JHO, I had been present in Vancouver during the summer of 1974 when a pitched battle, provoked in part by the Gora Sikhs' attempt to force those entering the gurdwara to cover their heads, erupted at the Khalsa Diwan Society's gurdwara in south Vancouver. In the course of this encounter, both Gora Sikhs and Punjabi Sikhs were assaulted: turbans were pulled off, several people were roughed up, and police were ultimately called in to restore order.²² The incident included a reported threat in Vancouver on the life of Puri, who was accompanying visiting Punjabi Sikh dignitaries on a North American tour.

The Gora Sikhs' despair and incredulity (and, ultimately, their incomprehension) over the whole situation is well summed up in the title of a letter ("What are the Sikhs doing in Vancouver?") which the head of the local JHO ashram wrote to the English-language section of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee's journal, *Gurdwara Gazette* (G.R. Singh 1975). Subsequently, the Gora Sikhs grew so frustrated with the factional

politics surrounding the gurdwara management committees in Vancouver that they withdrew from the arena.²³ Instead, they chose to continue to spread their version of proper Sikh practices by urging Punjabi Sikh participation in the Sikh Youth Federation of Canada (which they had established with sympathetic Punjabi Sikhs to proselytize among Punjabi Sikh youth and to provide legal support of Sikh "religious rights"), by attempting to establish an alternative place of worship at the short-lived Siri Guru Sadan (a gurdwara-cum-community center located in the "alternative lifestyles" section of town; a.k.a. "New Age Community Centre"), and by inviting sympathetic Punjabi Sikhs (both local residents and visiting musicians and "preachers" brought from India) to services held in the gurdwara which they maintained at their own Guru Ram Das Ashram.

Although local Gora Sikhs viewed their withdrawal as a principled one (i.e., eschewing divisive politics in favor of concentrating on practice of the Sikh religion), many Jat Sikhs interpreted the Gora Sikh withdrawal as retreat in the face of a public humiliation suffered in the arena of gurdwara politics. Misunderstanding the Gora Sikhs' motivations to enforce the practice of orthodox ideology, Jat Sikhs misinterpreted their estrangement. For Jat Sikhs, *izzat* rather than ideology provided the explanatory framework.

The Jat Sikh feeling of moral superiority over a potential challenger was reinforced soon thereafter. In attempting to fund their "Siri Singh Sadan" as an alternative place of worship, the Gora Sikhs twice went before the *sahgat* (congregation) at the Akali Singh Society gurdwara to ask for donations. Jat Sikhs were surprised that the Gora Sikhs would so shamelessly solicit and accept charity--in effect, "lowering themselves" by coming not simply once but twice to ask for assistance and then, in the end,

not making a go of the endeavor anyway. Informants were even more incredulous that, having put themselves in debt to the congregation, Gora Sikhs would dare to continue to voice criticism of Punjabi Sikh practices. Several times informants cited this incident to suggest that the Gora Sikhs knew no shame (i.e., were lacking in *izzat*). Their reactions seemed a clear indication that Punjabi Sikhs were content to make a moral judgement of the situation using the familiar emotion term whether or not the converts shared their moral sensitivities.

From the Gora Sikhs' perspective, in attempting to establish the Siri Guru Sadan, they were simply offering to create another public setting for the reading of the Guru Granth Sahib; and by collecting from the congregation, they were offering other Sikhs the chance to contribute toward this religiously meritorious cause.²⁴ Since they did not consciously relate to those at the Akali Singh gurdwara along group lines or see this as a matter of collective prestige, they apparently did not feel that success or failure would redound to them as Gora Sikhs. They were disappointed that in the end they did not have the financial wherewithal to keep open this place of worship; but, without a Jat Sikh sensitivity to *izzat*, they never felt humiliated by receipt of Punjabi Sikh largess and subsequent failure of their project. In fact, I do not think that they ever appreciated the negative implications of this incident for their reputation in the local Punjabi Sikh community.

Very briefly, let me add two other examples of public actions which provoked very different reactions from Gora Sikhs and Jat Sikhs. The first predated my arrival in Vancouver in 1978 but was still actively discussed. In a nearby community a Jat Sikh man had murdered his wayward daughter. The daughter had apparently run off with a *gorā* ("white man") and was

living openly with him. Rather than continue to suffer this humiliation of his family, her father had killed her in a reportedly brutal manner. Gora Sikhs, like Canadians generally, condemned unconditionally the killing and evinced horror at the very thought of filicide. My Jat Sikh informants, though by no means condoning *to me* the man's actions, nevertheless evinced sympathy with his predicament (and recounted other, similar stories). In fact, such situations of unapproved, mixed relationships have increasingly arisen in the migrant setting. Other parents have handled the dilemma of wayward children in ways that sought to remove the source of their humiliation by social rather than physical death. Thus ostracization and outright denial of the wayward family member's existence are common responses to *izzat*-threatening deviance.

The second case, arising subsequent to my departure in 1979, involved the defection of the head of the local JHO ashram and the decision of his wife to stay on without him in Vancouver. When the publically recognized leader of the local Gora Sikhs quit the group, took off his *bañā* (i.e., the Khalsa uniform), left behind his divorced wife, child, and "students", Gora Sikh detractors widely represented this as proof of the superficial nature of Gora Sikh "conversions". Even among those generally sympathetic to the Gora Sikhs, the defection dealt a severe blow to the Gora Sikhs' reputation.

Even more illuminating were responses to his wife's decision to stay. There is no doubt but that the Gora Sikhs considered the defection of their local leader an unfortunate event and one that their detractors in the Punjabi Sikh community would probably use against them. The leader's wife (their marriage had been arranged by Puri who had sent them to Vancouver in 1972 to found an ashram) felt torn between her desire to save her marriage and family, and her responsibility to the ashram and to its projects in the

wider Vancouver Sikh community. She represented her ultimate decision to stay as a sign of her commitment to the Sikh *dharma* (moral duty).²⁵ In effect, she would sacrifice her marriage to remain a Sikh and provide service as well as leadership to her community. Fellow Gora Sikhs applauded her choice which, they hoped, would show the local Punjabi Sikhs that even though one of their number was an apostate, the rest were steadfast Sikhs. It is not clear that this was how Punjabi Sikhs responded. Although they told me that her commitment to Sikhism impressed them (even as they expressed shock at her husband's lack of commitment), it is doubtful that many Jat Sikh women would have taken the same actions. Since the family is a repository of *izzat*, *izzat* suffers when marital discord becomes public knowledge. Indeed, Punjabi Sikh families go to great lengths to keep others from learning about the family's intimate life. Women, in particular, have a responsibility to protect the integrity of the family's reputation, even where this might mean maintaining a public fiction. In this instance, informants suggested that a wife's duty would be to follow her husband (and, if possible, work quietly to bring him back into the fold).

I hope by now that my point is clear. The difference between Jat Sikh and Gora Sikh moral sensitivities in North America might well be summed up by suggesting, as did one of my reflective Jat Sikh informants, that the Punjabi Sikh community in Vancouver is, in his terms, "pre-ideological" but instead highly-sensitive to *izzat* in social relations. In contrast, the Gora Sikhs are highly ideological but operate entirely without recognition of or sensitivity to *izzat* as moral affect.²⁶

Let me return, at last, to the different responses of North American Sikhs to the news of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. My point is, of course, not that no Jat Sikhs were willing and able to condemn the assassination or that no Gora Sikhs felt that she had, in some sense, brought her death upon herself. Rather, my point is that most Jat Sikhs (including such "moderates" as Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the Akali Dal leader who was subsequently assassinated for negotiating an accord with Rajiv Gandhi) felt the destruction of the Akal Takht as a humiliation inflicted upon the Panth, a humiliation demanding some counteraction to restore Sikh *izzat*. In contrast, the Gora Sikhs regarded the destruction of the Akal Takht as a desecration, but ultimately as the unfortunate consequence of "Indian politics." They responded by urging a cessation of the politics which threatened the religion and demanding a return of Sikhs to their *dharma*.

If the dominant tenor of moral sentiments expressed in Gora Sikh pronouncements at the time was one of righteous indignation and exasperation, that of Jat Sikhs was one of humiliation and vengefulness. Thus, in the months between Operation Bluestar and the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, Punjabi Sikhs spoke of the need to remember those Sikhs martyred by government troops, of the need to avenge the death and desecration which occurred in the assault on the Akal Takht, and of the need to restore the honor of the Sikh Panth.²⁷ At the same time, Gora Sikhs (in such contexts as *Beads of Truth*, the semiannual organ of JHO), also spoke of the "martyrdom of Akal Takhat [sic]" but argued for a "negotiate-for-solution and do not be revengeful" posture.²⁸ If most Jat Sikhs felt that the "martyrdom of the Akal Takht" was occasion for a pledge of vengeance and retribution, the Gora Sikhs felt that it was occasion for a pledge "to

improve any aspect of our individual performance as *gursikhs*" (H. S. Khalsa 1984: 44).

Reminded by Michelle Rosaldo (1983, 1984), Catherine Lutz (1983, 1986), and Owen M. Lynch (this volume) that emotions are culturally constructed moral affects constitutive of the self, we are now in a position to ask not only "what are the different moral affects experienced by Punjabi Sikhs and Gora Sikhs?", but moreover "what is it about the different social selves that makes *izzat* such a key moral affect for Punjabis but, in the same social situation, elicits no comparable emotional response from Westerners?"²⁹ To ask the latter question is not to suggest that Punjabis are somehow inherently more emotional and less rational than Westerners. Indeed, the benefit of looking at moral affect is that one need not make an opposition between the emotional and the rational. As long as their socialization experiences continue to differ, Jat Sikhs--raised sensitive to the variable reputations of the collectivities of which they are a part--and Gora Sikhs--raised sensitive to their personal integrity as individuals--will differ in their emotions as appraisals of common situations. But Gora Sikhs can be said to be as "emotional" as Jat Sikhs, only the moral affect that is their appraisal of these contexts is not *izzat* but indignation and exasperation at failure to live up to one's religious duties.³⁰

Although the dominant Euroamerican ethnopsychology and ethnosociology may continue to regard emotion as antithetical to morality, moral judgements are clearly central to the sorts of appraisals of social situations crucial to a moral affect like *izzat*. This should lead us to rethink the classic analytical oppositions between emotion and moral code, sentiment and structure, individual and society, personal experience and

cultural construct. As I have suggested, concepts like *izzat* are particularly good candidates for analysis because they so clearly involve both moral and affective dimensions. Yet, the very centrality of *izzat* and related concepts in peoples' emotional lives commonly leads those who experience a particular moral affect to assume its universality (rather than to reflect upon its relativity), and thus to make familiar moral appraisals in new settings and to project a similar moral sensitivity onto others.

But clearly *izzat* is not a universal emotion. Rather it is a socially-learned moral appraisal with attendant affective dimensions. The same situation, as we have seen, will elicit very different emotional responses from different persons, depending upon their prior socialization.³¹ Moreover, it is not situations as such that elicit certain kinds of emotions; rather, it is the appraisal of them that is different, and this is identified by an emotional term. We must necessarily be alert, therefore, to the ways in which people of different cultures are socialized into different universes of moral affect. However, because we live in a world of cultures-in-interaction--where, for example, young North Americans are being asked to present the Sikh reaction to major Indian socio-political events, it no longer makes sense to content ourselves with drawing out contrasts between, for example, Hongot "shame" and American "shame" or Jat Sikh "honor" and American "honor" as if they were analytic specimens of emotions existing only in separate social universes. Instead, we must also recognize and interpret those instances where cultural differences in moral affect express themselves in mutual (mis)apprehensions of social actors in shared interaction. With Gora Sikhs and Jat Sikhs attempting to incorporate one another in a common moral universe, one can thereby investigate "moral affect" in the breach. And, since these situations of cross-cultural

estrangement will be patterned, knowing the particulars about how, say, *izzat* is entailed and indexed in social life will help make public events--such as the differing Punjabi Sikh and Gora Sikh reactions to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination--intelligible. That has been the intent of this analysis.

Notes

Acknowledgements. This paper draws on fieldwork conducted in 1978-79 in Vancouver, British Columbia, with Punjabi Sikhs and Gora Sikhs and on fieldwork conducted in 1972 and 1974 in the western United States and Canada with the Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization. It benefits from continuing archival research and from ongoing conversations with Sikhs throughout North America. I would like to thank Elizabeth Coville, Owen M. Lynch, McKim Marriott, W.H. McLeod, Paul Reisman, and the participants in the conference on the "Anthropology of Experience, Feeling, and Emotion in India" for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. I absolve them of any responsibility for the paper's weaknesses.

¹ See, for example, the New York Times, November 1, 1984, p. 13.

² Puri is from the Khatri (mercantile) rather than Jat (agriculturalist) section of the Sikh Panth (community). Khatri claim elevated status within the Panth by virtue of the fact that Nanak, the first Sikh Guru (preceptor), and his successors were all Khatri. However, although Khatri remain an influential caste in the urban areas of Punjab, Jats have come to predominate within the Panth. This is true among the Sikh diaspora as well as in the Punjab. The concern with *izzat* (honor), the topic of this essay, is especially a Jat Sikh concern. The fact that Puri is a Khatri and not a Jat may have something to do with his response to the assassination, but it cannot entirely account for the moral sensitivities of his *gora* followers.

³ The Ghadar Party was a revolutionary organization, centered in North America, which sought the overthrow of British rule in India. Although the

leadership of the Party came from the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh immigrant intelligentsia, support of the immigrant Punjabi Sikh masses was crucial to its ability to raise funds and volunteers. Hopkinson had been used elsewhere along the Pacific Coast by Canadian and American agencies interested in gathering information on potentially revolutionary activities among South Asian immigrants. For a detailed analysis of the Ghadar Party, including discussion of Hopkinson's activities, see Puri (1983). Although he does not discuss the concept directly, Puri's analysis suggests that appeals to *izzat* were effective in generating support from the Sikh immigrants of peasant stock, as "heaped symbols of shame and oppression were used to generate a certain auto-intoxication of disgrace" (Puri 1983: 119).

⁴ *Gurduārā* (or *gurūdvārā*) comes from *gurū* (preceptor) + *duārā* (door) = "the residence of the Guru." I employ the more commonly encountered Anglicized spelling, *gurdwara*, throughout this paper.

⁵ I speak of a "Sikh community" in Vancouver to the extent that most self-described Sikhs in Vancouver continue to seek to influence one another's lives in the name of common membership in the Sikh Panth. The local East Indian Defence Committee--an offshoot of the Indian and Canadian Communist Parties (Marxist-Leninist)--celebrates (at its own "Desh Bhagat Temple") Mewa Singh as one of a line of local Sikhs (including Ghadar revolutionaries, Indian National Army soldiers, and recent Naxalite terrorists) martyred through their involvement in revolutionary anti-imperialist and class struggle. The Khalsa Diwan Society and the Akali Singh Society (at their respective gurdwaras) represent Mewa Singh as a local martyr who, like earlier Sikh martyrs in India, gave his life for the

perpetuation of his people and his religion in the face of hostility from the dominant society. The appropriation of Mewa Singh's martyrdom by such different groups suggests that he is a significant collective symbol of a "Vancouver Sikh community."

⁶ I employ the conventional transliteration, *izzat*, which reflects the pronunciation of the term in the Majhi dialect (of the Amritsar-Lahore area) on which literary Punjabi and most Punjabi dictionaries are based. The pronunciation in the dialects of Doaba and Malwa (the areas of the Punjab south of the Sutlej River from which most of my informants originate) is more accurately rendered as *ijjat*.

⁷ A near-synonym, commonly used in Doabi Jat Sikh conversation, is *mān* ("respect, prestige, pride, veneration, arrogance").

⁸ Malcolm Darling, the British Indian civil servant whose classic books on Punjabi village life (*The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, *Rusticus Loquutus*, and *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*) constitute a regrettably ethnocentric, yet nonetheless valuable, ethnographic record, recognized both the importance and difficulty of the concept. He notes of *izzat* that it is "a word for which there is no precise English equivalent, denoting objectively, social position, and subjectively, *amour-propre*" (1934: 42, fn. 3). See also the discussion of the term in Pettigrew (1975: 58-59).

⁹ See, for example, Charles Lindholm's (1982) illuminating discussion of personal honor as central to the social organization and emotional life of the Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan.

¹⁰ W.H. McLeod (1976: 37-58) discusses in some detail the way in which what we have come to regard as general Sikh characteristics (including the outward Khalsa form and the martial reputation) are largely Jat customs and attributes institutionalized within the Panth. McLeod argues convincingly that the living human Sikh Gurus (all of whom were Khatri) gradually came to adopt Jat practices as Jats came to predominate among their followers. Nevertheless, even today the Panth continues to include those Nanakpanthis who emphasize the more quietistic teachings of the first Guru, as well as those "orthodox" Sikhs who emphasize the militarism of the Khalsa (whose creation is credited to Guru Gobind Singh, the last human Sikh guru). If one can speak of emulation of the "dominant caste" within the Sikh Panth, one would have to recognize the remnants of contending Khatri and Jat models. Concern with *izzat* is not normally the intense concern for Khatri that it is for Jats and may partially account for the Jat stereotype that Khatri are, by nature, cowardly and spineless. It appears that Jats and Khatri are socialized with different transactional strategies (see Marriott 1976, especially pp. 132-3) and, consequently, different moral sensitivities.

¹¹ In his recent, posthumously-published book, *Women's Seclusion and Men's Honor* (1988), David Mandelbaum identifies and analyzes what he terms a "purdah-izzat complex" extending--with some regional, caste, class, and religious variation--from Pakistan, through most of northern India, to Bangladesh.

¹² Mrs. Gandhi's assassins will, by having acted to defend the honor of the Panth, also presumably ensure the honor of their families and descendants.

In fact, Beant Singh, the Sikh bodyguard and one of the presumed assassins who was himself slain during the incident, is already being honored as a martyr in his village; and his shrine will likely continue to be focal point of veneration by members of his lineage.

¹³ Sending individuals away from the village is, of course, something quite different than migrating together as a family unit. The preference for the former type of migration (which does not involve relinquishing landholdings in the ancestral village) may distinguish landowning Jat Sikhs from other Punjabi migrants.

¹⁴ I do not believe that *izzat* tells the whole story about Sikh endogamy (see Dusenbery 1988, 1989), but it plays a significant role. Vaughn Robinson (1980) notes how concern for *izzat* works against the marriage opportunities of highly-educated, British-raised Sikh girls whose sexual purity and ability to submit to the demands of life in her husband's family may be brought into question by exposure to Western society. My own research suggests that Jat Sikhs in Vancouver have sought to avoid certain jobs (e.g., cleaning, service, sales) which, while they may bear no stigma to non-Punjabi Canadians, are deemed beneath the dignity of a Jat Sikh and detrimental to family reputation.

¹⁵ Most of my informants estimated the percentage of Jats among the Sikh "oldtimers" in British Columbia at ninety percent or more. The lowest estimate known to me is Adrian C. Mayer's, who writes that "the vast majority of Vancouver Sikhs are from the same caste -- the Jat. Perhaps not more than one-fifth represent other castes . . ." (1959: 13).

¹⁶ For accounts which attempt to assay the effects of the recent immigration on particular North American Sikh communities, see Buchignani, Indra, and Srivastava (1985); Chadney (1985); Dusenbery (1981); La Brack (1983, 1988). For a general overview and specific case studies of Sikh migration and the experience beyond Punjab, see Barrier and Dusenbery (1989).

¹⁷ I have discussed this process in greater detail in, especially, Dusenbery 1986, 1988, 1989; see also Dusenbery 1981.

¹⁸ The *amrt pāhul* or *amrt sanskār* ceremony effects the incorporation of one into the Khalsa Panth, the so-called "Brotherhood of the Pure" (see Dusenbery 1989). By tradition, any five worthy Khalsa Sikhs can be constituted as the *pañj piāre* (lit., "five beloved") to administer this ceremony. Puri's institutionalization of Sikh "ministers" is but one of his innovations in building an ecclesiastical hierarchy unprecedented among Sikhs.

¹⁹ I analyze the commitment mechanisms used in the early JHO recruitment process in Dusenbery 1973. I focus on the yogic to Sikh transformation of the organization in Dusenbery 1975.

²⁰ For an account of early Gora Sikh involvement with Punjabi Sikh gurdwaras in Los Angeles, see Fleuret (1974). For accounts of early Gora Sikh involvement with Punjabi Sikh gurdwaras in Northern California, see La Brack (1974, 1979) and Bharati (1980).

²¹ Somewhat conflicting accounts of the factional dispute can be found in accounts commissioned by the British Columbia Police Commission (D. Singh 1975: 39-44), reported in the Sikh press by the head of the local JHO ashram

(G.R. Singh 1975), produced by an outside UNESCO researcher (Scanlon 1977), and presented in a University of British Columbia master's thesis (Campbell 1977: 74-102). See also Dusenbery (1981). The main factional disputants were a "businessmen" faction, so-called because it drew its strength from the successful, established immigrants who had seen to the building of the present gurdwara in the late-1960s, and a more "orthodox" faction, representing recent immigrants and numbering among its leaders some non-Jat professionals with whom the Gora Sikhs believed themselves to have some affinity. The source of most of the violence was a "communist" cadre of Naxalites affiliated with the East Indian Defence Committee and the CCP-ML, a group which each of the two major factions felt was working in league with its opponents.

²² For Punjabi Sikhs, pulling off a man's turban is a serious challenge to his *izzat*. Similarly, roughing up someone in public is as much an assault on his *izzat* as it is on his physical person. (For comparative purposes, see the detailed discussion of "the dialectic of challenge and riposte" in "the competition of honour" among the Kabyle of North Africa in Bourdieu 1966.)

²³ Aside from occasionally attending gurdwara functions, the only semi-official relationship that any of the Gora Sikhs maintained with either of the two main Vancouver gurdwaras was through a "Sunday school" class taught by the wife of the ashram head at the Akali Singh gurdwara. After I left Vancouver, members of the local ashram ran a Montessori School on Khalsa Diwan Society property. But even that relationship soon dissolved with recriminations on both sides.

²⁴ Contributions towards the construction, improvement, or maintenance of a gurdwara are meritorious gifts to the Guru. Since the amount of a donation is public knowledge (amounts of gifts are read to the congregation and subsequently published), conspicuous philanthropy is both religiously meritorious and secularly good for one's reputation. As a consequence, gurdwaras tend to be quite lavishly endowed institutions in wealthy settings. During my fieldwork, several million dollars worth of property purchases, building projects, or expansions and remodellings were scheduled at some seven present or planned gurdwaras in the greater Vancouver area.

²⁵ I have employed the Sanskritized form, *dharma*, rather than the Punjabi, *dharam*, because that is the form used by the Gora Sikhs. In everyday conversation, Gora Sikhs use "Sikh *dharma*," "Sikh religion," and "Sikh way of life" interchangeably.

²⁶ I would argue that, whereas they are insensitive to *izzat* as a moral affect, the Gora Sikhs have a highly legalistic understanding of "the dharma" as a moral imperative underlying their ideology and actions. It seems telling not only that the Gora Sikhs call their religious body, Sikh Dharma, but moreover that their claims to orthodoxy rest on strict adherence to the "moral duty" they identify with the Sikh *rahit maryādā* (lit., "prestigious code for conduct"). A generally accepted version of the *rahit* was formally issued by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee in 1950. The fact that most Punjabi Sikhs are ignorant of and indifferent to the exact contents of this document--and, especially in the case of Jat Sikhs, would not feel their identity as Sikhs dependent on strict adherence to its rules of conduct--merely confirms the Gora Sikhs in their conviction that they,

rather than the body of Punjabi Sikhs, are the true upholders of "the dharma". For a further discussion of the Gora Sikhs' understanding of 'religion', see Dusenbery (1981, 1986, 1989). For the text of and commentary on the Sikh Rahit Maryada, see McLeod (1984: 79-86).

²⁷ "Blood for Blood" ran the lead headline in Vancouver's Punjabi-language *Indo-Canadian Times* (Vol. 7, no. 23) for the week ending June 15, 1984. Elsewhere, the intense emotions Punjabi Sikhs experienced at the time are partially reflected in the following accounts: "We have suffered and suffered terribly in every respect during the last 2 years. Our prestige has gone down. Our honour has been compromised and the very source of our spiritual sustenance [sic] has been cruelly hit" (W. Singh 1985: 42). "Some of us outside Panjab had visualized the possibility of alienation which the entry of troops into gurdwaras would create among the Sikhs. But we had not reckoned with the intensity of the humiliation they have felt. Every Sikh we met was distressed by the Army action. They think that there has been an assault on their identity" (Chowdhury and Anklesaria 1984: 143); "Virtually to a man, the 14 million strong [Sikh] community felt as if it had been slapped in the face The feeling of hurt and humiliation among Sikhs runs so deep that they seem to feel that they are a persecuted minority" (K. Singh and K. Nayar 1984: 37, 41); "The Sikhs feel totally alienated and isolated. Their pride and self-respect have been badly hit and the festering wound inflicted may take decades to heal, though the memory of the tragic happening will remain treasured in the Sikh psyche" (B. Singh 1984: 4a).

²⁸ See, for example, the following articles: S. Premka Kaur Khalsa (1984), S. Parwha Kaur Khalsa (1984), Harbhajan Singh Khalsa (1984), Sikh Dharma Secretariat (1984a, 1984b).

²⁹ The articles in Peristiany (1966) on "honour" and "shame" in Mediterranean society, although not systematically focused on the contrast of the person in Mediterranean and modern Euro-American societies, do nevertheless contain valuable insights into the very different social selves presupposed. Peristiany and other contributors to the volume point out that "honour" in Mediterranean societies is the concern of equals or near equals interacting in public settings. In Punjabi society, *izzat* as a moral affect is similarly relevant to public relations between would-be elite persons, families, or castes. Within the private sphere of the family and in public interactions with inferiors or superiors, other moral appraisals apply.

³⁰ Punjabi Sikhs and Gora Sikhs construe "*dharma*" in very different ways. For Gora Sikhs, Sikh *dharma*, as a "religious" code for conduct, constitutes a privileged source of ultimate morality applicable across all contexts. For Punjabi Sikhs, Sikh *dharma*, however privileged it may be, is but one of a number of moral codes for conduct impinging upon the person. See Dusenbery (1988, 1989) for a more detailed discussion of the different concepts of the person presupposed by Gora Sikhs and Punjabi Sikhs.

³¹ Even fear of dangerous things in children may be more culturally learned than innate. Catherine Lutz reports that "academic psychologists have begun to accumulate evidence . . . suggesting that the number of danger response elicitors present from birth is much smaller than was once thought" (1983: 257). If this were considered in a cross-cultural context, it might be nil.

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