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Panel 18
Settled Strangers: Why do South Asians in Diaspora remain Outsiders?

Gurdwara, Sikh Youth and Identity Politics in London:

A Case Study of the Hounslow Gurdwara and British Sikh Youth Identity

What role does the Sikh temple play in the formation of British Sikh Identity for the youth in London? Does it help, hinder or ignore the process of citizenship and communitarianism? Ethnographical interviews, secondary source literature and observational fieldwork will also show that the youths' identity goes beyond the popular concept of being "stuck between two worlds". Using the gurdwara as a case study, it is suggested here that Sikh youth are considered British citizenry (or "natives") by their predecessors, the contagion society in London and by themselves. Understanding the impact of Vertovec's "super-diversity" on Ballard's model of South Asian religious groups' identity manifestation will show that the resultant Sikh youth identity is one of "universal personhood"; much akin to these youths' "British" peers. In this way the Sikh generation "3.0" in London cannot be considered as "settled strangers".

Introduction

Sikh youth, their identity and consideration as "British" can be analysed through various theoretical concepts of identity process and citizenship. For instance there exist pertinent concepts based on the relevance of religion in literature such as Kibria (2008) and Gap Min (2005), there are those that detail an urban surrounding as a key factor to cosmopolitan identity formation [Vertovec (2007) and Delanty (1999)]. Other writers put identity configuration down to the result of the interplay between politics and diaspora such as Cohen (1996), Mandair (2007) and Vertovec (2001). And finally research from writers such as Smith (1948) suggests post-colonial "synthesis" is more important for this century-long relationship between Sikhs and Britain. However by delving deeper into the community through an ethnography conducted in contemporary times; it is observed that within the Sikh youth encountered, there is a new development to British Sikh identity. The analysis will show that few new components exist; it is in the main a restructuring of the same factors but with considerable repercussions for Sikh British identity, in so much as it "elongates" it beyond an "ethnic" identity[1].

The identity of the first and to a lesser extent, the second generation of Sikhs in Britain was formed via ethno-religious identity challenges that faced the general South Asian immigrant settlers, the process was mainly political[2] and sought equal rights for access to goods and services (McGowan: 2008). For the second generation of Sikhs in Britain these same challenges stand out in fostering a "Sikh presence beyond numbers" within British society through precedents in law making. In many instances this was a case of the original settlers and their children looking to express themselves in the same way as they may have done in

[1] The term "ethnic" is utilised here to imply the maintenance of a group heritage that is based on a common descent and historical culture and that also transfers into a self-perpetuating closed membership (Barth:1969)

[2] Hansen: 1968.

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India as their "homeland". An important example of this is the Law Lords' ruling which categorised Sikhs as an "ethnicity" following the 1983 court case of *Mandla vs. Dowell*[3]. This meant that their inherited lifestyles; including their outward appearance was under legal protection as a civil right.

The current (mainly British-born third) generation undergo a new process of identity formation that in many ways follows the changes that the wider British society has undergone since the 1950s. The new process is no longer only a struggle for equal rights and access to community resources such as education or Housing, nor is it a chance for professional work or enjoying leisure time. The Sikh community's youth members in this case study find that identity is determined by negotiating religious, secular and cultural components of their lives as "citizens" in a "super-diverse" London. They exhibit a set of values and employ "end-product criteria" that is based on the country of their birth (Britain in most cases) and not always in direct relation to India. In many cases they have a much-reduced sense of India as a "homeland" - they consider Britain to be just that[4].

As disparate as the generations may appear, running as a common filament between all the three generations interviewed is Ballard's "transnational reconstruction" model of South Asian religions (1996: 16-31 and 2011: 10: table 1). The model employed the Indic terms: *dharmic, qaumic, panthic, kismetic and sanskaric* to describe the constituent identity parts of adherents of religious based South Asian communities such as Sikhs[5]. When applied to the empirical

[3] The case was brought against a school that had refused entry to the plaintiff's son on grounds of him wearing a turban. See *http://www.bailii.org/uk/cases/UKHL/1982/7.html* (accessed 20th January 2012).

[4] It should be noted that this is a generalised observation as many do Sikh youth not interviewed may still maintain strong and active links to India in religious, familial and social ways, for instance even in the interviewees there were instances of marriage into families that were resident in India.

[5] A transliteration of the terms is as follows; *panthic and kismetic* mean the spiritual / occult, *dharmic* and *sanskaric* the social and *qaumic* the political. Please also see the transcribed version in Table .1.

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data collected in the case study; a definite pattern emerges. The youth interviewed still have these parts of their identity but in different "proportions and intensities" when compared to the older generations interviewed. The key areas of difference are *qaumic, dharmic* and *sanskaric* where whilst the terms are still useful; they may now include a wider definition of society.

Whereas before the terms may have applied to the Sikh / South Asian religious community; they are utilised here to conceptualise the influence of the wider society in London and not just those that share the youths' religious and cultural heritage. Adopting the social (*dharmic and sanskaric*) and political (*qaumic*) to include the non-Sikh elements of society leads to a Sikh youth identity that "lends" and "borrows" elements to the construction of not just a Sikh identity but a British identity. Putting the two concepts together, this is used as a definition of a new phase in the development of British Sikh youth identity in this work. Additionally, a further observation is that this British Sikh youth identity is defined by the increased acculturation and the "universal citizenship" of the Sikh youth[6]. The last term being a result of a detailed cross testing of this variation in the Ballard model with the concept of "post-nationalism" (Koopmans: 1999). This idea suggests that a person's "rights of existence" takes precedent over any operative laws in a nation's judicial and civic governance system. I suggest that the Sikh youth studied in this work are exemplary of "post-national" citizenry and not "settled strangers".

Methodology

Qualitative research was collected using semi-structured one to one voluntary interviews carried out with 22 youth aged 18-30 at the Hounslow

[6] It should be noted that the debate on British citizenship itself is not settled by any means, the nation maybe undergoing critical analysis reflected in changes to "sacrosanct" institutes such as the dissolution of the House of Lords, the possible Bill of Human Rights (Everson: 2003).

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gurdwara premises (The SGSS) and within the Borough itself in West London. Investigating a "top-down" transmission of identity, temple management, staff and parents were also interviewed as prospective "transmitters" in the case study. The field research also included the attendance of management meetings, observing discussion groups on Sikhism, weekly prayer ceremonies, weddings, birth / death ceremonies and youth-only events. Other events included free services offered such as the language classes, health lectures and public workshops involving the immigration and armed forces ministries. An example of the areas discussed was the religious institute - the gurdwara. A sample guide question was; "If teaching your non-Sikh friends about the Sikh identity, would you bring them to the Gurdwara?" An academic ethics committee vetted all questions and proposals.

The length of the ethnography was three months from June to August 2011 and field research was conducted, at varying stages, during all seven days of the week. The weekend generated the most feedback as the attendee levels were at their highest. Interview times ranged from 10 minutes to one hour and consent forms with confidentiality clauses had to be signed. The data was recorded in some cases electronically with access permitted to the dissertation tutor and the respective interviewees. All interviewees were offered the chance to withdraw at any point – none took the opportunity and all recorded interviews in this work are anonymously narrated. Publications such as the temple's self published in-house magazine became key primary literature also to accompany general media such as magazines, TV and film releases. Finally social internet media such as *Facebook* and blog sites such as "*Gurmat Learning Zone*" were also "attended".

It should also be noted that the author is a Sikh male who at that time lived in the same locale as the study group so apart from the inherent reflexivity, an

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"immersion" was made possible though the knowledge of the language and culture. Triangulation techniques[7] were employed to try and counteract any "filling in of gaps" that the researcher may have included, however the shared culture should be viewed as a cautionary barrier to value-free analysis. The researcher's background could also be viewed as a qualification to review and investigate the community as "insider-observer" and produce data that may be harder to obtain by "outsider" researchers.

Sikhs: Their British Setting

As a mise-en-scène to Sikhs in Britain, this section describes briefly the relevant history of an association that has contributed to the identity of both the Sikh and British society. The 2001 UK national census reported over 330, 000 Sikhs, they made up 0.6per cent of the population and currently the UK hosts the second largest Sikh population outside of India (Kaur-Singh: 2010: 197)[8]. Mass migration started post WWII and today, over 70 years later, 56per cent of the Sikh population are British born[9]. In early 20th century there were Sikhs working as peddlers (*bhatras*) in the 1920s and as British Sikh soldiers recuperating after WWI[10]. Before that, Sikhs in Punjab had encountered British travellers during the reign of Ranjit Singh, whose "heir" was exiled to the court of Queen Victoria in the mid 19th century. The Indian Partition (1947-1948) created significant Sikh immigrants to Britain as the "sons of the empire" came "home"[11]. This century-old relationship with Britain has over the last three decades has also become an

[7] Wolcott: 1988.

[8] Putting this into perspective, this outnumbers Irish citizens and people who self classify themselves as "Jewish" (Office for National Statistics "Focus on Religion", 2002 in Peach (2003: 470: Fig.1).

[9] Source: Office for National Statistics "Focus on Religion"; 2002 in Peach (2003: 470: Fig.1).

[10] See Lahiri (2007: 133) and Visram (2002: 181&186). The Chattri memorial in Kent commemorates the mass cremation of these soldiers.

[11] See Fisher, Lahiri & Thandi (2007:159) as well as Hussain and Ishaq (2002: 171-183) for the use of this term.

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important part of events such as the violent incidents at the Harmandir Sahib in 1984[12].

Despite widespread Sikh representation in Britain, the majority of Sikhs are concentrated in the West Midlands, Greater London and the South East. The following areas are colloquially referred to as "Little Punjabs"; Slough, Hounslow, Southall, Wolverhampton, Sandwell, Gravesend, Redbridge, Coventry, Hillingdon, Leicester and Birmingham (Singh and Tatla: 2006: 23). This is due to the chain-link migratory pattern of *biraderi* (brotherhood). Half of Britain's Sikhs live in these areas and 30per cent of them in Greater London. In Hounslow they make up 8.6per cent of the local population and these 18,000 Sikhs are equal to 5per cent of the British Sikh population[13]. As over 56per cent of Sikhs in the UK are now British born, how this generation interacts with their surroundings could be crucial for understanding 21st century British Sikh identity (Kaur-Singh: 2011: 122)[14].

Sikhs and Sikhism

The Sikh religion started off as a reductive idea - much of it a reformist response to the complexities of the then prevalent 15th century Hindu and Muslim religions in India. It is considered essentially humanitarian and at over 500 years old it is one of the world's youngest, yet fifth largest religions with over 21million adherents worldwide[15]. Its place in the post-WWII Sikh immigrants' urban homes is decisive in determining how their youth negotiate identity politics in London's

[12] London's Hyde Park hosted a "Khalistan" rally in 1984 (Bance, Anand and Paul: 2008: 54)

[13] Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics, website, *http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcmper cent3A77-225966*, accessed 6th June 2011.

[14] As an example of Sikhs in British society, the February edition of *Hello!* Magazine (Emery: 2011: 32-35), a popular mainstream publication published an article covering the conversion of Miss Alexandra Aitken to Sikhism and her marriage to Mr Inderjot Singh a member of an austere *nihang* sect of Sikhs, in Amritsar; India.

[15] Kaur-Singh (2011: 197).

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diversity-rich shared spaces. Sikhism is monotheistic and its core theological beliefs can be understood from the lines that prologue the *japji sahib* prayer[16];

> "There is one supreme eternal reality; the truth; immanent in all things; creator of all things; immanent in creation. Without fear and without hatred; not subject to time; beyond birth and death; self revealing. Known by the Guru's grace"
>
> (Translated in Singh: 2010: 19)

Song and hymn form an important part of prayer wherever Sikhs gather, these are called *shabads* and when held as part of a congregational service, the liturgy is called *kirtan*. Sikhs, in varying degrees, also believe in what is popularly known as the "five K's"[17]. These are five religious symbols that originally identified a baptised Sikh from one who was not, this however is a generalisation and not all Sikhs today observing the five K's are baptised. *Seva* or voluntarily serving others is central to Sikhism, hence the existence of the free Gurdwara kitchen *(langar).* Other beliefs include the rejection of empty rituals and superstitions, the equality of all humanity, and of all humanity's direct access to god (Kaur-Singh: 2011: 83).

Sikhs are also split into sects and within contemporary British Sikhs at least five distinctions are noted by Singh and Tatla as the *ravidasis, namdharis, nirankaris, radhasoamis and valmikis* (2006: 153). The reason for this sectarianism is an on-going debate with some Sikh ethnographers suggesting that religious ideological differences are a key reason for these offshoots splintering from the

[16] These lines are probably the best known Sikh prayer - it is called the *mool-mantar*.

[17] The five K's are *kesh* (unshorn hair*), kanga* (hair comb)*, kara* (steel bangle)*, keshara* (under breeches) and *kirpan* (ceremonial scimitar). The process of baptism involves the partaking of holy water or *amrit* and is called *khande di pahul* (McLeod: 2008: 325-331).

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mainstream "*Khalsa discourse*" and the practise of Sikh orthodoxy as Singh and Tatla (2006: 153) term it. To complicate the community further, kneaded into these sects is a caste system inherited from Hinduism's vocational system (Nesbitt in Ballard 1994: 120). The religion may form an important part of Sikh identity, but Sikhism itself creates a challenge before the youth try to reconcile it with the secularised urbanised sphere they move in.

Gurdwaras

> "A society whose members are united by the fact that they think the same way in regard to the sacred world and its relations with the profane world, and by the fact that they translate these common ideas into common practises, is what is called a Church"
>
> (Durkheim: 1965: 59)

This work takes the view that the gurdwara is a defining factor in the dialogue of whether Sikh youth in London are citizens or "settled strangers". Using the Weberian theories on institutions and "bureaucracy" that include the theory of rationalisation, I suggest that the gurdwara has remained a "traditional" influence whilst the Sikh youth in London are "modern" (Weber: 1968). This can be connected with Durkheim's concept of "solidarity", where the Sikhs appear to have gone from "mechanical solidarity" to "organic solidarity" and he gurdwara has remained relatively "mechanical" (Durkheim: 1893). The result of this is that the Sikh generation "3.0" is less influenced by the gurdwara and consider themselves "citizens" as they now resemble and relate much more "efficiently" to the wider London society.

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The *gurdwara*[18] is an organic part of British Sikh society and is considered more than a spiritual node in a Sikh's life; much like in India it remains a focal point of Sikhs and Sikhism (Singh, K: 1977: 223). Sikhism, like the religions it replaced, that of Hinduism and Islam, owes a lot of its practices to a lifestyle[19] system in place already - a fact that is reflected in the gurdwara's roles e.g. the sacred nature of food (*langar*). From birth, the *darbar*[20] is used to celebrate events that span a Sikh's entire life cycle; these include child naming, birthdays, turban initiation, new business ventures, grand purchases, weddings and deaths. The UK's first Sikh gurdwara was established in 1908 as the Khalsa Jatha of British Isles (KJBI) and still exists today in Central London. Peach (2003: 435) uses the term "cathedrals" to describe both the physical look and their statuses as seats of communal power. In 1961 there were only 3 gurdwaras in the UK, but by 2001 these had risen to 193. Similar figures for *mandirs* (Hindu temples) are 1 and 109[21] respectively. Annual accounts report the variety of activities and in 2006, Singh and Tatla (pp. 157-160) reported that gurdwaras' incomes could vary from £100, 000 to £2.27 million.

British Citizenship: A Historical and Contemporary Sikh contrast

Since the 1950s, Sikhs have been protagonists in national debates on identity; especially instances where religious belief is challenged. The Sikh community's successful legal challenges to British civic rights have led to significant advancements in identity politics. It is a community that has historically been the subject of legal precedents that resulted in protection for its

[18] *Gurdwara* directly translates into "The Guru's house". In early 17th century India these Sikh temples were formalised by Guru Arjun for religious, social and communal reasons. Before then, followers met at *dharamsalas* or "places of faith" (Singh: 2006: 113-116 and Kaur-Singh: 2011: 28-30).

[19] Hinduism is often referred to as a "kitchen religion" due to its treatment of foodstuffs, whilst Islam has strict rules on what is consumable and what is not (Gwynne: 2008: 229).

[20] This is the centre space in the prayer hall where the Holy Scriptures are kept.

[21] Peach and Gale (2003: 479: Table III).

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distinctiveness. These include the amendment of the nation's laws to allow for Sikhs to not be discriminated against in the wearing of turbans, carrying ceremonial swords and wearing religious bangles[22]. Recently these experiences have been used by the Sikh community in France to win a UN backing against a 2004 law that banned turbans in public spaces[23].

One British judicial case is worth detailing as it shows the significant "fight" involved in defining Sikhs as an ethno-religious community. The 1983 ruling of *Mandla vs. Dowell* contains the following closing comments of Lord Fraser[24]:

> "... a group is identifiable in terms of its ethnic origins if it is a segment of the population distinguished from others by a sufficient combination of shared customs, beliefs, traditions and characteristics derived from a common or presumed common past, even if not drawn from what in biological terms is a common racial stock. It is that combination which gives them a historically determined social identity in their own eyes and in the eyes of those outside the group. They have a distinct social identity based not simply on group cohesion and solidarity but also on their belief as to their historical antecedents."

Reflecting that a Sikh challenge had succeeded in amending a rule guiding "diversity", it can then be extrapolated that the constitution protecting British life and citizens had been altered to include Sikh identity. As some citizenship

[22] In a very recent example, a Sikh girl in Wales won a court battle to wear the *kara* to school. Website, *http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2008/jul/30/schools.religion*, accessed 1st May 2012. This may indicate that Sikhs still play an important part in debates on "Britishness".

[23] Website, *http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16547479*, accessed 1st May 2012.

[24] The case was brought against a school that had refused entry to the plaintiff's son on grounds of him wearing a turban. See *http://www.bailii.org/uk/cases/UKHL/1982/7.html* (accessed 20th January 2012). There are several other cases of legal challenges by Sikhs to protect their distinctiveness see amongst others Fisher, Lahiri and Thandi (2007).

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debates (Condor and Gibson: 2006, Vertovec: 2001 and Cohen: 1996) centre on constitutional rights e.g. passports, it could furthermore be proposed that the concept of British citizenship itself may have been altered. Based on this, it could also be theorised that this "accommodation of diversity" could be the underlying reason why British Sikh youth I encountered may find greater comfort in being termed both British and Sikh. The nation's laws allow those who are "diverse" to express this, hence a citizenship based not just on the laws of Britain but the basic rights of peoples can be conceptualised[25]. The generations present today within the Sikh community can be viewed as a good "dendrochronology" on debates regarding the boundaries and future of British citizenship and identity.

For the older Sikhs interviewed, those that moved here in the 1960s and 1970s, British citizenship and British rights were legal statuses designed to gain an economic foothold in the UK and in some cases avoid being sent back to India or Africa. British citizenship was considered prestigious due to the British Colonial campaigns in India and Africa[26]. Many first generation Sikh interviewees from India or Africa told positive stories of the effects of the Industrial Revolution and the Victorian Empire. The field research recorded an "upbeat" recollection of the advent of the steam train in India and the rule of law. These Sikhs saw "national pride" in holding British citizenship and most did not see any conflict in being born "Indian" but now considering themselves "British".

Contemporarily and in contrast to their predecessors, the Sikh youth whose majority are British born; do not exhibit the same evaluation towards British citizenship. For example, the Sikh youth discussants see the British passport and

[25] This is a central "pre-condition" of the "post-nationalist" framework used in this paper to analyse the empirical data on British Sikh youth identity (Koopmans: 1999 and Vertovec: 2007).

[26] One of the reasons for this maybe due to the fact that within this generation, significant proportion of Sikhs formed part of the colonial British Forces of the Second World War.

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citizenship as "lifestyle prerequisites" rather than symbols of their position in the world political order. The conversation below between a youth in conversation with an older Sikh shows this:

> Jogi (male, aged 18): The passport allows us to travel really, nothing else much. We don't need visas either to many places, which is good. In fact I don't even know where my passport is right now. My Oyster card[27] is probably more important to me.
>
> Mohinder (female, aged 60: mother to Jogi): What do you mean you don't know where your passport is? I specifically put a safe in the house for us to all keep our passports safe; do you not know how hard we worked to become British?

The older Sikhs thought of themselves as "good citizens" as they valued the British passport and did not want to be a "burden on the state". Some recalled that the British government from 1948 to 1981 had restricted and even stopped the chances of transnational Sikh immigrants obtaining British citizenship and passports. It took significant efforts for this generation to become British citizens, this may partly explain the difference in appreciation of British citizenship[28]. This however made the earlier generation of Sikhs "stand out" and not "fit in", the younger members of this community may not place the same value on this idea of citizenship, but they do consider themselves as "better fitting citizens".

Language was also observed as a key "divider" in terms of British citizenship and Sikh identity; the youth interviewed considered English to be their

[27] This is an electronic card that allows prepaid travel journeys on London's public transport.

[28] For further post-colonial, euro-centric immigration law passing see Hansen (1999: 814) and Hall (2002: 46-50).

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first language whilst for their parents it was Panjabi or Urdu that made up the language of their identity[29]. This caused a difference in the ability to appreciate the surroundings in London and efficiently consume goods and services. In many cases it was the youth who now considered themselves to be "good citizens" and "Londoners". This was because London was an environment in whose successful negotiation depended heavily on the use and understanding of the English language. In this way they felt that the older Sikhs could not hope to be fully "British" as they either were illiterate in it, or were not "comfortable" in its use. This divided the generations on what a "British Sikh citizen" was.

Framing this research within "post-nationalism"; the older Sikhs could be viewed as being "national", whilst the Sikh youth could fit the "universality of personhood". For these youth, the idea and "right" of citizenship is not bound to a political or geographic nation. This contrasts with many older Sikhs interviewed who centre their identity on India, Britain and in some cases Africa. The youth suggest that by eschewing the need to be white, being British born and not having to be of a certain gender, social class or caste, their identity is now "beyond the nation". Many youth did not consider the holding of a passport as being indicative of "British" or being a "citizen"– pointing out as an example; their parents who hold these passports yet do not take part in "British acts" such as exercising their right to protest. They are also much less likely to be "transnational" as they fix their social welfare in Britain.

Pressing the "post-nationalism" model further suggests that reasons for this difference between the two generations' approach is the relatively recent

[29] There is a close link between Sikh identity, Sikhism and the languages of the Sikhs; the importance of language for Sikhs is explored in Mandair A. (2007). Although his work is based on ideas of "Indian identity" and "nationalism", his use of the term "mono-theo-lingualism" reflect this inherency between monotheism (Sikhism) and monolingualism (Panjabi/ [Hindi]).

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rise in "globalism" and "localism" and its affect on citizenship, "attachment" and "belonging"; especially in transnational communities like the Sikhs in London. James (2001: 14-16) uses the terms "globalism, tribalism and individualism" as the "key trends" for the coming "postmodern" generations and the Sikh youth studied exhibited "individualism" rather than "communalism". This had the effect of placing emphasis on different aspects of being British in comparison to their parents and grandparents. These youth share the view of some post-nationalists that "...social integration can bypass ethnicity and nationality..." (Abizadeh: 2004: 231). Given that the wider London community, simply in numbers and daily interaction plays a comparatively larger part in these youths' lives, then as a linear process; this wider community will become increasingly influential in formulating the identity of these youth. Reconciling this growth in "untraditional" influences with the "traditional" identity formers such as family is responsible for this work's entitled "discomfort", which for some discussants was simply viewed as a difference of approach towards citizenship within the Sikh community.

London: A Space for Sikh Diversity

> **"**Never have so many different kinds of people tried living together in the same place before"
>
> [Benedictus and Godwin (in Vertovec 2007: 1024)]

A long history of significant and successful diversity in London would indicate that the city is a fertile "Petri dish" for minority groups such as Sikhs to prosper. This position is only further reinforced by facts such as; Sikhs represent just one of its 179 "nations of origin" residents and the languages spoken by the

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Sikhs numbers amongst the 300 languages in the city - a remarkable feature that is hard to locate globally (Vertovec: 2007: 1029 and 1032).

London remains the nation's and perhaps even Europe's "sweet spot" of ethnic and minority population growth and hence it may also play a significant role in the identity formation of these groups. Using the Greater London Assembly figures of March 2010, two main trends support the "masthead" role that the capital has in defining a British Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) identity[30]. Using this measure the report judges that:

> "By the year 2031, 39 per cent of London's population is projected to be from a BAME group."

Another significant forecast was that:

> "By 2025 seven London boroughs are projected to have BAME populations that represent over 50 per cent of the total."

Both trends are a great deal higher than any other single city in Britain and vastly inflated when compared to the national averages of both measures, where for example the national growth of the BAME population hovers around the 4.1 per cent mark[31].

Having shown that the support for diversity is uncommon, London also stands out as a place for special merit with regards to expression of Sikh identity.

[30] Website, *http://www.london.gov.uk/who-runs-london/mayor/publications/society/facts-and-figures/diversity*, accessed 1st May 2012.

[31] Website, *http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/peeg/population-estimates-by-ethnic-group--experimental-/current-estimates/index.html*, accessed 1st May 2012

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As mentioned earlier, on the 5th of June 2011, approximately 25,000 Sikhs gathered in London's Trafalgar Square to "mark the attack on their holiest shrine in India"[32]. Sikhs all over Europe chose London to mark this important religio-political event thereby highlighting the political importance of London to Sikhs outside of India. This "attachment" to London is further bolstered by the fact that that 30 per cent of all Sikhs in Britain reside in Greater London. London is also home to notable Sikhs such as Fauja Singh, the centenarian athlete who has become a face of British Sikhs and to Gurinder Chadha; the acclaimed international film director of the film "*Bend it like Beckham*", itself a semi-autobiographical film based on and shot in the same London borough this research was conducted: Hounslow.

The London Borough of Ealing's ward of Southall contributed the country's first Sikh Member of Parliament: Pyara Kabra. London has a long political history with regards to South Asians having elected Dadabhai Naoroji, an Indian Parsi, as MP for Finsbury South in 1892[33]. Kulveer Ranger is currently the popular Mayoral Director of Environment and Digital London. Significantly the School of Oriental and African Studies in Central London was the launch pad of the world-wide exhibition; "*The Golden Temple of Amritsar: Reflections of the Past".* In events expanded on later, Sikhs in London created national headlines in the summer 2011 riots as they publicly defended their places of worship. The country's first gurdwara, opened in 1908, is located in West London's Shepherds Bush. The highly visible location of Sikhs and Sikhism in Britain, including the largest gurdwara outside of India is also in a London suburb: Southall.

[32] BBC website *http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-13660218*, accessed 6th June 2011. The author was also in attendance carrying out fieldwork for his MA Thesis.

[33] Visram: 2002: 133-135.

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The capital may in contemporary times be seen as a city that leads the field in being a "community in unity"[34] but in some respects this statement maybe unnecessary given its multicultural history from Roman times (Ackroyd: 2000: 702). A simple online tour of the collection held in the Museum of London shows that its historical importance as a place of migration and minority groups is unrivalled in Britain[35]. However, it is significant to note that it is only after the WWII mass migrations where tensions (mainly racial) have led to large-scale public policy changes (Vertovec: 2007: 1027). As an example are the lasting effects of the 1958 Notting Hill riots that in the summer of 2011 reflected the city importance to minority groups' identity. Despite continued worries of social disorder after the summer riots; Europe's largest street gathering, the Notting Hill Carnival still went ahead with much publicity as an event that would not deter London from expressing its diversity[36]. In this way London remains at the forefront of the nation's "principles" in policy and lawmaking on diversity; including its causal effects on minority groups such as Sikhs[37].

Observing Sikh Youth Identity in London

In his book *Sikhs in Britain*, Gurharpal Singh (2006: 204) provides key theoretical contexts for contemporary Sikh youth identity debates by underlining the role of "globalisation and consumption" and its effect on Sikh "lifestyles".

[34] Closs Stephens: 2007: 155.

[35] See website, *http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/Collections-Research/Research/Your-Research/RWWC/Essays/Essay1/*, accessed 1st May 2012.

[36] Whilst there is ample crossover between the Carnival and the concept of London's distinctiveness, a lack of space commands a note of reference for the interested reader. See Ferris, Lesley. *Social Identities*, Jul2010, Vol. 16 Issue 4, p519-536.

[37] It should be noted here that London is not alone in Britain as a place where diversity and multiculturalism are vaunted, Leicester is also a town has attracted the focus of Gurharpal Singh (2003) in his *Multiculturalism in Contemporary Britain: Community Cohesion, Urban Riots and the Leicester Model* and Vertovec 's (1994) Multicultural, multi-Asian, multi-Muslim Leicester: dimensions of social complexity, ethnic organisation and local government interface,' *Innovation: European Journal of Social Sciences* 7(3): 259-276.

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However, these youth are confident in negotiating Sikhism's "reduced" role in their urbanised lifestyles without feeling any loss as it is also not used as self-identification in the same consistently prominent capacity[38]. Using research data collected this section will test the "fit" of the identity constructs of Ballard and "post-nationalism" to understand how the youth interviewed are "natives" that eschew "barriers to entry" such as Sikhism. The first of these is the research concerning role of the "symbols of Sikhism".

Using the attacks on London in July 2005 as a discussion area, the research found that many interviewees had experienced profound effects regarding the relationship between religion and ethnicity. Firstly there are those who "amplify" the physical symbols of the Sikh religion. This includes wearing saffron coloured turbans and growing full beards for males. For females, the abstinence from hair removal and the wearing traditional Panjabi dress both in private and public spaces. Both genders are seen to be wearing *keras* as well as sporting stylised forms of Sikhism's religious symbols; the *khanda* and the opening phrase of the *mool-mantar* prayer on flags, t-shirts and belt-buckles. Many commentators have suggested that this could be an effort to differentiate themselves from certain followers of Islam following violent assaults on Sikhs after the terrorist attacks on New York in 2001[39].

The other change seen was the increased examination of Sikhism along cultural, religious, ethnic and humanitarian lines. Some youth interviewees expressed a "deep" affinity with the altruistic and humanitarian aspects of Sikhism that included treating the human race as equal and the free kitchen. They

[38] This is different to Singh (2006: 206), who records that despite "multiple (situational) identities" Sikhism still remains the "important marker of cultural distinction" for the Sikh youth of Britain.

[39] Satwinder Singh (in Jacobsen and Myrvold: 2011: 322) gives one example of mistaken identity in Southern Ireland that has led to a diaspora Sikh being stabbed.

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did however not want to involve themselves in the "politicisation" or "socialisation" of the Sikh religion. In fact for many, the "privatisation" of religious practise is relevant for any religion – not just Sikhism[40]. This group would appear to exhibit the reverse of Singh's (2006: 206) note that "religion remains the important marker of cultural distinction". This second "channel" has developed an identity that is more akin to London's wider community of increasingly secularising youth[41]. By choosing "universally applicable" elements of Sikhism such as the free kitchen and fitting them into their non-religious social lives, these youth convert these "traditional" identity elements from Sikhism into qualities of a good "citizen". As evidence of this they distance themselves from the use of religion to attack society in acts such as the 7/7 suicide bombers and refrain from gurdwara management. This "conditioning" of Sikhism in Sikh youth identity formation via critical questioning and cross-cultural comparison is also a trend Jasjit Singh's highlights in his work on Sikh youth in the wider British community (2011: 254)[42].

Equally as important is the absence of areas noted within literature in this field as being Sikh identity markers[43]. Explored here is caste and its attached

[40] A cautionary footnote is due here an assumption is made here that Sikhism is viewed in a "Western" way, i.e. with distinct boundaries between religions of the Indian Continent and little cross-over in terms of culture, tradition and religious values. Scholars such as Nesbitt [(in Jacobsen and Myrvold): 2011: 232] argue that this is a "European-construct" that does not work for Sikhism.

[41] It should be noted here that whilst there is an inferred distinction between secular and non-secular elements, this does not always translate into stand-alone groups of people, including Sikhs belonging exclusively to either category. There is substantial overlap in any participant's identity and thus the Sikh group studied may be being secular or religious but are seldom solely so, especially as Sikhism is still an important part of their identity. This is also found in Pyong-Min's (2005) work on Korean Protestant youth

[42] Singh, Jasjit (2011: 254) also identifies the rise of interrogative faith. His field research records comments such as "...now I think that for my generation there is a tendency to question everything". It is also worthwhile noting the distinction inferred by the use of the word 'act' as it implies a temporary and facile phase, replacing the operative word with 'be' would have implied a permanent identity flux.

[43] See Nesbitt (2009), Oberoi (1995) and Ballard (1994 & 2000).

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importance to a Sikh individual's association with institutions such as the gurdwara, in families claiming it as their inheritance and in confining marriage to the same *jath*[44]. However, most youth interviewees did not view caste as being significant. When pressed further a few went as far as suggesting that caste may have been an important part of "Sikh identity" but was not nearly as important for "British Sikh identity"[45]. It is noteworthy that of those interviewed most were British born and as Hall (2002: 158) states, have been raised with a "territorial and urbane" distinction. This eschewing of caste connects strongly to the concept of framing these youths' identity as "post-nationalist" as a contrast to a "national" identity where caste is used in identity construction from birth. In reducing the role of caste in their identity formation, these Sikh youth defer to an idea of citizenship based on "human equality". This could also explain the appeal to these youth of early, apolitical Sikh teachings especially those of Guru Nanak.

This finding is in contrast with works in this field spanning a significant time period that identified caste as a defining part of the Sikh identity in Britain since mass migration (James: 1978: 124 and Nesbitt [in Ballard] 1994: 120, Hirvi: 2010). As such, the following data may represent a distinctive new phase of Sikh identity development in Britain. As a preamble to the discussion recorded below, the question asked was: "What part does caste play in the way you view your identity?"

> Gurmat (Male, 18): Its not really important to us now, if you think of the challenges facing us today, it is not something that can compete with race, terrorism, economic stability, travel and your social circle. I mean you can't chose just Sikhs to hang out with, and if you don't hang out with just Sikhs then what part of your life is determined by caste – none. Anyways it is hard enough to meet good people

[44] *Zath* or *Jath* translates into a divisive caste system [Nesbit (in Jacobsen and Myrvold): 2011: 236 & 238].

[45] Fieldwork diary July 2011, Hounslow.

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without having to filter them out based on caste. It was probably different for our folks and probably for Sikhs in less-developed areas as they did not enjoy the freedom and do not suffer the threat we have in London.

GJ: What do you mean by "freedom" and "threat"?

Gurmat: I feel that we are under threat as a London society, not as a Sikh society. The 7/7 bombings for instance were completely non-discriminatory. Under such a threat the point and system of caste amongst other things just becomes insignificant. Our way of life as Londoners is under threat from people who want to extinguish us all, not just Sikhs or the government, everyone. The freedom I mean is the ability to do virtually anything, you can meet a Welsh Sikh who loves his rugby in Richmond, you can meet Afghan Sikhs who fled the Taliban and don't even speak Panjabi. London's diversity has reduced the significance of caste and soon hopefully other areas.

Weighing up the observation (in simplistic terms) that these youth exhibit a rise in both religiosity and secularisation in relation to the literature (e.g. Singh: 2006) that insists that Sikhism remains an important component of Sikh identity, the question then arises; is British Sikh youth identity constantly in fluctuation and does it adapt to whatever the youth deem the situation requires? Hall (2002: 170-194) analyses this question in her chapter entitled *There's a time to act English and a time to act Indian.* Hall found that previous work (Nesbitt: 1994 and James: 1978, Cole and Sambhi: 1978) in this field regarded Sikh youth as adapting their identity according to the setting they were in. In simplistic terms Hall divided this into acting "Indian" at home or with Sikh/Indian/South Asian company and acting "English" at work and within non-Sikh/Indian/South Asian company[46].

[46] Other works by such as James: 1974, Oberoi: 1995: 401 as well as Wakil, Siddique and Wakil: 1981

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However this research found that Hall and the conclusion of some Sikh studies in the UK that suggested that British Sikh youth were "caught in between two worlds" (ibid) were outdated and outmoded; for the Sikh youth studied here identity politics is not a bifurcated procedure. One of the reasons for this change could be that the events of 9/11 and 7/7 placed religious identity into mainstream politics and de-sensitised the expression of religion via religiosity and secularisation and the many variations in between. The fieldwork would support this new reduced negotiability of identity[47].

The research suggests that these "urbane" Sikh youth exhibit an identity that appears to have been amended in a very short time: perhaps a decade. They are acutely aware of the plural "post-national" society that the "distinctive cultural space"[48] of London offers. Allying this with the rise of global consumerism and its allied mobility there is an increased interaction with non-Sikhs, especially via relatively newer mediums such as information technology. The data could point to a new phase in the development of British Sikh youth identity. Singh (2006: 207) cautioned that within this dialogue, "all conclusions must remain tentative" and this research finds a definite movement towards secularisation and to a lesser extent religiosity observed in these youth. This moves them closer to the general trend of London's youth citizenship "behaviour", a move that brings them nearer to being considered "natives".

[47] McCann (2011: 25-28) notes many of the same factors that influence "Sikh socio-cultural formation" in the Sikh diaspora in Singapore. Lock and Detaramani: 2006 (269-277) also shows that Sikhs in Hong-Kong are susceptible to the above factors and form an "essential model of ethnicity" by rejecting those factors that may segregate them less.

[48] Singh and Tatla: 2006: 207.

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The London Summer 2011 riots as Sikh Youth Identity reflection

On August 9th and 10th 2011, hundreds of Sikhs were reported to have gathered outside two Sikh temples in Southall[49]. They had been rumours via social media that temples and businesses in Southall were being targeted in the rioting and looting that had occurred across London that week[50]. At the same time, a similar incident was taking place at the Singh Sabha gurdwara (SGSS) in Hounslow's Alice Road temple[51]. On the 9th of August up to a hundred Sikh males congregated at the temple to guard it against possible looting[52]. They wielded ceremonial scimitars, knives as well as hockey sticks and baseball bats. The feeling amongst them was that they had a duty and obligation to protect the Hounslow community and their place of worship[53]. This section analyses whether these actions make them "natives", "settled strangers" or neither.

Using this as a topic of interviewee discussion, the research used this to understand British Sikh identity as viewed by Sikh youth. All interviews were carried out at the SGSS premises on these two days and the following weeks.

> GJ (author): Do you see any difference between those community members gathering in Eltham and Enfield with the Sikhs in Hounslow and Southall?
>
> Nirankar: Significant, really big. Not sure what to make of it still though. The obvious difference is that the other actions were based on a communal or territorial sense of protection, whereas these seem to be religious based-, which in

[49] See website *www.guardian.co.uk/uk/series/reading-the-riots*. There had already been instances where community members had acted as "vigilantes" to protect local areas in London such as Eltham and Enfield.

[50] For full details on these riots, see website *www.guardian.co.uk/uk/series/reading-the-riots*. Accessed 18th January 2012

[51] This was the subject and field research location of the author's MA Thesis completed in 2011

[52] Fieldwork diary: 9th August 2011, Hounslow.

[53] Temple's self published magazine, *The Gobind Marg, London riots,* London, SGSS publications, Sept 2011.

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> London cannot be really helpful to us. We spent much of our time reconciling our religion and cultural life with the secular London thing around us. This incident has made us question what side of the fence we are on. To many it is simple – the question are you with us or against us turns into; are you Sikh or not? And think what it says about the SGSS? Are they a religious organisation only?

Apart from this recorded discussion other trends in the feedback emerged. Those that fully supported the actions of those gathered at the temples were in the minority. All interviewees though that the intended idea was very good, but in the shape the action took, it lacked the altruism that Sikhism evokes in its *kar seva* concept[54]. Most felt that it was a chance to show the wider community that Sikhs as "a part of London" were looking to protect all members of the community - not just the Sikhs or the gurdwaras. Others felt that the exposure to media had been mismanaged and they may have to change their behaviour in the future as people may generalise that Sikhs would defend their "faith" before their "community".

If Sikh youth identity in London is formed via careful "situational" negotiation of the factors that unfurl themselves around the youth such as the events outline above; would this mean that Sikh identity is flexible and un-rooted? Specific to this paper; do the incidences at the London riots involving the Sikhs make them citizens or does it set them apart as "migrants"?

Interpreting Sikh Youth Identity in London

The history of Sikhs has shown that their identity has never been an easy one to form and transmit, whilst the community has remained unchanged in several ways, the current generation (third) may eventually transform the

[54] This translates into "voluntary service unto others" and its popular form is the free kitchen run in Sikh temples (Mcleod: 1989: 25).

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identity of Sikhs in London – significantly more so than before. That process can be characterised with a single significant aspect; it now involves a wider non-Sikh or South Asian society with whom interaction is made easier via new media leading to a much-reduced effect of Sikhism and the Panjabi culture. Using the two models of identity introduced earlier of "post-nationalist" and Ballard's "manifestations", this process can be interpreted to understand how these Sikh youth are no longer "settled strangers" or even the offspring of them.

The resulting Sikh youth identity when viewed through a "post-nationalist" lens shows that the Sikh youth studied are beyond the boundaries of ethnicity and transnationalism. This would support the same theory in the works of Hall (2002), Vertovec (2007) and Koopmans (1999). It is this resulting identity that the author observes as being one of a "citizen" with "loyalty" to London society in general. It should of course be noted that the definition of both "loyalty" and "citizen" are under scrutiny, however its definition will undoubtedly be contributed towards by the current Sikh youth. The youth also do not consider that ethnicity "serves as the most potent identification" (Rosenthal: 1987: 225).

It should be recalled that under "post-nationalism" there is a significant challenge to the concept that a nation's dictums and laws take precedent over an idea of "universal personhood". As Sikh youth are moving generally towards a situation where they are focusing on the "universal personhood" of Sikh identity; they themselves are turning into products of the process. This concept of "humanitarianism" linking individuals with stronger links that those of a "heritage" community such as Sikhs may have its roots in Cartesian and Foucauldian ideas of "human rights" and has appeal to Sikh youth due to its

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parallels with early 15th century Sikh teachings[55]. It becomes very relevant in a location such as London where highly transitional and mobile individuals are drawn to: in this instance the individuals are the Sikh youth.

Using Roger Ballard's five "manifestations" in the "transnational reconstruction" of South Asian religions that includes Sikhism (1996: 16-31 and 2011: 10: Table .1), the youths' religious identity can be analysed to suggest that different parts of the make-up are now prominent but all very much still relevant as originally conceived by Ballard. The five parts of *dharmic, qaumic, panthi, kismetic and sanskaric* still apply the Sikh community identity formation process. However, mapping over the same parts with the field research conducted suggests that a new variety of all four now applies to the third generation of Sikhs in London. They are still constituent parts of identity "construction" but their proportional value differs from the previous Sikhs in Britain who used it for "reconstruction"[56].

Ballard (2001: 10: Table 1) identified five parts of a Sikh's religious and secular life as:

- Spiritual / Occult – this covers *panthic* and *kismetic*
- Social – this covers *dharmic* and *sanskaric*
- Political – this covers the *qaumic*

Ballard may have designed this model for the "five dimensions in Panjabi religion" but his model, once used to analyse the research was found to be valid

[55] See articles such as Sahota (2011) where the teachings of Guru Nanak are referred to as "...Rational Civil Theology"

[56] Ballard originally may have used the term "reconstruction" as he was focused on South Asian migrants, possibly based on peoples born in a place other than the UK, see Ballard (2001: 10).

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in its application, but not in its proportional make-up. The model provokes pertinent questions such as; has the identity formation process altered when compared to the "transmitters"? Does "tradition" still matter in London? The answers offered below are based on assessing what of the five parts (or any others) do the observed Sikh youth exhibit and in what manner.

In this work's theory regarding London's "plural proclivity", the capital's heightened presence and significance of a "wider set of social and economic relations within the places they reside"[57] was shown to be relevant for Sikh youth. This could suggest that the interplay between these and the religious, cultural, traditional and ethnical base that the Sikh youth are brought up with causes a disruption in the inter-generational transfer of values and distances the youth from the institutions of community such as gurdwaras. This is the *panthic and kismetic*. They are more comfortable with the *qaumic* part of their identity, only for them it not only involves fellow Sikhs or Panjabis but in fact a wider, more inclusive approach – that of their contagion citizens. This has become especially relevant for the current generation of Sikh youth as lifestyle skills are honed through greater and wider social interaction through the English language. Perhaps more than ever before, English and European language skills would appear to play a key role for Sikhs in London, as do new media technologies. Both have made societal interaction and class mobility easier, thereby reducing the significance of gender, caste and religion as social barrier to welfare satisfaction.

Conclusion

This research offers the epilogue that Sikh youth in London should be considered as "natives" and not "outsiders". They have significantly invested "cultural and emotional" capital into London society through "uncomfortable"

[57] Vertovec (2007: 1049).

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negotiations with "traditional" elements such as the gurdwara. This process also creates a discord in the Sikh community that is marked by three main trends; the first being a rising inter-generational conflict as the transmission of Sikh values is not "mutually satisfying" to either generation. Secondly, Sikh youth are increasingly variegating in the practice of Sikhism. This ranges from "radicalism" such as the actions observed during the summer 2011 riots to the "privatisation" of religion away from institutes such as gurdwaras. The last trend is the increase in these youths' tendency to secularise. All three contribute to these youth being considered by their peers, predecessors and themselves as "citizens" and "British", rather than Sikh and South Asian. This is an observed result of London's "super-diversity" as "social egotistical selfhood" supersedes "*vahdat al-vaujud*" or the Sufism "universality of existence" (Sahota: 2011).

I also found that these trends are the products of Sikh youth interacting with non-Sikh social elements in an urbanised, economically advanced and socially competitive space such as London. Whilst acknowledging the shortfall in comparative research, this work used Vertovec (2007) and Delaney (1999) to contextualise and support the theory that a metropolitan "super-diverse" environment encourages the homogeneity of identity. This could translate into a "universal personhood" (Koopmans: 1999 and Baban: 2006) that forms an influential part of identity expression in the Sikh youths' socialisation. A concomitant effect is the reduced manifestation and sway of traditional elements such as Sikhism, which is negotiated "away" as the youth strive for welfare success and "selfhood". This negotiation is tied into a perceived abandoning of "traditional" Sikh values that could engender youth identity issues based on inter-generational differences regarding the maintenance of these same "values": including the Panjabi language.

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One reason that Sikh youth are not always perceived as "natives" has been due to the importance they attach to "traditional" elements such as religion, families, heritage languages, food and music. However the work noted that this could be a result of the inherent overlap between religion and culture within Sikhs as indicated in Ballard's model. The religious and cultural *(panthic and dharmic)* components are still maintained alongside the social (*qaumic*) aspects. The religio-political incidents at the gurdwara of the summer riots in London are examples of this outward identity. Connecting this to literature in the field of urban identity formation (Vertovec: 2007 & 2001) supports the change in the blend of Ballard's "manifestations" within Sikh youth identity. Of some of the reasons given, an example for this change is Sikhism's perceived inability to answer epistemic questions of theodicy.

The emergence of this identity fits in with Jakobsh (2011) who considers this as the right time for Sikh identity dialogue to recognise "Sikhisms". It is also noted that Sikhism is not alone in this process; Pyong Min (2005) detailed the same findings in the identity formation of Korean Protestant youth in the U.S. The British Sikh community, having established its distinctiveness previously, finds the preservation of that hard-won distinctiveness in its younger members a challenge as they acculturate and integrate. The youth now see the distinctiveness as divisive and a barrier to economically successful city lives, in some cases as they simply wish to exhibit the same "peer" identity as their social circle. Bearing in mind that nearly 35 per cent of Sikhs in Britain are under 40 years of age, this could define the community's identity within the next generation. The rapid speed of this change is also related closely to the rate of the adoption of new technologies both by the city and its Sikh youth.

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The 1990s Asian rap musicians, Hustlers HC, penned verses that forecasted the rise of British Asian identity formation through "discomfort". Their song "*Big Trouble down in Little Asia*" suggested that the advent of white-supremacy racism would undermine the unity of the Asian community. However this "trouble in little Asia" could today easily be translated into the increasingly uneasy and unstoppable process of British Sikh youth identity formation as Sikhs unravel the question: are they "Sikhs in Britain" or "British Sikhs"? This research would suggest that the answer to this question lies within the debates on British citizenship that is beyond the "nation-state" rather than Sikh identity; it is a discourse for "natives" and not "settlers with an escape".

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Table .1 Five Dimensions In Punjabi Religion.

Sphere of Activity	Significance	Definition	Arena
Panthic	Spiritual/ Gnostic inspiration	The ideas and practices deployed by those in search of spiritual and mystical inspiration, invariably under the guidance of a Spiritual Master (e.g. Pir, Yogi, Sant, Swami or Guru)	Spiritual / Occult
Kismetic	Making sense of the world	The ideas used to explain the otherwise inexplicable, and the occult practices deployed to turn such adversity in its tracks; both are usually deployed with the assistance of a Spiritual Master.	
Dharmic	Morality/ Social order	The moral ideology in terms of which all aspects of the established social and behavioural order is conceptualised and legitimated.	Social
Sanskaric	Rites of passage/ Social reconstruction	The set of ritual practices – and most especially those associated with birth, initiation, marriage and death – which celebrate and legitimate each individual's progress through the social and domestic order.	
Qaumic	Political / Ethnic mobilisation	The use – and more often than not the reinterpretation – of religious ideology as a vehicle for collective social and political mobilisation. The typical outcome of this process is that an increasingly clearly defined body of people begin to close ranks on a morally sanctioned basis the better to pursue shared social and economic objectives	Political

(Adopted from Ballard: 2011: 10: Table .1)

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