EXPERIENCES OF SECOND-GENERATION STUDENTS OF PUNJABI SIKH ANCESTRY IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

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instead he pushed education

knowing it would set us free

in a world that wanted to contain us

he made sure that we learned

to walk independently

- Rupi Kaur*

*Rupi Kaur is a Canadian New York Time bestselling author and illustrator of Punjabi origin.

ABSTRACT

Punjabi Sikhs migrating to Canada form a disproportionately large population of the migrants from South Asia. There has been limited research or current literature on the schooling experiences of the second-generation children of these migrants despite the large numbers of this group migrating to Canada.

The effects of minority status within the K-12 British Columbia school system regarding school experiences of second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh descent are presented throughout this research process. The investigation focused on the research participants' perceived school experiences and whether there were differences based on the school type's demographic composition of responders. I categorized these school types into three: small minority population, large minority population, and large majority population. I hypothesized that schools with large majority populations would have greater perceived satisfaction with school experiences.

I found that I could further analyze by subscale and total scale groupings, based on my original correlational analysis. I found differences on school experiences (SE) and home experiences (HE) subscales based on school type, school type being differentiated by schools with a minority population, a large minority population, or a large majority population of the responder demographic of second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh descent. I found that responders from small minority population schools and large minority population schools showed a statistically significant difference in responses than responders from large majority population schools.

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GLOSSARY

amritdhari	someone who is baptized and keeps unshorn hair
cutsurd	a turban-wearing male who has cut his hair
dastaar	a turban
dhol	a double-sided barrel drum
jooda	a topknot
kachera	an undergarment with a tie knot (one of the five articles of faith)
kanga	a small wooden comb (one of the five articles of faith)
kara	a bracelet (one of the five articles of faith)
Kes	unshorn hair (one of the five articles of faith)
kesdhari	someone who keeps unshorn hair
kirpan	a small dagger (one of the five articles of faith)
mona	someone who cuts their hair
patka	a large bandana tied around the head and topknot
pugh	a turban
punj kakkar	the five articles of faith, also known as the five K's, are observed by baptized Sikhs at all times
ramaal	a small handkerchief placed on the topknot in lieu of a larger form of head-covering
sardar	a Sikh male who wears a turban
sehajdhari	someone who only observes some of the teachings/requirements of the Sikh religion
tabla	a pair of small hand drums with one slightly larger than the other

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family.

To my parents, Gurnam and Amrik, thank you for always emphasizing the importance of education. Mom, thank you always insisting that we "study" and for being so supportive in every aspect to pull me through this long journey. You have always been my inspiration and this achievement is as much yours as it is mine.

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CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH BACKGROUND / THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter One will explore why this research study examining the schooling experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry is necessary in a Canadian context, how my experiences as a second-generation Canadian woman and educator of Punjabi descent have shaped my interest in pursuing this research, and what purpose this research can serve. The chapter includes the following information: Problem statement, personal location of the research, research significance, and the theoretical framework of the research.

Statement of the Problem and Background

Historically, human differences have been frequently constrained by the emergence of an ideologically conservative, dominant hegemonic discourse that seeks to reframe and rearticulate the experiences of individuals belonging to minoritized groups (Hunn, Guy, & Manglitz, 2006). Hunn, Guy, and Manglitz (2006) refer to the research of Delgado and Stefancic (1993) and state that narratives of dominance permeate and serve to privilege Whites, men, the middle and/or upper class, and heterosexuals through expressing these social locations as normative points of reference. These master narratives distort and silence the experiences of minoritized groups (Solórzano & Yasso, 2002). Thus, master narratives are considered the most valuable by virtue of their dominance. In a Canadian context, one such majoritarian narrative is that of European settlers building the nation of Canada, discounting the prior presence and contributions of the Indigenous peoples and of migrants. Counter-stories or narratives stand in opposition to narratives of dominance and give voice to those people whose experiences are not often told. Counter-storytelling can act as a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging dominant discourses on race (Giri, 2017; Grewal, 2016; Solórzano & Yasso, 2002). Quinn (2013) indicates that Chinua Achebe (1994), stated an African adage: Until lions write their own history, the tale

of the hunt will always glorify the hunter. This quote is potent in Canada's current context as the time has come where the oppressed have taken the pen and begun to write their stories. Recent years have shown an upsurge in the research of second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent and this timing coincides with the first large portion of this second-generation group entering age groups of later adulthood. Cui (2015) cites Jantzen (2008) and notes this trend, stating that "the 2006 census shows that the majority of non-European origin respondents are in the first generation, whereas people of European origins, particularly those from British and French groups, are generally from third-plus generations" (p. 1154). These second-generation individuals of Punjabi Sikh ancestry are beginning to write their stories. I am a second-generation Canadian woman of Punjabi Sikh descent and an educator in the public school system. I hope to add a new voice to the research literature on school experiences and the perception of such through my research culminating in this thesis paper.

I have been a student in the public education system and in a number of post-secondary institutions and am currently an educator in the British Columbia (BC) public education system. I will provide details about my personal location as a researcher in another section in this chapter that justifies my insertion, educational and life experiences, and knowledge into the body of this thesis paper. My own experiences have often left me wondering about the educational system's failure to speak for people that share my Punjabi Sikh cultural perspective regarding the BC curriculum, the classroom environment, and the larger school community. I never read a book that talked about the disparity of growing up Punjabi in a Canadian society. I noticed that mathematics word problems never included questions about Christina and Preety waiting for a train as an example of lack of cultural sensitivity in the curriculum. Social Studies curriculum never included the contribution that Punjabi migrants made to the Canadian economy upon

arrival to the country. Baffoe, Asimeng-Boahene, and Ogbuagu (2014) state that "Western researchers and institutions have jurisdiction or control over the construction, reconstruction and dissemination of knowledge" (p. 13). Curriculum is planned and implemented by these researchers and institutions. Egbo (2011) citing Kinchelhoe (2005) states that there exist "educational orthodoxies that privilege certain kinds of knowledge over others" (p. 31). Egbo continues that it is necessary to acknowledge how "knowledge is constructed, situated and contested within the context of power and marginality" (p. 31) and "challenge educational practices that privilege certain kinds of knowledge while devaluing others (p.31). Fernández (2002) quotes Roithmayr (1999) who stated that, in schools, we find that "the classroom—where knowledge is constructed, organized, produced, and distributed—is a central site for the construction of social and racial power" (p. 48). As a result, schools do not only wield control over what is unseen and unheard – they also control what and who is seen and heard and, thus, validated.

Current textbooks have started to introduce names that fit within multiple Canadian identities and schools celebrate festivals and foods; however, in my experience, these affirmative practices appear to go little beyond the superficial. Colonial and imperialistic agendas of early governments institutionalized "Western science as the dominant way of knowing in public institutions, such as the university, through its assumed superiority over all "Other" ways of knowing" (Hauser, Howlett, & Matthews, 2009, p. 48). Hauser, Howlett, and Matthews (2009) cite Foucault (1977) and contend that such positioning allows knowledge to be legitimized, made powerful, and disseminated as truth. Knowledge equals power. What message are students being sent about whose knowledge is valued when their forms of knowledge and the contributions of their ancestors are never recognized as valuable? Including voices that have gone unnoticed is

the first step in beginning a process of adopting the critical lens needed to strive towards social and racial justice.

Personal Location

I am second-generation Canadian and my family history in this country started with my mother who migrated first to Canada from Punjab, India as a teenage girl at the beginning of 1970. She came in search of a better life and lived at various times with one or another of her brothers who were already settled in Canada while she attempted to go to school. Five years later, she married my father whom she had sponsored into Canada. They had two children. My brother and I grew up as 80s children in a large urban area in the Lower Mainland of BC with all the usual experiences of growing up as children of migrants, entrenched firmly in two cultures. My interest in this research stems from my insider status as a member of a minoritized group.

My interest in this research is also fueled by my experiences and knowledge as an educator in both urban and rural schools for which I have noticed significance differences in minority group experiences. I started teaching in a large, urban area in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia and moved to a more rural area in the Central Interior region of BC for seven years, after which I returned to live and teach in an urban area in the Lower Mainland. My aim in carrying out this research study was to examine what second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry report in their school experiences related to race, language, and communication. I also intended to explore school experiences in how they connect to home and community, and relational experiences related to communication with school, values in relation to education, experiences of gender, and experiences of head-covering. The truths recorded, analyzed, and themed throughout this research study from second-generation Canadian students

of Punjabi Sikh ancestry can create opportunities of using their own voices to dismantle assumptions and perceptions about student experiences that are entrenched into our schools.

Research Significance

Present-day situations have created a long overdue awakening to systemic racism. Racism is being witnessed like never before in a world, as seen on the news feeds and in social media, that becomes increasingly smaller due to globalization and more accessible due to social media. This awakening has allowed minoritized individuals' voices to be finally heard, albeit in a different way with the emergence of digital activism that allows for amplification of silenced voices and contextualizing dominant narratives (O'Byrne, 2019). Movements and initiatives such as Black Lives Matter, No One Is Illegal, and Truth and Reconciliation have started to gain momentum in challenging systems and providing a larger opening for the amplification of more and diverse voices. Minoritized individuals feel increasingly free to express their lived experiences with less worry about backlash or minimization as a result of these movements gaining momentum. Critical race theory (CRT) emphasized the importance of location and advancement of narratives of marginalized peoples that should then be used to inform practice and research (Ortiz & Jani, 2010). The importance of understanding minoritized groups within systems is increasingly relevant. An example of this importance involves our policing system, which is currently under the most scrutiny, but schools are also a system and need to be scrutinized. It is important to explore what can begin to dismantle parts of systems that contribute to the oppression of the very people they are there to serve.

Research in relation to second-generation Canadian school experiences has been relatively slow to emerge; yet, there has been some research regarding education in relation to migrants in general. An examination of the children of Punjabi migrants in the context of their

educational experiences within the Canadian schooling system is long overdue. There has been

some research conducted in the United Kingdom and in the United States (Abbas, T, 2002b;

Dhingra, 2003; Ghuman 2002; Handa, 2013); however, there is a significant gap in the Canadian

research on the education of these students. It is disquieting to notice that this segment of society

has gone unnoticed in educational academia for so long, especially considering Canada's large

population of individuals who migrated from South Asia.

Theoretical Framework

This research study was framed by critical race theory (CRT) and to some extent by

critical social theory (CST). Critical social theory is underpinned by the philosophy that social

phenomena must be understood in terms of their context and history. CST theorizes that there

exist personal difficulties such as family dynamics and interpersonal relationships and "when

these conditions become part of the overall rationalization of society and how it functions, we

can say that such personal histories become instances of social patterns, not determined by them

but certainly inscribed by them" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 13). This theoretical perspective is

important to this research study as many of the variables that impact second-generation Canadian

students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry and their educational experiences can be shaped by social

patterns. A theme that emerged from the literature was that of the challenge faced by second-

generation students in navigating through two dichotomous cultures in order to form their

identity (Bacon, 1999; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Maira, 1996). CST would contend that this

journey of identity formation does not take place in a vacuum. Rather, it is variable and

"…strongly intertwined with and shaped by the contexts within which it takes place, such as

educational setting" (Kaplan & Flum, 2012, p. 172). The research has indicated that culture,

family, peers, and teachers are a significant influence on a second-generation student's

achievement motivation, self-efficacy, and academic achievement (Klassen, 2004a). Thus, educational environments can play an important role in this process of students' development of self in a number of ways in which teachers, students, and academic content interact. This interaction affects students' achievement, motivation, and self-development.

The roots of critical race theory developed from critical legal scholarship, exploring how race-neutral laws and policies perpetuate racial, ethnic, and/or gender subordination (Bernal, 2002). Tenets of CRT are: endemic racism that is normalized in society, interest convergence in racism advancing interests of White people with little incentive to eliminate it, social construction of race, differential racialization of groups, intersectionality and anti-essentialism, and centring minoritized voices as experts of their own experiences (Pulliam, 2017). Critical race theory acknowledges the "centrality of race and focuses on how elements of racism and prejudice are embedded in society and social institutions such as schools" (Egbo, 2011, p. 24). One theme that emerged from the literature of second-generation students was that of stereotyping. Stereotyping (expectations of students based on their heritage) and/or assumption of certain characteristics within school settings have an impact on students' schooling experiences and academic achievement. CRT provides a framework to challenge race, racism, and racial stereotypes in the classroom through centring voices of students of colour in research, curriculum, and teaching (Solórzano & Yasso, 2001). This framework provides a way to counteract the situational threat that arises from the dissemination of stereotypes. Solórzano and Yasso (2001) state that "CRT challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism as it relates to education by examining how educational theory and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups" (p. 2). The solution to this dominant discourse through the lens of critical race theory lies in unapologetically centring how oppression is manifest in the

educational experiences of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour) individuals (Huber, 2010).

Tenets of CRT applied in educational research include the centrality of race and its intersectionality with other minoritized identities, a challenge to master narratives or dominant ideology, a commitment to social justice, the centrality of experiential knowledge, and an intersectional perspective (Solórzano & Yasso, 2001). A theme that emerged in the literature of second-generation children was that of culture brokering. Culture brokering occurs when children of migrants act as intermediaries to interpret the new culture for their parents (Hua & Costigan, 2012; Jones & Trickett, 2005). CRT would assert the importance of considering all intersecting identities, experiences, and interactions while ensuring support for those who are brokering in many forms and for those who are in need of brokering. A related theme of first language attrition is stated in the literature. Second-generation students often face the difficulty of first language attrition when their first language does not have a chance to develop and begins to decline, which impacts their schooling and their sense of self (Hinton, 1999; Tse, 1998; Wong, 1991). First language attrition also connects to critical race theory's ideology of intersectionality and centring marginalized voices to create social change. Canadian schools have come a long way since children were asked not to speak their first languages at school; however, there are still steps to be taken towards acknowledging first languages and their importance in the lives of students.

Much of the published research literature is applied broadly to those of South Asian descent rather than specifying a group. This is problematic as South Asians do not share a common history nor do they share a common geography (Ghosh, 2013). South Asians comprise the largest migrant group in Canada, according to Statistics Canada (2017). Tran, Kaddatz and

Allard (2005) indicate that South Asian is an umbrella term that encompasses those who identify as Bangladeshi, Bengali, East Indian, Goan, Gujarati, Hindu, Ismaili, Kashmiri, Nepali, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sikh, Sinhalese, South Asian, Sri Lankan or of Tamil ancestry. The largest migration of a South Asian group to Canada are the Sikhs of the Punjab, who are considered to be a minority in South Asia. Lindsay (2001), stated that 34% of Indian migrants in 2001 reported being of the Sikh faith while the second-largest faith group were Hindus at 27%.

The use of the term South Asian has been criticized by Ghosh (2013) as an externally imposed post-colonial identifier that was initially based on geography but has now morphed into a racial category in Canada. Many researchers used the term South Asian in lieu of other descriptors, although they acknowledge its homogenizing tendencies that tends to "other" them under a racializing label (Rajiva, 2013). As greater numbers of second-generation individuals of South Asian descent begin to enter young adulthood, this trend of homogenization is beginning to change: As diverse individuals share their narratives, it becomes apparent that the South Asian culture is a heterogeneous one where voices are developed through ongoing experiences and interactions with communities, cultures, and through personal constructions and reconstructions of knowledge based on these experiences (Bhatia & Ram, 2004).

A common theme is that a large number of second-generation South Asians (children born of migrants to Canada) of both genders have entered post-secondary institutions and continue to perform well (Abbas, 2006; Bhopal, 2000; Chiswick & DebBurman, 2003, Nayar, 2004; Wadhwa, 2002). Existing research has also addressed generational differences between first, second, third, and later generations of South Asians.

Rationale and Conclusion

The student group I researched are second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent. The reason for this group choice is because the majority of South Asian migrants in British Columbia are of Punjabi Sikh ethnicity and their offspring are of a group with which I identify and consider myself an insider. There was a need to explore the experiences of this group within the public education system because it has been overlooked despite Canada's large South Asian population. There were four questions I investigated:

1. Are second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent in majority-population schools more likely to feel supported in their educational experiences than the same population in minority-population schools in British Columbia?

2. Does gender impact perceptions of school experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent?

3. Do second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent wearing religious head-covering have a different perception of school experiences compared to those not wearing religious head-covering?

4. What recommendations can be made to teachers, schools, and districts to enhance the educational experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent?

The answers to these questions provided insight into the students' thoughts and beliefs about their experiences within the school system and how well they felt they were being served. I discovered how students of Punjabi descent within the Canadian education system perceived their school experiences though this research opportunity. I hoped to understand the challenges

that these second-generation youth face, the obstacles they encounter, and the structures or people that help them overcome their difficulties or inhibit them in some way. I wanted to understand what advantages and disadvantages they believed come with being a second-generation Canadian student of Punjabi Sikh descent in the school system. I also wanted to know their perceptions as to how well the Canadian education system served their educational and social needs. I speculated that students in the Lower Mainland feel more supported and accepted by the education system than their peers in the Central region due to forming a larger proportion of the Punjabi population. I examined their experiences and surmised recommendations for improvement based on their reporting of schooling experiences. I wanted to answer the question 'What more can be done?'. Lastly, I wanted to understand the numerous factors that come together to form the educational experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent.

There were many outcomes resulting from gathering this information. I hoped to make a contribution to improving academic understanding of the challenges faced by second-generation Canadian youth of Punjabi Sikh descent. Doing so, opens a door for much-needed exploration in this lesser-researched area. This information can be useful in helping to determine services that could potentially improve student success. Further, this information identifies existing practices that are working and practices that may not be as valuable. Through the lens of critical race theory and critical social theory, these voices are of utmost importance and should be centred to inform research, curriculum, and practice. An outcome of this study was that it could help educators of second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh descent challenge their own assumptions and have a better understanding of their students, the cultural place that informs the

being of these students, and the challenges through which the young members of this group experience each day.

This research was needed due to a lack of significant amounts of Canadian research in the specific area of schooling experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry, one of the largest migrant groups in Canada. My interest in this research stemmed from my insider status as a second-generation Canadian child of migrant parents and as an educator who has had the opportunity to work with large numbers of this group of students over my career. I hope this research informs practice for those educators who work with this population on a regular basis, informs community members of issues to which this research gave voice, and creates broader change with the education system by challenging assumptions that may be held. Chapter Two will provide an overview of current literature.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The goal of this chapter is to provide the reader with an understanding of the research literature from which this study stemmed. I begin the chapter by describing the historical context of Punjabi Sikhs and their migration to Canada. The other section in the chapter is the literature review of the following context: Punjabi Sikh culture; contemporary trends of the migration of Punjabi people; the role of culture; identity of second-generation South Asian Canadians; the role of family; generational differences; brokering; gender differences; linguistic influences; teacher roles; and, South Asians as the model minority myth. The focus of this chapter is on the research literature; however, I have inserted some of my own knowledge and experiences from the perspective of a second-generation Canadian woman who identifies as being of Punjabi Sikh ancestry.

The Western research related to South Asians' education available has focused largely on the migrant experience. This research trend is changing with research conducted in regards to the education of second-generation settlers of South Asian descent in the United Kingdom and in the United States. The Canadian educational experience of this group has been overlooked in the academic literature. Research on the exploration of acculturation experiences and school success has begun to emerge (Rajiva, 2013; Shariff, 2008; Somerville & Robinson, 2016; Sundar, 2008). The schooling experiences of migrant children have consistently received more attention than that of the Canadian-born children of migrants (Shariff, 2008; Somerville, 2008). Shariff (2008) and Somerville (2008) stated the reason for this lack of research is because the second-generation of Punjabi Sikhs in Canada is still quite young, and, partly, because of the assumption that identities become less salient as they are further removed from origin. Migrant children's experiences with language acquisition, communication, cultural adjustment, and socialization in

relation to schooling and identity formation have been explored more than their second-generation counterparts (Shariff, 2008; Somerville, 2008; Sundar, 2008). These same issues in relation to the Canadian-born children of migrants have yet to be thoroughly investigated.

An exploration of the research indicated a number of important concerns with which second-generation individuals of Punjabi descent contend. I performed this research study to explore experiences of second-generation secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. I discovered that second-generation children experience some variability in school performance although they are largely successful. Second-generation students' academic performances are strongly related to a number of characteristics interacting together in an interplay between the roles of family, teachers, and culture. Another determinant of their school experiences is generation. Studies have found that later generations do not perform as well academically as do earlier generations (Bacon, 1999; Maira, 1996; Wakil et al., 1981). Female students historically perform slightly better than males (Abbas, 2006; Bhopal, 2000; Chiswick, & DebBurman, 2003, Nayar, 2004; Wadhwa, 2002).

South Asian Canadians: Historical Context

Many of the South Asians in Canada are ethnically Punjabi, identify with the Sikh faith, and are one of the fastest growing migrant groups in the nation (Baptiste, 2005). These South Asian migrants originated from a small state in North-Western India called Punjab. The population in Punjab is largely comprised of farming families (Singh, 2004). Sikhs are a small minority group within India, which is predominantly a Hindu nation. Punjabi people first migrated to Canada in search of a better life for themselves and for future generations (Oberoi, 1994). Sikhs of rural background from Punjab continue to migrate to Canada in large numbers due to unfair treatment in India and lack of financial opportunity for families (Markovits, 2007).

Rajiva (2006) cited the work of Ralston (1999) and Dua (2000) who identified the history of South Asians in Canada as a *racialized narrative* that is also gendered, a story that began as predominantly male. The story of South Asians in Canada unfolded by being based on race and gender rather than being a shared history. This narrative started during the beginning of the twentieth century within a broader framework of nation building that defined all non-European migrants as undesirable (Rajiva, 2006). This history began largely with Indian men and a few Indian women entering Canada in the first quarter of the century. Sikhs faced high levels of racism and exploitation in the early 1900s in Canada (Sahoo & Sangha, 2010).

Anti-Asian riots in 1907 and the *Continuous Journey* legislation came into effect during the early 1900s. The Continuous Journey legislation stated was an amendment to Canada's Immigration Act in 1908 that prohibited the landing of any immigrant who did not come to Canada by continuous journey from their country of origin which effectively stalled Indian migration to Canada (Sumartojo, 2012). The Japanese ship, SS *Komagata Maru,* was chartered in 1914 to transport 376 passengers (mostly men and a few women) from India to Japan and then on to Canada in order to meet the Continuous Journey legislation (Sahoo & Sangha, 2010). The ship was out at sea for six weeks before landing in Vancouver, Canada on May 23, 1914; however, only twenty returning residents and four passengers deemed special cases out the 376 passengers were allowed to disembark (Sahoo & Sangha, 2010). The ship was moored in the harbour for two months and passengers faced deplorable living conditions with inadequate access to food, water, and medical attention on board (Price & Bains, 2013). The ship was forced out of Canadian waters on July 23, 1914 by an armed naval vessel which was an indication that not all British imperial subjects were equal (Basran & Bolaria, 2003; Jagpal, 1994; Walton-Roberts, 2003). The passengers faced hostility upon their return to India on September 29th and

disembarked under threat in a town called Budge Budge, about twenty-seven kilometres from Kolkata (Price & Bains, 2013). The passengers were then forced onto a train bound for Punjab with twenty dead, many injured, and surviving passengers who faced lifelong surveillance by the Indian government (Price & Bains, 2013).

Family life was unknown for most of these people until the mid-twentieth century (Jagpal, 1994). The literature has noted that greater numbers of women and children started to enter the country to join the men who were already settled in Canada. Racism and injustice were simply a part of life for these first pioneers. Asian migrants to Canada eventually received the right to vote, but not until 1947 (Ghosh, 2017). Most South Asian migrants to British Columbia knew their fate would lie in employment at sawmills while paid low wages for, often dangerous, work. Even the migrants with substantial education from Indian institutions could not acquire a job that fit with their education or trained skills. Younger Sikhs became embittered and developed a negative attitude towards education because of what they observed with earlier settlers. The older generation still encouraged their children to obtain an education as they thought it would eventually be their ticket out of these labour positions (Jagpal, 1994).

Canada's immigration laws changed in the wake of Indian independence in 1951 and that brought a marked increase of Sikh migrants based on the sponsorship system in the 1950s – 1960s (Kepley Mahmood, 2015; Nayar, 2004). There was still pressure to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society: Western clothing and hairstyles were worn in an effort to be more accepted (Nayar, 2004). The 1960s heralded a time when racial and ethnic barriers to immigration were removed (Rajiva, 2009). The result was that South Asian migration increased exponentially and diversified in terms of region, religion, and class. The changes in immigration policies resulted in the migration of more educated, white-collar professionals from India who

experienced difficulty in having their foreign credentials recognized in Canada and were pushed into blue-collar occupations (Sandhu & Nayar, 2008).

The largest influx of South Asian migrants occurred during the Pierre Elliot Trudeau era after the implementation of a new multiculturalism policy in the 1970s (Nayar, 2004). The migrants encountered racism and hostility, but the population was growing in numbers that provided the opportunity to band together to fight racism and to maintain more traditional ways of being (Nayar, 2004). This cultural and communal solidarity caused conflict between those who were more inclined to assimilate and those who wanted to preserve traditions. This wave of migrants started to have children and wanted to give them access to the opportunities for which they had intended when they migrated; yet, they also wanted to preserve cultural traditions.

Another push factor occurred on the other side of the world as Sikhs felt especially marginalized in the1980s in India. Indian troops stormed the Golden Temple in 1984 in response to armed separatist activity within its walls in a manoeuvre called *Operation Bluestar*. Indira Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards assassinated the then-president leading to days of anti-Sikh pogroms with thousands killed across India in the aftermath. This led to a period in the mid-1980s to the early 1990s when a significant number of Sikh migrants were entering Canada as political refugees. The majority of these migrants came through family sponsorship and transnational marriages (Kepley Mahmood, 2015; Mooney, 2006; Rajan, Varghese, & Nanda, 2016). This period led to tension between those who embraced greater orthodoxy to counteract the perception of religious threat and those who did not (Judge, 2003). A cultural incongruence emerged between the collective values espoused in the home and the individualistic values presented in school and between an oral wisdom orientation and an analytic system of

knowledge acquisition as more Sikh children began to enter the school system (Sandhu & Nayar, 2008).

An economic decline in Punjab since the mid-1990's resulted in opportunities for migration to Canada with a large influx of diverse, skilled migrants from India (Ghosh, 2014). Walton-Roberts (2003) contended that a substantial number of these migrants were from Punjab which led to an insular vision of the Indian immigrant community to Canadian Sikhs and to mainstream society. These later migrants were able to be increasingly insular as numbers grew and they were able to navigate their new homes more easily as familiar language, foods, clothing, and communities were easier to find. Sumartojo (2012) noted that this insularity was due to a more defined sense of Sikh identity in diasporic communities where many have managed to improve the public image of Sikhs through their prominent societal roles resulting from demographic concentration and economic prosperity. This period of migration continues today, with increasing numbers of migrants coming into Canada from South Asia and settling in large urban areas (Edmonston, 2016).

Cultural Context

Defining someone as a Sikh has always been a politically charged exercise. I'm sure that any of these definitions can be challenged by different factions of the religion. I will attempt to give a simple overview of Sikhs and their head-coverings or lack of them from my own experience as a second-generation woman of Punjabi Sikh descent. Sikhs can largely be divided into *amritdhari* [being baptized and keeping unshorn hair]; *kesdhari* [keeping unshorn hair]; *sehajdhari* [those who only observe some of the teachings/requirements]; or, *mona* [those who cut their hair]. *Kes* [unshorn hair] is worn by being tied up into a *jooda* [topknot] and then covered with either a *pugh* or *dastaar* [turban], a *patka* [a large bandana tied around the head and

jooda], or a *ramaal* [a small handkerchief placed on the jooda in lieu of a larger head-covering]. There is no significance behind the head-covering other than the ease of maintenance of the patka or the ramaal for children and athletes in comparison to the meters of cloth used to tie the turban. Females and males can both wear a turban; however, it is a more common practice for Sikh males than females.

Amritdhari Sikhs must observe the *punj kakkar* [the 5 K's or the 5 articles of faith] at all times as part of their baptized status. The 5Ks are comprised of: keeping kes, wearing a *kara* [bracelet], wearing a *kanga* [small wooden comb], wearing a *kirpan* [a small dagger], and wearing a *kachera* [undergarment with a tie-knot]. The term *sardar* often refers to a male who is wearing a turban. The more recent term, *cutsurd*, indicating a sardar who has cut his kes has emerged, weaving into the idea of multiple, hybrid identities and the freedom to choose when to/not to don a turban. In this research study I refer only to those who self-report the wearing of any visible head-coverings and those who do not for the ease of data analysis and reporting.

Contemporary Trends

Migration trends are changing Canadian demographics with South Asians currently comprising the single largest visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2011, 2016). The problem of qualified migrants being unable to find work in their fields continues to be problematic; yet, a large number of South Asians continue to migrate to Canada with the hope of raising their standard of living regardless of the nature of their job upon arrival to Canada. There is also an increase in the number of South Asians who migrate to Canada for educational or professional opportunities and further their education or work qualifications in a professional job which may not exist in the state of Punjab due to high levels of unemployment (Baptiste, 2005; Walton-Roberts & Pratt, 2005). Individuals migrating for financial reasons are doing so in hopes

of a better life for their families. Detlaff and Wong (2016) reported that the desire for a better life is an important motivating and protective factor influencing migration from one country to another. Canada's standards for migrant entry have also resulted in larger numbers of migrants who have a significantly higher level of education (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). Research has shown that today's Asian migrants have a relatively high level of education in comparison to that of other groups (Khandelwal, 2002).

A fundamental change in today's economy and educational institutions have ensured that there is an increased demand for education by employers and educators (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). A majority of Sikh migrants believe that education is an important avenue through which their children can rise above poverty, hardship, and racism to become successful in their lives (Nayar, 2004; Wadhwa, 2006). Recent research has indicated that, in comparison with the White majority, a higher proportion of individuals of South Asian descent continue with post-secondary education programs (Bhopal, 2000; Boyd, 2002; Chiswick, & DebBurman, 2003). Research has also indicated that the academic performance of ethnic minority groups may now exceed that of majority groups (Bhopal, 2000; Boyd, 2002; Francis & Archer, 2005; Reitz & Somerville, 2004; Zhou, 1997). Individuals of South Asian descent are far more likely to remain in post-secondary schooling once they gain admission (Abbas, 2002b). This particular research study permitted me to explore experiences and successes of second-generation Canadian secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh descent in British Columbia. Expectations of success are present for immigrant South Asians with clear differences between the first generation and second-generation children. These differences lie in cultural retention, language acquisition, acculturation, and socialization. This study focuses on second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry who are born in Canada.

The Role of Culture

South Asian culture is based around the collective rather than the individual (Baptiste, 2005). The good of the family or the community is often thought to be more important than the good of the individual. This cultural belief results in conflict for the second generation with the Western notion of individuality, where individual needs and desires are placed above the collective. No culture is completely collectivist or individualistic. This aspect of culture can be viewed as being on a continuum with each category on one end. Cultures may align more on one side but can still possess elements of the other. Children of Punjabi migrants experience incongruence between the values learned at home and the values they are exposed to in the dominant society, especially at school (Nayar, 2012). The resulting somewhat dichotomous view of the world must be deciphered and reconciled by second-generation youth before they are able to succeed.

The South Asian community plays a very important role in family life because of the emphasis on the collective. Much value is placed on how the community perceives a family. This reputation is chiefly dependent on the success and conduct of the children; they should be educated, professional, and have a propensity to preserve their cultural and religious heritage (Mohammad-Arif, 2000). Studies have shown that second-generation children who have access to social capital, such as language, that allows them to have a better connection to family and community tend to have better academic outcomes (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009). Students who reported traditional orientations to community values increased academic performance while the effects of concern with individuality were insignificant on second-generation students' scholastic achievement (Zhou, 1997). The relationships that students have built with their communities and families can be interpreted as a form of social capital.

The South Asian community has a strong cultural belief in the inherent importance of education (Abbas, 2002b). Some members of the South Asian community find it unthinkable not to strive for higher qualifications (Ahmad, 2001). Parhar (2010) examined 1970s efforts in British Columbia to encourage ethnic minority parental involvement in educational programs targeted towards encouraging Indo-Canadian mothers to speak English and learn Canadian culture: As a result, these parents understood that they needed their children to fit into the Canadian way of schooling if they wanted them to be successful. Parhar (2010) referenced the work of Gibson (1988) and indicates that South Asian parents supported schools indirectly by directing children to rules and do as teachers expected; however, they did not become involved in school affairs. Studies have shown that there are some cultural groups in which this is more prominent than others (Kaufman, 2004). India is a densely populated country with a high level of competition for prime post-secondary spots and the children are taught at a young age to work hard in order to compete for these spaces (Wadhwa, 2006).

This competitive spirit has carried over with the migrants from the 1970s. This was the generation that was successful in the farming area of the Punjab with the onset of the Green Revolution. Punjab is one of the most successful states in India with some of its land-owning inhabitants achieving some financial success. Parents worked hard to provide their children with the same education that the elite Hindu majority were receiving. This generation was also one from which there was a wave of migration. They brought the ideals of meritocracy that placed importance on education upon arriving in Canada. These migrants also transferred the importance of occupations that provided a good quality of life in India.

These parents are, consequently, quick to teach their children about educational pursuit as a path to cope with anticipated discrimination and overcome racism through the attainment of a

good occupation and economic success. Children are taught that hard work will result in positive rewards. Migrants who left their home countries made a brave and fearful journey often with little more than a few dollars and hopes of ameliorating their families' condition. These migrants have a strong motivation for their children to do well (Detlaff & Wong, 2016). Children are encouraged to aspire to professional careers that require a substantial amount of education, such as engineering, medicine, or law, or a sound financial benefit, such as entrepreneurship (Wadhwa, 2006).

Parental responsibility is another important cultural factor and parents are held responsible for the behaviour of their children (Baptiste, 2005; Mohammad-Arif, 2000). The community helps to keep children accountable and functions as arbiters of appropriate cultural and moral standards and stewardship (Baptiste, 2005). The community functions as a support network providing social and financial surrogates to fill in for family left behind in India (Baptiste, 2005).

Identity Formation of Second-Generation Canadians of South Asian Descent

There are a number of theories in relation to identity formation. Many of these theories present assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization in one way or another toward migrants. Ghuman (1994a) compared second-generation Asians in Britain and second-generation Indo-Canadians and noted that, if acculturation was a continuum with assimilation on one end and accommodation on the other, Indo-Canadians tended to migrate more towards integration, which he felt lay in the center of the continuum.

Research from the United States indicated that second-generation South Asian children go through two phases in relation to their cultural identity: *conformism* and *appreciation* (Mohammad-Arif, 2000). Conformism to mainstream culture occurs during the school years and

appreciation comes later during the university years (Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). Some people realize that the colour of their skin has established that they will never be perceived as truly Canadian throughout their teen years and early twenties (Dhingra, 2003; Rajiva, 2006).

Negative socio-political climates may reinforce this perception as was seen post 9/11 (the cliché term for the September 11, 2001 attacks when commercial airliners destroyed New York's twin towers) when there was a sharp rise in hate crimes against Sikhs by reactionary forces (Verma, 2006). The hyphenization that many experience on a regular basis through the media that categorizes them as Indo-Canadian leads to a realization that directs them towards a search for the roots of their ethnicity and a desire to embrace what they had left behind during their years of conformism. The youth begin to question how acculturation colours their view of their parents' culture as they work toward appreciation on the continuum (Maira, 1996).

One of the struggles faced by second-generation Canadian children of Punjabi migrants is syncretizing two differing cultures. This dichotomy permeates the world of the second-generation child from the time they are very small and hear their parents talking about their homeland in relation to India, or learn values that conflict from home to school (Karakayali, 2004). Adolescence is an especially complex time in need of a sophisticated grasp of cross-cultural dialectics and the ability to navigate between cultures for children of migrants who are born into this strange dualism (Durham, 2004). The children are a generation that can become mired between two worlds as they are required to participate in the differing social worlds of both their parents and peers (Bacon, 1999). There is often the issue of conflicting demands from the two worlds (Atzaba-Poria, Pike, & Barrett, 2004; Baptiste, 2005). Nayar (2004) contended that this generation is well-equipped and able to navigate this divide quite comfortably. Rajiva

(2006) proposed that second-generation youth feel like they do not belong and experience racism and ridicule throughout their schooling. Rajiva (2006) also noted these children have a confused and much weaker self and cultural identity than their parents who did not have to contend with this dichotomy. Dosanjh and Ghuman (1998) found that the weakening of identity does not seem to be a concern for migrant parents. The parents tend to accept biculturalism and make the necessary changes in their lifestyle and outlook to accommodate the new realities without losing their identity as South Asians. Abouguenda and Noels (2001) confirmed that second-generation children of migrants have significantly lower self-esteem and self-concept than migrants themselves.

Some research indicated that cultural duality leads to a positive biculturalism in well-adjusted individuals (Wakil et al., 1981). These researchers stated second-generation diasporic individuals of South Asian descent are able to take the best aspects from both of their worlds and create their own reality. The research literature also proposed that many second-generation South Asians feel pressure to achieve a compromise between the two cultures in order to succeed academically and socially (Abbas, 2002b). This biculturalism usually involves using the tools of each culture to come to a unique personal ideal.

There is a clear distinction for parents who believe the second-generation is supposed to take advantage of the opportunities for educational and economic advancement while retaining the core value systems of Indian culture (Bacon, 1999). Some scholars have found that individuals growing up in a diasporic community experience identity confusion as they process belonging and needs varying from community, peer culture, and pop culture (Aujla, 2000; Handa, 2003). Rajiva (2006) uncovers that some second-generation individuals feel themselves as othered; however, unlike their parents, they do not have a nostalgic homeland for which they

long. Canada is their homeland. Many second-generation children are ultimately the creation of some kind of a new identity that synthesizes Eastern and Western ideas and values into a generational identity that allows them to freely interact within their parents' structures as well as the Western structures in which they were raised (Bacon, 1999).

The idea of a generational identity is interesting; however, the term bicultural seems inadequately binary in describing self-identification that occurs as a result of interplay between so many complex internal and external factors. Maira (1996) rejected the term biculturalism and adopted the more complex notion of multiple, hybrid identities. She contended that some adolescents feel the necessity to have a hidden identity: They hide their cultural colonization from their parents and, in some cases, hide their Indianness from their peers. Maira (1996) contended that these second-generation youth are adept at changing identities depending on the context of the situation in which they find themselves. Chameleon-like, they become skilled at donning different cultural masks to fit each situation and then discard them as necessary. Bhabha (1994) built from the research of Said and rejected the notion of simple mimicry, instead proposing a liminal space in which these identities fluctuate through time and space and are informed by a myriad of factors based on how the self is developed through a dialogical approach with the internal and external world. He suggests that this third space stems from a process of negotiating a performance required to survive in a colonial space. Second-generation individuals must also confront how much of their cultural colonization was of their own choosing.

The Role of Family

The characteristic of the collective is present within the family, and children are obligated to fulfil parents' expectations and bring honour within the community (Baptiste, 2005). Family is

an important factor in educational success for second-generation South Asian students. There are many family variables affecting how these students perform in school with some being common to all students regardless of ethnicity. Studies have shown that factors such as high socioeconomic status, parental education, and parental occupation effect school performance (Abbas, 2002a; Abbas, 2002b; Abbas, 2002c; Aldous, 2006; Garg, Levin, Urajnik, & Kauppi, 2005). A study conducted in India and Canada has revealed that specific parenting style of Indian parents does not have an effect on the academic achievements of their children (Garg et. al, 2005).

Many studies have indicated that positive parental attitudes toward the valuation of education, found in many South Asian migrants, is a factor that increases academic achievement regardless of parenting style, (Aldous, 2006; Reitz & Somerville, 2004). Ghuman (2003) found overwhelming evidence that school success is tied to South Asian migrant parents' interest in their children's education and high aspirations for their future careers. Many Indian migrant parents feel that education is an important factor for success and continually inculcate in their children the belief that it is of utmost importance to academically succeed (Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004). South Asian parents believe that education is an important step towards a successful career that will allow for upward social and economic mobility (Beynon & Hirji, 2000). Parents encourage careers that will provide substantial financial rewards so that their children do not suffer the hardships that they did. Toma, MacMillan, and Lehr (2000) found that satisfaction with financial security was a predictive factor for satisfaction with life in Punjabi immigrant families; thus, it is fitting that these parents encourage their children towards what they feel will provide that financial security.

South Asian parents believe that their children's academic success is an honour (Baptiste, 2005). Second-generation South Asians often feel driven to satisfy their parents and at times with little regard for their own desires (Baptiste, 2005, Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003). It is important to note the deleterious effect that this can have on youth unable to fulfil their parents' expectations or forced to do so without thought to their own desires or feelings even when they are performing well (Baptiste, 2005). Some second-generation South Asian students' spoke of their academic achievement as a way of satisfying parents' unfulfilled aspirations and of an obligation to compensate migrant parents for the sacrifices they have made (Ahmad, 2001; Maira, 1996). Some students start on an educational path of which their parents would approve and make changes later due to a lack of motivation. According to Mohammad-Arif (2000) this can lead to real generational conflicts.

A part of the family milieu that proves to have an advantageous effect on second-generation students' academic success is having older siblings who are influential sources of motivation (Ahmad, 2001). There is a drive to follow their examples and perform positively. There is an advantage of having a sibling in terms of increased language acquisition and homework help that aid in enhancing academic performance.

There is overwhelming evidence that second-generation children of migrants have higher levels of educational attainment relative to children of Canadian-born parentage, even after controlling for a number of other influencing factors (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2008; Childs, Finnie, & Mueller, 2017; Kučera, 2008). Research shows that this attainment results due to migrant parents' own high aspirations for their children, a cultural value that is placed on high achievement, and from being able to get children to internalize high educational aspirations and

strive towards them (Abada et al., 2009; Modood, 2004; Picot & Hou, 2013; Taylor & Krahn, 2013).

Generational Differences

Research literature revealed children of migrants fare better in terms of socio-economic status than their parents (Karthick Ramakrishnan, 2004). Current research also revealed that Asian students of the first- and second-generation had better academic performance and faster growth across the years than third- or later generation students (Boyd, 2002; Boyd & Grieco, 1998; Chiswick & DebBurman, 2003; Duong, Bataly, Liu, Schwartz & McCarty, 2016; Picot & Hou, 2010; Zhang, 2002). Educational attainment of racialized offspring is higher than any other generation, including Canadians who are not visible minorities (Boyd, 2002; Childs et al., 2012; Picot & Hou, 2010). The classical assimilation model based on studies of European migrants showed that successive generations became more successful as they acculturated into mainstream society, but this model is unable to represent the migration process of most non-European populations who are racial minorities (Zhang, 2002). Educational attainment tended to peak in children of migrants and then level off for racial minorities, (Zhang, 2002).

One explanation for this decline could be over-assimilation into the dominant cultural group and its negative consequences (Grant & Rong, 1999). Another explanation could be that third-generation and later students become further removed from cultural norms that highly value education. Chiswick and DebBurman (2003) contended there are a number of factors that combine to create this trend. These researchers stated that part of the reason for the academic excellence of second-generation South Asians is that, recently, migrant parents coming from South Asia often have a higher level of education. Maira (1996) proposed that class background, exposure to racism, and contact with other ethnic backgrounds all have an impact. Many

researchers concluded that having foreign-born parentage has a positive effect on educational achievement (Boyd, 2002, Boyd & Grieco, 1998; Chiswick & DebBurman, 2003; Picot & Hou, 2010).

Culture Brokering

The term *culture broker* refers to the phenomenon of children mediating a new culture for their parents (Jones & Trickett, 2005). Jones and Trickett's (2005) study focused on families from the former Soviet Union; however, there are similarities with the interactions between second-generation Canadian children of Punjabi Sikh descent and their migrant parents. Cila and Lalonde (2015) stated language brokers influence the content of the messages they transmit as well as some cultural knowledge. Culture brokering consists partly of language brokering or being able to translate the language of the new culture to their parents (Tse, 1996; Zhou, 1997). Katz (2014) found that these child brokers were more often firstborn children and more frequently daughters, who were often kept under stricter parental surveillance than sons. Katz (2014) also found that the child who carried out the duties of language brokering was more likely to be bilingually proficient. It has been known that these children had more rewarding relationships with parents, as there was enhanced reciprocal understanding, collaboration leading to greater attachment, and increased feelings of contribution to the family. Ngo and Lee (2007), cited Tse's research that reported these student language brokers assume parental responsibilities, such as communicating with teachers and making decisions about their education. Katz (2014) also noted that culture brokering did not have to be official; it also takes place at home in more unofficial ways. The role of culture broker in the South Asian community can vary from translating official documents such as letters or school notices, translating unknown phone calls, explaining comedy on television, or arranging for medical or legal

appointments. Language brokering can also facilitate conversations and foster positive relationships between migrant parents and the community (Katz, 2014).

Some findings indicated that culture brokering may upset the normative power relationship between parents and children. According to Titzmann (2012), this process of *parentification* gives the language broker more responsibility; thus, enabling them to contend with challenges they may encounter in the brokering process. Cila and Lalonde (2015) concurred that brokering experiences are associated with increased feelings of self-efficacy, independence, and maturity. However, language brokering may also lead to emotional exhaustion if the migrant parent is relying on the language broker in excess (Titzmann, 2012). It is inevitable that some children may take advantage of this role reversal by filtering information like school reports to their advantage. Some children may feel apprehension at not being able to fully communicate during important times such as doctor's appointments, or comfortably communicate during parent-teacher interviews (Jones & Trickett, 2005). Children will often use many context clues and translate a number of times in order to ensure that they were correct in order to mitigate the apprehension of being incorrect and/or disappointing their families (Katz, 2014). This dependence on the children is lessened if parents are educated and as parents acculturate into society (Jones & Trickett, 2005). Hua and Costigan's (2012) findings indicated that language brokering could have an impact on psychological health and family relationships depending on family context. It is important for educators to realize that some second-generation children face this early process of adultification and can have apprehension surrounding it.

Gender Differences

Females have traditionally been held responsible for preserving the family's *izzat* [honour] in the Punjabi culture. Dasgupta (1988) argued that the behaviour of second-generation

daughters is monitored more closely than that of sons as they are "…the keepers of South Asian culture and heritage" (p. 957). There are freedoms allotted to males that have been denied to females (Mucina, 2018; Nayar, 2004; Sohal, 2010). According to Kalsi (2003), "…females are expected to assume gender specific chores and duties (including cleaning, disciplining younger siblings and cooking) and engage in minimal socialization outside of the home" (p. 3). Rajiva (2006) indicates that South Asian girls are "…pressured by family/community to maintain gendered cultural traditions that do not mesh with dominant narratives of girlhood. As symbols of the diaspora's future, they are expected to maintain standards derived from potentially outmoded notions of South Asian girlhood" (p. 177). Sumartojo (2012) found that South Asian culture in Canadian media is portrayed as being patriarchal, rife with male violence, and with having traditional cultural values that privilege male children more than female children.

Mohammad-Arif (2000) noted a small dichotomy between the educational opportunities of boys and of girls. She asserted that there is a stronger historical link to India with a greater concern with marriage than education for daughters in Britain. However, North American parents are willing to make great sacrifices to send their daughters to post-secondary schools (Mohammad-Arif, 2000). Ghuman (1994a) contended that this could be due to Canada's advocacy of cultural pluralism as well as Canadian school policies about multicultural education. Another explanation for the differences in perceptions of the value of educating daughters could be that Indian migration to Britain occurred substantially before Indian migration to North America. British migrants have been trying to preserve an older tradition, unaware of changes that have occurred within India in subsequent generations (Ahmad, 2001; Das Gupta 1997). Second-generation girls of South Asian descent in Britain have been pressured to maintain gendered cultural traditions that are outdated in India (Rajiva, 2006). This practice is changing,

and females are being encouraged into further education (Bhopal, 2000). Indian migration to North America is a newer phenomenon and, although these same expectations apply, there have been significant changes in recent years regarding females and education.

While some South Asians can view education for daughters as an unnecessary expenditure for a girl destined to be part of someone else's family, other South Asian families view a daughter's education as insurance against insecurity in matrimony (Ahmad, 2001). Education makes daughters more marketable for marriage. Ahmad (2001) proposed that by encouraging their daughters to be educated, some South Asian families feel reassured of their daughters' future while attaining prestige within the community for their liberal attitude. Females are expected to enter academia and excel intellectually while retaining core Indian values of femininity and docility to preserve family honour (Maira, 1996). The research has shown that ethnic minority females were more likely to have gained admission to university and performed better in post-secondary education than males (Abbas, 2002; Bhachu, 1991). Bhachu (1991) contended that this is increasingly true of Sikhs as their religious tenets accord men and women similar status. Sundar (2008) stated:

> within the present social and cultural context…second-generation, South Asian-Canadian young women are reconceptualizing their gender roles in a way that allows them to combine the best qualities of the 'good South Asian woman'…with mainstream views of what makes a 'good Canadian woman.' (p. 112)

Handa (2002) critiqued the simplistic model of the culture clash: Instead of conflicting, could it be viewed as liberating for young South Asian women to be able to choose to move back and forth across the cultural continuum as needed? Klassen (2008) noted that Sikh adolescents

(both boys and girls) are characterized by academic persistence, a quality that can offer upward mobility in an unfamiliar and discriminatory environment where it may be difficult to find a sense of belonging regardless of young women's conflicts with cultural positioning.

Linguistic Influences

Research has shown that a frequent experience of second-generation students is that of linguistic difficulty. Many of these students report that when they started their public schooling, they had little or no command of the English language (Hinton, 1999). Many such students were put into ESL classes for part of each day, immediately differentiating them from their peers yet enabling them to learn English. Other effective modes of language transmission included television, friends, older siblings, and family (Hinton, 1999). English is picked up quickly at an early age because of the numerous sources for students to learn the language. However, by the end of formal schooling, this concentration in English results in first language attrition unless it is continually practiced (Wong, 1991). For those South Asian students who live in an extended family situation with grandparents, this attrition is easier to prevent than for those who do not live with grandparent. English-speaking parents face a quandary with determining if they should speak English to their children to speed up language acquisition or try to preserve their children's chances of retaining the heritage language (Tse, 1998).

One problem that may arise is communication with parents for those students that experience first language attrition. These children often have such a limited grasp of the first language that the rudimentary communication with non-English speaking parents in the home results in an inability to have meaningful conversations (Hinton, 1999). Mills (2001), Kumar, Trfimovich and Gatbonton (2008), and Guardado (2010) found that second-generation children believed that even an imperfect maintenance of their first language was linked with maintenance

of a bond with their families, communities, and cultures; thus, it was important for both migrants and their children to preserve the first language.

Children can often face ridicule because of their language. Assimilative pressures at school may cause some of these second-generation students to reject their first languages in order to fit in with their peers (Hinton, 1999). Some students who have experienced language attrition may feel discouraged to try to speak it through fear of ridicule from those who can speak it better than them. Educators historically did not want children using a first language at home as they thought there would be a deleterious effect on second language acquisition. Research has shown that there is no detriment to continuously learning a first language while acquiring a second. Contrarily, there can be a positive effect on language learning across both (Tran, 2010).

First language attrition is not as large an issue for many second-generation South Asians. That is partially due to parental influence at home and partially because many of these children grow up in an ethnic enclave where they are continuously surrounded by community members and neighbours who converse with them in Punjabi (Hinton, 1999). A substantial number of second-generation Canadian children of Punjabi Sikh descent grow up with grandparents, who only speak the first language, living with them; thus, ensuring some language learning (Smythe & Toohey, 2009). Many students reported speaking a mix of English and of their first language (Hinton, 1999). It is relatively common to hear second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent in Canada speak about Punglish – their own unique mix of English peppered with Punjabi words or Punjabi peppered with English words. Canadians of Punjabi Sikh ancestry most often use Punglish when they converse with people who can understand both.

There has been a move in Canadian schools to include many different languages as elective course offerings. In my role as a Punjabi teacher, I had the opportunity to attend a few

meetings of the Punjabi Language Education Association (PLEA) and keep abreast of their activities through their website. In discussion with board members, and as indicated on their website, PLEA made it an objective to organize more Punjabi language offerings in public schools and post-secondary institutions across British Columbia and advocate for the same across Canada. PLEA had a strong voice in advocating for the implementation of Punjabi language education in the BC School District # 36. PLEA also takes action in communities to inform parents that Punjabi is considered as valid as other languages for university entrance at many post-secondary institutions. Increasing numbers of students are embracing their first languages as they enter post-secondary school and public school offerings have increased in popularity as is evidenced by the growth of language courses across schools located in areas with larger populations of Punjabi-language speakers. As Sanghera (2011) noted on the PLEA website, there were fewer offerings available then than are available currently. This indicates that there are larger numbers of students who are enrolling in these courses.

The Role of the Teacher

The research literature indicated that teachers play an influential role in the academic performance of their pupils (Abbas, 2002b). The idea that racism permeates the education system and that there are cultural biases towards ethnic minority students has been vigorously debated over time. Reitz and Somerville (2004) stated in their work that there is:

> …racial bias in Canadian education. Educators and researchers have pointed to racial biases among teachers and in the curriculum in the primary and secondary school system, the streaming of minorities into non-academic programs, the devaluation of the role of minority parents in their children's schooling, and the lack of minority representation on school boards. Some research suggests that

racist sentiment in schools causes visible minority youth to perceive they are

discriminated against. Efforts to combat racism in Canadian schools have been

located under the rubric of 'multiculturalism'. (p. 399)

The research indicated that teacher perceptions of minority students may have an adverse effect

on the students' academic accomplishment (Abbas, 2002c). Other studies have indicated that

teachers have demonstrated understanding of second-generation South Asian students' cultural

circumstances, although they have often generalized their concern (Abbas, 2002b). This

generalization leads some students to think that, although the teachers may not be overtly racist,

they do not understand the second-generation student's cultural situation (Abbas, 2002c).

Increasing numbers of visible ethnic minority teachers on staff has shown to have a

positive effect on South Asian students as indicated from the research performed to explore the

effect of teacher ethnicity (Abbas, 2002a). Carr and Klassen (1996) indicated that benefits of

increased numbers of *minoritized educators* include students feeling freer to express their lived

experiences and these educators helping to challenge the hidden curriculum of deference to

authority, obedience, and subordination instilled into students. Some students felt that racism

may be expressed by any teacher, yet acknowledge a lack of visible minority teaching staff in

schools (Abbas, 2002a). Some students reported feeling more comfortable sharing issues with

staff members who they felt would be able to understand their circumstances more easily

(Abbas, 2002a).

Model Minority

Puar and Rai (2004) contended that the reification of the South Asian model minority

hinges on a historical trajectory of their struggle to place themselves within a Western context.

There have been many studies about the depiction of Asian migrants as the stereotypical *model minority* (Junn, 2007; Puar & Rai, 2004; Shankar, 2008; Somerville and Robinson, 2016). South Asian internalization of Western aspirations and realizations of success in the form of visible signs of wealth like a big house or a big car has led many to believe the myth of the hardworking minority (Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Shankar, 2008). Second-generation South Asian students historically have been viewed as polite, well-behaved, and intelligent (Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Shankar, 2008). These values, inculcating children to perform well are especially prevalent in US studies. Researchers such as Saran (2011, 2015) and Puar and Rai (2004) found that the expectation from migrant parents that their offspring achieve upward mobility has encouraged them to do well and perpetuated the myth of the model minority. Canadian circumstances are different, especially in regard to migration patterns. Puar and Rai (2004) observed that the model minority myth for South Asians has been tarnished due to an association with terrorism and stated: "Sikhs and Muslims function in the fringe spaces of excess of the image of the model minority and…test the ambivalence of the construct, insofar as they are more visible (via turban and *hijab*) as immigrant and racialized communities" (p. 81).

Puar and Rai (2004) noted that there have simultaneously been less assimilative images of South Asians portrayed in the media such as taxi drivers, gas-station workers, and convenience store owners. Another popular media image of India is that of a mystical and backwards country. India is rarely presented as the beautiful, multi-faceted metropolis that it is becoming (Dhingra, 2003). The myth of the model minority has been changing in the Lower Mainland in the last decades as stories about drugs, gangs, and violence within the South Asian community are sensationalized in the media on a regular basis. The attacks in Manhattan on September 11, 2001, and the bombing of Air India Flight 182 on June 23, 1985, have linked the

turban to acts of terrorism: Another stereotype of South Asian Sikhs has emerged (Puar & Rai, 2004).

Post 9/11, the view of South Asians as a model minority has been changing in a global context (Dhingra, 2003). Confronting those who cannot differentiate a turbaned Sikh from a turbaned Muslim, South Asians with turbans often feel the critical stares of those who believe them to be terrorists (Dhingra, 2003). Johal (2015) found that both turbaned and non-turbaned young men felt that there are negative stereotypes about turban-wearing Sikhs in his research on young second-generation Canadian Sikh males. Living in an enclave offers a sense of security as these young men see themselves represented in the population around them. Dhingra (2003) contended that it is because of the racism faced by second-generation individuals of South Asian Sikh descent that they find themselves allied more with other ethnic minorities than the Western European majority.

Ngo and Lee (2007) similarly asserted that there are contrary positions in the discourse of Southeast Asian American success. This population are viewed simultaneously as diligent academicians as well as dropout gangsters. Explanations for educational success offered by the literature include culturally based values that emphasize the importance of education and a strong work ethic. Many of the students who experienced success are those who adhere to family and collective community values (Ngo & Lee, 2007). There have been findings that indicated significant numbers of students who were alienated from their own culture and felt rejected by the majority culture chose gang life (Ngo & Lee, 2007). Nijhawan and Arora (2013) stated that Sumartojo's (2012) research:

> …argues that the seriality of images depicting deviant Punjabi youth in
>
> mainstream media coverage succeed in linking gang-related violence (in the

greater Vancouver region) to specifically culturalist frameworks of explanation, according to which the sources of dysfunction were to be located in ethnic segregation or 'samosa politics' (p. 301).

Regardless of the extent to which the model minority myth is portrayed, Ngo and Lee (2007) recommended that, in examining the roles of culture in education, academic demands of school cannot ignore students' community and heritage or the impact that the perceptions of such can have on students.

Model minority populations can have advantages in that people expect you to succeed and will assume one has good qualities that reduces barriers to obtaining an education (Vaidhyanathan, 2000). One common stereotype is that South Asians generally do well in school (Abbas, 2002a). However, what seems like an advantage may feel like a disadvantage to a second-generation student who cannot manage to fulfil high expectations. Conversely, the stereotype of the second-generation youth as a gangster, a terrorist, or pre-disposed to violence can result in young males drawing upon these pre-existing discourses and understandings of masculinity to resort to protest masculinity, exhibiting excessively macho behaviours and hypermasculine practices such as those depicted by Frost's (2010) "Surrey Jack" (p. 221) (Frost, 2010; Pabla, 2019).

Conclusions

Second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent have many impediments with which to contend in entering public schooling and academia. Some of these cultural intricacies include the complexities that come from identity formation, linguistic problems, and culture brokering. Many second-generation children of migrants go on to have positive schooling experiences while navigating the racialized places in society and in schools. Additional factors

such as culture, family, gender, and generation play an important role towards the academic success of second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent. These students face a number of challenges that the Canadian majority does not. Research has shown that many go on to experience great success in their academic careers despite these detriments.

Looking Forward

Second-generation Canadian individuals of Punjabi Sikh descent have much with which to contend when entering public schooling and academia. There are gaps in the research that require further study. One of these gaps is the need for increased studies specializing in students within Canadian South Asian communities. Canada has a different history than Britain and the United States in regard to migration and its ideology of multiculturalism as well as different settlement patterns; thus, there is a need for further Canadian studies. Another gap in the research includes the need for more research specifically focusing on second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent. There is very little research in this area. South Asia is a large region with many diverse religions, cultures, and languages. There should be some separation in terms of how to best address the needs of these communities.

Some future trends that need study include those that will affect successive generations of Canadians of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. There should be research done on the progress or decline of this population that will endeavour to understand the reasons for that progress or decline. There also needs to be more research in terms of specific services, practices, and strategies that can best help the children of Punjabi Sikh migrants succeed and find a place for themselves in the Canadian education system.

The methodology for this particular research study is outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis document. The quantitative method in my research study focussed on several home-based and school environment factors and experiences of second-generation Canadian secondary students of Punjabi Sikh descent in six school districts in British Columbia, Canada.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

This chapter begins with an examination of the research methodology of this research study. I follow this with a discussion of the research significance and specify the research population. I describe the research instrumentation and ethical procedures. I conclude by delineating the procedures for data collection and analyses.

Research Method

The objective of this study was to investigate the differences that may exist in schooling due to differing population status (small minority, large minority, or majority) within schools for second-generation secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. I created demographic variables to examine the impact of gender, wearing of head-covering, and grade on responses to the quantitative survey. I included 71 items grouped into 4 content areas: 'school experiences' (SE) containing 22 items, 'home experiences' (HE) containing 28 items, 'community experiences' (CE) containing 7 items, and 'relational experiences' (RE) containing 14 items. I used a self-administered opinion questionnaire that contained a 6-point, Likert-type scale to elicit responses from second-generation Canadian-born students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry who were in grades 11 and/or 12 and attending public schools in British Columbia. The responses to the questions ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). I chose a 6-point scale as some research has shown that scales between 5-7 points yield the most reliable results and the 6-point scale eliminates neutrality as the responder has to choose a side (Croasmun & Ostrum, 2011; Dalal, Carter, & Lake, 2014). I chose this type of questionnaire because I believe it may also be used to expand on information gathered from it in the future. I visited schools both in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia (Delta, Vancouver, Richmond) and in the Central Interior of British Columbia (Williams Lake, Quesnel, Prince George) to determine if there was a difference

in the perceptions of students among the schools with small minority populations, the schools with sizable minority populations, and the schools with large majority populations of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi ancestry. I expected to find that there would be higher scores on the school experiences (SE) section of the questionnaire in school sites with large majority populations even when corrected for other environmental factors, for example, community experiences.

Research Significance

I elected to conduct this research study in order to examine the experiences of second-generation Canadian secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry as I have seen from personal experience and read in the literature that there is a lack of voice for this group in their schooling journey. The Canadian early adoption of multicultural pedagogy has had the effect of educators attempting to incorporate cultures into the classroom based on pedagogy that privileges whiteness and was informed with a lack of representation of BIPOC individuals (Agodzo, 2016; Beynon & Hirji, 2000; Huber, Johnson, & Kohli, 2006; Sandhu, 2012). Canadians of Punjabi Sikh descent have little input into creation of curriculum, incorporation of their cultures and communities into the schools and classrooms in a meaningful way, or acknowledgement of their narratives as valid. I hoped to give a small amount of voice to second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry through this research study. I hoped that educators would hear that knowledge coming directly from members of this rather large racialized community in Canada and validate it by using it to inform practice. Yosso (2005) quotes Anzaldúa (1990) who stated: "If we have been gagged and disempowered by theories, we can also be loosened and empowered by theories (p. 2). If some knowledges have been used to

marginalize racialized communities, the counter-narratives emerging from those very communities could be used to uplift them.

Research Population

The research participant population consisted of second-generation Canadian secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh descent in grades 11 and/or 12 who were in the public education system in B.C. This was a fairly large, widely distributed population with 220 total responders: 108 identified as female (49%), 111 identified as male (51%), and 1 chose not to disclose gender. I sought responders from schools in densely-populated, major city centres in the Lower Mainland where many Indo-Canadians have settled. I also surveyed students from smaller settlements of South Asians in the Central Cariboo region. I hoped to discover the difference that population density within the school environment made in terms of satisfaction with education by obtaining responses from student populations where individuals of Punjabi Sikh descent have settled. I wanted to discover if there were perceived differences between school systems where there are dense Punjabi Sikh populations as opposed to school systems where there are sparser Punjabi Sikh populations through using these two distinct geographical locations. I considered that the school population was a reflection of the community in which it was located, and the responders' school experiences were influenced by the community where they lived.

Research Instrumentation

I collected some demographic data prior to administering the survey instrument: gender, grade, school name, self-reported average letter grade, self-reported status of head-covering, and year of birth. The survey instrument was a questionnaire that was broken down into four sections: school experiences (SE), home experiences (HE), community experiences (CE), and relational experiences (RE). Each of the four sections contained items pertaining to each

category that related to responders' experiences. The questionnaire is in Appendix D however, a subsection of the questionnaire of primary interest, entitled "school experiences" follows. All statements were worded such that a high score was seen as a positive attribute so that items found in Table 1 that are worded in the negative (ex. number 5 and number 6) should be positively correlated with items that are worded in the positive (ex. number 2 and number 3).

Table 1
Items from the "School Experiences" section of the Questionnaire

1. The presence of students who are culturally similar to me is important to my school success.
2. School curriculum is culturally relevant to me.
3. Teachers in my schools tried to understand my culture.
4. Administrators in my schools tried to understand my culture.
5. I did NOT witness teachers in my school discriminating against people of Punjabi culture.
6. I did NOT witness administrators in my school discriminating against people of Punjabi culture
7. Many students in my school shared a similar cultural background with me.
8. Teachers in my school did NOT discriminate against me because of my culture.
9. Administration in my school did NOT discriminate against me because of my culture
10. The school had a translator available to communicate with my family in their language.
11. Teachers tried to communicate with my guardian/s in a culturally appropriate way.
12. School administrators tried to communicate with my guardian/s in a culturally appropriate way.
13. I have had many Punjabi individuals as educators during my public schooling experiences.
14. Having a Punjabi individual as an educator would make it easier to succeed in school.
15. I had at least one teacher who tried to make the curriculum relevant to my cultural group.
16. Many teachers in my school tried to make the curriculum relevant to my cultural group.
17. I believe that having teachers of my cultural group in my school would be motivating
18. Punjabi cultural traditions were celebrated in my school.
19. Many culturally relevant extra-curricular activities were offered in my school.
20. I participated in culturally relevant extra-curricular activities in my school.
21. Efforts to celebrate Punjabi cultural traditions were supported in my school.
22. Many materials relevant to my culture were available in the library.

Ethical Procedures

      I applied for and received ethics approval from the University of Northern British Columbia Research Ethics Board (REB) as the first step in conducting this study. I was able to approach and access specific school sites and speak to educators to refer possible participants upon receiving REB approval. I informally approached the school district sites in which I hoped to carry out my research. Each district asked me to provide a letter of intention, a copy of my questionnaire, a letter of information for responders, and assurance of UNBC Ethics Approval. Both letters outlined the objectives of the study, my role as researcher, confidentiality, and the rights of the participants. I then conducted a pilot study.

      Pilot study. The pilot population was taken from the population for the main study as there was a large enough population for this not to have an effect on the main study. I approached 15 potential participant responders at my school site after obtaining appropriate approvals through the school district and school administrators. All of the potential responders agreed to participate, and I gave each a letter of information and went over the study, the informed consent form, and answered questions as asked. The responders signed the form and I distributed the questionnaires and collected once completed. I coded the data and did not notice any anomalies. There were no revisions to the questionnaire nor the procedures for administration based on the pilot study. The lack of need for revisions indicated that the main study could be continued using the instrument as written. I conducted the main study for which I used the MS Excel program for all initial data entry, and I carried out all other work using the Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Version 24 (IBM Corp., 2016) software. I finally reported on the process and outcomes of the study in the small school housing a minority population of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. My family and I

moved to a different geographical location during the process of carrying out this research which meant I was teaching in a different school that had a majority population of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry.

Data Collection and Analyses

I contacted the school districts and the school sites with all necessary information as requested and gained formal approval to speak to potential responders, administer the surveys, and collect quantitative data. I first spoke to one administrator at each school site who spoke with staff to access responders who fit within the parameters of my study. I went into the school and spoke to potential responders during class time once the administrators and teachers had time to organize access to responders, with the exception of one school site. I spoke to the students during their lunch hour and treated them to pizza as an incentive in this particular school site.

I started my recruiting presentation by introducing the study and provided students with a letter that gave them all of the necessary information. This letter can be found in Appendix B. I obtained permission from the participants in the study using an informed consent form, which I reviewed following the introductory information. Students 16 years or older can advocate for themselves; therefore, no parental permission was required.

I then spoke to the students about my own non-judgemental point of view while keeping my bias in check as a Punjabi Sikh woman and as the researcher. I emphasized that there were no right or wrong answers as I was looking for students' perspectives. I attempted to alleviate concerns surrounding confidentiality by including this information in the letter to participants and discussing ethics processes and confidentiality/anonymity specifically with the students prior to their participation in the study. I ensured that I responded to any questions/concerns accurately and confidently. I marked the questionnaires clearly as "confidential". I advised prospective

participants that information provided would be kept in a locked office for a period of only one year following the duration of the study, at which point it would be destroyed. I answered participant questions and collected the consent forms. There were no students that opted out at this point. I then distributed the questionnaires, collected them, and numbered them to retain anonymity.

I entered the data into Excel for preliminary analysis and then entered it into SPSS software for further analysis. I examined the results for responders' school experiences (SE) within the education system, differences between the group of majority population questionnaires compared to the large minority/small minority population questionnaires, differences between genders, differences between responders who self-identified as wearing traditional head-coverings and those not wearing traditional head-coverings, differences between grades, and differences between birth years. I performed correlational analysis looking at subscale with total scale correlations and school experiences items with subscale and with total scale correlations and independent samples t-tests as preliminary analyses. I followed these by 2-factor ANOVAs and 2-factor ANCOVAs for main analyses.

This chapter has delineated the research methodology used in this research study. I hoped that it would give a much-needed voice to the population under consideration, second-generation secondary school students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. I created and administered a research instrument, following appropriate ethical procedures, before collecting data and moving on to analyses. Chapter four explores a more thorough examination of statistical interpretation and analysis of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS / STATISTICAL INTERPRETATION

This chapter begins with a summary of initial screening and formatting of data. Then it summarizes the analyses of responder/demographic data and analyses of the instrument prior to examining the preliminary analyses of the data, and followed by the main analyses of the question.

Initial Screening and Formatting of Data

I entered all survey results, information, demographic data, and the responses to the instrument's 6-point, Likert-type items into Microsoft Excel (2016) and then imported the information into Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Version 24 (IBM Corp., 2016) to analyze the study findings. I completed the analyses using SPSS. I examined the frequency tables and histograms to look for out-of-range values and other outliers on the first attempt to do an analysis. I found two formatting discrepancies for which I revised. One discrepancy was a copy and paste error where the number of the variable was included in the Excel document. The other discrepancy was a variable pasted without a name. I eliminated the number preceding the variable name and named the unnamed variable to fix the error. There was one value that was entered incorrectly that I rectified. I then converted alphabetic values such as 'M' or 'F' to numeric values to '1' and '2' in order of the requirements of SPSS data analysis program.

I imported the data into SPSS again and confirmed its accuracy after all necessary revisions were complete. There were 220 persons who responded to the survey; following examination, all were retained for further analyses. The survey consisted of 71 items classified in four subsections: school experiences (22 items), home experiences (28 items), community experiences (7 items), and relational experiences (14 items). Following examination, all 71 items appeared to relate well to the study and were retained for further analyses.

Analyses Prior to Main Analyses

      Responder and other demographic characteristics. The demographic characteristics of

the sample are placed in Table 2. I assigned schools a number for anonymity reasons. The

responders were second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh descent. The schools were

primarily in two geographic regions: Six schools were located in urban areas of large,

multicultural cities in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. One of the six had a majority

population of responders (45%+ of population) and five had a large minority population of

responders (20% - under 45% of the population). The other three schools were in the area of

Northern Interior British Columbia; two were in more rural small cities with a small minority

population of the sample (under 20% of the population) and one was in a medium-sized city with

a small minority population of the sample (under 20% of the population). I grouped the student

characteristics by secondary school, numbered 1 to 9 in Table 2.

Table 2
Student and School Demographic Data Sorted by School

Student Data									
					School				
Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Birth Year									
1991	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1992	7	3	8	4	9	7	10	39	6
1993	7	4	2	16	11	4	6	53	7
Gender									
Female	6	7	5	9	11	3	5	56	6
Male	8	0	5	13	11	9	12	44	9
Grade									
11	8	2	1	16	12	5	6	59	8
12	5	5	9	6	10	7	11	42	7
% of Total Sample	6	3	5	10	10	6	8	46	7

School Data

Variable	School								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Punjabi language offered	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
# of students who took course	10	0	3	1	5	3	2	24	1
% Mean of perceived Punjabi population	9	3	36	37	50	70	32	76	10
# of students wearing head covering	2	0	2	2	1	0	2	10	0

The number of the participants split by gender in this study was almost equally distributed, 108 (49%) female participants and 111 (51%) male participants. There was one responder who did not to disclose gender on the demographic information form. There was a similar distribution of Grade 11 and Grade 12 responders, with 117 responders in Grade 11 and 103 responders in Grade 12. There was a similar distribution of respondents by school with the exception of School 2 and School 8. This anomaly can be explained by the small subject population at School 2 and the substantially larger subject population at School 8. A contributing factor was that School 8 was the site of the researcher's employment at the time of the study: Consequently, there was an increase in access to the student population as well as an increase in the time that the researcher was available to the respondents.

There were a few students who reported taking a Punjabi course at school, although one was not offered at the school that they attended. This anomaly can be explained as students having taken the course at a school previously attended. All students, with the exception of one, reported being in grade 11 or grade 12, with a slightly greater proportion from grade 11. This is

consistent with the small majority of students being younger because of being born in 1993 rather than 1992. This was expected as I had made prior contact with schools and requested referrals for student responders from those grade levels.

Preliminary Analysis of the Instrument

I performed correlational analysis for each of the variables with one another following cleaning and screening. The correlations used to analyse the items of the instrument, were scale to interval correlations. I have not reproduced the entire correlational matrix in this chapter or in an appendix due to its size. The analysis showed expected correlations, ranging from - .27 to .81. For example, there was a high degree of positive correlation (.84) between students' belief that teachers did not discriminate against those of their cultural group and their belief that administrators did not discriminate against those of their cultural group. Another example of a high correlation (.80) was that of individuals translating for their parents in school and individuals translating for their parents outside of school. I observed a moderate correlation (.61) between a variable about parents' ability to communicate adequately in English and parents' communicating effectively with the school.

The availability of culturally relevant extra-curricular activities in schools and the celebration of Punjabi cultural traditions in schools were both moderately positively correlated (.62, .44) with larger concentrations of the cultural group within the student population. I noted a few zero correlations. One of these was no correlation between individuals' achievement in school and parents' attendance of parent teacher meetings. There was one low negative correlation (-.27) between students translating for parents outside of school and parents' adequate command of the English language in school communication. I expected to find that parents who had an adequate command of the language would require less translation so this low

negative correlation shows expected results. There was an absence of any moderately or highly negative correlations. As a result, I verified that the variables were acceptable as they were and there were not any anomalies.

I created five new variables, a total score scale and four subtotal scales for each of the four sections that were contained in the survey I distributed. The first section was school experiences (SE); it contained variables regarding experiences with school staff, with students, with curriculum, and with school cultural supports. The second section was home experiences (HE); it encompassed experiences within the home with parents, siblings, and first language that relate to school. The third section was community experiences (CE); it contained experiences that respondents might encounter in their larger community in relation to community attitudes towards education and opportunities for cultural enrichment. The fourth section was relational experiences (RE); it contained items related to friends in relation to attitudes towards education.

The data was not analyzed as ordinal data, but was converted to subscales; therefore, it is plausible that these new subscale variables could be considered interval data since scores on the SE subscale can theoretically range from values of 22 to 132 and are not in rank order. Regardless, Glass and Hopkins (1984), would support the use of parametric tests such as correlational analysis with Pearson r calculations as acceptable for this data set. Further, Glass & Hopkins (1984) indicate that parametric tests are increasingly acceptable when the difference between $r_{Spearman}$ values and $r_{Pearson}$ becomes negligible as n increases. In this study, $n = 220$, indicating that probability values (p) from a Pearson correlation done on these item to subscale correlations can be considered reliable.

I firstly examined correlation between the subscales and the total scale. I used Cohen's (1988) *d* descriptors. Cohen states that small effect sizes range between .20 - .49, medium effect sizes range from .50 - .79, and large effect sizes range from .80 up. Results are given in Table 3.

Table 3
Subscale and Total Scale Correlations

	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
School Experience		.37**	.47**	.52**	.76**
Home Experiences			.46**	.55**	.83**
Community Experiences				.51**	.68**
Relational Experiences					.80**

Note. **The p-values are 2-tailed. p ≤ .01. For all of these correlations, 186 ≤ n ≤ 217.

As shown in Table 3, I performed correlational analysis of the subscales: SE, HE, CE, and RE. I looked at each subscale in relation to the other three subscales and found that they all correlated positively to one another. The correlation was a medium to large-sized one as it ranged from .37 - .55. The total scale was comprised of all of the scales (the SE, HE, CE, and RE) together. The relation of each subscale to the total scale (TS) was a medium to large-sized one, between .68 - .83; however, I recognize that this is inflated due to the fact that each of the subscales comprise part of the TS. I then performed correlational analysis for each variable in a subsection in relation to the total of the subsection. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

School Experience and Subscale/Total Scale Correlations

	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
SE1	.13	.04	.19**	-.07	.09
SE2	.39**	.23**	.40**	.23**	.37**
SE3	.58**	.21**	.27**	.38**	.44**
SE4	.55**	.28**	.26**	.39**	.46**
SE5	.39**	.20**	.14*	.40**	.36**
SE6	.42**	.16*	.11	.35**	.33**
SE7	.50**	.10	.21**	.37**	.35**
SE8	.60**	.30**	.20**	.51**	.55**
SE9	.52**	.28**	.22**	.45**	.48**
SE10	.48**	.19**	.23**	.14*	.35**
SE11	.59**	.36**	.31**	.33**	.56**
SE12	.58**	.34**	.32**	.35**	.51**
SE13	.59**	.10	.24**	.24**	.38**
SE14	.11	.08	.10	-.15*	.07
SE15	.50**	.19**	.20**	.10	.39**
SE16	.64**	.17*	.32**	.21**	.46**
SE17	.27**	.17*	.22**	.15*	.25**
SE18	.57**	-.001	.19**	.21**	.30**
SE19	.66**	.07	.24**	.21**	.37**
SE20	.57**	.17*	.27**	.26**	.38**
SE21	.65**	.11	.22**	.27**	.39**
SE22	.51**	.28**	.24**	.28**	.47**

Note. **The *p*-values are 2-tailed. $p \leq .01$.
For all of these correlations, $186 \leq n \leq 217$.

I analyzed this set of data; it showed consistent high positive correlations between the

subscales I created and the items within the SE subscale. There were a few items that did not

correlate: SE1 and SE14. These two questions focussed on the presence of culturally similar

students and educators contributing to school success so it could be that responders did not find

presence to be a causal factor. I found that the rest of the items in the SE subscale consistently,

positively, largely correlated more with the SE subscale than they did with the other subscales. I

also found the same result for other the items in the other subscales: they also consistently,

positively correlated with their own subscale more than they did with the other subscales. These

results can be found in Appendix F. These positive scale correlations support that further

analyses by subscale, total scale, or both, are appropriate.

Analyses Conducted Prior to Analyses of Main Research Questions

   Relationship between school achievement and subscale and total scale. School

achievement was a self-report by the students. The letter grades reported were, A, B, C+, C, C-,

D, and F. These were converted to a numeric scale, A = 7, B = 6, C's = 5. Pearson correlations

were calculated and placed in Table 5. Note that Table 5 is identical to Table 4 with the

exception of the last term school grade added.

Table 5
Subscale and Total Scale Correlations with Average Letter Grade

	Last Term Grade	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
Last Term Grade		.13	.07	.03	.29**	.17*
School Experiences			.37**	.47**	.52**	.76**
Home Experiences				.46**	.55**	.83**
Community Experiences					.51**	.68**
Relational Experiences						.80**

Note. **The *p*-values are 2-tailed. $p \leq .01$.
*$p \leq .05$.
For all of these correlations, $182 \leq n \leq 217$.

   Table 5 shows the results of the correlation between respondents' self-reported last term

grade and each of the four subscales. The results show a small ($0.1 < d < 0.3$) but statistically

significant ($p < .01$) relationship between the letter grade and only the RE. Thus, there is no

evidence of any relationship of importance between achievement in school and responses in any

of these scales. As there is insufficient evidence of any relationship between school achievement

and response on these scales due to the size of the correlation and the lack of statistical

significance, further analysis of student-reported scale scores by school achievement need not be

conducted. I created a 2-factor ANOVA for a small secondary analysis as a measure of

confirmation. I found that the initial finding was confirmed. Students' school academic success

does not have an impact on their answers for school experiences in the instrument.

Relationship between gender and subscale and total scale. I performed an independent

samples *t*-test in order to determine whether there was a difference in the way that female

students responded to questions in comparison to their male counterparts. Summary statistics for

gender by subscales and total scale are displayed in Table 6. I was looking to examine if the two

groups (male and female) showed enough of a statistical difference to need to be examined

separately or if they could be examined together.

Table 6
Descriptive Statistics (Gender)

	Gender	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
School	Female	93	87.95	16.94
Experiences	Male	102	84.28	16.35
Home	Female	100	122.54	16.58
Experiences	Male	105	117.51	20.57
Community	Female	107	28.61	5.99
Experiences	Male	109	28.16	7.29
Relational	Female	105	69.41	9.97
Experiences	Male	107	63.38	13.13
Total Scale	Female	87	310.98	36.98
	Male	93	294.40	45.71

Table 6 shows that the mean scores for female are higher than males for all subscales.

However, when I examined *t*-test results, not all cases could be considered statistically

significantly different. I used a confidence level of 95% (i.e., $\alpha = .05$) when performing the

statistical tests on the collected survey data. A *p*-value under the .05 level is indicative of a

statistical significance. I decided to conduct further analysis to see if there was a difference with gender. The results of the independent samples *t*-test performed examining gender differences are located in Table 7.

Table 7
Independent Samples t-Test (Gender)

	Levine's Test for Equality of Variances		*t*-test for Equality of Means		
	F	*p*	*t*	*df*	*p*
School Experience	0.49	.49	1.54	193	.13
Home Experience	3.34	.07	1.92	203	.06
Community Experiences	2.08	.15	0.50	214	.62
Relational Experiences	7.15	.01	3.76	210	<.001
Total Scale	1.42	.24	2.66	178	.01

Note. p-value (2-tailed)

I examined the equality of sample variances assumption using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. Only two subscales, HE and RE, might be questioned as to meeting this assumption ($p \leq .10$). Both *t*-test results were examined for equal variances and unequal variances assumption; there was no difference of any importance between the two sets of results. It is interesting to note that these two subscales, HE and RE, are the two subscales for which females and males may differ. For HE ($t = 1.92$, $p = .06$, $df = 203$, Cohen's $d = 0.27$ – small effect size); there is no difference at a .05 level of significance. In the case of RE, the gender difference favouring females is more evident ($t = 3.76$, $p = .00$, $df = 210$, Cohen's $d = .52$ – medium effect size); there is a difference at a .01 level of significance. For the TS ($t = 2.66$, $p = .01$, $df = 178$, Cohen's $d = .40$ – small effect size); there is a difference at a .01 significance level, however, I recognize these numbers are affected by the inclusion of the subscales within the total scale. After the analysis was completed the results showed that the responses of the two groups are similar in the subscales SE, HE, and CE; thus, they can be grouped together. At an alpha of .05, all data met the equal variances assumption (Levene's test) with the exception of the RE

subscale, which showed a statistical significance. In this instance, the unequal variances result was indicative of a need for further analysis by gender for this subscale and was interpreted.

Relationship between head-covering and subscale and total scale. I performed independent samples *t*-tests to look for differences between respondents who self-identified as wearing head-covering indicative of Sikh identification and those who did not. Summary statistics for those wearing head-covering by subscales and total scale are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8
Descriptive Statistics (Head-covering)

	Head-covering	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
School	No	178	85.90	16.81
Experiences	Yes	18	88.78	16.29
Home	No	187	120.29	18.83
Experiences	Yes	19	118.68	20.85
Community	No	198	28.27	6.66
Experiences	Yes	19	29.84	6.79
Relational	No	194	66.22	12.26
Experiences	Yes	19	68.79	9.74
Total Scale	No	163	302.61	42.87
	Yes	18	305.22	42.91

The mean scores for those self-identifying as wearing head-covering and for those who do not are similar for all subscales. I wanted to examine if the group self-identifying as wearing traditional head-covering, as interpreted by themselves, showed enough of a statistical difference to need to be examined separately or if they could be examined with the rest of the sample.

The results of the independent samples *t*-tests performed examining differences in those wearing traditional head-covering are located in Table 9.

Table 9
Independent Samples t-Test (Head-covering)

	Levine's Test for Equality of Variances		*t*-Test for Equality of Means		
	F	*p*	*t*	*df*	*p*
School Experience	0.05	.82	-0.70	194	.49
Home Experience	1.15	.29	0.36	204	.73
Community Experiences	0.13	.72	-0.98	215	.33
Relational Experiences	0.34	.56	-0.89	211	.38
Total Scale	0.38	.54	-0.25	179	.81

Note. p-value (2-tailed)

I examined the equality of sample variances assumption using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. The results showed that, at an alpha of .05, all data met the equal variances assumption (Levene's test); see left column of *p* values. In no single subscale or in the total scale was there any indication in statistically significant difference between those who visibly identified with their culture in use of head-covering and those who did not in response to this survey. Therefore, there is no difference of response between those who wear head-covering and those who do not. All variables were grouped together for further analysis.

I also performed independent samples *t*-tests to look for differences between respondents' answers based on grade and based on birth year to determine if they could be examined together as part of the larger sample or if there was enough of a statistical difference that they needed to be examined separately. I used a confidence level of 95% (i.e., α = .05) when performing the statistical tests on the collected survey data. A *p*-value under the .05 level is indicative of a statistical significance. The *t*-tests I examined supported the finding that there was no statistical

significance. I examined the equality of sample variances assumption using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. The results showed that all data met the equal variances assumption (Levene's test). In no single subscale, or in the total scale, was there any indication in statistically significant difference in responses to this survey based on birth year or grade level. All variables will be grouped together for further analysis. Summary statistics and *t*-test results can be found in Appendix G and Appendix H. Appendix I shows the properties of the subscales I examined. When I examined skew and kurtosis and compared these values to +/- 2 S.E. (standard error), I observed that there was no statistical evidence of skewness in all scales with the exception of RE, which had a minor negative skew. This minor departure from normality was judged not a problem of consequence so I chose to follow with ANOVA and ANCOVA analysis, both of which are robust to departures from normality (Field, 2013).

Main Analyses: The Research Questions

I performed a series of 2-factor ANOVAs (school, gender, school x gender) to examine the effects of school site, gender, and a relationship of both on respondents' perceptions of schooling, using each subscale and total scale as the dependent variables. I coded the schools into three variables: Type 1 indicated schools with small minority population of responders (under 20% of the population), Type 2 indicated schools with large minority population of responders (between 20% to under 45% of the population), and Type 3 indicated schools with large majority population of responders (45%+ of the population). I examined the school experiences (SE) variable first as that was the focus of the research questions. I followed this with examination of the variables of community experiences (CE), home experiences (HE), relational experiences (RE), and total scale (TS). Table 10 shows the means and the standard deviations of all the variables in relation to gender and school type.

Table 10

Mean and Standard Deviation for School and Gender in Community Experiences, Home Experiences, Relational Experiences, and School Experiences

Gender	School Type	CE Mean	CE SD	HE Mean	HE SD	RE Mean	RE SD	SE Mean	SE SD	TS Mean	TS SD
Female	1	27.56	7.34	129.53	18.98	68.00	11.85	79.82	14.38	311.07	36.04
	2	28.67	5.27	121.17	17.17	67.19	10.38	81.81	18.64	297.87	37.67
	3	28.91	5.99	121.08	15.12	71.22	8.78	94.20	14.67	317.10	36.05
Male	1	28.38	7.55	117.81	25.70	60.82	12.90	79.19	19.71	286.73	52.06
	2	26.80	7.30	119.17	21.14	62.50	14.42	79.07	13.64	287.49	46.23
	3	29.60	7.06	115.63	18.08	65.30	11.76	91.69	15.03	303.44	42.25

As stated previously, Type 1 schools were those with a small minority population, Type 2 schools were those with a large minority population, and Type 3 schools were those with a large majority population. The mean for CE in Type 1 and Type 3 schools is slightly higher for males than females. Type 2 schools show a higher mean for females than males. For HE and RE, the mean for females is higher across all schools. SE means are similar for Type 1 schools and slightly higher for females in Type 2 and Type 3 schools.

Table 11
ANOVA Summary Table for School x Gender in School Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
School	2	3809.68	15.78	<.001
Gender	1	137.83	0.57	.45
School*Gender	2	12.30	0.05	.95

Table 11 shows that there is no effect of relationship between school*gender that impacts respondents answers to the SE section of the survey instrument. Additionally, it shows that gender is not statistically significant in responses to the SE section of the survey instrument. The

only variable that shows statistical significance is that of school type. Table 12 summarizes the

relationship between school*gender on CE.

Table 12
ANOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Community Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
School	2	55.88	1.26	.29
Gender	1	0.65	0.02	.90
School*Gender	2	41.40	0.93	.40

Table 12 shows that there is no statistical significance of school*gender, gender, or

school type on responses to CE in the survey instrument.

Table 13 summarizes the relationship between school and gender on HE.

Table 13
ANOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Home Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
School	2	350.87	1.00	.37
Gender	1	1679.48	4.78	.03
School*Gender	2	269.13	0.77	.47

Table 13 shows that there is no statistical significance of school*gender, gender, or

school type on responses to HE in the survey instrument. Table 14 summarizes the relationship

between school and gender on RE.

Table 14
ANOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Relational Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
School	2	329.72	2.43	.090
Gender	1	1538.77	11.35	.001
School*Gender	2	20.08	0.15	.860

Table 14 shows that there is no statistical significance of school*gender or school type on

responses to RE in the survey instrument. There was a statistical significance of gender on

responses to this section of the survey instrument. Table 15 summarizes the relationship between school and gender on TS.

Table 15
ANOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Total Scale

Source	df	MS	F	P
School	2	5624.33	3.28	.04
Gender	1	9413.60	5.50	.02
School*Gender	2	490.49	0.29	.75

Table 15 shows that there is no statistical significance of school*gender, gender, or school type in responses to TS in the survey instrument. I recognize that these numbers may be slightly inflated due to the subscales comprising the TS. I found no significance of school*gender on responses to items upon my data analysis. I note that I can disregard the statistically significant finding of the effect of gender on responses to RE, taking into consideration that the analysis is about whether or not school experiences differ based on majority or minority status in school sites; however, I followed the ANOVA with ANCOVA as it would remove the impact of other variables on the dependent variable of interest – SE. I also found that students' responses to home experiences (HE), community experiences (CE), and relational experiences (RE) do not differ according to school type. However, in the school experiences (SE) subsection, I consistently found that school types with majority population of responders are statistically significantly different than school sites with small minority and minority population of responders.

ANCOVA analysis. I chose to perform a 3 x 2 x 3, 2-factor ANCOVA to examine difference in responses based on school type*gender, gender, or school type on the school experiences (SE) subscale in order to further my analysis based on ANOVA results. I performed the ANCOVA tests to analyse the main and interaction effects of gender and school type on SE, which is the main dependent variable of interested, while statistically controlling for the effects

of the covariates. I was able to be more certain that mean differences or interactive effects did not occur by chance as a result of performing ANCOVAs to analyse SE scores after they had been adjusted for the effects of the covariates. The independent variables were school type and gender. The dependent variable was SE with relational experiences (RE), community experiences (CE), and home experiences (HE) as covariates. Table 16 shows the estimated means and standard deviations for the main effects.

Table 16

ANCOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in School Experiences

Source	*df*	MS	*F*	*p*
SE	1	680.40	3.89	.05
HE	1	1580.52	9.03	.003
CE	1	1611.53	9.20	.003
School	2	2604.35	14.87	<.001
Gender	1	25.79	0.15	.70
School*Gender	2	0.41	0.002	.998

It is important to note that all three covariates should be retained as $p < .01$ for all three cases. I did not find a statistically significant interaction on responses to SE ($p = 1.00$); therefore, main effects can be discussed independently. These results suggest that there is no difference of school*gender in response to the school experience (SE) subscale ($p = .998$). The results additionally affirm that there is no difference in gender in response to the SE subscale ($p = .70$). This confirms the findings of the ANOVA in relation to the SE subscale that there was a statistically significantly large effect (partial eta-square = .15) of school type on responses to SE, after adjusting for the extraneous variables. I conducted post-hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction and they revealed that the responses to SE differ by school type with both school Type 1 (small minority of responder population) and school Type 2 (large minority of responder population) being statistically significantly different from school Type 3 (large majority of responder population) but not statistically significantly different from one another.

I followed by performing a 2-factor ANCOVA for the RE subscale. The independent variables were school type and gender. The dependent variable was RE with SE, CE, and HE as covariates. Table 17 shows the results.

Table 17
ANCOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Relational Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
SE	1	705.94	9.20	.003
HE	1	2244.30	29.26	<.001
CE	1	589.12	7.68	.01
School	2	62.46	0.81	.45
Gender	1	643.86	8.39	.004
School*Gender	2	0.27	0.004	.996

The data again reveal that all three covariates should be retained as $p \leq .01$ for all three cases. There was no interaction ($p = .996$) which supports that main effects can be discussed independently. These results suggest that there is a statistically significant difference of gender in response to RE ($p = .004$).

I then performed a 2-way ANCOVA for the HE subscale with the independent variables being school type and gender. The dependent variable was HE with SE, CE, and RE as covariates. The data revealed that all three covariates be retained as $p \leq .01$ for all three cases. This data suggests there was no interaction ($p = .06$) and no statistically significant effect of gender on response to HE. Interestingly, school type had a statistically significant effect ($p = .003$) on responses to HE.

I lastly performed a 2-factor ANCOVA for CE subscale, with the independent variables being school type and gender. The dependent variable was CE with SE, HE, and RE as covariates. The data supported that all three covariates be retained as $p \leq .01$ for all three cases. The data showed that there was no interaction ($p = .26$) and no statistically significant effect of gender ($p = .98$) or school type ($p = .13$) on response to CE. As SE is the primary dependent

variable, the summary ANCOVA tables for the HE and CE 2-way ANCOVA can be found in

Appendix J and Appendix K.

I have summarized initial data screening/formatting, analyses of responder/demographic

data, and analyses of the instrument. I then examined preliminary analyses of the data, followed

by the main analyses of the question. In Chapter Five, I discuss the results and suggest

recommendations arising from this research study.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes the research study and discusses conclusions based on the study and previous research on the subject, followed by examining delimitations and limitations. I conclude this research study by exploring recommendations for practice and future research.

Summary of the Research Study

I conducted a study to examine the effect of minority status within the school system on school experiences of second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh descent. I composed a questionnaire using a series of 6-point, Likert-type items in four categories: school experiences (SE) contained 22 items, home experiences (HE) contained 28 items, community experiences (CE) contained 7 items, and relational experiences (RE) contained 14 items. I carried out the study in secondary schools in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia and in secondary schools in the Central Interior region of British Columbia. I wanted to discover if there was a difference in the research population's perceived school experiences based on school types whose population composition of responders differs. I categorized these school types into three: small minority population, large minority population, and large majority population. I hypothesized that schools with large majority populations would have greater perceived satisfaction with school experiences.

I carried out the study and analyzed the data for correlations. I found that I could continue further analysis on subscale and total scale groupings. I found that there was no relationship between students' academic success and their responses to the items in the instrument. I found that there was no statistically significant difference of response between those who wear head-coverings and those who do not in any of the subscales or in the total scale. I did not find any statistically significant difference in response in any of the subscales or on the total scale based

on birth year or grade level. I did not find a statistically significant difference of school type on response to relational experiences (RE) or community experiences (CE) subscales or on the total scale (TS). I found differences, based on analysis, on school experiences (SE) based on school type with responders from school Type 1 (small minority population) and school Type 2 (large minority population) being statistically different than school Type 3 (large majority population). I did not find statistically significant difference for home experiences (HE) subscales based on school type when I performed the ANOVA analysis; however, when I performed the ANCOVA analysis, allowing for statistical control of covariates, I found that there was a statistically significant difference of school type on the HE subscale. I found a statistically significant difference based on gender on the relational experiences (RE) subscale; however, I did not find statistically significant difference based on gender on the school experience (SE), home experiences (HE), or community experiences (CE) subscales or on the total scale (TS). I did not find any effect of the relationship between school*gender on SE, HE, RE, CE, or TS. I was most interested in the results of the SE subscale for the purposes of this research. I have examined and analysed these items further in the section of study conclusions.

Study Conclusions

I analyzed the data based on a number of factors and started with the participants' age and grade level as I thought these two variables would likely cause little difference in response. I found that neither of these variables showed any differences in group response levels; thus, there was no need to further investigate or analyze. All further data analyses were completed with the participants as combined Grade 11/Grade 12 data, not separate.

I also examined the data based on participant responses on self-reported average letter grade in student achievement. There was a small statistical significance found in RE (relational

experiences). This was unsurprising as there is a body of research indicating that peer

relationships significantly impact school engagement and school achievement (Flashman, 2012;

Flashman, 2014; Gremmen, Dijkstra, Steglich, & Veenstra, 2017; Juvonen, Espinoza, &

Knifsend, 2012; Li, Doyle, Kalvin, Liu, & Lerner, 2011). In my work with students, I noticed

that student friend groups performed similarly to one another academically and showed similar

attitudes towards schooling. Students self-reporting higher grades also scored higher in questions

relating to friends and their encouragement of academic achievement, sharing of future

educational plans, and pursuit of post-secondary education in this research. I found no evidence

of perceived differences in SE (school experiences) based on student academic achievement

upon further analysis. I have noticed, as an educator in schools working with second-generation

Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry, that many enjoy school as a space for socializing as

well as learning. This links to peer-groups as mentioned previously with those self-reporting

higher grades also reporting peer support of academic goals, indicating that school overlaps as an

academic and social space. I had an increased confidence in the reliability of my data as a result,

since I could conclude that there was not bias due to different school achievement colouring

responses to the instrument. I did not analyze student-reported academic achievement any further

as SE was the primary variable of interest in this research.

I also analyzed the variable of self-reported wearing of head-covering. There was no

difference in any of the subscales or in the total scale for this variable; therefore, I did not pursue

it any further. I was surprised by this finding as I expected to find difference based on head-

covering on some of the subscales. My role as an educator has afforded me the opportunity to

have conversations with students and I have heard about feelings of difference and trying to fit in

from second-generation Sikh students who wear head-covering. There was also usually a case or

two every few years of a student who found unorthodox means to cut their hair. There was a theme of incongruence in what the perception of these students appeared to be and who they felt they really were. Nayar (2004) has noted that baptized Sikh youth who wear the turban feel minoritized within their minority group, leading to feelings of anxiety and alienation from the mainstream culture and from their own Punjabi community. Gill (2020) has noted that young men who choose to cut their kes have a myriad of reasons: to deflect attention from their outsider status, to conform to diasporic life, to decrease time spent on maintenance, and also to attract young women who indicate a perceived preference to young men who do not wear head-covering. Johal's (2015) research also indicated young men who cut their hair may do so due to peer pressure and a desire to belong. My own experiences as a first-generation woman of Punjabi Sikh descent married to a man who wears head-covering, and as an educator working with youth who wear head-covering echoes that of Nayar, Gill, and Johal. However, I have observed as numbers of students in schools who wear head-covering increases, it seems that there is a corresponding greater level of acceptance.

Gill (2020) discussed the concept of dual identities that hearkens back to Bhabha's (1994) notion of a fluctuating identity and to Maira's (1996) notion of hybrid identities. Frost's (2010) study of young Punjabi men in Surrey, British Columbia (BC) revealed a "brown" identity that is crafted from a variety of influences and is neither mainstream nor immigrant. This notion coincides with what I have experienced as an educator observing and interacting with second-generation youth of Punjabi Sikh ancestry as they develop an identity that incorporates aspects of dominant Canadian culture, the culture of their families, and meshes it with influences from broader cultural spaces of media, communities, and peers. Bhatia and Ram (2004) summarize the words of Meena Alexander (1993) as she acknowledges the construction of her

identity as one of "many selves born out of broken geographies" (p. 224). For second-generation children, culture is in flux. What is considered "brown" culture has changed and fluctuated to such an extent that there is a wider acceptance of difference within the group. Johal's (2015) research found that young men with turbans feel accepted, especially in enclaves and increasingly as the population that resembles them grows. These interpretations may give voice as to why this study did not find any difference of significance in responses from those who wear head-covering and those who do not.

There was little evidence of gender difference on any of the scales except RE, where females scored slightly higher in responses than males. This difference is not unexpected because adolescent females generally report more and higher quality social support and higher levels of closeness in their relationships in comparison to males of the same age. I have noticed, as an educator who has had the opportunity to work with diverse students, that female relationships have more socialization in contexts where they communicate than those of males, whose relationships are not characterized by the same levels of sharing and intimacy. The subscale was delimited in that it did not include anything other than relational items that related with specificity to school experiences. The items which females scored higher than males were ones that related to socialization activities such as working on homework together or ones that engaged greater communication such as pushing one another to do well and discussing future educational plans. Abbas (2002) and Bhachu (1991) have indicated that ethnic-minority females outperform males academically so it would also make sense that girls reported more communication in areas that promote academic achievement.

As mentioned, the responses to the SE, CE, and HE subscales did not show any significant difference for gender. I expected that there may be some differences. However, it

appears that, in the context of schooling and education, second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry feel that they are being treated somewhat equitably across gender. Mohammad-Arif (2000) noted that South Asian migrant parents living in North America, sacrificed many things to ensure they could afford a post-secondary education for their daughters, indicating the importance placed on education for their children. In my role as an educator, I have noticed an increased level of autonomy and cultural fluidity that seems to have become even more pronounced as third-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry enter secondary schools and display, yet, another way of being that is modelled as acceptable for minoritized students.

Klassen and Georgiou (2008) noted that the Indo-Canadian girls in their research showed confidence in congruence with their performance more than their male peers and did not display modesty bias as indicated in previous studies. Kwak and Berry (2001) found that Indo-Canadian girls are more likely than Indo-Canadian boys to show a greater generational distance from their parents in terms of culture and attitudes. As a group insider who is also an educator who has worked as a school counsellor, I have been privileged to have heard from many second-generation girls about restrictions that they face due to their status as female children: restrictions regarding clothing, make-up, dating, participation in certain extra-curricular activities, and socialization. At the same time, I have also spoken with some girls for whom this is not the norm in their families. This serves to indicate that every experience is different; however, from the number of stories I have heard about limitations placed on girls and according to research that shows that girls do experience differences in their upbringing and the expectations placed upon those of their gender, why did this study show no statistical significance? I believe that the answer lies in the items themselves: Since the items in all the subscales were purposefully

delimited to be school-specific, there were not items that addressed anything other than experiences that relate specifically to schooling. This could mean that these students see school as offering a meritocratic environment, despite school and curriculum-based factors that may not meet all their needs as learners from a racialized group. It may be that this meritocratic school environment may balance other forms of male favouritism such as less restriction on mobility, more freedoms to date, later curfew, and less community surveillance that research has indicated in the cultural sphere (Ghuman 1994a, Handa, 2003; Mucina, 2018; Nayar, 2004). Male and female students in my research scored similarly highly items in the home experiences (HE) subscale relating to parental belief that school is important (female respondents scored with a mean is 5.86 on a 6-point Likert-type scale and male respondents scored with a mean of 5.72), extended family expectation of academic attainment in school (females scored a mean of 5.39 and males scored a mean of 4.95), and of parental expectation of post-secondary education (females scored a mean of 5.71 and males scored a mean of 5.41). This finding indicates that all students, regardless of gender, had an expectation of academic achievement.

Both females and males reported a similarly mid-range response to the items relating to language translation for parents in school (females scored a mean of 3.41 and males scored a mean of 3.48) and outside of school (females scored a mean of 3.63 and males scored a mean of 3.56) in the HE subscale, which supports research literature indicating that children of immigrants act as child brokers for language and culture (Cila & Lalonde, 2015; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Katz, 2014; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Tse, 1996; Zhou, 1997). I was one of these child brokers once, translating school documents and messages for my mother who needed language translation and often cultural translation as to why certain school events needed participation in a system that was completely foreign to her experiences. I have been privy to children brokering

for parents in my years as an educator. Children and adolescents, both female and male, have had to translate for parents when there has been a need. When I have been able to meet that need, parents have frequently expressed to me how comforting it is for them that I can communicate with them in Punjabi and how appreciative they are. Katz' (2014) research indicated female children act as culture brokers more than male children. However, the finding on these items indicated that this is not the case for my sample. I speculate that this could be due to changing roles in a second-generation Canadian environment. Handa (2003) and Mucina (2018) explore the concept of young second-generation women lying about their activities as they try to find their cultural space. My experiences as an educator echo that of Handa (2003) and Mucina (2018). I have heard from young women who have changed clothing, make-up, and/or hairstyle inside and outside of the home, lied about their whereabouts, and/or lied about their relationships in order to acquire the freedom to explore their developing identities. Some feel the necessity to lie to avoid confrontation at home over the cultural disconnect between them and their parents. As these young women leave the home more frequently and become exposed to different avenues of thought, there may simply be similar amounts of opportunity for both second-generation males and female children to act as culture brokers.

It was interesting to note that male and female students scored similarly an item that related to males being encouraged to success in school in the (community experiences) CE subscale (females scored with a mean of 2.58 and males scored with a mean of 3.28). Another item that scored similarly across genders was that of the belief that females are encouraged more to engage in post-secondary education than males (females scored a mean of 3.19 and males scored a mean of 3.21). Both males and females scored in the low mid-range of these items. Students reported that they do not believe one gender is encouraged to school success more than

another. This further supports that academic achievement is important to those of Punjabi Sikh descent as is seen in the literature (Bhopal, 2000; Boyd, 2002; Chiswick, & DebBurman, 2003; Nayar, 2004; Wadhwa, 2006). It also supports what I see in the schools as an insider/educator. Students have frequently shared desires to further their education, expectations to perform well academically in school, and anxiety around poor academic performance.

I found that there was a significant difference on SE based on school type. Small minority population schools (Type 1) and large minority population schools (Type 2) significantly differed from large majority population schools (Type 3). Large majority population schools showed greater satisfaction in their responses to reported school experiences that did small minority population schools and large minority population school (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 79.90 on the items in the SE subscale and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 93.09 on the items in the SE subscale). Items where Type 3 schools scored especially higher included those referring to greater inclusion of their own culture in curriculum (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 3.2 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 3.51), in inclusion of celebrations (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 3.32 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 5.45), and in offering extra-curricular cultural activities (Type1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 2.83 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 4.50). My research supports that of Zhou (1997) and Ngo and Lee (2007) who found that students who retain cultural values of family and the collective community perform better in school. In my capacity as an educator, I have observed that students feel more included and are more engaged when their culture is presented as valuable and contributory to the larger community in which they live through the curriculum. I had the opportunity to coach *bhangra* [Punjabi folk dance] and noticed that students were more likely to stay after school when it involved an activity with which they connected. I listened to many

students share that seeing their culture incorporated, displayed, and celebrated as a normalized part of school life made them feel like they were a welcome part of the school community and that the staff cared. This indicates that when students feel like their culture is valued and celebrated, they feel more satisfied with their experiences in schools.

Students self-reported higher satisfaction with SE when they believed there was a cultural connection present in their schools, in their classrooms, in their school work, and in the larger school community (in ANCOVA analysis, Type 1 schools scored a mean of 79.65, Type 2 schools scored a mean of 81.83, and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 92.33). Participant respondents across demographics also scored highly an item of pride in culture and cultural background (a mean of 5.36 on a 6-point Likert-type scale). Thus, this study also supports the idea of multiple, hybrid identities as proposed by Maira (1996) or fluctuating identities in a liminal space as proposed by Bhabha (1994). I found that majority population schools had significantly higher scores on items relating to relevance of school curriculum, educators attempting to gain better understanding of culture, and celebration of culture. This indicated these students do want to have their culture acknowledged, validated, and celebrated as they navigate this space of being a Canadian while negotiating with family, cultural, gender, and peer expectations. It also indicated that when these resources were made available as in the case of Type 3 schools, they resulted in a more positive perception of school experience as is seen in the higher SE scores for Type 3 schools in items such as having teachers in school who to tried to understand their culture (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 3.69 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 4.45), having teachers who connect culture to curriculum (Type1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 2.56 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 3.19), having translators available in schools (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a mean of 3.10 and Type 3 schools scored a

mean of 4.00), participating in culturally relevant extra-curricular activities (Type 1/Type 2

schools scored a mean of 2.63 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 3.71), and seeing effort to

support the celebration of Punjabi cultural traditions in schools (Type 1/Type 2 schools scored a

mean of 3.39 and Type 3 schools scored a mean of 5.07).

There were a number of items that scored highly across school types, gender, age/grade,

and regardless of head-covering. These items included those that related to family, extended

family, and community expectations to perform well in school (a mean of 5.79 for family, a

mean of 5.17 for extended family, and a mean of 4.57 for community), parental support to

participate in school activities (a mean of 4.68), family financial support for further education (a

mean of 5.04), community resources to provide opportunities to promote school learning (a mean

of 4.36), and family and community expectations to pursue post-secondary education (a mean of

5.56 for family and a mean of 4.82 for community). These findings support previous research

that has revealed South Asian parents' have a strong interest in and positive attitudes towards the

importance of education (Aldous, 2006; Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004; Ghuman, 2003;

Reitz & Somerville, 2004). It also supports research by Detlaff and Wong (2016) and Wadhwa

(2006), indicating that these parents want their children to do well in schooling and aspire to

professional careers. Another item that scored moderately highly across demographics was that

of familial pressure to pursue a particular academic path post-graduation (a mean of 4.04), which

supports previous research that has found that second-generation youth can sometimes find

themselves pushed to satisfy their parents aspirations for them (Baptiste, 2005, Mohammad-Arif,

2000; Rao et al., 2003).

Also scoring highly across school types, gender, age/grade, and regardless of head-

covering were items relating to the expectation and desire to retain first language (a mean of

5.30) and speak the first language at home (a mean of 4.67). This expectation and desire is reflected in my own experiences as a Punjabi language educator in the Central Cariboo region as well as in the Lower Mainland. In the school were Punjabi was a course offering in the Central Cariboo region, parental and students desire to maintain connections to the language was seen in the fact that, despite a small Punjabi community, there was enough interest to run a course. Further, this course was run as an X-block, which students needed to attend at 7:30 before the official school start at 8:35. That enough students were willing to attend at this early hour to run a course speaks volumes about the importance of their first language. In the school where I was a Punjabi language educator in the Lower Mainland, there were enough students to run 3 blocks of Punjabi courses each semester. Students in both regions showed excitement as they slowly acquired the ability to read and write words and then sentences. This dedication to keeping the language offered in school indicates second-generation students' and parents' belief in the importance of preserving a first language: Maintenance of a first language was linked with maintenance of a bond with family, community, and culture (Guardado, 2010; Kumar et al., 2008; Mills, 2001).

I circle back to the beginnings of this thesis and I have answered the four questions that I set out to explore. I found that second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry in schools with a majority population were more likely to feel positively towards their school experiences than schools with a small minority and large minority of the same population. I also found that there was not a statistically significant impact of gender on school experiences. I found that those who wear head-coverings did not show a statistically significant difference in their perception of school experiences. I moved forward to answer the fourth question in the recommendations for practice.

Delimitations/Limitations

This study was delimited to a very specific population: second-generation Canadian students in grades 11 and/or 12 of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. British and American researchers examined the South Asian diaspora and determined that it has is recognized for its diversity and complexity (Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Sahoo, 2006; Singh, M. & Singh, A., 2008). The South Asian population in B.C. is still relatively homogenous in that a large number of South Asian migrants have been Punjabi Sikh: The concentration of this population has made for a community discourse that has an internal Punjabi focus (Singh, M. & Singh, A., 2008). This is not to say that this population is not diverse in and of itself: We simply do not yet have the very diverse representation of the South Asian population that is found in the United Kingdom and the United States. I assumed English fluency because I sampled grade 11/12 students attending BC schools where literacy is expected and due to the status of students as second-generation.

There is a delimitation regarding the age of the sample; however, this was purposefully chosen as I anticipated that students in that age group would have a better understanding of the subject, would be further along in their identity formation than younger students, would be able to better understand responding to the instrument, and I would not need to have parental permission. I delimited the location of the study to British Columbia due to proximity for myself as the researcher and due to the large presence of the desired population. I chose to delimit the location further to two regions: Central Cariboo and Lower Mainland. I chose the Lower Mainland as it has a large and vibrant Punjabi Sikh community and it was a place with which I was familiar as I had grown up there. I chose the Central Cariboo region as it was a hub for Punjabi Sikh migrants who moved into that area for its employment options. Further, it was where I was working and learning at the time I started to formulate ideas for this thesis.

Fortuitously, I happened to move from the Central Cariboo to the Lower Mainland during the course of this study and was able to access schools in both regions.

Limitations include participants' willingness to participate in the study, troubles reading the questionnaire, misinterpreting the questionnaire, or not completing the questionnaire. I had to ensure that the items on the questionnaire were clear and I re-iterated what the questionnaire was asking to reduce chances of the questionnaire being misinterpreted or incomplete. I needed to be present in schools at certain times of year that placed fewer demands for school staff and students to increase response numbers and to mitigate the chances of students being too busy in classes to take time out do the questionnaire. I also needed to ensure that my visits were during certain times of the school day so that students were already present and did not have to give up time when they might have extra-curricular activities or out-of-school obligations. In one instance, I encountered a limitation where the school preferred that I come at lunch. In this case, I incentivized participants with pizza as a way to recruit and reward participants at that school.

I did not have access to every grade 11/12 students in all six of the school communities in which I conducted this study. I was limited by the ones I had permission to survey. Not all grade 11/12 students were accessible during the times I was available in schools. I had to rely on the school to organize access to the students. I was also limited to the school's availability of a location within the school that would fit the number of participants. I made arrangements to be available to visit schools to distribute and collect the questionnaires for the convenience for the participants and the schools and to increase access to the questionnaire. Because I had access to students during a time when they are expected to be in school and because there were not any students who declined to participate once I spoke to them about the research I was hoping to

conduct, I believe that I have a body of respondents that is representative of the various school populations.

Recommendations for Practice

I started this thesis to research if second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry in majority population schools were more likely to feel positively towards their school experiences than schools with a small minority and large minority of the same population. I also wanted to explore if any differences arose as a result of gender or the wearing of head-covering. Through performing analysis of the data, I hoped to be able to make recommendations and share the data and results to inform BC school districts what is working and not working for grade 11/12 second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry.

I found that those self-reporting as wearing head-covering did not show any statistically significant difference in response to the questionnaire. I found that gender only showed statistically significant difference in response in the subscale of RE. I found differences, based on analysis, on school experiences (SE) based on school type with responders from school Type 1 (small minority population) and school Type 2 (large minority population) being statistically different than school Type 3 (large majority population). School Type 3 responders showed greater satisfaction with their school experiences thank responders from School Type 1 and School Type 2 on the majority of items on the SE subscale.

I recommend that school districts use the data from this research study to inform future decision making on how to make learning experiences for second-generation students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry more inclusive in BC schools in order for these students to have greater satisfaction in their schooling experiences. The study has shown greater self-reported satisfaction with schooling that incorporates representative curriculum, inclusion of diversity, and

availability/accessibility of communications across all demographics of the responder population. The work of DeCuir and Dixson (2004) indication of the use of counter-stories to allow for challenging privileged discourse, supports this research and the need to give voice to marginalized groups. I would recommend that school systems across BC implement practices that encourage cultural connections to curriculum and allow for relevant materials to support these curricular connections because this research shows that responders in schools where these were perceived to be true had more positive perceptions of their school experiences.

Schools and educators can strive to implement greater representation within curriculum and provide opportunities for inclusion of diversity outside of the curriculum as well. This research shows responders had more positive perception of their school experiences in schools where they perceived that educators attempted to understand their culture, there was inclusion of cultural celebrations, and there was support of extra-curricular cultural activities,

I would recommend beginning with school populations where there are second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. This same approach may possibly work for second-generation students of other minoritized groups; however, further research would have to be completed in this area. Since responders across all demographics expressed the importance of heritage language, that could be a possible curricular piece that could be implemented, making heritage language classes available to students. Responders with more positive perceptions of their school experiences also indicated that they had greater opportunities to engage in cultural celebrations that connected to their culture than responders with less positive perceptions of their school experiences. I observed student pride and excitement in my role as an educator when they students able to become the experts and share their cultural food, their traditions, and their knowledge of Divali during celebrations at school. I noticed the same

pride and excitement when students were able to watch the bhangra teams perform at school events. Students self-reported more positive perceptions of their school experiences in schools where they perceived that culturally relevant extra-curricular activities were supported. To this end, a school could provide an outlet for a culturally connected activity such as a heritage dance club.

This research showed that responders who had a more positive perception of their school experiences also indicated that there was translation provided if needed. This indicates that there can be more widespread adoption of translated information readily available to groups that require it throughout districts. Some school districts already provide translation of important pieces of information (notices, updates, school district forms, school forms, field trip consent forms, opportunities within school districts, etc.) in a number of languages; however, availability of translated information is not consistent throughout. Not all information is equally accessible. Not all languages are represented in all districts or schools where they may need representation. It is important that all school districts implement policy that makes access to translated information a priority, as some districts have already done. Schools can have translators and/or translated information available for student guardians if it is needed, depending on their school population. This translation is often left in the hands of the student, who may not have the ability to adequately transmit the necessary information to their caregivers if support is not provided.

This research has indicated that Punjabi Sikh parents place a personal and cultural value on the importance of education. It may be that some of these parents experience a disconnect from schools and from educators as indicated by Parhar (2010), perhaps resulting from a language barrier as indicated or due to the unfamiliarity with the Canadian school system that is much different from the one that these parents experienced as children attending school in India.

This unfamiliarity would be compounded by unknown subject matter and pedagogy that is foreign to them. This disconnect could also be due to the respect that these parents feel is inherently due to educators as those who possess the expertise to guide their children. It would make sense to begin this work of cultural connection voiced as important by responders through starting with individual educators in their individual classrooms. Educators can provide opportunities for parents to come into the classroom as experts in their own realm, as connections to culture. Since responders who have higher positive responses in school experiences have indicated that cultural connection to curriculum is important, parents could come into schools and classrooms and connect cultural narratives and histories to extend school curriculum and give voice to their own histories. Teachers could connect classroom activities that extend to community specialists coming in and sharing something in which they specialize. In the context of Punjabi Sikh ancestry, a music teacher could invite a parent or extended family member in to teach *dhol* or *tabla* (types of Indian drums), a classroom teacher could invite someone to come in and talk about different representations of nutrition and allow students to sample cultural foods, or a Physical Education teacher could ask for a community member to come in and teach some culturally relevant games, allowing for cultural inclusion as this research suggests is important. All of these allow for parents to walk into the school, feeling like their narratives are valuable and in turn, feeling more welcome and comfortable each time they do so. Educators in BC can indicate that their contributions are welcomed and needed for a successful schooling experience for their children by centring and recognizing these parents as specialists.

Parents/guardians are also stakeholders in our school system and it is important that they have input into what is important for the children in their care. This research study has shown greater school satisfaction in items relating to inclusion, diversity, and representation in and out

of classrooms. This research study has elucidated this need; however, how can we meet it? One way might be for stakeholders to advocate for these factors in their communities and in their schools. Education stakeholders can advocate for parents/community members to have opportunities to make their way into the schools in different capacities. They can also co-ordinate with schools and school districts to offer informational classes on the school system and pedagogical approaches. It would also be beneficial to offer some sort of guidance as to what the schools and educators expect of parents as their involvement.

Recommendations for Research

I created this instrument to examine the school experiences of second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry and I based it on a variety of studies; however, this research instrument and analyses can be used to replicate this research for other groups with some minor changes to the questions. I read research that found South Asian cultural and parental views of highly valuing education play a contributory role to the importance of successful schooling experiences (Abbas, 2002b; Ahmad, 2001; Aldous, 2006; Baptiste, 2005; Beynon & Hirji, 2000; Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004; Ghuman, 2003; Reitz & Somerville, 2004; Wadhwa, 2006). I considered previous research that underscored the importance of heritage language retention in maintaining ties to culture (Guardado, 2010; Kumar et al., 2008; Mills, 2001) as well as how brokering can impact students' experiences of schooling (Cila & Lalonde, 2015; Katz, 2014; Ngo & lee, 2007; Tse, 1996; Zhou, 1997). I read research literature on the role that educators and minoritized educators can play in the school experiences of their students (Abbas, 2002a; Abbas, 2002b; Abbas, 2002c; Reitz & Somerville, 2004). I examined previous research based on gender and included items about responders' perceptions of differences in gender and school opportunities and experiences (Bhachu, 1991; Bhopal, 2000;

Mohammad-Arif, 2000). I also examined the research performed on the representations of individuals of Punjabi Sikh descent and whether or not visible head-covering status had an impact on self-reported school experiences (Dhingra, 2003; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Puar & Rai, 2004).

I created an instrument and all of the items functioned reasonably for the intended purpose of my research study. I believe it is a suitable instrument that can either be reused and/or adapted to other minority group research studies. As such, it can be used as it is currently and/or it can be modified to suit a different population in British Columbia for further research.

There were some interesting ideas that occurred to me as I examined the results of my data. I had delimited this study to grade 11 and grade 12 students; however, future researchers may want to take this instrument and explore the experiences of the same population at a younger age and/or grade level. I believe that this instrument would be accessible for a younger secondary level and it can be modified if there was a desire to use it at an upper elementary level. Alternatively, future researchers may want to pursue this research with older second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. They faced a different set of circumstances and challenges and this could result in different outcomes.

I thought that it would be interesting to see how guardians' perceived satisfaction with school experiences compares to that of their children for further depth of study into Canadian Punjabi Sikh student communities. This is especially interesting as research has shown that migrant Punjabi Sikh parents value education; however, they remain largely disconnected from the school community. It may be that there would be a need to expand into a mixed-methods study in order to gather more information. It may also be that there would be more explanation required and/or fluency in Punjabi language required.

Future researchers can take this instrument and expand on it as well. One idea that came to mind while analysing the data was an interest in further, more in-depth investigation. This could be part of a larger project and use a mixed methods methodology that gathers the quantitative data and expands on it using qualitative interviews with interested responders. This mixed method would allow for a deeper examination of the subject. It could also be longitudinal, allowing for information gathering across a generation.

I noted that migration patterns in North America and in British Columbia are rapidly changing. This instrument can be transferable with some minor modifications and can also be used to explore the school experiences of other migrant groups that have settled in BC According to Statistics Canada data from 2016, BC is home to two other large migrant groups: those born in China and those born in the Philippines. It would be very interesting to see this study duplicated and then compare the results with those found in my research.

As a mother to young children who are just beginning to understand identity, I think it would be especially interesting to conduct further research for those who are the children of second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. Future researchers can also look towards examining the school experiences of third-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. UK-based and US-based research with other migrant groups has shown that the second-generation is one that performs the best socio-economically and in educational attainment: Explanations include over-assimilation, further distance from culture, environment, and social class. (Boyd, 2002; Chiswick & DebBurman, 2003; Grant & Rong, 1999; Picot & Hou, 2010; Zhang, 2002) The first wave of second-generation Canadians of Punjabi Sikh ancestry have had children who have entered the school system and it would be intriguing to see if the results of the research would be similar or if there would be changes based on this generational difference. It

would also be interesting to see if this population follows the same trend of outperforming successive generations as the populations noted in other research or if it differs in some way.

Concluding Remarks

This research study centred on the experiences of grade 11/12 second-generation Canadian students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry through a questionnaire and through the lens of a CST theoretical framework and a CRT theoretical framework to shed light on four major research questions: (a) whether these students in majority-population schools were more likely to feel supported in the educational experiences than the same population in minority-population schools in British Columbia, (b) whether gender would show differences in perception of school experiences, (c) whether the wearing of religious head-covering would show differences in perception of school experiences, and (d) what recommendations can arise as a result of this research.

The three major findings associated with each of the first three research questions, respectively, were: (a) second-generation Canadian grade 11/12 students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry in large majority population schools were more likely to feel supported in their school experiences than the same population in small minority population schools and large minority population schools, (b) there was no difference of gender on perceptions of school experiences, and (c) there was no difference of the wearing of head-covering on perceptions of school experiences.

This study has helped inform my interpretations of the issues I described in Chapter 1. The introduction outlined my experiences as a second-generation student in British Columbia schools that did not contain enough curricular or extra-curricular connection to my culture, despite growing up in a diverse, urban area. It was revealing that my personal counter-story was

echoed in the participants' responses to the items in the questionnaire. This research revealed the importance of connecting culture to students' schools experiences, both curricular and extra-curricular. Second-generation Canadian grade 11/12 students of Punjabi Sikh ancestry had greater perceived satisfaction in school experiences where their culture was integrated into learning in the classroom, where they felt that teachers tried to understand their culture, where their cultural traditions were celebrated, where their heritage language was recognized through course offerings, where translation services were offered to their parents, and where there were opportunities for further extra-curricular engagement with their culture. This brings me to the fourth research question of recommendations arising out of this research. There is a need to advocate for this inclusion in schools across British Columbia in a variety of ways as outlined in chapter 5, and this advocacy falls to educational stakeholders.

Solórzano and Yasso (2002) highlight the importance of voice as a way to communicate the lived realities of minoritized groups. These counter-narratives are not a singular story or account, rather, they are different but the experience of racism is shared. I felt that there was no place to express my experiences as a young person in the largely hegemonic school system. It was this space in academia where my counter-story found voice and context within the similar yet larger counter-story revealed through this research. It is so important to have access to these spaces where minoritized voices can be free to express their experiences. I believe that there needs to be further studies similar to this to serve as important vehicles for creating those spaces for narratives that counter the dominant hegemonic notions of educational experiences of minoritized students in schools. This can serve to validate the experiences of minoritized students and serve to initiate difficult dialogue around racism and racialization in schools.

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APPENDIX A – LETTER TO THE INSTITUTION

February 9, 2010
Dear Sir or Madam:
My name is Amar Sull and I am a graduate student in the Department of Education at the University of Northern British Columbia. I am currently enrolled in the Masters of Education (MEd) program at UNBC while working as a teacher counsellor in School District 37. As part of my MEd degree, under the supervision of Dr. Willow Brown, I am pursuing a thesis project intended to explore Punjabi Canadian students' experiences of their schooling and of the education system. As part of my research, I intend to use questionnaires to elicit student responses about their experiences in relation to school, schooling, education, and curriculum. I hope this research will provide a voice in the literature for a group that has been overlooked and provide a place for educators to improve and build upon existing practice.

I believe that the educational experiences of Punjabi Canadian students are valuable and have largely been neglected in the academic literature. This is anomalous in consideration of the large population of Indo-Canadian students within our nation. I would like to invite the students in your school to be participants in this research study in hopes this research will empower a group that has been overlooked. In addition, I hope to determine if there is a difference between student experiences in areas of denser concentration of Punjabi people and student experiences in areas of sparser Punjabi population.

I have chosen your school as one of my sites because of its large population of Punjabi Canadian students. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. It will involve filling out questionnaires which is expected to take approximately 15 minutes of participants' time. If it is convenient for the administration, the teaching staff, and the students, the questionnaire will take place in the school. The participants can decline to answer any question that they wish. Furthermore, institutions may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences simply by not completing the survey. If an institution should choose to withdraw from the study at any time, the information provided up to that point by any and all participants from that institution will also be withdrawn from the study. The questionnaire responses will later be tabulated and analyzed by myself. All of the information provided is considered completely confidential. Participants' names will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study. Furthermore, students will not be asked to provide their names when they are filling out the questionnaires. Data collected during this study will be retained for 1 year in a locked office, accessible only to me, my supervisor, and perhaps members of my thesis committee. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. At the end of this time, this data will be destroyed. If participants would like a copy of the results, or an update as to the status of the research, they should feel free to contact me at the phone number or e-mail address listed below. Before participants fill out the questionnaire, they will be required to sign a consent form, of which they will receive a copy.

Since this will be non-invasive, anonymous research, there are no known or anticipated risks to participants in this study. There will be no inducements used in this study. Since results of this study will be forwarded upon request, institutions can benefit from this study through further discussion of the results amongst members of the institution.

If you have any further questions, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about your school participation, please do not hesitate to contact me at

amarsull@hotmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Willow Brown, at (250) 960-6262 or e-mail at brown@unbc.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research at the University of Northern British Columbia. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact this Office at (250) 960-5820 or through e-mail at reb@unbc.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to educators who work with Punjabi students and Punjabi students themselves. Additionally, this research will add to a store of knowledge that will be available to the broader research community.

I look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Sincerely,
Amar Sull   Dr. Willow Brown

APPENDIX B – INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

May 4, 2010

Dear Student,

This letter is an invitation to participate in a research study that I, Amar Sull, am conducting as part of my Masters of Education degree specializing in leadership in the Education Program at the University of Northern British Columbia under the supervision of Dr. Willow Brown. I would like to provide you with a little more information about this project and what your involvement would entail should you decide to take part.

My project is intended to explore Punjabi students' experiences of their schooling and of the education system. I believe that the educational experiences of Punjabi students are valuable and have largely been neglected in the academic literature. You are being invited to be a participant in this research study. As part of my research, I intend to use questionnaires to elicit student responses about their experiences in relation to school, schooling, education, and curriculum. The study will attempt to identify Punjabi high school students' feelings about their educational resources and their impact on their educational lives. I hope this research will provide a voice in the literature for a group that has been overlooked.

I attempted to include many Punjabi students in this study; however, participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve filling out questionnaires, which is expected to take approximately 15 minutes of students' time and will take place in their school. Students may omit any of the questions if they do not wish to answer them. Furthermore, students may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences simply by not completing the survey. If a participant withdraws from the study at any time, the information provided up to that point will also be withdrawn from the study. The questionnaire responses will later be tabulated and analyzed by myself. All of the information students provide is considered completely confidential. Students' names will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study. Data collected during this study will be retained for 1 year in a locked office, accessible only to me, my supervisor, and perhaps members of my thesis committee. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. If students would like a copy of the results, or an update as to the status of the research, feel free to contact me at the phone number or e-mail address listed below. Before students fill out the questionnaires, they will be required to sign a consent form, of which they will receive a copy.

Since this will be non-invasive, anonymous research, there are no known or anticipated risks to participants in this study. There will be no inducements used in this study. Although students may not benefit personally from their participation in this study, the information obtained from this research may serve to provide information that can potentially improve the education system for other students.

If you have any further questions, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please do not hesitate to contact me at amarsull@hotmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Willow Brown, at (250) 960-6262 or e-mail her at brown@unbc.ca.

I would like to provide assurance that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research at the University of Northern British Columbia. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If there are any comments or concerns resulting from your

participation in this study, please contact this Office at (250) 960-5820 or through e-mail at reb@unbc.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to teachers who work with Punjabi students and Punjabi students themselves. Additionally, this research will add to a store of knowledge that will be available to the broader research community.

I look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Sincerely,

Amar Sull

APPENDIX C – PARTICIPANTS' INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participants' Informed Consent Form

Do you understand that you have been asked to participate in a research study?	□ Yes	□ No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached information sheet?	□ Yes	□ No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in participating in this study?	□ Yes	□ No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	□ Yes	□ No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time? *You do not have to give a reason and it will not affect you or your schooling in any way.*	□ Yes	□ No
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you?	□ Yes	□ No
Do you understand who will have access to the information that you provide?	□ Yes	□ No

This study was explained to me by: <u>Ms. Amar Sull</u>
Print Name

I agree to take part in this study:

Date: March 1ˢᵗ, 2010

_____
Signature of Research Participant

_____
Printed Name of Research Participant

APPENDIX D – QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CANADIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL

STUDENTS OF PUNJABI DESCENT IN GRADES 11 AND/OR 12

Experiences of Punjabi Students in Relation to Education

Demographic Information

School   _____

Grade   _____

Date of Birth   _____

Gender   _____

Today's Date   _____

Please give an estimate as to what you feel is the percentage of Punjabi students in your school's student population. _____%

Please circle the answer that most closely corresponds with your experiences.

I took Punjabi language as a course in school.   Yes   No

Punjabi language education was offered as a course in my school.   Yes   No

I currently wear a turban or head covering.   Yes   No

My last term's letter grade was closes to a(n):   A   B   C+   C   C-   D   F

School Experiences

In this section, you will be asked to provide some information in regards to your experiences within the school system.

On a scale of 1 to 6 where **1** means you **strongly disagree (SD)** and **6** means you **strongly agree (SA)**, please circle the number that most closely represents your feelings.

	SD					SA
1. The presence of students who are culturally similar to me is important to my school success.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. School curriculum is culturally relevant to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Teachers in my schools tried to understand my culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Administrators in my schools tried to understand my culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I did NOT witness teachers in my school discriminating against people of Punjabi culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I did NOT witness administrators in my school discriminating against people of Punjabi culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Many students in my school shared a similar cultural background with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Teachers in my school did NOT discriminate against me because of my culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Administration in my school did NOT discriminate against me because of my culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. The school had a translator available to communicate with my family in their language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Teachers tried to communicate with my guardian/s in a culturally appropriate way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. School administrators tried to communicate with my guardian/s in a culturally appropriate way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I have had many Punjabi individuals as educators during my public schooling experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Having a Punjabi individual as an educator would make it easier to succeed in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. I had at least one teacher who tried to make the curriculum relevant to my cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	SD					SA
16. Many teachers in my school tried to make the curriculum relevant to my cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I believe that having teachers of my cultural group in my school would be motivating.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Punjabi cultural traditions were celebrated in my school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Many culturally relevant extra-curricular activities were offered in my school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I participated in culturally relevant extra-curricular activities in my school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Efforts to celebrate Punjabi cultural traditions were supported in my school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Many materials relevant to my culture were available in the library.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Home Experiences

In this section, you will be asked to provide some information in regards to your experiences within the home in relation to education.

On a scale of 1 to 6 where **1** means you **strongly disagree (SD)** and **6** means you **strongly agree (SA)**, please circle the number that most closely represents your feelings.

	SD					SA
1. My family believes that education is important.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. When there was a need, my parent(s) communicated effectively with the school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. My parent(s) have the ability to communicate adequately with the school in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I have siblings who were able to help me with my homework.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. My parent(s) attended school-sponsored events most of the time. (sports activities, fine arts events, dances, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. My parent(s) monitored my homework assignments.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I have siblings who were able to help me with my English skills.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I invited my parents to attend school-sponsored events.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. My parents were comfortable coming into the school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. At least one of my parents spoke English as their first language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I have helped my parents for translation purposes in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. I have helped my parents for translation purposes outside of school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I believe it is important for me to retain my heritage (cultural) language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. My parent(s) encouraged extra-curricular participation in non-athletic activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. My parent(s) frequently attended parent-teacher meetings and days.						
16. My parent(s) encouraged me to get help with school homework that I did not understand.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. My parent(s) have helped/do help me with homework assignments.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. My family encouraged participation in extra-curricular athletic activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. My parent(s) expect me to pursue a trade and/or technology education after high school graduation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. My parent(s) are financially able to provide a post-secondary education.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. My extended family encouraged educational success.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. My parent(s) encouraged me to seek tutoring if I needed it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. I have siblings who I was able to help with their homework.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. My parent(s) expect me to pursue a post-secondary education after high school graduation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. It is important to my family that I retain my heritage (cultural) language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. I speak my heritage language at home with my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. I feel family pressure to pursue a particular academic path after high school graduation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. I have siblings who I was able to help with their English skills.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Community Experiences

In this section, you will be asked to provide some information in regards to your experiences within the Punjabi community in relation to education.

On a scale of 1 to 6 where **1** means you **strongly disagree (SD)** and **6** means you **strongly agree (SA)**, please circle the number that most closely represents your feelings.

	SD					SA
1. I feel that my community expects me to do well in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Males are encouraged to success in school more than females.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. I feel that my community provided opportunities for learning about my culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I feel that my community encourages post-secondary education.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Females are encouraged towards post-secondary education more than males.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I feel that my community provided opportunities to promote school learning.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I feel that my community has many resources to help me improve my schooling.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Relational Experiences

In this section, you will be asked to provide some information in regards to your relationships with other students in relation to education.

On a scale of 1 to 6 where **1** means you **strongly disagree (SD)** and **6** means you **strongly agree (SA)**, please circle the number that most closely represents your feelings.

	SD					SA
1. I have friends who belong to other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. My friends of the same cultural background encouraged me to do well in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. My Punjabi friends and I often spoke about future educational plans.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. My friends encouraged me to do well in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. My friends influenced my decisions about my course electives.	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. My non-Punjabi friends and I often spoke about future educational plans.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. My friends are planning on attaining post-secondary education.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. My peers did NOT discriminate against people of Punjabi culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. My friends of other cultures understand my cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. My friends and I do homework and study together.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. My friends and I have friendly competition in our academic courses.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. My peers did NOT discriminate against me during my public schooling.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I am proud of my culture and my cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Many of my friends and I share the same cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX E – PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK FORM

February 3, 2010

Dear Student,

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to examine the resources available to South Asian secondary school students in relation to their experiences of schooling.

The data collected will be able to contribute to a better understanding of the appropriate direction of future educational developments and information necessary for a more inclusive system of education. It is hoped that the data will contribute to the literature that is lacking the voice of Indo-Canadian students' experiences within the educational domain.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through the publication of these results. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at either the phone number or email address listed at the bottom of this page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let me know now by providing me with your email address. When the study is completed, I will send it to you. The study is expected to be completed by May of 2010.

As with all University of Northern British Columbia projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research at the University of Northern British Columbia. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact this Office at (250) 960-5820 or through e-mail at reb@unbc.ca.

Sincerely,

Amar Sull

University of Northern British Columbia
Education Program

amarsull@hotmail.com

APPENDIX F – CORRELATIONS (HE ITEMS WITH HE SUBSCALE AND TOTAL SCALE; CE ITEMS WITH CE SUBSCALE AND TOTAL SCALE; RE ITEMS WITH RE SUBSCALE AND TOTAL SCALE)

Home Experience and Subscale/Total Scale Correlations

	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
HE1	.157*	.312**	.193**	.334**	.323**
HE2	.297**	.564**	.261**	.454**	.567**
HE3	.27**	.483**	.197**	.334**	.456**
HE4	.066	.393**	.096	.155*	.295**
HE5	.138	.514**	.080	.091	.331**
HE6	.178*	.553**	.237**	.167*	.417**
HE7	.059	.388**	.085	.051	.259**
HE8	.169*	.575**	.158*	.252**	.420**
HE9	.355**	.555**	.242**	.372**	.543**
HE10	.197**	.303**	.103	.113	.264**
HE11	.143*	.246**	.172*	.042	.175*
HE12	.147*	.266**	.236**	.150*	.237**
HE13	.324**	.432**	.264**	.328**	.445**
HE14	.375**	.568**	.246**	.304**	.535**
HE15	-.026	.390**	.023	.074	.189*
HE16	.194**	.532**	.202**	.365**	.436**
HE17	.187**	.525**	.154*	.156*	.403**
HE18	.211**	.544**	.229**	.313**	.471**
HE19	.131	.327**	.107	.139*	.280**
HE20	.107	.441**	.263**	.363**	.388**
HE21	.213**	.513**	.230**	.518**	.483**
HE22	.204**	.436**	.257**	.334**	.378**
HE23	.184*	.419**	.198**	.323**	.400**
HE24	.291**	.330**	.172*	.458**	.398**
HE25	.249**	.420**	.236**	.443**	.440**
HE26	.123	.321**	.351**	.346**	.338**
HE27	.074	.228**	.295**	.225**	.237**
HE28	.116	.480**	.278**	.260**	.355**

Note. **The *p*-values are 2-tailed. *p* ≤ .01.
For all of these correlations, 186 ≤ n ≤ 217.

Community Experience and Subscale/Total Scale Correlations

	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
CE1	.293**	.354**	.633**	.403**	.502**
CE2	.061	.116	.585**	.041	.201**
CE3	.455**	.357**	.701**	.371**	.536**
CE4	.374**	.409**	.655**	.494**	.551**
CE5	.162*	.078	.583**	.139*	.197**
CE6	.460**	.493**	.712**	.494**	.657**
CE7	.414**	.365**	.633**	.429**	.541**

Note. **The *p*-values are 2-tailed. $p \leq .01$.
For all of these correlations, $186 \leq n \leq 217$.

Relational Experience and Subscale/Total Scale Correlations

	School Experiences	Home Experiences	Community Experiences	Relational Experiences	Total Scale
RE1	.366**	.363**	.305**	.625**	.513**
RE2	.334**	.389**	.390**	.687**	.540**
RE3	.317**	.351**	.316**	.738**	.508**
RE4	.359**	.470**	.374**	.722**	.614**
RE5	.233**	.251**	.300**	.531**	.391**
RE6	.180*	.347**	.254**	.624**	.423**
RE7	.298**	.314**	.265**	.611**	.450**
RE8	.345**	.276**	.276**	.583**	.476**
RE9	.472**	.383**	.318**	.665**	.582**
RE10	.310**	.311**	.291**	.640**	.450**
RE11	.266**	.279**	.310**	.529**	.403**
RE12	.344**	.273**	.246**	.617**	.484**
RE13	.262**	.380**	.318**	.564**	.525**
RE14	.364**	.242**	.337**	.394**	.439**

Note. **The *p*-values are 2-tailed. $p \leq .01$.
For all of these correlations, $186 \leq n \leq 217$.

APPENDIX G – DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS (BIRTH YEAR & GRADE LEVEL)

Descriptive Statistics (Birth Year)

	Birth Year	n	Mean	Standard Deviation
School	1992	85	84.25	17.59
Experiences	1993	99	86.78	15.62
Home	1992	87	123.17	17.02
Experiences	1993	103	117.60	19.12
Community	1992	91	28.84	6.96
Experiences	1993	109	27.87	6.34
Relational	1992	87	67.60	11.06
Experiences	1993	108	65.69	12.14
Total Scale	1992	75	306.88	40.42
	1993	95	298.26	41.44

Descriptive Statistics (Grade Level)

	Grade Level	n	Mean	Standard Deviation
School	11	103	87.88	16.42
Experiences	12	93	84.25	16.98
Home	11	109	118.37	19.65
Experiences	12	97	122.13	18.08
Community	11	116	28.10	6.49
Experiences	12	101	28.76	6.88
Relational	11	116	65.59	12.41
Experiences	12	97	67.48	11.61
Total Scale	11	98	301.50	44.09
	12	83	304.49	41.35

APPENDIX H – INDEPENDENT SAMPLES T-TEST (BIRTH YEAR & GRADE LEVEL)

Independent Samples t-Test (Birth Year)

		Levine's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
	F	*p*	*t*	*df*	*p*
School Experience	2.81	.095	-1.03	182	.30
Home Experience	0.80	.37	2.10	188	.04
Community Experiences	1.44	.23	1.02	198	.31
Relational Experiences	0.37	.55	1.13	193	.26
Total Scale	0.002	.96	1.36	168	.18

Note. p-value (2-tailed)

Independent Samples t-Test (Grade Level)

		Levine's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
	F	*p*	*t*	*df*	*p*
School Experience	0.74	.39	1.52	194	.13
Home Experience	0.48	.49	-1.43	204	.16
Community Experiences	1.02	.31	-0.73	215	.47
Relational Experiences	0.33	.57	-1.15	211	.25
Total Scale	0.03	.86	-0.47	179	.64

Note. p-value (2-tailed)

APPENDIX I – PROPERTIES OF THE SUBSCALES

Properties of the Subscales

		SE	HE	CE	RE
N	Valid	196	206	217	213
	Missing	269	259	248	252
Mean		86.16	120.14	28.41	66.45
Median		86.00	120.50	29.00	69.00
Std. Deviation		16.75	18.98	6.67	12.06
Skewness		0.002	-0.26	-0.41	-1.00
Std. Error of Skewness		0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17
Kurtosis		-0.30	0.49	0.24	1.11
Std. Error of Kurtosis		0.35	0.34	0.33	0.33
Minimum		38.00	50.00	7.00	19.00
Maximum		128.00	165.00	42.00	84.00

APPENDIX J – ANCOVA SUMMARY TABLE FOR CE

ANCOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Community Experiences

Source	*df*	MS	*F*	*p*
SE	1	143.52	5.16	.02
RE	1	300.57	10.80	.001
HE	1	477.81	17.17	<.000
School	8	44.93	1.61	.13
Gender	1	0.03	0.001	.98
School*Gender	7	35.89	1.29	.26

APPENDIX K – ANCOVA SUMMARY TABLE FOR HE

ANCOVA Summary Table for School & Gender in Home Experiences

Source	df	MS	F	p
SE	1	1139.79	5.36	.02
CE	1	3652.06	17.17	<.000
RE	1	4470.40	21.02	<.000
School	8	656.91	3.09	.003
Gender	1	16.84	0.08	.78
School*Gender	7	421.79	1.98	.06