

SCHOOLING SECOND GENERATION PUNJABI SIKH YOUTH: EXPLORING THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF ONE PUBLIC MIDWESTERN UNITED STATES HIGH SCHOOL

Heath Aaron Harrison

Submitted to the faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree Doctor of Education in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Indiana

University, May 2021

Accepted by the School of Education Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

Doctoral Committee

Patricia Kubow Ph.D.

Kathryn E. Engebretson Ph.D.

Keith C. Barton Ed.D.

Serafin Coronel-Molina Ph.D.

February 18, 2021

Copyright © 2021

Heath Aaron Harrison

Acknowledgments...

To every Punjabi Sikh participant who assisted me in completing my dissertation...Thank You! I knew the moment that I was going to write a dissertation whose lives I wanted to learn from and better understand. I wasn't always sure how that discussion was going to be framed, but as my research took shape, and ideas I pursued took form, it became clear that I made one of the absolute best choices of my life. I am so personally grateful for the opportunity to work directly with each and every one of you. You didn't have to help me, but you did. Thank you to my former students, thank you to each and every parent participant, thank you to my cultural informants, and thank you to the Punjabi Sikh community within the community where I teach. You all have blessed me personally and professionally, and I will be forever grateful to you for sharing with me your joys, your struggles, and your passions. **ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ** Thank You Very Much!

I started this odyssey in 2011. Ten years later here I am feeling just like Odysseus from Homer's epic, *The Odyssey*, because I should have made it home much more quickly than I did were some of my circumstances different. The experience that I have had in the IU School of Education has been transformative for me. I have worked harder in the past 10 years than I have my whole life. I have had to learn to deal with levels of stress I did not know existed. When I was a young man, I slept like a baby. Sadly, I have a hard time sleeping now and get up very early in the morning (usually at or before 4 a.m.) to exercise, meditate, reflect, and pray in preparation for the challenges I'll face in the upcoming day. This became my coping mechanism and as a result of this, I have spent many days walking the streets of my home city pouring out my heart to God. I know that it is considered by some to be cliché to give credit to their God when acknowledging an accomplishment, but in my case, I truly could not have done this were it

not for my relationship to and with my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. I am hopeful that I can learn to sleep well again and to live on the 'normal' side of the clock, but I can honestly say my morning times of reflection, exercise, and prayer, have been the lifeline that has kept me sane during the most challenging time of my life. And I want to thank my God for walking with me down every alley and through every valley, were it not for my relationship to and with my God, I never would have made it this far.

It is impossible for a person who works full-time, attempts to complete a doctorate, to maintain a happy marriage, and sustain healthy relationships with his children not to have an immediate support group. To my wife, Alicia Dynette...you are my constant source of motivation and inspiration; you are my muse. You have been with me throughout this entire process, and I'm certain I would not have been able to do it without you. I'm 100% certain that I wouldn't have wanted to do this without you, and that going through ALL of what we've endured has been more than overwhelming, but we did it. I don't take full credit for this because I see it as our accomplishment. Thank you for your never-ending support, your steadfast personality, and your love. I love you with all of my heart.

Rachel Danae, our precious daughter, I started doing this when you were in kindergarten. You are in high school now and watching you grow throughout this process has been a joy to observe. I am so proud of you Rachel! Thank you for letting your father pursue his dream. I hope this paved the way for you to feel as though you can accomplish anything you set your mind to as well. In life, I have failed as much as I have succeeded, but I love you with all of my heart. I love your mother with all of my heart, I love our family, and I wish you my kind of success.

Heath Andrew, our dear son, you were three years old when I began and you're headed to middle school next year. I see so much of myself in you, and it is my desire to encourage you to

become the absolute best version of Heath Harrison that has ever walked this earth. My father always told me that he wanted to be able to provide my sister and me the opportunity to become better versions of our parents. I pray that you will become the better version of your own father as you make your way through this world. I am so proud of you, too, son and I love you with all of my heart!

Rebecca Jane Tout Harrison...mom, I recently read a quote that said, the only person that unconditionally and truly loves you the most is your mother. Throughout my entire life, I have felt you as a constant advocate, support, and encourager. So many times I would talk to you on the phone telling you I was pretty sure that I couldn't continue, but you would always help me to right the ship, get back my bearings, and persevere no matter the circumstances. This isn't something that you did just during this process, but it is something that you have done for me my whole entire life. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for everything that you have done for me...you are truly one of my heroes. I love you Mom!

Patrick Woods Harrison...Dad, much of my youth was spent confused about who you were, what our relationship was actually supposed to be like, and wondering if we would ever actually be on the same page. The older that I get the more that I understand who you are, why you did some of the things that you did in my youth, and why you too are one of my heroes. You taught me three things without ever overtly teaching them to me: if the sun comes up, you go to work. When you get to work, you work like a dog until the work is completed to perfection. And, finally you taught me how to win and that in order to win, you have to persist come what may. Thank you for those life lessons. Thank you for fulfilling what you promised in my youth. Thank you for your financial support, your personal support, but more than anything else, thank you that after all these years you're actually one of my pals. I love you Pops!

Heather Ann Harrison Dryden...Sis, I sincerely appreciate your support throughout this process as I know that you understand what Jeff went through as he pursued his PhD at Cambridge in England. Your empathy and support were and are deeply appreciated. I love you sis, and I love William and Molly, too. Thank you for everything!

Daniel Charles and JoAnn Schilling Mitchell...our paths crossed in 1991, and from that moment on, my life would never be the same. Bishop, you have been my mentor, my confidant, and the guardian of my soul. Not only have you been there for me, you have been there for my entire family including and especially my wife. Thank you for encouraging me on this educational pursuit.

In my life I have had tremendous privilege. My father is a Vietnam War veteran, a decorated trial lawyer as evidence of his nomination to the Supreme Court of the state of Indiana, and his selection as the 1999 Indiana trial lawyer of the year. In high school I had the honor of playing for legendary Indiana Hall of Fame basketball coach Bill Stearman who won over 700 games in his illustrious career. After I graduated from high school I had the privilege of also playing for another Hall of Fame basketball coach by the name of Fletcher Arritt at a prep school called Fork Union Military Academy in Virginia who won nearly 900 games in his career. My whole life I've been surrounded by success.

One regret I have in my life is a memory that I have of a private moment with Coach Arritt. He knew that I was from Indiana and that I loved the Indiana Hoosiers. He pulled me into his office one day and told me that he knew coach Bob Knight and that he could get me a preferred walk on position on the team. Frankly I was afraid of playing for Bob Knight because his tumultuous, erratic, and sometimes confrontational coaching style which seemed to be something that may be too much for me; however, I often think back to that very moment with

coach Arritt and I wish that I had unequivocally taken that opportunity. I could have played basketball at Indiana University...one of the legendary college basketball programs in the United States. If I had agreed to pursue this opportunity, I would have played with multiple college basketball All-Americans. Additionally, I would have had a chance to go to the Final Four when the Hoosiers made it there in 1992. If Alan Henderson had not hurt his knee in the Elite 8, there was a very good chance that the Hoosiers could have won a sixth National Championship in 1992 and I would have been a part of that team. All that being said, it was not meant to be and when I think back to turning down the opportunity to play for one of the best college basketball coaches and programs in the history of the NCAA I have to think I probably should have taken that opportunity, but I didn't.

Even though I did not take that opportunity, I have learned that there are things that are deeply and profoundly more important than sports, something I would have never said as a young man. As a high school English teacher of over 20 years, I've learned that sports can be a means by which to reach certain people, but they are a means to an end and everyone's sports career comes to an end. Sometimes it's tremendously challenging for athletes to adjust to real life after their careers are over. Fortunately, with the help of my family and good professors, I was able to understand that there was much more to life after my athletic career. Some of those professors are the ones at the Indiana University School of Education Curriculum and Instruction program as well as those connected to the Literacy Culture, and Language Education program who have proven to be some of the most extraordinary human beings I have ever encountered in my life. One of those people is Dr. Patricia Kubow, my dissertation chair. She, like all of the great teachers and coaches I've ever encountered, is truly an extraordinary professor, author, mentor, and human being. Her curriculum vitae is 70 pages long. She is an extraordinarily

prolific academic, teacher, and author. I could never thank her enough for investing in me, a part-time student, who has the responsibility of being a full-time husband, a full-time dad, and a full-time teacher. Of all the people I've encountered in my life, she is certainly one of the most extraordinary, and I am grateful to her for investing in me and for helping me to complete my dream of earning a doctorate from Indiana University.

When I took her class in the coursework phase of my program of instruction, my final paper was published in the IU School of Education Literacy Culture, and Language Education department publication known as the LCLE Working Papers. Were it not for Dr. Kubow's instruction and connections with the Fulbright Scholars program, I would not have met Dr. Purnendu Chatterjee who aided me in writing that paper. All of my success at IU is directly linked to Dr. Kubow and of all the celebrated and decorated people I've had the honor of working with, Dr. Kubow is the one who is most prolific. If professors could make it into the Hall of Fame, Dr. Kubow would be there without question. Dr. Kubow helped me to achieve something that as a young man I never dreamed I could accomplish. Thank you Dr. Kubow!

Dr. Engebretson...Kathryn, thank you for being so supportive, kind, real, and awesome. Taking your classes while doing coursework at IU was a highlight for me. You care deeply about your family, your students, your research, what you're teaching, and individuals who are often on the outside of society looking in as they try to find their place in the world. You are a real-life superhero.

I absolutely love the Avengers movie series produced by Disney's Marvel Studios. I have seen every single Avenger's movie that has come out since their launch in 2011. To me you are just like one of the most important characters in The Marvel Universe, Captain Marvel. Captain Marvel acquired her considerable powers when she was exposed to an explosion from an alien

spaceship. However, when she was exposed to the blast, she suffered amnesia, was taken to another planet, and trained to be one of their greatest warriors as a direct result of her extraordinary newfound abilities. As her story unfolds, she begins to regain her memory and is confronted with a haunting revelation that the people who have been training her were evil, and had been attempting to commit genocide of a race she had been brainwashed to believe were nefarious. When she realized the truth, she freed those who were oppressed and retaliated against the empire that had been lying to her since she lost her long-term memory and received her powers.

In addition to being one of the most powerful Avengers, Captain Marvel was integral in the Avengers defeat of their greatest enemy, Thanos, in the grand finale of the series entitled, *Endgame*. Captain Marvel was a superhero that fought on behalf of many that couldn't always fight for themselves. To me, you are the real-life superhero fighting on behalf of those who can't always fight for themselves. You are a powerful advocate and ally. So many times while endeavoring to finish my work, your encouragement enabled me to persevere in the midst of self-doubt, hopelessness, angst, and the emotional roller coaster that most who try to complete a doctorate experience. You are the real-life Captain Marvel, and I could never thank for being one of the heroes I encountered on this unique educational quest.

Dr. Barton...Keith, you are one of the most intelligent human beings I've ever met. You're also an amazing and purposeful communicator. In addition to being truly brilliant, you are honest...brutally honest. You were the first professor with whom I had a class in this program. I earned a B+, and I was bitter about it. I asked you to respond more clearly about my final paper for your class, and you asked me if I really wanted honest feedback beyond just the grade itself, and I said yes. You wrote me three pages of "gloves off" candor that made me cry,

caused me to reflect, pick myself up, dust myself off, and forge forward. It was painful, but necessary, and I'm truly grateful you told me the truth...no matter how badly it hurt.

Being in your classes was always a little scary because you invariably had a way of asking questions that verified how thoroughly students had read the assigned readings. The way you put us on the spot was unnerving, but I always read your assigned readings very carefully to ensure that I was able to answer the questions you had. I learned a great deal from you and consider you to be a model teacher who just so happens to also be an amazing human being.

As I was finishing my coursework, I needed one more class, and I wanted to take yours because I loved having you as a teacher. I also wanted to earn an A in your class the second time around because I knew if I earned an A in your class that that would be a great accomplishment. The class I wanted to take was scheduled for a time that didn't work with my schedule so you volunteered to change the class time so that I could take your class. I will never forget that tremendous act of kindness and I sincerely appreciate your aid in that seemingly small act. Sadly, I still earned a B+ the second time around, but I'm glad I got to have your class twice because it was such a rich learning experience.

Honestly, I was afraid to ask you to be on my dissertation committee because I thought that you would say no since I hadn't earned A's in your classes (and because of the candid feedback), but when I asked you if you would be willing to join my committee, you said yes because I listened. I cannot explain to you the relief I had when you said yes, but I also cannot tell you the satisfaction I received from your words of affirmation. I knew that if you weren't on my committee, I would always feel as though my final work would be incomplete. Thank you for everything you've done for me Dr. Barton...thank you!

Dr. Coronel-Molina...Serafin, thank you for everything you've done for me! I want to thank you for being one of the most kind, sweet spirited, genuine, and compassionate people I've ever met. I loved your class, and looked forward to it every time I made the journey from the school where I teach to the IU School of Education building. Our school is dismissed at 2:50 and my principal gave me permission to leave before our teacher's contract dismissal time of 3:10. As soon as the bell sounded, I would race to my car, and make my way to Bloomington. On a good traffic day, and a Subway dinner pit stop, it took me exactly one hour and 5 minutes to get from my room into the School of Ed building which gave me 5 minutes to get to the beginning of the start of 4 p.m. classes. I specifically remember the joy of going to your class because of your welcoming nature.

I also want to thank you for doing an independent study with me so that I could finish my coursework. You didn't have to do that, but you were kind enough to do so. Another way you showed me tremendous kindness was our phone conversations. More than once we discussed difficulties I was enduring and with sympathy and at times empathy, you encouraged me that you had my back, that you would advocate on my behalf, that I was going to finish, and that I was also going to be successful in my doctoral pursuit. I cannot express how much your care meant to me then and still means to me now. Thank you Serafin!

To all of my school administrators, teaching colleagues, PLC partners, and students...Thank you for your support, encouragement, and aid as I tried to accomplish a goal that took every ounce of myself to complete.

To everyone in my Sanctuary family...Thank You! You have shown me tremendous love, respect, and kindness for 30 years, and being a part of this family has been one of the greatest

blessings and honors of my life! A special thank you to Jonathan, Curtis, Andre, Phillip, Derek, Reggie Mc, Reggie M, Tony, Mark, David, Kyle, Matthew J, and Matthew M.

To all of my OCGC pals...Thank you for helping me to relieve stress by playing golf, competing, exercising, being out in the sun, and playing the game we all love to play.

To the IU Fanatics...Thank You! Ryan, Marvin, Scott, Adam, and Isaac you all have helped me through this time with all of the hilarious things we've discussed over the years. Despite Brad's horrible and hideous nickname for me (love you Brad), and the fact that you all have fully embraced that, I love you all very much.

ABSTRACT

Heath Aaron Harrison

SCHOOLING SECOND GENERATION PUNJABI SIKH YOUTH: EXPLORING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ONE PUBLIC MIDWESTERN UNITED STATES HIGH SCHOOL

A U.S. Midwestern public high school has undergone a significant convergence of Indian immigrants from Punjab, India, a state whose citizens predominantly speak Punjabi and practice Sikhism. Over the past decade, countless first and second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh youth have attended this school. Although the academic successes of aggregated populations of the Punjabi Sikh Diaspora have been documented, little is known about how Punjabi Sikh youth and their parents feel about the ways in which U.S. public schools have served them. This qualitative interpretive study will use interviews with both student participants and one or both of their parents to ascertain whether each party believes U.S. secondary schooling has fostered each student's academic strengths, and aided them in addressing their own perceived academic weaknesses. Because Punjabi Sikhs are often characterized as hard-working and accommodating, they are presumed to be exemplars of educational performance or model minorities, which is a form of prejudice that remains all too prevalent in the United States. This cultural 'othering' by the majority hinders rather than facilitates access to various opportunities and may also result in discrimination as well as indifference regarding the individual needs of Asian American students. Close examination of each student participant's schooling experience will provide the Midwestern U.S. public high school a critical view of whether Punjabi Sikh students and their parents feel their experience has been impeded or enhanced by the school site. Discussion of each student's experience and what role the school has played in the experience of student participants, may pinpoint ways in which the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh youth.

*Key Terms: Second Generation Immigrant, Punjab, Sikhism, Gurdwara, Academic Success,
Model Minority Stereotype*

Patricia Kubow Ph.D.

Kathryn E. Engebretson Ph.D.

Keith C. Barton Ed.D.

Serafin Coronel-Molina Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

How and Why Punjabi Sikhs Came to a Midwestern Location.....	2
The Diverse Population at the School Research Site.....	4
Statement of the Problem.....	7
Purpose of the Study.....	8
Research Questions.....	10
Significance of the Study.....	10
Definition of Key Terms.....	11
Summary.....	12

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Myth of the Model Minority.....	13
Understanding Punjabi Sikh Origins and Culture.....	17
Walking a Tightrope: Striking a Balance between Two Worlds.....	24
Schooling Challenges for Punjabi Sikh Youth: Arduous Expectations.....	39
The Role Language Plays in the Schooling Experience of Punjabi Sikh Youth.....	52
Language as a Means to Maintain Cultural Identity.....	60
Summary.....	65

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Researcher Positionality.....	67
Qualitative Interpretive Study.....	68
Methods.....	70
Research Questions.....	72
Student Participant Interview Questions.....	73
Interview Questions for Student Participant’s Parents.....	75
Theoretical Perspective.....	75
Theoretical Framework.....	76
Research Design.....	77
Setting.....	77

Participant Selection	78
Data Sources.....	79
Data Collection and Analysis Procedures.....	79
Description of Research Instruments.....	92
Ethical Considerations.....	92
Delimitations of the Study.....	93
Limitations of the Study.....	94
Summary.....	96
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	
Introduction.....	98
Table 1. Student and Parent Introductions.....	99
Perceptions of How Well the Public School Has Served Each Punjabi Sikh Student.....	103
I Am More Than Just a Standardized Test Score.....	103
A School is Only as Good as its Teachers.....	107
Gratitude to the School Site for a Place to Grow.....	112
Punjabi Sikh Youth Perspectives of Ways the School Could Improve.....	117
If Only We Were Understood.....	117
Breaking Bread Together.....	120
Hearing the Voices of Punjabi Sikh Students.....	121
Parent Findings: We Believe Our Children Have Had a Good Schooling Experience.....	123
Successfully Serving Punjabi Sikh Families.....	126
Knowledge Brings Understanding.....	126
Divergent Views of Students and Parents.....	131
A Community's Peace Altered at the Altar.....	131
Modern Versus Conservative Punjabi Sikh Worldviews: Conflict from Within.....	132
Commonalities Upon Which Participants Agree.....	140
The Profound Importance of Family.....	140
Summary.....	146
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
Connections to the Review of Literature.....	148

Exploration of Racism and the Myth of the Model Minority.....	148
How Performing Well in School Is Forged into the Minds of Punjabi Sikh Youth.....	152
Language Ability as Advantage or Disadvantage in the Classroom.....	160
Language as a Means to Maintain Identity.....	163
Recommendations for Further Research.....	165
The Impact of Punjabi Sikh Parents on their Children’s Performance in School.....	166
The Impact of Multiple Forms of Pressure.....	167
What Role Sikhism Plays in Students’ Lives.....	168
How Language Shapes Identity.....	168
Recommendations.....	170
Requests for the School Board and Central Office School Corporation Administrators	170
Recommendations for the School Site’s Administrators and Teachers.....	173
Conclusion.....	179
References.....	180
Appendices	
Appendix A: Participant Consent Form.....	195
Appendix B: Parental Consent Form.....	199
Appendix C: Recruitment Materials.....	203
Resume	

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I have taught high school English for more than 20 years. Throughout that span of time, I have educated over 3,000 students. Personal observations of the academic, social, and personal behavior of young people throughout these years has revealed that technology, popular culture, and societal changes have altered the beliefs and behaviors of students. For the first three years of my teaching career (1997-1999), I taught at a small rural Midwestern school. I took two years off from teaching and returned to the classroom in 2002 at a more suburban school in an adjacent county of the same state.

The school corporation in which I currently teach used to be very small, rural, and relatively remote with a student population of approximately 750 students, but because of varied and increased job opportunities in the state's nearby metropolitan capital, the county in which I teach experienced a significant population glut. This more than doubled the student population of the school within a very short period of time at the turn of the twenty first century. With this increased and consistent population growth, the estimation that student enrollment would exceed 2000 students by the year 2020 has nearly occurred. This population increase has brought with it greater diversity. The highest percentage of diversity came from a specific state in India called Punjab whose families generally practice Sikhism. A myriad of Punjabi Sikh students living in a small, Midwestern U.S. town have been in my classroom, yet exploration of their experience at this school and how effectively they as well as their parents feel the school has served them is largely unknown and thus the goal of this research.

How and Why Punjabi Sikhs Came to a Midwestern Location

Many Punjabi Sikh families left India for the promise of opportunity in the United States particularly as it related to the educational opportunities that would be afforded to themselves and to their children. In the mid to late 1980s, there was a significant influx of Asian Indians who came to California and New York. I wanted to understand how this story played out in the lives of the families of students I taught so I talked with one of my students who suggested I speak with his father regarding their migration to this location. In an interview with my student's father who moved from Punjab, India to Louisiana to earn a Master's degree in chemical engineering, the information he shared revealed several reasons for his family's ultimate arrival in the Midwestern state where this research study takes place. Upon completion of his Master's degree, he moved to San Jose, California to take an engineering job. In 1998, he applied for U.S. citizenship, acquired it, and went back to India to marry his betrothed. After they were married, he and his wife migrated to California and started a family. As time went on, property in California became very expensive and the interviewee's family moved from California to the Midwestern location in 2006 because he had heard from friends and acquaintances that property in this location was significantly more affordable than it was in California. Consequently, he and his family moved to the county where this research takes place. When asked why so many Indian families moved to this seemingly obscure area of the U.S., he stated that many of the individuals who moved from California, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania came because they were business owners and had heard that the price of doing business in this location of the Midwest was significantly cheaper than it was on either the East or West coasts. These business owners purchased hotels, gas stations, truck stops, and trucking companies with multiple rigs. Because there were so many Punjabi Sikh families in a centralized location, at his recommendation and

through his leadership, a *Gurdwara* (a Sikh temple) was constructed that also attracted more Indian people to migrate to this location. He also stated that prior to his family moving to the Midwest, he researched the schools, hospitals, and universities in the Midwestern state. His research led him to believe that this particular area was a quality location to raise a family. He has four children, and each of them have been or are students in the school corporation where this research will occur and two of them currently attend public universities in the same state (Male Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 13, 2017).

A second individual willing to speak about why her family came to an ostensibly little-known Midwestern city expounded upon the fact that when she moved from India to the United States, she originally lived in New York City for 17 years and did not purchase a home because of the exorbitant cost of property. We are colleagues at the school site, and when I told her about my research idea, she was willing to help me by sharing her experience of how and why she and her family came here. She was also willing to share other stories of Punjabi Sikh families within this community with which she is familiar. Like the aforementioned male cultural informant, she had also heard through the Punjabi Sikh community in New York that there was a specific place in the Midwest where a significant influx of Punjabi Sikhs were congregating, so she and her family moved there with the promise of more affordable cost of living along with a Punjabi Sikh community within a community. When asked why there was such a voluminous influx to this area, she stated that it was passed down through word of mouth that there was a location in the Midwest that had affordable housing, was located near multiple metropolitan areas, and provided a school where her children could flourish. After moving to the area, she and her husband purchased two gas stations and raised their children in the community (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017).

Her situation became very interesting in 2006 because she was asked by the school to become a Punjabi interpreter for the school. She obliged and has been a valued faculty member for over a decade. Both of her children graduated from this school, and she has been an integral part of bringing people from other locations to this school since Punjab Sikh families heard that there was a Punjabi Sikh interpreter in the school who speaks six languages: Punjabi, English, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, as well as Sindhi, and worked in the public school in a location that had a Gurdwara with hundreds of Punjabi Sikh families that had congregated to form a community within a community. Not only has she been integral in bringing families to this specific location, she has aided multitudinous first generation Punjabi Sikh students, students from Pakistan who speak Urdu, and other Indian students who connected with her through their mutual understanding of Hindi. In addition to being profoundly comforting to the students whose grasp of English was limited when they first arrived in the United States, she has been a valued colleague within this school as her connections with students increase quality communication between teachers and students. One of the primary reasons she states that Punjabi Sikhs moved from the East and West coasts of the United States (U.S.) to this Midwestern city was that a Punjabi Sikh community had formed and drew many Indian families to this area (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017).

The Diverse Population at the School Research Site

According to the Census Bureau, the population of the United States in 2019 was 328,239,523. In the same year, 5.9% or 19,366,131 of the United States population were of Asian descent (United States Population). The Population of Indiana in 2019 was 6,732,219. Of the over 6.7 million people in Indiana, 2.6% of Indiana's population or 175,038 of those individuals were of Asian ethnicity (State of Indiana Population). In the school's county, the

estimated population of individuals in 2019 was 158,167. Of the 158,167 people in this county 4% or 6327 people were of Asian ancestry (State of Indiana Population).

According to population numbers reported by Indiana's Department of Education there were 1,141,130 students who attended public schools in 2019 in Indiana. Of these 1,141,130 students, 2.5% or 28,528 of these students were of Asian ethnicity. In the school's county, 4.1% of the secondary school student population or 332 out of 8141 students were of Asian ethnicity (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). The school research site is the second largest school in the county where there are six public high schools. Of the schools in this county, this particular school has a higher percentage of Asian students than in the other schools within the county. The most populous high school had 2,521 total students in 2019 and within this student population 110 of their students, or 4%, were of Asian descent (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). The school research site is the second most populous high school in the county with a student population of 1,919 in 2019. Of this student population, 160 students, or 8.3%, of Asian students attended this school (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). This statistic does not account for the specific country of origin when it speaks of students who are of Asian ethnicity so when analyzing the data for the school upon which this research focuses, a closer look was taken at the disaggregated data to pinpoint the nationality of Asian students who attend this school. Of the students who were of Asian ethnicity, only 29 of them were from a country other than India; consequently, 131 of the 160 students (just under 82% of Asian students or 6.8% of the entire student population) who were of Asian ethnicity were from the country of India (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019).

The third most populous high school had a student population of 1,590 students and of those students 30 or 1.9% of these students were of Asian ethnicity (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). The fourth most populous high school had a student population of 1,256 students and of those students 36 or 2.9% of these students were of Asian ethnicity (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). The fifth most populous high school had a student population of 613 students and of those students 7 or 1.1% of these students were of Asian ethnicity (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). The sixth most populous high school had a student population of 242 students and of those students none of them were of Asian ethnicity (Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics, 2019). This information shows that of all the schools within this county, the research site comprises the highest number and the highest percentage of Asian students.

There are three conclusions that can be drawn from the statistical evidence above. First, the percentage of Asian people in the United States' in 2019 was 5.9%, and the school in question exceeds the percentage of Asian Indian individuals within its population of students at 8.3%, which is 2.4% higher than the national average. Second, the percentage of Asian people in Indiana's population in 2019 was 2.4%; whereas, the percentage of Asian people in the school is 5.9% higher than Indiana's average. Finally, the percentage of Asian people in the Midwestern county's population in 2019 was 3.1%, but the percentage of Asian people in the school site is 5.2% higher than the county average of citizens of Asian ethnicity. These statistics demonstrate that the school has a higher Asian student population than the state average. The numbers also reveal that the school site has a higher Asian (specifically Asian Indian) student population than the other high schools in the county in volume and in percentage. These numbers may also suggest that there is an Asian Indian community within a community that exists in a Midwestern

location that deals with a unique Asian Indian population in this particular county. For these reasons, the secondary school chosen is appropriate for this study.

Statement of the Problem

Much has been made of the academic and professional successes of Punjabi Sikhs (Joshi, 2006; Gibson 1988; & Bachu, 1988), yet Asian Americans are racially subordinated by the majority in the dominant U.S. racial hierarchy. Chou and Feagin (2015) point out that whites continue to control the U.S. racial hierarchy, thereby making it nearly impossible for Asian Americans to integrate in untroubled, non-discriminatory, and egalitarian ways into U.S. society. Wong and Halgin (2006) argue that this racial discrimination by the advantaged impedes rather than facilitates access to various opportunities and also results in discrimination and societal indifference regarding the needs of Asian Americans. Instead of overt expressions of white racial superiority, though, many forms of racism have evolved into more subtle, ambiguous, and unintentional manifestations in American social and academic life (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). The model minority stereotype describes Asian Americans as the epitome of assimilation into U.S. society using hard work, intelligence, high educational attainment, and economic success to overcome the challenges of discrimination (Trytten, Lowe, & Walden, 2012). Banks (2011) states that assimilation is the process by which individuals from diverse groups are able to fully participate in society if they are willing to surrender and completely eliminate their own ethnic and cultural attachments in order to acquire the dominant social and psychological characteristics of a dominant societal group. Delucchi and Do (1996) assert that the term 'Asian American' has become a locution associated with model minority success. It serves for many as proof that securing the American dream is a real possibility not only for Asian Americans but for all Americans of color. Chou and Feagin (2015) further state that there

are many stereotypes associated with the model minority notion, though often seemingly positive, are in numerous ways constraining and create intense pressure and stress for Asian Americans seeking to live up to such unrealistic and racially stereotyped expectations. Model minority status is not necessarily the goal nor the experience of every Asian Indian American student. As a result, placing the model minority expectation on Asian students who do not necessarily meet this purported stereotype places unwarranted as well unfair pressure on them. Since there is a scarcity of research on the experience of Punjabi Sikh youth in public U.S. Midwestern high schools, exploring their schooling interactions could reveal whether students feel this unjustified pressure has been placed upon them.

Purpose of the Study

Albert Yee (1992) has stated that because Asian Indian Americans are often hard-working and accommodating, many are presumed to be paragons of performance, a form of prejudice that remains prevalent in the U.S. Banks (2011) also speaks of this cultural accommodation as it occurs when Punjabi Sikhs maintain their distinct and separate identities, yet live in peaceful interaction with the prevailing culture. Asian Americans who accommodate must also engage in cultural modification by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture while maintaining the essence of their own as a result of prolonged interaction. Asian Americans, however, are diverse and have an array of home cultures, unique religious identities, as well as nuanced values. These varied and rich histories have too often been ignored, and the assumption that each student is a model minority by default reveals a form of widespread discrimination Asian Americans have faced in this country since they arrived here (Chou, & Feagin, 2015). Wu (2013) found that the Asian American experience with white imposed bias has often been invisible, and one way the majority white culture has attempted to compensate for this racism is

by elaborating on the successes of model Asian minorities. Consequently, this study will attempt to investigate individual students' perspectives by closely examining each student participant's point of view of their schooling experience at a Midwestern U.S. public high school. There will also be an attempt to decipher whether Punjabi Sikh youth and their parents feel as though the school has fulfilled its duties toward their children. The conclusions of this study will provide the Midwestern U.S. public high school with evaluative information as to whether Punjabi Sikh students feel the school they attend has met their academic needs and expectations.

Gibson and Bachu (1988) state that common views among Punjabi Sikhs regarding the value of formal education are reflected in folk sayings that differentiate between educated people and uneducated people as the difference between the light and darkness, and that if someone is blind themselves, then how can they lead others? Furthermore, Sikh parents teach their children that education opens new worlds. Even though many Asian American parents stress the importance of education to their children, that does not mean that each child values the academic world in the ways their parents intend. Assumptions that the academic dispositions of Punjabi Sikh youth are representative of the model minority are unfair and inappropriate. This research seeks to ascertain how each student participant feels about their schooling experience and whether the public Midwestern U.S. high school they attend has aided them in meeting their own and their parents' academic goals. Somerville and Robinson (2016) argue that Punjabi Sikh youth often feel pressure to please their parents as well as their ethnic community, and this strain is something that concerns many second generation youth who feel their positionality is problematic and contributes to intergenerational tension between themselves and their parents. Punjabi Sikh culture shares a common conviction that if a person works hard for their living, shares a percentage of their earnings with fellow community members, and also worships God,

they will be successful in any endeavor (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). Sikhs also believe that hard work breeds achievement and a person can only flourish when they have known hardship (Gibson & Bachu, 1988).

Understanding the personal experience of 10 Punjabi Sikh youth will reveal the views each individual has regarding their formal academic experience in a public Midwestern high school, while also informing the school as to how they can better serve Punjabi Sikh students.

Research Questions

This research attempts to understand the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh students. Furthermore, this study seeks to understand how one or both of the student participants' parents perceive the experience of their child at school. Throughout the interviewing process, there will also be an exploration as to whether there are ways in which the Midwestern U.S. public high school in question has improved or hampered the schooling experience of Punjabi Sikh young people based upon participants' responses. The major research questions include:

1. What has been the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth at a U.S. public Midwestern high school? and
2. How effective has a U.S. Midwestern public high school been in meeting the academic needs and expectations of Punjabi Sikh parents and their children?

Significance of the Study

Lee (2015) reveals that the myth of the model minority has long plagued Asian Americans in the United States, yet because it is considered to be a positive stereotype by the majority, it appears to be a harmless approval to those under whose auspices they fall. Nevertheless, for some Asian American youth, it could be a curse that plagues students'

educational encounters. There is a scarcity of research that focuses on the first-person perspective of the schooling experience of second generation Punjabi Sikh youth and what attending a Midwestern United States public high school has been like for them. This study, therefore, explores the personal experiences of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth who attend or attended a specific Midwestern U.S. public high school. Throughout this dissertation, there will also be varying explorations of the perceived behavioral and cultural dispositions of Punjabi Sikh youth in public high schools in the U.S. and in Sikh Diasporas abroad. There are also contrasting reports of the undue pressures that are placed on Punjabi Sikh youth who do not fit the preconceived dispositions of the supposed model Asian student. There are not enough studies that explore the experience of Punjabi Sikh youth in U.S. public schools, and even fewer of them request student's critiques of the school they attend. The significance of this study is to attempt to reveal the unique perspectives of second generation Punjabi Sikh in a U.S. public high school ultimately providing the school site the means by which to better serve Punjabi Sikh youth.

Definition of Key Terms

Second Generation Immigrant: Individuals who have at least one parent who was a first generation immigrant in the country in which they currently reside. This individual must be born in the country to which their parents moved, or they must be approximately six years of age or younger when they came to the place where their parent or parents immigrated.

Punjab: The Punjab region extends into Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and into China. For the purposes of this study though, Punjab refers to one of the 29 Indian states in the Northwest of India on the border of Pakistan, and to the East the capital city of India, New Delhi.

Sikhism: A major world religion whose founder, Guru Nanak, started Sikhism in the 15th century. The heart of Sikhism is in Punjab, India.

Gurdwara: A Sikh temple of worship.

Academic Success: Hazel's (2016) demarcation of academic success in the schooling process is defined as achievement in core competencies and courses within the academic domain of a given educational institution.

Model Minority Stereotype: Lee (1994) contends that Asian American students are often portrayed as academic superstars. According to the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans are successful in school because they work hard and believe in the value of education.

Summary

This qualitative interpretive study will attempt to explore and understand the experience of 10 second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh students in a United States Midwestern public high school. Each family involved in this study comes from Punjab, India. Many families from Punjab, including the families of students involved in this study, speak Punjabi and practice Sikhism. These second generation immigrant Indian students have seemingly fit the mold of the model minority in a Midwestern high school that is not especially constructed for their academic success. As a result, understanding each participant's schooling experience as well as their parent's perspectives on their child's schooling experience may inform the school and others like it to better understand what it is like to be a Punjabi Sikh student in a U.S. Midwestern public high school.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In order to properly frame the problems discussed in chapter one, viewing these issues through the lens of preexisting research must occur. This literature review investigates the impact that the myth of the model minority has had on Asian Indian Americans by exploring how Punjabi cultural perspectives, the principles within Sikhism, and language versatility collide with the expectations rooted in the myth of the model minority and how this has impacted the schooling experience of Punjabi Sikhs in Western settings. Examination of varying perspectives of Punjabi Sikh young people entrenched in Western societies may shed light on hidden pressures Asian Indian youth face when viewed as model minorities by the dominant culture. Consideration of the ways in which familial and Punjabi Sikh community pressure to maintain unique Indian cultural perspectives regardless of real or perceived academic and social obstacles each student faces have been explored as well. This attempt to demystify the myth of the model minority was the motivation behind better understanding the challenges and dual worlds Punjabi Sikh youth negotiate daily.

The Myth of the Model Minority

One major obstacle Asian Americans must face in U.S. society is that they are typically viewed and labeled as model minorities by the prevailing culture (Sue, Bucci, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Chou and Feagin (2015) argue that this highly stereotypical label creates inordinate pressure to conform to the white dominated culture in ways that may conflict with their own familial beliefs and customs. Asian-American young people have experienced pressure to assimilate into the prevailing U.S. racial status continuum to white ways of dress, speech, goal attainment, and thinking. Most Asian American youth are torn between the culture of immigrant

parents or grandparents, with its substantial respect for Asianness, and the burdensome pressures of a white controlled society. Furthermore, Delucchi and Do (1996) state that the dominance of white people explain the thoughtless ways white Americans often inhabit a sense of entitlement and egocentric normalcy.

Trytten, Lowe, and Walden (2012) point out that in the public mind, Asian American students are often synonymous with academic excellence, in part because their collective scores on standardized tests and their college enrollment levels often exceed those of other groups including whites. One study performed by Cheryan and Bodenhausen (2000) found that whites, African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans believed Asian Americans to be superior in college preparedness, motivation, and expectations for future success than any other culture. Moreover, these commonly held positive stereotypes about Asians' academic prowess have been known to cause Asian students to "choke" under the pressure of high, idealistic, and discriminating expectations. Cocchiara and Quick, (2004) found that racism and discrimination are known causes of stress for ethnic minorities. While negative stereotypes adversely impact the mental health and performance of racial groups, positive performance stereotypes also have adverse effects; consequently, this stereotyping must be rejected. Chou and Feagin (2015) also point out that what is ironic about this uninformed view is that educational success varies among Asian American groups and that many Asian Americans still face significant obstacles to academic success. Saran (2016) found that despite the struggles of Asian Americans in school, many Asian Indian families migrated from India to the United States in search of a better life and because of their economic and professional successes have earned "model minority" status. This positive stereotyping of Asian and Asian Indian immigrants, although seemingly celebratory, has been instrumental in promoting hegemony, masking individual needs as well as educational

issues among struggling Asian students, and all the while instigating antagonistic social relationships among other ethnic minorities.

Saran's (2006) research examined Asian Indian American youth in two New York City schools. The conclusions of her study revealed contradictions that emerged under the model minority paradigm yet were often ignored by policymakers in the schools she studied based on two assumptions: first, Asian Indians are a model minority and therefore do not need assistance; second, Asian Indians do not ask for services they need and remain quiet about their problems. Choi and Lahey (2006) argue that stories of Asian Indian success should not create the illusion for policymakers that all Asian Indian students are excellent students. The results of Saran's study indicate that in two New York City schools, many Asian Indian students are struggling with language barriers and are not provided with adequate assistance. Although the number of Asian Indians with low English language proficiency is very small compared to the Hispanic population, there are students who are failing because they need help in learning standard formal academic English that is used in the classroom. At the two schools in Saran's (2006) study, students were expected to meet the meritocratic norms of the dominant culture, but students who struggled to meet meritocratic standards were ignored and the policymakers overlooked their needs and associated their failure with a lack of effort or with a lack of motivation. Failure to meet the needs of students who are struggling because it is assumed that they are model minorities and therefore immune from the struggles of other minority students is inappropriate and unacceptable.

Lee's book, *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth* (2015), explored the views of Asian American students whose perceptions demonstrated that there was no single Asian American experience, identity, or perspective. While some of the

Asian American youth embraced the achievement ideology and expressed pro-school attitudes and behaviors, others were ambivalent about the role of school in their own lives. Lee (2015) further states that although some students achieved model minority success and were headed for elite universities, others struggled to just simply pass their classes. Asian American students also had varied understandings of race and racism, different types of relationships with non-Asians, and different responses to the model minority stereotype. Additionally, the school district categorized all East and Southeast Asian students at the school site as “Asian” regardless of whether or not students embraced a pan-ethnic identity. Schools must see young people as individuals, and in order to effectively serve individuals, schools must meet the personal needs of all of their students no matter their race. Leaving behind Asian American students because it is assumed they are model minorities is poor pedagogical practice.

Chung’s work, *Saving Face: The Emotional Costs of the Asian Immigrant Family Myth*, investigates the complex lived experiences of Asian Americans whose academic experience had been continuously squeezed into two academic checkboxes: “whiteness” and “blackness”. Xu and Lee (2013) also demonstrate how this speaks to the triangulation of Asian Americans which is a notion that Asians are seen through a lens of division that does not actually include them. Chung (2016) points out that this duality does not capture Asian Americans’ sense of in-betweenness. This Western binary framework is used to subtly communicate to each youth what was right and what was wrong; what was Asian and what was American. Thus the inherent paradox of the model minority myth lies in its dual claim that, on one hand, Asian immigrant parents were able to promote the educational achievement and ultimate assimilation of their children by preserving Asian values of hard work, obedience, and family unity; yet this Asian fixation on education, competition, discipline, frugality, and conformity still made them

perpetual foreigners. According to model minority myth proponents, Asian values may help Asian Americans to succeed if they aligned with the white Protestant ethic, but the only way for second-generation Asian-Americans to become completely “normal” was to shed the backward ways of their immigrant parents and integrate fully into a middle-class white American core. Barreto and Ellemers (2009) found that assimilative pressures can be threatening to the identity of minority people and undue pressure to assimilate to the dominant culture can have a paradoxical effect that creates the compulsion to emphasize their minority identity more in situations they do not experience such an identity threat. Exploring the degree to which Punjabi Sikh youth feel the pressures of the model minority will aid in better understanding their experience at a given U.S. Midwestern public high school and will aid the research site to better serve as well as meet the individualized needs of all Asian Indian students who attend the school.

Understanding Punjabi Sikh Origins and Culture

In order to more fully comprehend whether the student participants involved in this study feel the impact of the stereotype of the model minority, understanding the perspective from which Punjabi Sikh culture encourages their young people to see the world will present the distinctive domains through which each student must traverse. Punjab, which is known as the land of the five rivers, is a state located in the Northwestern corner of India. The massive Himalayas separate it from the Tibetan plateau of China. A chain of mountains known as the Hindu Kush flank Punjab on the West, providing a natural border from Pakistan. The Eastern boundary also separates Punjab from the rest of India through its dissimilar religious and political diversity. This distinct geographical area which slopes down from the mountains in the North and West to the desert in the South, is an area across which the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers flow (Bariana, 1997).

The Punjabi region extends beyond the borders of India into Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and China, but for the purposes of this study, the focus will remain on the state in India because that is the former homeland of the students' families who are involved in this research. Punjab is precariously situated in the Northwestern tip of India and is bordered by Pakistan to its West. India's capital city, New Delhi, is located in the state of Haryana which is the adjacent state just to the Southeast of Punjab. Pakistan is a predominantly Muslim nation, and New Delhi is not only India's national center of government, but it is also the epicenter of the Hindu faith. Punjab is precariously wedged between these two religious juggernauts, but they do not practice either Islam or Hinduism. Instead they predominantly practice Sikhism.

Sandhu (2012) points out that through the years, Punjab has experienced tacit and explicit religious pressure on both their Western and Eastern borders, yet they remain resolute in their commitment to Sikhism and the principles within their Holy Scriptures known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Rice (1978) portrayed Sikhs as fearless, independent, and mystical individuals. They are also depicted as proud yet humble, hardworking and dedicated to education, to family, and to God. Although this may be true in many cases, one cannot help wonder how second generation Punjabi Sikh students who have spent most of their lives in the United States define themselves, their experiences at a specific school site, and whether they and their families feel that the U.S. Midwestern public high school has served them in ways with which they are pleased.

Understanding the experience of the student participants enrolled at the school site in question was not only filtered through the cultural views of their parents, it was also filtered through their religious upbringing as it has no connection to the predominant Christian culture of the school they attend. The Sikh religious tradition derives from its founding teacher, Guru

Nanak (1469–1538) and is primarily an expression or an extension of Punjabi people and their culture. Sikhs are disciples of spiritual guides known as the 10 gurus from Nanak to Gobind Singh (1666 - 1708). Although Sikhism incorporates elements of both Hindu and Muslim traditions, Sikhism developed its own unique religious structure and since its inception, has become one of the top 10 most followed religions in the world with approximately 28 million devotees (Illsley, 2016; Grigonis, 2014). Fenton (1988) points out that Sikh spirituality is an intensely meditational and devotional worship of God. Access to God is possible through the guidance and inspiration of the *Adi Granth Sahib*, a compilation of the teachings of the gurus, which serves as the spiritual authority in place of a living guru. Families and congregational worship centers focus on reverence for the *Granth*, recitation of passages from the *Granth*, and the singing of *Kirtan* or hymns, followed by a common meal that celebrates community unity and renounces caste distinctions.

Fenton (1988) also discuss how the tenth and final Guru, known as Gobind Singh, organized believers into the *Khalsa* or the community of the pure. Men belonging to the *Khalsa* take the last name of Singh (which means lion); whereas, women take the name Kaur (which means princess). Men of the *Khalsa* are obligated to observe five tenets known as the *panch kaka*: *kesh* which is uncut hair on either the face or the head, with the head covered by a turban; *kirpan* or the wearing of a short dagger; *kacch* the wearing of khaki shorts; *kara* the wearing of a steel bracelet; and *kangha* the wearing of a comb. Sikh men who observe the five k's are referred to as *keshadaris* or long-haired individuals while those who do not are called *sahajdharis* which means those who are clean shaven. In countries outside of India, Sikhs are encouraged to stay connected to and active within their local communities while remaining true to their faith and the *Khalsa* by resisting cultural assimilation.

Gibson and Bachu (1988) point out that Punjabi Sikhs advocate that the pursuit of God is linked to living a fulfilled life, that family and Sikh traditions are inextricably bound to one another, and that hard work is linked to one's personal honor. To devout Sikhs, the difference between an educated person and an uneducated person is profoundly and fundamentally dissimilar. Singh (2006) discusses how honesty, generosity, equality for all, daily prayer to God, and the enjoyment of life are principles that are taught in Sikh temples called *Gurdwaras* around the world. Sikh children are also trained to understand the damaging nature of *haume*. *Haume* are the five passions of human nature or any combination of them. The five passions in Sikh tradition are lust, anger, greed or attachment, ego, and pride. Guru Nanak encouraged his followers to overcome their struggles with *haume* through prayer, meditation, reading the Holy Scriptures, and by engaging in arduous yet meaningful labor.

Sikh parents teach their children to be adaptable in the societies in which they live while remaining steadfastly committed to the teachings of the Gurus. One Punjabi Sikh parent said, "We have come to this country [U.S.], and we have to learn from them [Americans], but we also have to keep the advice of our country... If the children will just take up their good values and leave the rest, then we will keep our standards. If we leave everything and do as they [Sikhs who do not keep with religious tradition] do, we will go downwards" (Gibson, 1988 p. 23). Gibson (1988) further found that the primary factors that have given many Sikhs the ability to adapt to any society in which they reside include flexibility when balancing their commitment to both community and faith, as well as a receptiveness to learning new ways from other people with whom they reside. Sikh migrants consciously and explicitly advocate a strategy of accommodation to their new environment. The nature of their accommodation varies according to the social system of the host society and their specific situation within it. In general, however,

Sikh parents encourage their children to become skilled in the ways of the dominant group. Just as explicitly, they counsel their young to resist complete assimilation and to maintain strong roots within the Sikh community. The strategy of many Sikh parents revolves around the notion of accommodation and acculturation to their surrounding culture without allowing themselves to succumb to complete cultural assimilation (Gibson, 1988). Minority groups that forsake their own beliefs and adopt as well as embrace the norms of the society in which they reside are said to assimilate to that society (Oyserman, Sakamoto, & Lauffer, 1998). Gibson (1988) points out that Sikhs are a minority group that accommodate or remain individualistic and committed to their own unique ways of living within the society in which they reside, but they encourage their children not to fully assimilate to it. These teachings could create strain on the young people who attempt to walk the fine line of living in their family's world while living in a very different world at school. Two diverse worlds that do not always share the same values, beliefs, or perspectives. Examining whether Punjabi Sikh parents attempt to maintain this culturally distinct separation between the culture in which their children are immersed and their own, could reveal definitive struggles student participants endure. Additionally, exploring the means by which Asian Indian parents attempt to maintain a clear division between their own values and the culture in which their family is submerged may not only provide a better understanding of the experience of the individuals involved in this study, but also provide the school with a better understanding of pressures each student endures while negotiating two culturally diverse worlds.

In the past a significant reason Punjabi Sikhs have been able to keep the cultures in which they reside at arm's length rests in the reality that even when they were in India, they divided themselves in what University of California, Davis, professor, Niyogi (2010), called a pre-migration or sub-national identity. Her dissertation explored how Punjabi Sikhs formed their

own identity while they were in India before they ever migrated from India. This ability to establish and preserve their own identities at home before voyaging from India in the form of a sub-national distinctiveness has aided them in maintaining their own unique identities in the Punjabi Sikh Indian Diaspora. Niyogi (2010) also states that in the process of becoming citizens of the United States, Punjabi Sikh immigrants actively manipulate their sub-national attributes, including their regional, religious, and linguistic attributes, to form a new identity in the host society in which they settle. India is unique in that no other country in the world embraces the astonishing mixture of ethnic groups, the profusion of mutually incomprehensible languages, the varieties of topography and climate, the diversities of religions and cultural practices and the range of levels of economic development that India does.

Niyogi (2010) argues that the notion of sub-national identities was born in the partition of India in 1947 which included the geographical division of the Punjab province. The predominantly Muslim Western part of the region became Pakistan's Punjab Province; the mostly Sikh and Hindu eastern part became India's Punjab state. This division seemed arbitrary since many Hindus and Sikhs lived in the West, and many Muslims lived in the East. As a result, this partition saw millions displaced and much inter-communal violence. In 1966, Sikhs obtained the Sikh majority state of Punjab within India. Sikhism, a religion that originated in fifteenth-century India, currently has approximately 28 million followers worldwide. Most Sikhs are Punjabis and come from the Punjab region, although Sikh communities exist around the world. The Punjabi language and the history of the Punjab region have been tremendously important in the formation of Sikhism as a religion. One of India's most recent Prime Ministers, Monmohan Singh, is Sikh, yet Sikhs have had an ambivalent relationship with the Indian state. Sikhs possess a minority religious identity and have been historically marginalized both in India, as well as in

the Punjabi Sikh Diaspora, for embracing visible religious symbols (Niyogi, 2010). They strive to maintain a distinct identity by wearing turbans, one of the five symbols of their faith. Baptized Sikhs are obligated to wear all five symbols of the *Khalsa* (unshorn hair, a steel bracelet, long underwear, a wooden comb and a dagger) at all times.

As a direct result of what Niyogi calls sub-national practices, the identity of Punjabi Sikhs is able to be maintained in second generation youth since it was already practiced in India by first generation immigrants who left India in search of something outside their native land. Because Sikh families have had to separate themselves from their own predominant culture in India, this practice has been ingrained within many Sikh families regarding the importance of maintaining their own unique identity wherever they may be in the world. Some of the perceived attributes of Sikh youth in schools is their exceptional motivation, their work ethic, and in their attitudes toward school. This research study explored Punjabi students' experience at school, how well they believe the school they attend or attended aided them in meeting their and their parents' academic expectations and needs, and the challenges they have faced in trying to negotiate being Asian American, Punjabi Sikh, and U.S. citizens who attend a Public Midwestern high school. This study has attempted to explore and to understand the challenges each student has endured as they attempt to maintain their parent's culture while accommodating the cultural expectations of a Western society that does not necessarily share the views and values of Sikhism and Indian culture.

According to two local Punjabi Sikh adults, one of the ways in which Punjabi Sikh parents have attempted to maintain their unique Asian Indian and Punjabi Sikh heritage is through the consistent gathering at a local *Gurdwara* which hundreds of Punjabi Sikh families attend. This *Gurdwara* is located near the high school where the students will be interviewed

(Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). Sandhu (2012) states that Sikhs believe in and preach the importance of improving oneself through education based upon the devout nature of the students and their behavior in the classroom. Since 2005, there has been a significant influx of families from Punjab, India and from other parts of the United States such as California, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania who have moved to the school corporation where this study will take place (Male Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017) and exploring their experience and critique of the school has been an attempt to shed light on how challenging living in dual worlds has been for Punjabi Sikh youth as they seek to please their own parents while attempting to achieve their own individual goals which may differ from their parent's goals. Further discussion of the struggle to maintain individual, familial, and their community's identity could aid in better understanding the experience of Punjabi Sikh youth in one Midwestern U.S. public high school.

Walking a Tightrope: Striking a Balance between Two Worlds

Wherever they are in the world, Punjabi Sikhs have appeared to be able to adapt to any culture, prosper in that culture, and maintain their own unique cultural identity. This is known as cultural accommodation. Gibson (1988) defines cultural accommodation as the process by which individuals adopt some values and beliefs of the host culture and accommodate them in public, while maintaining the parent culture in private. Hing (2000) points out that this creates a peaceful coexistence of differing ethnic groups that allow minority groups to retain their culture yet work together with the dominant culture. Whereas cultural accommodation contains a duality, Joppke and Morawska (2003) state that assimilation implies that one culture is completely absorbed by the norms of the society in which it resides. Not all cultures have benefited the way Punjabi Sikhs have as a result of the disparities that exist in the educational system that is built for the

success of the dominant culture. Kloosteman (2003) states that national reports on educational equality continue to reveal gross inequalities throughout the nation. Public schools continue to subject African-American, Latino, and Native American students to a particular variety of racial profiling. If public schools regularly failed to serve students of color in a single aspect of their education, that would be bad enough. However, ethnically diverse students are provided with less academically challenging courses, they are punished more frequently as well as more harshly, and they are forced out of many schools without a diploma in much higher proportions than their white counterparts. Punjabi Sikhs' seeming immunity to this reality is a positive stereotype that does not make them immune from another form of racism that can be found in United States schools. This research has attempted to expose the myth of the model minority through openly discussing the schooling experience of 10 Punjabi Sikh youth who are purportedly exempt from the racism that other minorities face. Each student's critique of the school may also reveal that students feel as though they have experienced racism that the white majority may never have imagined existed.

Ogbu's (1992) study states that many of the learning problems endured by minority students rest in cultural differences that appear to be the same difficulties suffered by American mainstream pupils: conflicts in interpersonal / inter-group relations due to cultural misunderstandings, conceptual problems due to absence of certain concepts in the ethnic-group cultures, lack of fluency in standard formal academic English, and conflicts in teaching and learning style. However, the underlying factor that distinguishes these problems from those of primary cultural differences is the style, not the content. Punjabi Sikhs do not seem to concern themselves with the style of teaching. They appear to be voracious in their attempts to gather information that focuses on the content, but this does not mean that each and every student fully

grasps what is being taught in classrooms across the United States or in this particular school either; therefore exploring the experiences of student participants of this study may reveal the need for the school to respond to weaknesses Punjabi Sikh youth perceive themselves to have. Vang (2005) found that African-American, Hispanic, and other language-minority students are generally placed in lower tracked classes in disproportionately elevated numbers and systematically receive fewer resources than their white peers. Even though the merits of tracking continue to be vehemently debated, school segregation remains widespread, and an alarming number of students are being blatantly left behind. Scholars Vang (2005); Ogbu (1992); and Nieto (1999) have criticized tracking as it creates class and race-linked differences in learning. Vang (2005) further states that this has also become a major contributor to the persistent achievement gap between disadvantaged and affluent students and the gap between students of color and white students. Tracking fosters the illusion of meritocratic competition while in reality it functions as a ranking system that legitimizes differences based on race, gender, and social power and locks students into positions of limited opportunities. Because of seeming familial, linguistic, and work ethic strengths to which many Punjabi Sikhs have access, they appear to be more likely to be immune from the negative effects of tracking and being left behind compared to their minority and immigrant peers, but that can no longer be assumed if the model minority myth is to be deconstructed.

Nieto (1999) contends that the reality still exists though that limited educational opportunities commonly result in poor achievement for most individual minority students. It is vital to stress that unequal outcomes are generally based on student's membership in particular groups that are ranked according to the status of each member's race, ethnicity, social class, and gender, and unless policy makers believe that some races are superior to others, the consistent

and disproportionate educational failure among American Indians, Latinos, African Americans, females, and poor students of all ethnic backgrounds would not be a recurring phenomenon. Inequality has been practiced in public schools in numerous ways, including through disparate funding, segregation, under-representation of teachers of color, uneven access to high-level learning, and biased counseling practices. Nieto (2002) also found that the question of identity reverberates with more meaning and currency than ever in the twenty-first century. The United States is becoming more diverse and also more divided along lines of race, ethnicity, language use, social class and other differences although it can be argued that this division is not due necessarily to growing diversity but rather to the inherent inability to deal with it. There is also an assumption that one must sacrifice culture and identity to become an American. This does not seem to be the case with Punjabi Sikhs, but more research must be done to fill in these gaps in understanding as this may not be true for every Asian Indian American student.

The early history of Asian Americans is frequently a history of adaptation, resistance, and eventually assimilation. The question of whether or not a minority or immigrant group becomes assimilated into a larger group ultimately depends on the extent to which the group accepts the fundamental norms and values of the mainstream in which they reside (Le, 2007). Bunle (1950) asserts that the allure to assimilate is strongest when there are differences of language, religion, mentality, as well as standard of living, between immigrants and the dominant culture, when the individual's homeland is near, and there are numerically strong immigrant groups of the same origin, or in the country of immigration, and there is a tendency for the newcomers to settle down in their midst. The learning of a new language can be a long and difficult process made easier by daily contact with those from the dominant culture as well as immigrants who share similar experiences. Assimilation may be slowed when immigrants settle among their

compatriots who have already formed a local population within their new residence. Cultural absorption may also be thwarted when immigrant settlements establish leadership, official or otherwise, from their homeland, when there is a possession of their own newspapers, churches, and associations of every description. When immigrant groups form independent settlements, enclosed within the local population, the policy of home administration often prevents assimilation. Vinayaga (1987) points out that Sikhs have a strong link to community and family. This kinship has been as instrumental to their individual domestic identities and the identity as a faith that was given to them by the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh Holy Scriptures. Although there appears to be a loosening of the strict nature of the students who attend the school in question, it cannot be presumed that the importance of separation from U.S. culture for student participants is as important to them as it is to their parents.

Along with community, family plays a vital role in the socialization and educational support of the Asian Indian (Singh Bhola, 1999). Members of Indian families and communities operate on a ranking or hierarchical system (the extended family hierarchy is a microcosm of the community hierarchy) that emphasizes relationships over work and activity. Gibson, Bachu, (1988) and Joshi (2006) maintain that Asian Indians are more contextual than Westerners when making decisions and consider *desh* (place), *kaal* (time), and *paatra* (person) before deciding how to proceed in any situation. In a sociological study of immigrant Indian Sikh populations living in California and Great Britain, Gibson and Bachu (1988) claimed that both male and female Sikh immigrant adolescents are characterized by an academic persistence that is the result of strong familial beliefs that education is a primary avenue to upward mobility in a majority-culture environment that is sometimes hostile and discriminatory to minority culture. Klassen (2004) states that this familial emphasis on educational perseverance has also paid off for Sikh

youth in locations around the world as they have often outperformed majority-group students in high school grades on high stakes standardized tests. The cultural background of contextual, hierarchical, and relationship-oriented being influences Indians' view of self in relation to others and, consequently, their self-beliefs. These beliefs are rooted in the ultimate belief that Sikhs should accommodate to the society in which they reside without assimilating to its culture fully. Niyogi (2010) insists that their surrender is to their own sub-national identity, to their families, to their culture, to hard work, to education, and to the sacred teachings of the 10 Gurus. Nevertheless, the level to which identity is a struggle for Punjabi Sikh youth must be explored while discussing their school experience and the struggles they have endured while trying to negotiate two different worlds.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) assert that it is assumed that immigrants become Americans through linear and irreversible stages of cultural acculturation and social assimilation into the host society. While typologies differ in the attention given to distinctive dimensions of or routes to assimilation, they share a common assumption that acculturation and assimilation are inevitable and necessary to promote and protect the broader social good. Contrary to past models, segmented assimilation stresses heterogeneity, both within the immigrant population and the host society itself. New immigrants (post-1965) are distinguishable along three dimensions critical to second generation adaptation: 1. cultural features or human capital, influenced by educational background, occupational skills, financial resources, and facility with the English language; 2. the host society's reception of immigrant populations, particularly in relation to governmental policies, popular attitudes, and the presence of co-ethnic populations; and 3. the composition of immigrant families. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) further state that this model stresses the interplay between background factors, intergenerational patterns, and external

obstacles. Each stage in the assimilation process involves dynamics that occur across levels of social scale. Acculturation is conditioned by background structural variables, such as parent's human capital, the mode of incorporation a group experiences, and family composition. This produces different intergenerational patterns of acculturation or cultural learning, processes typified by either dissonance between the cultural orientations of the first and second generation, consonance (learning across generations takes place at about the same pace), or selective acculturation among both generations (partial retention of home language and norms). It then becomes a question of whether second generation youth will assimilate to U.S. society, and if they choose to do so, to what segment of that society will they assimilate.

Gibson (2001) provides a further explanation of acculturation which identifies the process of culture change and the subsequent adaptation that occurs when individuals with different cultures come into contact. In order to understand the alteration process of immigrants settling in the United States, one must look closely at which philosophies immigrants value and view as functionally practical. Then an understanding of what effect the acquisition of new knowledge and skills in the new culture and language has on the people in the new culture must be observed. As immigrants are able to acquire an additional set of tools to incorporate into their cultural repertoire these individuals may see it as an advantage that serves them well in the new culture rather than as a rejection or replacement of old values. Recent ethnographic studies suggest that an additive strategy of acculturation or an environment that encourages additive acculturation can aid immigrant youth in navigating across cultural borders in order to increase their likelihood of success in school. Understanding the experience of student participants will reveal whether students have adopted this additive approach to negotiating the complexities of the dual worlds through which they traverse.

Hall (2004) posits that immigrants become citizens through processes of social incorporation, processes that include the formation of social ties with the host society traditionally referred to as assimilation. But whether and how people come to be viewed as able to assimilate, is informed, in part, by broader processes of cultural change associated with the symbolic creation of “the nation” as an imagined community. Visualizing the nation and defining the basis of national belonging involve a dual process of delineating boundaries of inclusion and of exclusion. National imaginaries, in this sense, are never simply given, never fixed or enduring. Notions of national belonging and, in turn, national identities and citizenship statuses are continually redefined, negotiated, and debated as they come to be articulated within different forms of nationalist discourse. Over the past 150 years, their travels and relocations have created a Sikh Diaspora that stretches across the globe. While the politics of plural publics challenge the nation-state from within, the forces of global capitalism increasingly defy these boundaries from beyond. Immigration in general, and the education and mobility experiences of immigrant children more specifically, must be considered in relation to these dynamic tensions of nation formation within the global era.

Gans’s (1997) reconciliation between assimilation and pluralism is sought to help prevent further polarization among immigration researchers and is based mainly on two arguments. First, if assimilation and acculturation are distinguished, acculturation has proceeded more quickly than assimilation in both old and new immigrations. This reconciles traditional assimilationist theory with current pluralist or ethnic retention. Additionally, cultural identity is a broad term used in this study to include both ethnic and national identity. Identity for ethnic minority groups has been studied mainly in terms of ethnic identity. Much of the research has focused on the self-label chosen by immigrants. In recent years, researchers have suggested that ethnic minority

individuals can identify with both their own ethnic group (ethnic identity) and the majority society (national identity). Both ethnic and national identities are assumed to change over time and context, and across generations of immigration. Ethnic identity and national identity can be thought of as two dimensions of group identity that may vary independently; that is, each identity can be either secure and strong or undeveloped and weak. Robinson (2009) states that it is possible to have high identification with both. In the case of the Punjabi Sikhs who attend the school site in question, it appears that these young people have high identification with both cultures, but exploring their experience and the pressures they openly feel as though they endure at school will shed light on this duality and how students maintain a strong connection to both their own ethnic, familial, and religious identity and whether, as well as if, they feel this differs from their identity at school.

Sam and Berry (2006) found that acculturation can entail rejection of or resistance to cultural elements and not simply the adoption of foreign cultural elements. The individual who identifies with both the majority and minority group is acculturative. Ethnic identity should be viewed as distinct from social identity which derives purely from the social position of one's membership group. Ethnic minority members may want to change their social identity but not necessarily at the cost of losing their ethnic identity. Multiple group membership is a viable option for acculturating ethnic minorities. Fulgini (2007) suggests that acculturation development is a process toward gaining confidence within two distinct cultural domains in order to have a sense of belonging and be able to participate successfully within both. The ways people behave and evaluate their experiences are guided by their values and even if basic values appear to be universal their individual importance in priority vary between persons and between nations. Sam and Berry (2006) further stated that Some cultural groups value models of virtue as

indicators of the competence necessary to maneuver through and to contribute to dominant culture activities. This is an important task for children of immigrants as they attempt to figure out how contrasting models of virtue are expressed in everyday routines, patterns of behaviors, as well as rituals and traditions within their own ethnic group and within the majority society. Acculturation development involves an ongoing inculcation of one's own ethnic and host society culture competence. Acculturation refers to changes in the course of the development of a cultural group due to contact with other cultural groups. Acculturation then requires adaptation to behaviors, customs, values and tasks that are typical of both their own cultural group and those of the majority society. Punjabi Sikh youth are challenged to operate between their own family culture and the culture that exists with the majority. This can create dichotomous tensions in youth who endure this acculturation as they determine which practices they value most and what impact this has on their schooling experience as well as the way they view how effectively the school they attend has served them while navigating through two uniquely differing cultures.

LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton, (1993) state that what differentiates the assimilation approach and the acculturation approach is that the assimilation approach emphasizes that the individual, their offspring, or their cultural group will eventually become full members of the majority group's culture and lose identification with their own culture of origin. By contrast, the acculturation model implies that the individual, while becoming a competent participant in the majority culture, will always identify as and embrace their membership to their own minority culture. This model suggests that the individuals will learn behaviors needed to survive in a new culture before they acquire the values of the majority group based upon the amount time an individual is exposed to the dominant culture. It also assumes that contact with the majority

culture will produce cultural competence. Acculturation then relies on the notion that individuals will never lose identification with their culture of origin. Whether separation is created in the lives of the Punjabi Sikh youth involved in this specific Midwestern school has been explored through the semi-structured interviews with each individual and how this impacts their view of the school they attend was examined as well.

Even though families of Punjabi Sikh youth expect their children to accommodate, tension between the inward desire to not only accommodate, but to also assimilate has been the focus of a dissertation study done by Charbonneau in California in 2011. The Sikhs of Merced County, California have been a fixture in some areas of California for more than 100 years, but many residents know little about Sikhs, their culture, and their beliefs. Although Sikhs have been streaming into the Central Valley for more than a quarter-century, contributing measurably to the region's economy and culture, they remain an enigma to many residents. Sikh students perceive that there is great pressure, from inside as well as outside their community, involving the degrees of religious orthodoxy they adopt. What is more, to differing degrees, Sikh students contend with their own desires to conform to mainstream American culture. Sikh students also feel pressure from their parents as well as the Sikh community to maintain their religious tradition. Additionally, Sikh students tend to categorize themselves into two different groups: those who are more orthodox and those who are more "modern". In part, the findings of this study revealed the Sikh students, occupied a place of cultural in-betweenness. The participants voiced their determination to successfully traverse through both traditional Sikh culture and United States mainstream youth culture (Charbonneau, 2011). One of the goals of this research was to determine the amount of pressure that students in this study feel regarding the potential conflict between being more modern through the adoption of the culture of the majority and the

degree they desire to remain committed to the principles of Sikhism for which their parents and their community challenge them to adhere.

A similar study to Charbonneau's was performed by Kaur Gill (2005) who explored Punjabi Sikh youth from the ages of 18 to 25 across Ontario, Canada. Her study attempts to answer how Sikh youth identify themselves and what external and social influences impact the construction of their distinctiveness. As Punjabi Sikh youth struggle to find their individuality in the midst of competing expectations, they may face institutional and structural barriers that may further complicate their identity. Gill raises several questions in her research that are important to answer, such as: Do Western Euro-centric values and beliefs by the mainstream contradict with traditional and cultural beliefs? How do youth accommodate some cultural and religious values over others? Are there multiple oppressions, which are in conflict with retaining an ethnic and cultural identity? How do the values, expectations, and beliefs of Punjabi Sikh parents differ from their children's? How do youth negotiate their cultural and religious identity in the face of conflicting expectations from parents, school, and their community? These are some of the questions that she explored in her study. Similarly, there was tremendous interest to determine how students in the Midwestern high school, where this research took place, navigate the complexities of their home and their Sikh community versus the school community through which they maneuver on a daily basis as well as the impact this has had on their experience in school.

Gill (2005) concluded that Punjabi Sikh youth are distinctly visible through their manner of dress, spiritual symbols, the length of their hair, or what they wear on their heads. This causes these young people to learn to juggle their cultural and religious identity in the face of conflicting expectations from parents and schools. Many youth, especially those dealing with multiple

oppressions, such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender, find it difficult to find a space for themselves in the context of their family, friends and the wider community, including conflicting expectations that are imposed upon them. Sikh youth specifically must mediate conflicting demands from the mainstream school culture, while negotiating their own culture, ethnicity, religion and community influences. Gill (2005) further states that identity is a socially constructed, fluid concept that is an increasingly complex phenomenon for children and youth of immigrants, who are raised in a mainstream environment such as a Western milieu. Sikh youth, in particular, face conflicting messages of what it means to belong to the community, religious group, as well as the school's institutions.

Like Gill (2005) and Charbonneau (2011), the research of Kaur Sidhu (2000) explores how the adolescent years are critical in the development of a coherent sense of self and the subsequent emergence of self. The construction of a sense of self and identity can be especially complex for children of South Asian immigrants in Western countries outside of India. These adolescents are similar to all other youth in that they share the same biological and cognitive changes during this period of development. Yet, minority youth are unique in that their identity development is embedded in their ethnicity, status as minority group members, and the complicated process of acculturation.

Sidhu (2000) further identifies three aspects of self that were hierarchically organized within her study with the material self at the bottom, then the social self, and the spiritual self on the highest level; indicating that the most important aspect of self was the spiritual self-followed by the social self and then the material self. Sidhu's findings revealed that the construction of a sense of self and identity by second generation adolescent Sikh males is a complex and dynamic psychosocial process that is situated between the life contexts of these young men living in the

Western venue of Canada. Furthermore, according to Sidhu (2000), Punjabi ethnic and Sikh religious/spiritual identity is central to the general identity development process of second generation adolescent Sikh males. These two scripts are superimposed by the superficial dominant cultural script to construct and reconstruct a life track. Adolescent Sikh males who feel guided by parents, older siblings, or role models are better able to negotiate incongruent elements of the life track than those who feel they have to do this alone. In constructing a sense of who they are, adolescent Sikh males expect to maintain a bond with their parents throughout life, and project moving toward interdependence with their parents. Adolescent Sikh males who have a stronger sense of ethnic or religious/spiritual identity have a clearer sense of who they are and who they are becoming in other aspects of identity development as well. One of the goals of this dissertation was to determine what kind of an impact this pressure has had on the schooling experience of the youth involved in this research. Also, to which aspects of conflict have these young people acquiesced most, how intense has this struggle been for them at home, and in their local Punjabi Sikh community? Additionally, in what ways has the school they attend helped or hindered their experience based upon these varying struggles?

Hall (1995) found that the opposing forces Sikhs encounter at school are often contradictory to the conflicting sets of demands in their families and in their Sikh communities. These struggles relate to the ideology of family honor and to the structure of status and prestige that this ideology supports. The most important goal of many Punjabi Sikh parents is to see that their children are well-educated. Punjabi Sikhs often view education as a way out of racial discrimination and as a way up the social ladder to a better way of life, ideally in a professional job that will bring social independence, social status, as well as a lucrative income. This can also serve as a commodity of status in many Sikh communities. Many of the families of Sikhs in the

Midwestern community where this research took place, work hard to provide for their families. They have shown their children that hard work, dedication, and commitment to the ideals that Sikhs hold most dear, will aid them in accomplishing anything to which they set their minds. Parents of the student participants also want their children to have the best possible lives in this country that they can.

Although Sikh parents communicate the cultural and religious significance of their Indian, Punjabi, and Sikh heritage, that has not necessarily been the lens through which Punjabi Sikh youth see their world. Sidhu's (2010) study of seven Punjabi Sikh youth in four different Canadian schools indicated that the youth in her research constructed their educational and personal identities more in relation to their daily social interactions and less in relation to traditional Punjabi cultural norms. Student interviews revealed that the Punjabi Sikh youth in the study negotiated their identities in relation to social interactions that were and always are shifting. The subsequent pattern that emerged showed that the participants were constantly trying to find a sense of self and belonging as they discussed how they identify themselves and their place in relation to school, family, culture, and peer groups. Understanding and recognizing the different ways Punjabi Sikh youth develop their personal and academic identities could enable educators to confront any signs of academic underachievement in Punjabi Sikh youth.

Hall (1995) also points out that this constant conflict creates within Sikh young people a perception that they are themselves neither completely Indian nor completely American. They possess a fragmented consciousness. Second generation Sikhs believe that there is a time to act Indian, and a time to behave otherwise. This experience of living in two different worlds emerges from their everyday experience in different cultural fields. The places where Punjabi Sikhs behave as Indians include the *Gurdwara*, the home where they speak Punjabi with their

parents, particularly with their mothers, who frequently do not speak English preserving themselves as models of Indianness. Tiwana's (2012) exploration of how Punjabi Sikh youth view themselves within these different settings speaks to the formation of their own views toward schooling, community, and how their views of both have been shaped. Additionally, finding out the ways in which Punjabi Sikh parents not only view their children's schooling experience, but the ways in which they also participate in this experience will inform the school site as to how they can assist the young people who attend the school.

Schooling Challenges for Punjabi Sikh Youth: Arduous Expectations

Gibson (1988) found that with respect to academic achievement patterns, children of Asian immigrants perform on the whole at least as well academically as white American children of similar class backgrounds. Both first and second generation Asian immigrant high school students have higher educational aspirations, higher grades, and receive higher math scores than do children of native-born parents. Whatever difficulties immigrant youth might face adjusting to the lingual, institutional, and cultural norms of this country, their educational attainment has equaled if not exceeded that of native-born children and youth. What is most curious about these realities, is that they perpetuate the model minority stereotype, and place undue pressure on students to meet the supposed norm that has been established through this myth. It is unfair to expect this of all Asian Indian youth. Exploring the experiences of students at a specific high school will challenge the myth of the model minority while providing the school site an evaluative critique of the ways in which student participants and their families believe the school can more effectively serve all Asian youth.

Liang, Li, and Kim (2004) maintain that many Punjabi people came to the United States because they anticipated that opportunities here would be greater than they would be in India, if

not for themselves, then at least for their children. Countless Indian parents aspired and continue to desire that their children acquire a quality work ethic and confidence to maneuver within the dominant culture, but not at the expense of shedding their Indian identity. Punjabi parents often encourage their children to become competent and ultimately competitive in U.S. society. They continue to believe that public schools are viable a means for their children to acquire both the necessary social and academic skills necessary to maneuver through the complex maze of American culture. However, Gibson (1988) understands that Punjabi Sikh parents understand that there is a risk in this reality because Indian culture is not valued in American schools potentially causing Punjabi children to be tempted to fit in socially which could lead directly to the rejection of their family's Indian ways. Vigilant to this danger, some parents institute clear boundaries that make it costly for children deviate too sharply from the Punjabi Sikh fold. Children become skillful in the dominant culture embracing much of it, but at the same time holding strongly to their Punjabi Sikh identity. This strategy works in large measure because it is reinforced on a daily basis not only in the home, but also within the ethnic community. This tension is very real. Punjabi Sikh young people must learn to maneuver through this society while maintaining familial intimacy. One goal of this study was to determine the level of strain students feel about accommodating American culture without assimilating to it. This was key to further elucidating the perceived as well as the actual price they each have to pay to achieve their long-term goals while maintaining a culturally unique identity. Children of immigrants are often successful in school, but not always because they assimilate. This implies absorption on a cultural level of one group by another and at the end of visual level, the replacement of one's old identity for a new one. Rather, they employ a strategy called additive acculturation. The acquisition of knowledge and skills in the new culture and language are viewed as an additional

set of tools to be incorporated into the child's cultural repertoire rather than as a rejection or replacement of old traits. Unveiling whether student participants feel the stress, pressure, and burden of successfully navigating through the differing worlds of school and home will speak to the ways in which this has impacted their schooling experience as well as the ways in which the school can more effectively serve Punjabi Sikh students who bear this burden.

Hall (2002) points out that family life is profoundly significant in the lives of first generation Indian immigrant parents for their second generation Sikh children, but the family is only one place where young Sikhs learn about what it means to be Sikh, Indian, and Asian while being individuals immersed in the Western Diaspora. The cultural lessons their families teach them, explicitly and tacitly, take on new meaning and deeper levels of significance in relation to lessons they learn in other contexts such as Sikh tradition, racial identity, and gender differences. Peng and Wright (1994) found that the family becomes one social field among many in which second generation Sikh identities and subjectivities are made. This is not only true in the formation of identity, but also in the influence parents have on the importance of schooling to Punjabi Sikh youth. Home environments and educational activities are important factors of student academic achievement. Students from families supportive of learning are also more likely to have high achievement scores. Additionally, home environments account for a significant part of the difference in student achievement between Asian American and other minority students. Punjabi Sikh youth whose families promote an unwavering emphasis on education can substantially deviate from the views of their peers. These youth are challenged to reconcile their parents' demands with those of their friends. While their parents insist that children follow familial, cultural, and religious norms by prioritizing their time around school and family obligations, the message from Western society is for youth to search for their own

independence and personal happiness. Johal (2003) points out that this subsequently creates a dual burden for those students who attempt to balance these conflicting values. Thus, creating a world where young people must live in both a demanding 'Indian' world and the 'Western' world, both of which are a reality to second generation South Asians.

Griffin (1988) maintains that although Punjabi Sikh youth may feel the tension between the dual worlds in which they reside, one reason these young people may be able to remain unaffected by the perceived negativity within U.S. public schools rests in the influence of their family values. Punjabi Sikh youth are raised to be achievers by setting high but appropriate and fair standards for their personal and academic success. These individuals set many of their own goals and receive support from their parents as they work to achieve those goals. Punjabi Sikh youth are provided with generous positive feedback. They are also armed with consistent availability from their parents when it is needed. Saeltzer (2009) further states that Punjabi Sikh parents are engaged in their children's educational experience, they attempt to avoid being overly involved in the achievement process putting that in the hands of their children. Despite this balancing act that Asian Indian parents attempt to negotiate, relationships between Sikh mothers and daughters living in Western societies can experience tremendous strain. The process of adapting to a new environment and surviving in the dominant American culture places Sikh daughters in peculiar, and at times, difficult situations affecting their relationship with their immigrant Sikh mothers. Although this study explored the views of both male and female student participants, it was interesting to observe specific tensions that existed between Punjabi Sikh girls and their mothers.

Jiménez and Horowitz (2015) discuss how countless Asian Indian immigrant youth have heard of their parents' struggles to earn a respectable living in a country very far from their own,

both geographically and emotionally. These stories are told by parents to motivate their children into engaging in as well as succeeding in the same struggle. Even though Punjabi Sikh culture remains connected to and with academic excellence as well as hard work, their continuous journey and the arduous means they acquired this success is often still profoundly important to their own identities, and they are eager to encourage their children to take advantage of every educational and cultural opportunity available to them in the United States. Chakrabarti (2008) also points out that Punjabi Sikh parents work hard to help their children embrace and maintain their Asian Indian culture, values, and beliefs, interwoven with the United States culture, values, and beliefs no matter how difficult it may be for their children to understand the importance of their Asian Indian culture. This intimate and positive parenting style is associated with successful adolescent school performance. Steinberg, Elmen, and Mounts (1989) state that students whose parents are involved, warm, and encouraging earn higher grades in school than their peers. The primary tenets of Sikhism include the importance of the family unit; particularly the role parents play in the lives of their children. One of the roles each parent stated was that in the lives of Punjabi Sikhs the only things aside from their relationship with God and their family was their education (Female Cultural Informant, August 10, 2017). To Sikhs education is profoundly important because not only does it expand one's mind, it also provides people with opportunities that would not exist were it not for education (Male Cultural Informant, August 13, 2017).

Further attributions to the success of Punjabi Sikh students in an academic setting may include the close-knit nature of the family structure, and the lessons Punjabi Sikh parents teach their children. Punjabi Sikh families believe that the family unit itself is vital to a young person's success and that Punjabi Sikh children remained close to their families even as they progressed into adult life. One parent stated that each child should view themselves as a lotus flower that is

influenced by the elements without, but rooted and grounded in the Sikh tradition and beliefs from within (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). This type of warmth and love could be one of the many reasons Punjabi Sikh youth have been able to accommodate American culture without assimilating to it, yet could enhance the academic struggle for young people who desperately want to please their parents by meeting their parent's schooling expectations. Spindler (1987) found that this speaks to another commonality amongst Asian Indian families which is the importance of parent involvement while simultaneously fostering their child's independence. Punjabi parents are very much a part of their children's lives. They expect the younger generation to respect their elders, but they also expect them stand on their own feet. Chenoweth & Theokas (2011) further reported that Punjabi Sikh parents' belief that education, family, and independence through hard work are the primary ways to set themselves apart from their peers. Parents expect their children to work toward excellence in all their work, and there must also be respect toward teachers as professionals who are worthy of deference and admiration.

Ogbu (1990) states that many Punjabi Sikhs came to the United States to take advantage of opportunities this country provides, and to give their children an American education so they could get ahead in the United States or back in India should they choose to return to their family's nation of origin. Many Asian Indian families have come to the United States for the purpose of improving themselves. These young people's parents, therefore, stress education for their children and they take steps to ensure that their children behave in manners conducive to school success. For the most part, the children of immigrant parents appear to share their parents' attitudes toward education. These families require their children to take their school work seriously, to work hard, and to persevere no matter what obstacles they encounter. Their driven

nature facilitates their ability to quickly and gracefully cross cultural and language boundaries in the school context. This also enables students to distinguish what they have to learn to achieve the goals of their immigration like mastery of standard formal academic English and the expected school behaviors and attitudes that would lead to success in the classroom. These expectations do not take into consideration the young people who struggle in school no matter how hard they work. These expectations also do not take into consideration the differing values between parents and their children. If there are significant gaps in beliefs about the nature of the importance of education, this could create noteworthy tension between parents and their children and understanding the depth of this tension for student participants is central to the findings of this research.

Ogbu (1987) also found that Punjabi Sikhs' ability to negotiate language barriers they encountered when they first arrived in the United States has aided them in achieving their goals of academic success which leads to greater opportunities beyond the secondary level. These students do not go to school expecting the schools to teach them in their native language and culture. Rather, they expect and are willing to learn the English language and to adopt standard school behaviors and attitudes. This is not to suggest that immigrant minority children do not experience language and cultural difficulties. However, they, their parents, and their communities perceive the language and cultural conflicts as problems that can and must be eradicated with appropriate school programs as well as by their own effort and perseverance. Yet one must ask, on behalf of those students who have not even mastered their own mother tongue, how is a student to succeed academically if they are not able to master their own language (Genesee, 2009)? It is an expectation that is directly connected to the myth of the model minority, and was further explored through this research.

Fordham (2004) contends that although Ogbu's theory of voluntary and involuntary minorities would seem to suggest that Punjabi Sikhs, who he viewed as voluntary immigrants, are impervious to struggles beyond the point of adaptability, there remain pockets of youth who still struggle with the schooling process, and do not succeed as the model minority myth may suggest. This is partially true because of the constant need to recollect the places from where their heritage was formed while working diligently to create an identity that functions effectively within the world in which they currently reside. Displaced people, whether involuntary or voluntary, must reinvent themselves constantly, often from positions of systematic subordination or threatened extinction. Fordham (2004) further argues that people who are engaged in reconstructing themselves do not seek to disown or liquidate their pasts; however, they are interested in recounting a functioning past in the present which becomes central to their own definition of who they are. The stories that such people tell themselves and others do not deny their suffering but transmute it. They record, codify, and transmit survival strategies that can be deployed in recent circumstances. Telling and retelling these histories become acts of persistence. Shared from one generation to the next and across a diaspora, they constitute and nourish a collective identity that enables a people to flourish even when planted in hostile soil. But just because someone pledges to work hard, or does so, does not mean that they will succeed at an unrealistically high rate as they have unforeseen struggles that inhibit their ability to reach goals that may be impractical or even unfair.

Furthermore, Vlenzuela (2008) points out that schooling has created a system of unequal power relations in which schools objectify or treat students and their families like objects. Policies aimed at assisting immigrants are often enacted in schools under the guise of aiding immigrants and are done to rather than with them. Ogbu (1992) accorded importance to this

process of objectification when referring to relations between school officials and minority youth in terms of a “patron-client relationship” that is in turn linked to broader historical, cultural, and structural factors that generate school failure. Although Ogbu’s (1990) voluntary and involuntary minority typology accurately captures, albeit in a very general sense, very different responses to discriminatory and exclusionary forces that exist across lines of diversity. It fails to note, however, an ethic of care that is common to both groups (teachers and students).

Conversely, Ogbu’s (1990) theory fails to recognize the political, anti-democratic, and even imperialistic dimensions of caring, where caring can “work” to either empower or disempower youth and their communities. A synthesis of these notions thus requires that at once one view voluntary and involuntary immigrant youth as sharing an ethic of care, on the one hand, and caring as power laden, on the other. This construct retains notions of emotional displacement, engrossment in student’s welfare, and education, but is also affixed to the concept of political awareness. This reframing acknowledges that subtractive schooling has deep roots. Politically aware, authentic caring embraces a commitment to social justice in ways that represent the authentic, collective interests of immigrant community’s historic struggle for equity, fairness, and due process (Valenzuela, 2008). Ogbu’s (1990) theory does not account for this in deep enough ways to justify its grand generalization for all people who came to the United States voluntarily.

Gibson (1988) states that despite the potential inaccuracies of Ogbu’s (1990) theory of voluntary versus involuntary immigration, Punjabi Sikh parents teach their children to accept and follow school rules, standard behaviors, and practices to achieve good social adjustment and academic success. There are three primary reasons for this. The first is that many consider the schools in the United States to be better than the schools in their homeland; thus, their

comparative frame of reference is the school they left behind, not the school in a predominantly white American suburb. Another reason is the belief that they are treated better by American public school personnel than by the school personnel in their homelands. A third reason is that there tends to be rationalization of any discrimination and prejudice directed against them in a way that does not discourage them from striving for academic success regardless of how they are treated. Gibson (1998) also states that Punjabi Sikh parents impress upon their children that as strangers or foreigners they may have to tolerate prejudice to achieve their goals; therefore, they hold their children responsible for doing well in school no matter how they are treated socially. This is not fair and places unjustifiable stress on the young people who are put in these scenarios.

This common thread was the concern that the parents of Punjabi Sikh children wanted their children to get the most out of their education in the United States, and they also wanted them to take the best parts of American culture, but they did not want them to lose their own unique Punjabi Sikh identities through assimilation. An example of a study that further explores the concerns of Sikh parents wanting their children to remain committed and faithful to their own culture while eschewing assimilation to the culture in which they were immersed was performed at the University of Southern California by Farver, Bhadha, and Narang (2002). The objective of this study was to understand how Asian Indian immigrant families adjust to U.S. culture by examining factors that influence acculturation preferences or styles and how these styles may be associated with their children's psychological functioning, as measured by self-esteem and academic performance.

Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) state that in the past, acculturation was viewed as a group-level phenomenon, but avoiding assimilation was the challenge that concerned parents

most. The extent to which individuals have maintained their families' culture of origin or adapted to the larger society is profoundly important to Punjabi Sikh parents whose children are faced with choices that may cause them to stray from the belief system and culture they hold so dear. Even though the second generation immigrant individuals in this study are U.S. citizens, and were born and or raised in the United States from a very early age, Punjabi Sikh parents do not want their children's Punjabi Sikh Indian identity to fade beyond recognition (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). Farver, Bhadha, and Narang's (2002) study further explores the idea that acculturation is difficult and may be more stressful for some ethnic groups than for others. Generally, the greater the difference between the natal and the new culture, the higher the stress, and the more difficulty individuals experience in their psychological functioning. Acculturation is influenced by a variety of factors, many of which stress the importance of the family. Faulkner (2011) points out that most assimilation theorists suggest that the process of assimilation is likely to take several generations depending on the immigrant group and its circumstances. Groups that were more far removed from the society in which they resided were likely to assimilate more slowly than groups whose characteristics upon arrival were more similar to the white middle class. Therefore, examining the contribution of family factors to adolescents' acculturation styles, how these factors might be associated across two generations, and in turn contribute to adolescent psychological functioning occurred. The comparison of adolescents' and parents' self-identification revealed that adolescents were more likely to self-identify as American/Indian, whereas their parents were more likely to identify with their religion. This finding suggests that it may be common for there to be a generational gap between parent's and children's views of self.

Schmid (2001) found that the progress of today's second generation immigrant appears to be related to the human and financial capital that their parents brought with them from their home country and the ways in which they are able to implement these resources in the United States. These factors of familial progress include their class background, cultural patterns, family expectations, and language ability. Rumbaut (1996) stated that if these factors are in a student's favor, immigrant youth are able to make rapid positive adjustments in the classroom and in many cases outperform their native-born majority high school peers in their grades and their graduation rate. In fact, Gibson and Bachu (1988) argued that Punjabi Sikh youth raised in Britain and in the United States are consistently more successful than their majority peers. Research on ethnicity and school performance in inner-London secondary schools shows that Sikhs do better on examinations taken at age sixteen than students of English, Welsh, and Irish origin.

Academically competitive countries like England, Wales, Ireland, and the United States respect hard work and merit-based achievement. Sandhu (2012) concluded that it is therefore difficult to compare the performance of Asian Indians because of academic and professional success wherever they are in the world. Immigrant parents also demand the exact same effort and excellence from their children because Asian Indians are raised to outshine, outwork, and outlast their competition.

According to Sanghavi (2010), Asian Indian children often perform well in the mathematics, reading, and overall basic skills, their scores are often located in the superior range. This level of academic success can be attributed to the fact that Asian Indian American children are highly motivated and hardworking and come from households where parents value education. Asian Indian parents have traditionally been very academically and grade inclined, believing that a primary focus on the three R's -reading, writing, and arithmetic- rather than on

general factual knowledge would help their children gain the necessary skills to ensure a successful future. Finding out how the youth who chose to partake in this research viewed the way their parents have influenced their academic dispositions has revealed how this has impacted their schooling experience while providing the school with ways they could enhance the experience of all Punjabi Sikh attendees.

Chakrabarti (2008) states that Asian Indian parents believe that success in school depends in large part on parental input and early academic training at home. They encourage hard work, diligence, perseverance, and effort. To ensure that children invest sufficient time in preparing for school work, parents often spend considerable time at home discussing the importance of education to understanding the demands of the larger world, and offer intense support and structure for children's educational development. Sanghavi (2010) points out that in doing so, parents may limit the amount of time children and the family as a whole watch television or engage in extracurricular activities. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their own activities around children's study schedule. For example, parents may not attend social functions in or outside of the home during children's exams, thereby optimizing opportunities for concentrated study time and tutoring. Chakrabarti (2008) further states that Asian Indian families maintain strong ties with their natal culture through their close family linkages with relatives in India and through their connections to and with other immigrant Asian Indians showing how important community is to Asian Indian families.

Sanghavi (2010) contends that these types of social connections are not uncommon among immigrant groups. Many who live transnational lives enjoy the expression of religious and social celebrations in ethnic enclaves. Basically, these experiences aid in the retention of Indian rituals, beliefs, customs and practices among the Asian Indians in the United States.

Indeed, studies indicate that immigrants tend to hold onto their native identities, values, and cultural norms many years post immigration as it provides them with cultural and social capital as they transition to a new cultural community. Klein (2008) asserts that belonging among Punjabi Sikh families reveals that while some of the ideologies and practices in these families are shared with other Indian immigrants, participant perspectives on Sikh affiliation are tied to their personal understandings of Sikh teachings, their family and upbringing, and their everyday experiences among Sikhs and non-Sikhs. At the core of this challenge is recognizing religious and cultural convergences and divergences that constitute being Indian, Punjabi, Sikh, and American.

Klein's (2008) closer examination of Punjabi Sikh narratives and interactions across settings reveals tensions emerging among different interpretations of what it means to be Sikh. As a minority in India with a historical trajectory that includes the effort to distinguish themselves from other religious groups, Sikhs face challenges today to maintain a sense of community along with their beliefs and practices and confront mistaken associations about their appearance in the Sikh Diaspora. At home, Sikh families' emphasis on discipline and achievement along with their desire to cultivate linguistic and cultural continuity in their children's lives display their attempts to maintain that no matter where they are in the world, they are unfairly expected to succeed... particularly in the classroom.

The Role Language Plays in the Schooling Experience of Punjabi Sikh Youth

In addition to multiple Punjabi students being devout Sikhs that are often a part of a close knit and supportive family and community, some of these same individuals also have a basic command or a working knowledge of more than one language including: Punjabi, Hindi, and English in varying degrees of fluency. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, it could be possible

that this reality may enhance each Punjabi Sikh student's ability to successfully differentiate between conversational English and the standard formal academic English spoken and seen in the classroom and on standardized tests. Fairclough (2015) states that standard formal academic English is directly associated with institutions of power in society such as literature, religion, and education. This language is most closely tied to cultural power and although it is portrayed as a national language belonging to all classes and sections of society, it remains hidden as a class dialect. It is an asset that functions as 'cultural capital' that is a passport to prestigious universities that lead to good jobs, and ultimately positions of influence and power. Garcia (2001) points out that valuing students' home language in foreign cultures helps immigrant students maintain a positive link with their culture of origin. Effective educational programs for immigrant students recognize that individuals cannot change their culture without losing their identity. Immigrant students should not be faced with a choice between assimilating in order to do well at school and rejecting their own language and culture. Students who are the most successful are the ones who are comfortable and proud of their own heritage, have a clear sense of themselves, have higher occupational aspirations, and desire stable responsible jobs. Punjabi Sikh students, who often speak more than one language, may have an advantage over other students, yet the exploring whether each individual saw this as a benefit to their academic success was explored throughout this research. There was also the consideration of the fact that language could be a barrier to Punjabi Sikh students as their grasp of standard formal academic English may not be sufficient enough for them to succeed in the ways that have been laid out for them in their family, their culture, and their community's expectations. There is always the possibility that a student who knows multiple languages is able to grasp the nuanced language of currency in the dominant culture in which they reside, but that is not always the case. This

research explored whether students understood multiple languages and the ways they believed this impacted their schooling experience.

If the student participants were able to comprehend multiple languages, then understanding whether they believe it granted them an advantage over some of their majority peers was essential as they discussed their overall schooling experience and the ways their language ability impacted that experience. Hammond's (2014) research suggests that grasping multiple languages can be beneficial to more effectively grasping scholastic concepts.

Individuals who know just two languages are much more likely to be able to learn many more languages beyond their mother tongue and their second language. Each experience of learning a foreign language is highly beneficial because individuals who do so don't just learn the target language, but they also learn about the nuances of their own. Once a new language is acquired and individuals know it well, it is easier to make comparisons to other languages simplifying the whole learning process. Furthermore, Hammond (2014) argues that even if someone learns a language that is not closely related to one that they know and use already, there are advantages that will transfer when learning a third language. Confidence and conversational skills are essential to one's ability to apply the languages they are learning, and understanding grammar is very important for fluency. Standard formal academic English is the language of currency in U.S. schools, and even if an individual's understanding of this language is minimal, their ability to more effectively grasp multiple languages could aid them in performing more effectively than if they only grasped one language. It could also be a hindrance to their academic success if they do not fully grasp the language of currency as their ability to comprehend and wield that language will ultimately impact their performance.

Genesse (2009) points out that it is certainly true that the more languages someone learns, the better they will understand grammar in their own language as well as any additional languages they learn. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the ability to speak multiple languages will give an individual the ability to speak and fully understand the language of currency in a given culture. Hammond (2014) says that different languages use very different grammars, but when a person understands the function of each part of a sentence, and that these parts are not necessarily in the same order in different languages, that individual is at a tremendous advantage when they want to learn another language. This does not speak to the nuance of the language, only the ability to maneuver functionally through it. A student's ability to command more than one language could impact any student's academic success, but an essential element of this research was to understand whether each student participant believed they have mastered their mother tongue of Punjabi and how this impacted whether or not they were able to master the language of currency used in school. This was intended to help understand how language ability impacted their schooling experience and whether or not students believed this aided or hindered their success in the classroom.

When the first wave of first generation Punjabi Sikhs came to the school referred to in this study, many of them spoke some English, but they were not fluent in the standard formal academic English that is used in the classroom. Nevertheless, over time, students who were enrolled in elementary school were inculcated to the language of currency for nearly a decade providing them a baptism into language nuance that their predecessors did not enjoy. The first generation of students who came, worked diligently to become proficient in the language of currency in order to not only function, but to also excel in an academic setting that was not constructed for them, yet the students who came after them had time to more fully grasp this

language. Since language has been such an instrumental part of the academic achievement of Punjabi Sikh students in this particular school setting, this research attempted to ascertain how many languages each student comprehends, and whether the students in this inquiry believe that a working knowledge of multiple languages aided in the differentiation between conversational English from standard formal academic English. Many Punjabi Sikh students have continued speaking Punjabi at home and in Sikh *Gurdwaras* on the weekends, but they were expected to be able to fully communicate in standard formal academic English at school. Not to mention that some Punjabi Sikh students still speak to one another in Punjabi, or a combination of Punjabi and English at school. (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). In addition to Punjabi and English, countless Punjabi students have also been exposed to Hindi throughout their lives in frequent visits to India and through U.S. Indian television which speaks predominantly in Hindi. This exposure to multiple languages could be a means for student participants to succeed in ways other minority students may not be able to succeed. It could also be a source of confusion for some, and exploring the role that language plays for student participants will shed light on the impact language has played in their schooling experience. Hindi and English play significant central administrative roles for citizens of India because these two languages are link languages. A link language is a functional language that people in India are more likely to understand if the individuals attempting to communicate do not speak the same mother tongue. Most people in India speak the language that is most commonly used in the state in which they reside. This is known as their mother tongue. Hindi is the national, official, and main link language of India so that if an Indian citizen travels from one state to the next, they will be able to communicate with other Indian people using Hindi or English in the event that the two people from differing states speak dissimilar mother tongues. English is an associate or

secondary official language that is left over from British colonialism. Many Indians also feel as though their continued use of and understanding of English will help them to compete on the world stage, and even though the Indian Constitution officially recognizes 22 languages for official and educational purposes, Hindi and English still play significant roles in Indian classrooms (English as a National Foreign Language in India - Reading Comprehension Exercise, 2005).

Some Indian people have a working knowledge of multiple languages, but when it comes down to the language they use most when speaking in the home, in public, and in written documents, they primarily use the mother tongue of the state in which their family originally resided. In the state of Punjab, India, the mother tongue is Punjabi which is the language primarily spoken by the individuals who have immigrated to the United States, many of which have found their way to the school where this study occurred. By the time students come to the classroom, many have experienced regular exposure to multiple languages they may not be able to speak, but that can be comprehended. This may be an advantage to some students particularly when students are trying to decipher and analyze what is heard informally in the halls versus what is formally taught and how it is officially assessed in the classroom. It could also be something that obstructs student understanding in the classroom. Exploring the role language has played in the academic experience of the students in this study has provided more understanding of their experience in a school that only asks them to speak one language well... standard formal academic English.

Although student participants are able to function in linguistically diverse settings, not all scholars agree that this is as advantageous as is commonly purported. Le (2007) states that there is still dissension as to whether or not individuals who speak multiple languages experience

academic advantages over others. Bialystok (2011) points out that one of the questions that arises is whether someone who speaks multiple languages is more apt to learn other languages more quickly than someone who is monolingual. Paap, Johnson, and Sawi (2014) argue that the constant use of two languages by bilingual people leads to changes in the configuration of the neural networks of the brain and result in more efficient performance on cognitive tasks, even those that are completely nonverbal. Arguments exist that the ostensible advantages of bilingualism are not clinically accurate. Some linguists even state that there is no consistent evidence supporting the hypotheses that either early bilingualism, highly fluent balanced bilingualism, or trilingualism enhances inhibitory control, monitoring or switching. In fact, when statistically significant effects did occur, they more often disconfirmed these hypotheses. This would seem to suggest that Punjabi Sikh youth who are able to speak more than one language are not more likely to grasp the language of currency that is found in United States public high schools. Regardless of whether bilingualism is advantageous or not, learning whether study participants are able to speak multiple languages, and whether they feel as though their understanding and grasp of multiple languages has aided in differentiating between spoken informal English and standard formal academic English is an important facet of these young people's schooling experience. Understanding whether each student participant believes that their individual language ability has helped or hindered their schooling experience was an important feature of this research that will further expose the role language ability played for each student participant's schooling experience at this given research site.

Gans (1997) states that the role that language plays in both the cultural and educational lives of second generation Punjabi Sikh students cannot be underestimated. Because many sub-national Indian people are accustomed to speaking three languages: Hindi, English, and their

mother tongue (Punjabi in this particular case), there are two side effects that language distinctions play in the lives of Indian people wherever they are in the world. The first side effect is that when the mother tongue of a specific sub-national group is spoken in the home and also within the cultural community of the individuals, a delineation of culture is much more likely to be maintained. The second side effect of the ability to speak multiple languages is the aforementioned ability to differentiate between the nuances of conversational language that is spoken and the standard formal academic language that is spoken in the classrooms where students attend school. Many second generation Punjabi Sikh students speak English at school and Punjabi at home and in their cultural center of their community outside the home which tends to be the *Gurdwara* (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). As previously stated this serves to maintain a cultural distinction between American culture and Punjabi Sikh culture, but it could also enable Punjabi Sikh students to become familiar with the nuances of language that could potentially enable them to more effectively speak the academic language that would enhance their academic success. Gans (1997) also points out that Punjabi Sikh youth who are integrated into their ethnic community, or continue to speak the immigrant language, often do better in American schools than their less integrated or less bilingual peers. Even in the second generation, when acculturation usually increases, ethnic retention will still exist whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Exploring whether student participants believe their language ability has benefitted them at school was central to this research. If language has not been beneficial in the eyes of Punjabi Sikh youth, do the young people involved in this study believe that school has done what it should have done on their behalf to better serve their academic needs and expectations?

Language as a Means to Maintain Cultural Identity

Richardson (1986) reinforces the notion that standardized formal academic English is the language of currency and social mobility in the United States. This language contains a form of power that Bourdieu calls social capital. He defines social capital as the collection of resources that are linked to the possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships, mutual acquaintances for advantage, and membership in an established group in any given society. This provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital which is a 'credential' entitling its members to credit, resources, and the best opportunities within that society. Kao and Tienda (2005) argue that even though this language appears to be accessible to anyone, it is not. There are specific groups of people in this country who are not given equal opportunities in comparison to those who have a complete and thorough grasp of it as native-born individuals whose parents both attended college have often been exposed to it for their entire lives. Second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh youth appear to be more well positioned to grasp this language of power as many first and second generation immigrant parents promote academic achievement above anything else, yet foreign-born youth are at a disadvantage compared to their native-born peers due to their limited access to standard formal academic English at an early age.

Saran and Eames (1980) found that many minority students do not perform as well academically in this current educational climate as those who are native students. A central reason for this rests in the subtleties of language that are disguised by those in power and the reproduction of that power through standardized formal academic English. Ultimately, standard formal academic English is a form of the power to constrain and control how content is communicated, taught, and assessed. In the end, this determines who has access to the

institutions beyond secondary schooling that grant the best opportunities for those who have been able to effectively maneuver through the labyrinth of United States schools. Educational institutions assess students using one language, and those who are not privy to this language may not be able to move upward from one social strata to another. Some argue that it is attainable through hard work, but immigrants whose families do not provide this to their children prior to their attendance to schools in the United States are less likely to acquire this language of currency. Indian youth appear to be at a greater advantage when they come to the United States because they already have a basic grasp of English, but the ability to comprehend conversational English does not mean that an individual can speak standard formal academic English.

Chawla's (2001) study aims to expose the fact that even though the reality of a language of currency exists, Sikh students and their parents maintain a positive image of the host culture in relation to the home culture from which they have come. Both the parents and the students have a sense that American society provided professional opportunities that would not be available within India because of the political problems of integrating traditional Sikh culture into modern Indian society which is intricately intertwined with Hinduism. Sikh parents encourage their children to maintain a positive image of schooling in American society as both parents and the students have a sense that education is the key to social and economic advancement within the larger society. Chawla (2001) further states that it is interesting to note that despite many Asian Indian's ability to successfully traverse multiple languages, they are less inclined to migrate toward professions that are more linguistic in nature such as law, business, or politics. This could suggest that there remains a language barrier that allows Asian Indians to freely operate within the bounds of the language of currency in the United States.

Mouw and Xie (1999) found that there are two prevailing views of the impact that bilingualism has on people, the cognitive perspective and the cultural perspective. The cognitive perspective suggests that bilingualism is beneficial to mental development because it allows bilingual children to switch easily between two linguistic mediums. The cultural perspective holds that bilingual children have better access to the ethnic and cultural capital of their parents than do their monolingual counterparts. If there was something culturally specific about immigrant values and practices that facilitate academic success as well as their upward mobility, then bilingual children would have the advantage of benefiting from both their cultural heritage and from the potential to acquire English language fluency.

Mouw and Xie (1999) further found that bilingualism is important in a transitional sense because it enables immigrant children to communicate effectively with parents who are not proficient in English. In contrast to the cognitive and cultural perspectives, the general claim is that bilingualism is beneficial for academic achievement only because it prevents a language gap from emerging between parents and children. In immigrant families, the emergence of a language gap is a real possibility. Most immigrant children quickly obtain English language fluency and develop a preference for speaking English over their native language. The danger is that the rapid linguistic assimilation of immigrant children may cause them to lose the ability to communicate effectively with parents whose English-language assimilation is proceeding at a slower pace. If a language gap doesn't merge, parents encounter difficulties in monitoring their children's performance and instilling values and behaviors beneficial for academic achievement. In this sense, delaying linguistic assimilation is important, as it ensures effective communication between parents and children. However, the academic benefits of maintaining

bilingual proficiency can be transitional and gradually diminish as the parents develop English language proficiency.

Mouw and Xie (1999) also established that while the cognitive perspective has been concerned exclusively with the effect of bilingualism on mental development, the cultural perspective extends the attention to bilingual as in as a communicative mechanism through which ethnic values and beliefs are imparted to immigrant children. The cultural perspective on bilingualism is a subset of recent scholarship that has attributed the educational success of some ethnic groups to their resistance to complete acculturation and the preservation of those aspects of their own cultures that promote academic success. Proponents of segmented assimilation or accommodation without assimilation argue that these groups prosper by deliberately preserving their cultural values and promoting ethnic solidarity. Gibson (1989) observed that immigrants use ethnicity as a distinct form of social capital, claiming that the educational successes of Punjabi immigrants in California links their ability to adapt to the formal demands of the classroom while resisting the forces of unwanted cultural assimilation. Mouw and Xie (1999) further found that the cultural perspective begins with the premise that maintaining ethnic identity increases the social integration of the immigrant group, resulting in a tightly-knit ethnic community that reinforces values and standards of behavior that promote academic success as well as communal unity. It is argued that ethnic group solidarity promotes immigrant minorities who lack the financial or human capital to achieve upward mobility.

Mouw and Xie (1999) further suggest that concepts such as social capital and ethnic capital have been employed to explain this relationship between social mobility and the socio-cultural practices of immigrant groups. The basic idea is that certain cultural values and practices, which are carried on mostly within immigrant families but further reinforced by the

larger ethnic community, constitute a form of capital that may be mobilized for the educational success of immigrant children. Although some recent immigrants possessed relatively modest incomes and low levels of human capital, a supportive relationship between parents, children, and communities may provide a positive environment for success. The level of ethnic social capital has been measured as adherence to traditional values, commitment and use of ethnically segregated social networks, and maintenance of the native language. This attention can manifest itself in a variety of ways such as instilling values and aspirations that contribute to success and courage in the child's development by being involved in the school and monitoring homework, parental involvement, and control of activities. The quality and quantity of this attention determine the degree to which children are able to access the human capital of their parents. Each student's experience in the Midwestern school in question cannot excuse student identity from their understanding of the dual world they navigate daily.

Huang's (2000) study examined the interaction between Asian American high school students' schooling and their racial, cultural, and linguistic identity development. The data suggested that the individuals she researched were diverse in terms of their degree of English proficiency, the process of acculturation, family background, parents' methods of upbringings, and academic achievement. Each student's interaction between their identity and schooling is multifaceted, and identity is a social construction that is continually being re-created. Their status as Asian Americans is constantly being negotiated as they interact with teachers and peers. Huang's analysis across the participants' interaction between their schooling and their identity had nine different conclusions, but the two that are relevant to the language, identity, and the impact that the myth of the model minority had were as follows: Asian American students experience academic, psychological, and interpersonal problems due to their limited English

proficiency, which are detrimental to their identity development and their ultimate performance in school. The model minority myth has an impact on Asian American students' educational experiences and identity development. It could not be assumed that all Punjabi Sikh are able to grasp standard formal academic English just because they grasp more than one, possibly even three different languages. Exploration of how well each student participant viewed their own grasp of this nuanced language of currency plays a significant role in understanding how effective students perceive the school they attend has served them. In addition to understanding the role language has played in their academic disposition, exploring the ways in which each student participant believed language has been a means of separation from either their parents or their peers and teachers at school occurred. This information may aid the school in being aware that not all students can speak the language of currency and ways to shore up this discrepancy must be addressed. There must also potentially be an understanding of the ways in which language separates so that the school site can find ways to ensure academic success for all Punjabi Sikh youth.

Summary

There is research that suggests that no matter where Punjabi Sikhs are in the world, they are apt to succeed academically and professionally; however, little has been said about the struggles endured by those who do not 'measure up' to the notion of the model minority which is a positive stereotype that is more damaging than helpful to Asian Americans. Despite their apparent dedication to their education, there are still those who struggle to meet the unfair idealized notion of the Asian American exemplary student. Genesse (2009) points out that public schools in this country were not created for the success of people bereft of the language of currency known as standard formal academic English. Calabrese (1990) states that minority students' educational disadvantages are the result of overt and covert school policies

that are developed and maintained with the express purpose of ensuring a continuing disparity in the social-class system. Schools serve to further exacerbate negative feelings and conditions that have their roots in poor economic circumstances and home environments. Minorities are alienated from social structures in general and from the school organization in particular. Liang, Li, and Kim (2004) found that minority children enter the schooling process at a point in their lives when they are relatively close to white children in terms of academic ability. As children progress through school, however, achievement disparities between minorities and whites become more pronounced. Often times this has not been the case with Punjabi Sikh students, but it has been the case for some, and lumping all students into the category of model minorities is an unfair typecast that can create undue stress and pressure on those who cannot achieve model minority status. Chou and Feagin (2015) argue that despite the seemingly multitudinous factors that aid Asian Indians in their resilient pursuit of academic success, such as familial support, the ability to speak more than one language, and a hypothetically unparalleled work ethic, these place an unfair and inappropriate burden on young people who may not fit into this stereotypical mold. This qualitative interpretive study will explore the individual experience of 10 Punjabi Sikh youth as they discuss their matriculation through a public Midwestern high school. The findings of this research will inform the school as to how well they are serving a specific population of their constituency as well as ways in which they can improve in aiding those who may or not feel as though they can meet expectations that have been placed upon them before they have a chance to do that for themselves.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter three begins with a brief discussion of the primary researcher's positionality in order to provide the personal context that is connected to the research. It is intended to help readers gain a sense of the particular beliefs and commitments that are attached to the individual performing it (Torres, 2016). This is followed by a discussion of the methods used in the study as well as an explanation of, and rationale for, these methodological choices.

Researcher Positionality

In addition to the bodies of literature that have informed this study, so too does the researcher's positionality. The background, experiences, interests, and biases are brought into the research process which then, in turn, influence the focus and approach to any research (Peshkin, 1988, 2000). Consequently, it is necessary to explicitly state the position taken throughout before moving into a more detailed description of the project itself. There were several ways I influenced the data collection and interpretation, as well as the stories told from the data. The entire research project was framed by research questions chosen by me as a central focus which unavoidably narrowed the phenomena of interest. My background as a secondary English teacher for over 20 years whose interest in the experiences of students, as well as an understanding of whether each student involved in this research believes the public Midwestern U.S high school has served them well or not, influenced the choice of research questions and the subsequent deliberations of the study.

I feel deep commitment to educational practice, but also to what encounters secondary students, with whom I am familiar, have had in my classroom; therefore, this qualitative interpretive study focuses on the schooling experience of students that have been in my classroom. The primary goal of this research was to determine how well second generation

Punjabi Sikh immigrant youth believe the school they attended met their academic needs and expectations, and through their experiences, explore ways in which the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh families moving forward. My identity and positionality as a religious, conservative, white male who enjoys the privileges of dominant U.S. culture that studied a minority group at the school where I teach as well as a minority group in the U.S. cannot be extricated from this study and were reference points from which the remainder of this research was launched. There are specific examples of ways in which my positionality impacted the research process and those will be highlighted in chapters four and five of this work.

Qualitative Interpretive Study

The hope in sharing my research positionality is to make the approach and the possible ramifications of my positionality explicit to readers, allowing them to more fairly engage with the work and determine its relevance and transferability to their own as well as other similar settings and situations. This project called for more of a qualitative, open-ended approach to research that was broad enough to allow exploration of a variety of perspectives, yet was narrow enough to explore the phenomena around which the research revolves, and through this approach, the data collection was intended to be rich but reasonable (Torres, 2016). Therefore, the methodology chosen as the primary reference point from which this study was initiated is called qualitative interpretive research. Willis, Jost, and Nilakanta, (2007) maintain that interpretive qualitative research studies attempt to understand participants' constructed realities. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) state that interpretive researchers are interested in discovering how social reality is constructed while documenting the processes by which social reality is established, managed, and sustained. Interpretive qualitative research seeks to understand the complex world of individuals from the point of view of those who live it. The same is referred to

as an abiding concern for the emic point of view or *Verstehen*, which is German for deeply understanding another person's experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Olive (2014) clarifies the difference between the emic and etic perspectives by further defining how their use in social science research elucidates their connotation. The emic or inside perspective, that was used in this study, arises from the tradition of psychological studies of folk beliefs and in cultural anthropologists' endeavoring to understand culture from a native individual's point of view. The etic or outside viewpoint follows in the tradition of behaviorist psychology and anthropological approaches that link cultural practices to external, antecedent factors, such as economic or ecological conditions, that may not be salient to cultural insiders. It is from the emic perspective that interpretive methodology builds theory from collected data (Olive, 2014). Denzin and Lincoln (2013) further state that unlike a positivist method, where the researcher starts with a theory and tests theoretical claims using empirical data, in interpretive methodology, the researcher starts with data and tries to derive a theory about the phenomenon of interest from the observed data. Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007) maintain that interpretive research is based on the supposition that social reality is not objective, but is rather shaped by human experiences and ontological social contexts, and is therefore best studied within its specific context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants. Because interpretive researchers view social reality as being embedded within and impossible to abstract from their social settings, they "interpret" the reality through a "sense-making" process rather than a hypothesis testing process. This contrasts with the positivist or functionalist paradigm that assumes that the reality is relatively independent of the context, can be abstracted from their contexts, and studied in a decomposable functional manner using objective techniques such as uniform methods (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). This methodology provided a deeper

richer understanding of the experience of second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh youth at a public Midwestern United States high school while providing each student's and one or both of their parent's critique of the school.

Since this is a qualitative interpretive study, Denzin and Lincoln (2013) recommend that researchers gather, codify, and analyze the similarities and the differences that were discovered through the interpretation of the gathered data. The conclusions reached after piecing together all the information will inform readers of the perspectives of a specific group of Asian Indian American youth. Understanding the schooling experience of second generation Punjabi Sikh has occurred. A critique of the school's role in this experience by student participants and their families occurred as well. Each individual voice will provide readers of the work a unique perspective into the experience in as well as the view of the school by individuals who have attended it.

Methods

The methods employed in this study included three sets of 45-55 minute interviews conducted at the school site, the local Gurdwara, or in the homes of families who chose to participate in this research. There are five female and five male Punjabi Sikh students who were interviewed and one or both of their parents who were interviewed as well for a total of 20 student interviews and 10 parent interviews. The first round of interviews were with student participants in the presence of their parents. The second round of interviews was with student participants' parents in the presence of their children. In interviews one and two, students and their parents were asked a set of given questions. Each participant's responses to the original questions provided opportunities for follow-up questions in each interview. This is called a semi-

structured interview that allows for individualized questions based upon student and parent answers which make each interview and subsequent response unique.

The third round of interviews took place with students in my classroom. Upon completion of the first round of interviews and the member checking exercise, the final round of interviews with students included a scenario to which students responded. This led to further questions of clarification to ensure that I understood exactly what was stated in student responses. Based upon the scenario provided, each participant was asked how they would address those who can bring about change at the school on behalf of all Punjabi Sikh students. All interviews contained standard interview questions that provided opportunities for semi-structured questions to be asked if follow-up questions were necessary to further understand what participants were communicating. The final round of student interviews explored not only the experience of the young people at the public Midwestern high school in question, but also a collection of student participants' critiques of the ways the school impeded or enhanced their schooling experience. Through this second round of student interviews that revolved around a scenario provided to them, students offered ways in which the school could potentially alter procedures that have created challenges for Punjabi Sikh youth. This second round of interviews also offered student participants ways to encourage the school to maintain school protocols that have enriched their schooling experience. The goal of discussing these suggestions was to assist the school in better serving Punjabi Sikhs.

The purpose of parent interviews was to ascertain whether the parents of student participants believed the school their child attends or attended met their children's needs. There was a Punjabi Sikh interpreter at the interview for one of the parents who did not speak fluent English at the time of the interview. The interpreter was in the room at this interview to aid in

communication and in cultural clarifications. The interpreter that was present at the interviews with parents is the same interpreter employed by the school site. When I interviewed her as a cultural informant, I asked her if she would be available to interpret any interviews I had with Punjabi Sikh parents who did not speak English, and she told me that she would be more than happy to oblige so she was there when I interviewed the parents of one Punjabi Sikh student who did not speak English proficiently enough to gather information at the time of the interview. Upon completion and synthesis of their interviews, member checking with each student and their parents as to the accuracy of the interview information took place to ensure that both the integrity of their responses during the interviews and the conclusions made regarding the observations occurred (Merriam, 2009).

Research Questions

The central questions of this research revolve around defining second generation Punjabi Sikh youth's experience and critique of the public Midwestern United States high school they attend or attended. Based upon three rounds of interviews, observations, and personal experience as an English teacher of 20 years, the core research questions included:

1. What has been the schooling experience(s) of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth at a U.S. public Midwestern high school? and
2. How effective has a U.S. Midwestern public high school been in meeting the academic needs and expectations of Punjabi Sikh parents and their children?

These foundational research questions shaped the outcome of this research. Pinpointing which of these factors formed each study participant's experience of the school will inform the school of ways they can better serve Punjabi Sikh students. Because of the precise amount of time allotted to the interviewing process, each student was provided with a written copy of the interview

questions prior to their interview. When students agreed to participate in the research, they were given a hard copy of the questions. Digital copies of the questions were also provided to students prior to the interview via e-mail. Prior to the interview, each student was made aware that their responses to the questions would be audio recorded with their and their parent's permission to ensure accuracy. The interviews took place in locations with no other students or staff present so that the privacy and confidentiality of each student was maintained, but the students were in a place with which they were familiar.

Student Participant Interview Questions

Each interview question can be found in the appendix of this work; however, the following are the main ideas throughout the first round of interviews that were intended to flesh out each student's schooling experience. The first core concept around which the interviews revolved was an explanation of each student's schooling experience including: students' successes and achievements at school, the greatest sources of pressure at school and how that pressure impacted each student. What challenges students have faced at school, and ways in which the school showed them that it cares. Answers to these questions spoke directly to the schooling experience of each interviewee.

Students were also asked to define their own expectations for the school. The central ideas of these questions included: student expectations of the school, the effectiveness of the school in meeting the academic needs and expectations of each student, changes students might make to the school to enhance their experience. The next grouping of questions asked students whether or not student participants could speak multiple languages and the impact they believe this had on their schooling experience. Since many Punjabi Sikh students speak English at school and Punjabi at home, this could prove to present challenges that were unknown and seeing what

role language plays in the schooling experience as well as the identity of each student could speak to each student's educational encounter. One's language cannot be extricated from their identity and exploring the impact language has had on each student could impact the findings of this research.

The final line of questioning in the first interview with students revolved around whether students felt like they were ever expected to be 'A' students simply because they are Asian American. This question started to explore whether students feel the myth of the model minority which could come in the form of undue or unfair pressure was ever placed upon them simply because they are Asian American. If students felt as though the school expected them to perform well simply because of their ethnicity, this could significantly impact how they defined what school has been like for them.

Upon completion of the semi-structured interviews, synthesis of each student's response with my paraphrased interpretive notes were digitally provided to them as to what was gleaned from the interview in a member checking exercise to ensure that I captured the spirit of what each participant was saying. After a copy of the responses were shared with each individual, students and I met briefly or via email to verify that my paraphrased recollections of what they stated was appropriately represented in what Merriam (1988) calls a member checking exercise with each student participant.

The final round of interviews with students provided them with a scenario that offered them an opportunity to identify ways in which the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh young people. Students were asked to imagine what a Punjabi Sikh student made video that requests specific changes in the school might look like. Each participant was also asked to presume that all of the people who could enact change in the school as well as all of the people they care most

about outside of the school would see the video. Contributors were also asked to imagine that their identities would not be linked to their video so they could feel completely free to communicate any message they desired to exact change in the school. This scenario was an attempt to elicit responses that would provide the school candid critiques of ways upon which they could better serve Punjabi Sikh youth.

Interview Questions for Student Participants' Parents

The ultimate purpose of the interviews with student participants' parents was to understand whether they felt the school has been serving or has served their child well. Parents were also be able to weigh in on ways in which they felt the school could better serve not only their children, but also all Punjabi Sikh young people who attend this school. In addition to attempting to answer the two main research questions, identifying the ways their family arrived here will be explored as well. The main ideas around which the interviews with parents revolved included: how their family arrived in this specific location, the primary motivations for coming to this location, the educational goals they have for their children, whether the school has aided their children in achieving their educational goals, and ways in which the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh young people. Answers to these questions provided additional data that will aid in ensuring that what was gathered from student participants was consistent as well as thorough.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical lens through which this research was viewed was the critical theoretical perspective. Ladson-Billings (1999) believes that critical theorists fundamentally question the dominant societal paradigms prevalent and pervasive in American culture, society, and schools. Exploration of each Punjabi Sikh student participants' experience at the school revealed their positionality in dual worlds (i.e., home, community, and school) through which they have

traversed daily. It was important to recognize and juxtapose the differing sets of assumptions to which each student participant felt they were expected to conform that appeared to be common sense qualities, and to what sources of pressure they felt most compelled to conform. Banks (2009) maintains that a predominant and identifiable assumption that is often made in U.S. society is that white middle-class Americans are the standard against which other non-white groups should be compared. In this specific study, exploration of how Punjabi Sikh youth have struggled between the expectations of the dominant society compared to their own familial, religious, and Asian standards outside of school occurred. Better understanding of the standards by which Punjabi Sikh students felt they were or still are judged in school provided conclusions that will inform the school site how they can better serve a specific portion of their constituency. Additionally, an understanding of parents' expectations for the school on behalf of their children as well as the expectations they place upon their children also shed light on what role Ogbu's (1987) theory of voluntary immigration has played in the lives of Punjabi Sikh students at school. The research was gathered, codified, analyzed, and interpreted, and conclusions have been reached that are discussed in chapter five.

Theoretical Framework

Merriam (1988) posits that a theoretical framework is established by the reference point from which the research is initiated. Chou and Feagin's (2015) deconstruction of the myth of the model Asian minority was the theoretical framework of this research. Exploration of unfair expectations that have been and were placed on participants revealed how much of a role the model minority paradigm has influenced the experience of student participants within this school. Additionally, an assessment of how well each student felt the school they attend or have attended occurred. Discussion of a specific population in an explicit setting does not necessarily

capture the perspective of all of the people in the area being studied, but it could lead to a general understanding of a cross section of youth in one location and why their families came to this location. This orientation was the lens through which readers of this study will draw their own conclusions about a specific case of young people and their experience in a public Midwestern U.S. high school. Only when each individual voice in the study was completely heard could conclusions about their schooling experience be made. Furthermore, these conclusions will help readers to better understand whether each individual believed the school met their needs and expectations. Themes emerged after all of the interviews were completed and the results codified (Merriam, 1998). The conclusions were based upon the first-person perspective of second generation immigrant individuals who have a lived educational experience in a specific Midwestern secondary educational locale. Providing the school site a general understanding of whether the expectations that exist in the myth of the model minority have impacted the experience and evaluative perspective of a specific group of young people who attend their school has taken place. This could aid the school in better serving Punjabi Sikh youth and potentially other minority students.

Research Design

Setting

The setting for this research took place in the suburbs of a small but growing Midwestern city that is less than 30 miles from the state's capital city. The population of this city is approximately 10,000 people and growing. It is still a predominantly rural bedroom community where people reside, but do not necessarily work. So if a family does not farm, they are likely to work outside of the community in which they reside. There are more and more business opportunities, but mostly people work in areas other than the town where the high school

research site is located. The high school itself is the primary centerpiece of the community.

There is also a nearby *Gurdwara* that serves as the religious and cultural center for Punjabi Sikh students as well as the families of the student population.

Participant Selection

10 student volunteers were sought out to participate in this research. I selected students based upon whether or not they are second generation Punjabi Sikhs, whether they had been in my class, and whether or not I believed they would be willing to share their schooling experience with me. This sample of students included young people who were either under the age, or at the age of 18 when interviews were conducted. These youth were former students of mine. Potential participants were privately asked to involve themselves in this study face to face. If they were agreeable, information was sent to the appropriate parties regarding the parameters of the research via email. After they positively responded to the e-mail, and signed the informed or parental informed consent forms, appointments were set up. Participants were ensured that they were going to be asked a series of interview questions that would take no longer than 55 minutes.

Each student in the study is a second generation immigrant whose families are from Punjab, India and consider themselves to be practicing Sikhs. The primary reason for selecting second generation Punjabi Sikhs was practical in nature. Although there are first generation Punjabi Sikhs in the school in which this study took place, many of those students have not always been in my classroom. There was hope that the familiarity between my students and I would create a more comfortable atmosphere while discussing potentially sensitive and personal material. Creswell (2013) points out that this connection to and with the estimated population of students would enable readers of this work to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of each student participant. This also created what Merriam (2009) calls a thick rich description of

those experiences as well as an evaluation of the effectiveness of the school in meeting each student's needs and expectations. Recruitment materials are located in Appendices A, B, and C.

Data Sources

The primary data sources that were used in this research included a total of three sets of interviews. Two of these sets of interviews were with student participants, and one set of interviews was with one or both of each student participant's parents. Chenoweth and Theokas (2011) point out that although there has been research on the academic and professional successes of Punjabi Sikhs, little research has asked Asian Indian youth to evaluate and critique the high school they attend. Additionally, there is a shortage of research that has explored the schooling experiences of Punjabi Sikh youth in United States public Midwestern high schools.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Data collection procedures included acquiring informed consent from participants who were 18 years of age at the time of the interviews. Parental informed consent forms for those students who were under the age of 18 at the time of the interview were included as well. Both sources are in the appendices of this document. Each student and the parents of the students who were under the age of 18 were made aware of what Merriam (2009) calls the risks and benefits of doing this study. Participants and their parents were also made aware of every step of the research process from beginning to end. For example, each participant and parent who provided consent was made aware of exactly what the initial interview questions were. Contributors, who ranged from the ages of 14-18 and at the time of the research were ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades students, were informed that the interviews were semi-structured and that some of the questions asked of them were not listed as original questions they would have received prior to the interview. Parents were also made aware of the semi-structured questions they would be

asked as well. That being said, Merriam (2009) stressed the vital nature of keeping each participant's identity hidden, and the means by which participants identity's' was protected was the alteration of their name in the reporting of the findings and the private interview that occurred in the location of their choosing. These documents allowed each participant to be aware that upon completion of the interview, member checking of the interviews would occur, and that they would be provided with a finalized copy of the dissertation itself when it was completed.

After interviewing each student, immediate summary of the interview was done. I did this by listening to the audio recording right after I met with students on the day of the interview of each individual student. Sitting down with the audio recording of the interview and synthesizing what each student's response was while it was fresh was key to quality analysis. Initial analysis of any repeated patterns that emerged from interviews was essential in identifying codes around which all of the themes would eventually revolve. Not surprisingly, one of the codes that occurred repeatedly within the research was school, and a theme that came from it was a direct quote from a student participant that captured the essence of what one individual believed constituted a quality school which was, "A School Is only as Good as Its Teachers". Prior to identifying the codes and the themes or those ideas and patterns of meaning that materialize from the codes repeatedly in distinct ways (Rubin & Rubin, 2012), I listened to the interviews one more time to ensure that I fully grasped what interviewees were communicating. Before I did the second round of interviews with students, I transcribed each of the interviews using Dragon voice to text voice recognition software. So I listened to each initial interview a total of at least three different times. I also personally transcribed all of the interviews with students and parents. There were 73 pages of data after transcribing the first round of interviews with students and parents. I looked into hiring someone to transcribe my audio recordings for me, but decided to do

it myself because of cost and time restraints. Listening to each interview at least three to four times and transcribing the interviews myself aided me in being more accurate when I analyzed and coded the data.

Strauss and Corbin (1998) recognize that it's not possible to be completely free of bias while processing the information that has been gathered, yet every attempt to do so was taken by thoroughly and carefully considering and recording what each student participant said. The focus of analysis was on what was stated by students, at that time, and on that day. Only after all students were interviewed could the identification of codes and themes emerge (Merriam, 1998). After identification of similar patterns that appeared throughout the interviews, analysis of the data occurred, and conclusions were reached.

There is no particular moment when data analysis begins. Analysis is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as conclusions made by the individual doing the investigation. Analysis essentially means taking something apart. Researchers take their impressions and their observations apart. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) emphasize that qualitative study capitalizes on ordinary ways of making sense. Data analysis is the process of making sense out of the data. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) contend that making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher perceives is the process of making meaning. Consolidation, reduction, and interpretation help the clear and concrete application of constructivism throughout the analytic process more than impression and intuition.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), the data generated by qualitative methods is voluminous. There is no way of preparing for the sheer massive volume of information with which researchers will be confronted when data collection has ended. Sitting down to make

sense out of pages of interviews and whole files of field notes can be overwhelming and dealing with all those pieces may seem like an impossible task. The first priority is to make sure that it is all there. If it is, then the researcher must find a way to creatively analyze all the data. This process is a demanding intellectual discipline that requires rigor and hard work. Because different people manage their creativity, intellectual endeavors, and hard work in different ways, there is no right way to go about organizing, analyzing, and interpreting qualitative data. Therefore, analytical procedures are meant to be suggested rather than prescriptive. Smith (2015) maintains that each qualitative analyst must find his or her own process. Additionally, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) indicate that content analysis is the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data. This means analyzing the content of interviews and observations.

The purpose of classifying qualitative data for content analysis is to facilitate the search for patterns and themes within a distinct setting or across cases. Also, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2013), certain kinds of evaluation questions, however, are best answered through in-depth analysis. Interpretive analysis involves organizing the data by specific responses for in-depth study. Qualitative interpretive analysis approach is a specific way of collecting, organizing, and analyzing data. The purpose is to gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information. The starting point for interpretive analysis, then, is making sure that the information for each response is as complete as possible. That is why preparation is so key prior to each of the steps that are involved in this entire process.

One of the major decisions that have to be made about what to omit and what to include when reporting the conclusions of a given work involve a corresponding decision about how much description to include, one of the essential ingredients of properly done qualitative

inquiry. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) emphasize the importance of thick description as it does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships to join people to one another. Thick description also captures emotionality and self-feelings inserting history into experience. It is established as the significance of an understanding, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. Thick description allows for the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals to be heard as it contains the necessary ingredients for substantial interpretation. Significant interpretation means connecting individual cases to larger public issues and to the programs that serve as the linkage between individual troubles and public concerns. Interesting and readable reports provide sufficient descriptions that allow the reader to understand the basis for an interpretation, and sufficient interpretation to allow the reader to understand the description. Analysis of the data that will be provided must be as objective as possible while providing for readers the kind of thick description that is necessary to acquire intimate access into phenomenon that is being examined.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2013), the search for meaning is often a search for patterns, for consistency within certain conditions, which are called correspondence. Both categorical aggregation and indirect interpretation depend greatly on the search for patterns. Often, the patterns will be known in advance, drawn from the research questions, serving as a template for the analysis. Sometimes, the patterns will emerge unexpectedly from the analysis. Keeping this in mind, the information that is trying to be understood is analyzed as episodes or text materials with a sense of correspondence. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) further highlight that researchers are attempting to find the pattern or the significance of a qualitative interpretive study through direct interpretation or by asking what something means. In this study, readers will

know whether the information that was shared by second generation Punjabi Sikh students was consistent, or if it fluctuated from student to student. Commitment to identifying and explaining any inconsistencies that existed will be explained within the conclusions of this research.

I analyzed students' responses by trying to identify larger themes in a process consisting of several steps. Sometimes researchers use software to help them to analyze their data, and I tried to use a program called MaxQDA, advertised as computer assisted qualitative and mixed methods data text and multi-media analysis, to organize and codify my data, but I did not end up using it in the end. Prior to purchasing MaxQDA, I transcribed the second round of interviews, and then I inserted all 107 pages of my transcribed interviews into the software and found that trying to figure out how to use the software program was more challenging than just doing the analysis myself. So I decided against using MaxQDA, despite the fact that I invested money into it, and concluded that doing it myself would be better anyway. I believed that it would be better in the end because I had listened to each interview a total of three to four times and transcribed all of the interviews myself. The process of going through each interview that many times and transcribing each interview took me much longer than I wanted it to, but it made me incredibly familiar with the data. Additionally, I had processed each interview in my mind before I started fully analyzing the data and I had a chance to process many of the similarities and differences of each interview very intimately. Rubin and Rubin (2012) also state that if researchers transcribe their own interviews shortly after doing them, remembering important physical gestures like a shrug of the shoulders, or an uncomfortable shift in the chair, should be included on the transcript. This was made possible by transcribing all of the interviews myself.

After transcribing the first round of interviews, I highlighted phrases that related directly to my research questions, and I also recorded key information that I gleaned from the transcribed

interviews. I reviewed the portions of the transcripts that I highlighted and looked for initial patterns and themes that could aid me in better codifying students' and their parents' responses. (Kim, 2018). While listening to the recordings and making transcriptions, I really focused on the fact that in the first round of interviews, very little that was said by students or their parents was negative about the school. Not one student or parent had anything really disparaging to say about the faculty of the school or the school itself. This really made me focus on seeing if I could find ways to get them to feel comfortable enough to offer their critique of the school in the second round of interviews with students. Despite my efforts in the second round of interviews, the only issue a student had with the school was that there was too much emphasis placed on standardized test results and subsequent student placements in classes. Students were consistently rather complimentary about the school throughout both rounds of interviews. This concerned me because I began to believe that they were telling me what I wanted to hear because of my position as a teacher and one of their former teachers as well. It was not until the critiques of the Punjabi Sikh community and the varying views of modern versus conservative ways to practice Sikhism that I began to believe that each student was actually pleased with their schooling experience at the school site. After collecting all of the interview data, I started to engage both rounds of interviews in qualitative inductive analysis to find frequent, dominant, and significant codes (Creswell, 2013). In order to find differing ways students viewed the school, I looked for that which they valued most throughout their responses to the scenario provided to them, and their responses shifted more toward how they felt about each other, their community, and the impact their relationships with other Punjabi Sikhs had on their schooling experience. I also worked hard to compare, contrast, and juxtapose all three different sets of interviews locating as

many similarities as I could throughout while sifting through the differences to get quality cross sections of analysis from each of the three different rounds of data.

Under the overarching code of school Other themes that emerged included the importance of teachers at school, the significance of respecting one's family, the role and importance religion played in each individual's life, and hidden struggles that stemmed mostly from conflict within the Punjabi Sikh community that was something I had no clue of going into this research. Since this research revolved around schooling, the comments regarding education did not surprise me. I was also not surprised by the role that religion and family played in the life of each student, but what did surprise me, and what led to very interesting follow up questions in each interview was the conflict that existed within the local Punjabi Sikh community. Readers will learn more about the events that revealed this conflict, but from the outset of this research, I was very concerned that participants would not fully disclose their feelings about the school because they are generally incredibly polite, kind, and cooperative, yet the honesty regarding the conflict within the local Sikh community allowed me to not only begin to shape themes, but also to trust what they had to say as I knew that my position as teacher (a position Punjab Sikh families revere) may skew the results of the research. This information gave me an emic view of the private world of the students who attended this school. This view was not based on etic theory about a group of people, but inside information from the perspective of the people who were living it on a daily basis.

Once I processed each interview, I transcribed, organized, and then coded the data. The codes that surfaced included: school, religion, culture, and family. In order to generate themes that emerged from the codes, I sorted and ranked material within each code. Once I systematically coded the interviews, I analyzed the meaning of the data (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). I

did this by clarifying and summarizing concepts and themes, grouping information around the codes, and then sorting the responses by students versus the responses of parents. I also organized each of the codes as to whether or not it came from within the cultural confines of the emic (insider) perspective of the participants or the etic (outsider) viewpoint, namely those ideas that arose from the theoretical perspectives within research concepts that emerged from my review of the literature. After I grouped the responses, I searched for patterns or linkages between the codes and potential themes that arose from the codes that could form a rich descriptive narrative (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Finally, I analyzed the broader implications of my findings and asked how they differed in terms of the insider or emic perspective versus the conceptual constructs or etic perspective that emerged from preexisting concepts that arose from the research. Those that came from the established research regarding Punjabi Sikhs are identified as the etic perspective.

Themes emerged from each code and were categorized as follows. There were three themes that developed from the code of school. The first of those themes arose from the emic perspective and was a direct quote from one of the student participants, "I Am More than a Standardized Test Score". This theme arose because one student participant didn't understand the implications of her standardized test scores in terms of class placement when she was in middle school. Students are placed in classes based on how they perform on high stakes exams and classes in which they are enrolled in school. She found that her limited understanding in this specific situation was very frustrating to her. Although she was disappointed with the school's failure to fully disclose the implications of her standardized test results, another student participant was pleased that he felt the school better prepared him to succeed on tests of this nature. Rubin and Rubin (2012) state that themes can be discovered by looking at the tension or

the relationship between what people say and the emotion they convey. The emotion expressed by the student participant who was disappointed with the school, as she discussed the negative implications of her standardized test results, demonstrated passion that suggested that from her view she had been poorly served by the school in this specific instance. Her tone, body language, and substantial voice inflections were evidence of not only the direct statement she made, but the conflict she displayed when saying it.

The second theme that rose from the code of school was “A School Is only as Good as Its Teachers”. This emic theme was also a direct quote from one of the student participants. Rubin and Rubin (2012) state that whenever a good quote catches a researcher’s ear, they should include it as a possible theme because they are easy to recognize, they are well phrased, or they may sum up hours of interviewing time. This emic theme emerges from Punjabi Sikh participants’ reverence for educators and the fact that had student participants gone to school in India, their experience would likely be profoundly different and not necessarily in a positive way. It was also the general consensus of both parent and student participants that teachers at the school in question cared about their students, were good at what they did, and were important to most of the student participants. This emic theme represents the internal language spoken by student and parent participants throughout, revealing how important teachers are in understanding whether study participants were satisfied with the school and students’ experience in it.

The third theme that materialized from the code of school was “Gratitude to the School Site for a Place to Grow”. This theme connects to both the emic perspective as well as the etic standpoint from the literature that speaks about the reputation Punjabi Sikhs have of achieving in school. The emic nature of this theme captures participants’ indigenous meanings of everyday

experiences (Olive, 2014). The etic characteristic of this theme speaks to the successes of Punjabi Sikhs wherever they are in the Punjabi Sikh Diaspora, as their reputation for accommodating without assimilating and achieving levels of academic success other cultures often do not has been highlighted particularly by Gibson (1988) and Ogbu (1990).

Two themes emerged from the code of religion. The first of which was “If Only We Were Understood”. Punjabi Sikhs wear distinctive head coverings that cannot be missed when seen in public. This emic theme revealed the perspective and feelings of individuals who shared what it is like to be misunderstood even though Punjabi Sikhs have been a part of this community were clear. It was hurtful that many of the students involved in this research found the community’s lack of understanding not only puzzling, but also frustrating. It became clear that participants of this research wanted one of the outcomes of this study to explain to those who did not know why Punjabi Sikhs wore some of the things they wore and why to be fully explained. The perspective of students and their parents became clear in this, as there appeared to be a tension between themselves and the community, something that can only be remedied with training, communication, and understanding.

The next emic theme that came from the code of religion was “Breaking Bread Together”. Baptized Punjabi Sikhs are vegetarians. This was something I did not know going into the interviewing stage of the research. My literature review did not discuss the dietary habits of Punjabi Sikhs. The primary focus of the religious research regarding Punjabi Sikhs revolved around their outward apparel and how frustrating it was that ignorant people from the dominant culture still confused Punjabi Sikhs who wore turbans with Muslim terrorists; however, this intimate nutritional detail eluded me. It became very interesting to me that many student participants found that one of the ways the school could better serve Punjabi Sikhs would be to

offer multiple vegetarian options at the cafeteria. This was definitely an emic perspective that Olive (2014) states is one means to capture participants' indigenous experience in real-world daily life. There are many things that administrators, students, and staff do not know about Punjabi Sikhs, and gaining this perspective typically represents the internal language and meaning as understood by the culture being studied (Merriam, 2009). This research was intended to bring better understanding of the inner workings of a religious culture within a culture based upon the experiences of the individuals involved in the study. If the school recognizes the fact that Punjabi Sikhs are vegetarians and acted on it, it would be a true sign of good faith.

There were two themes that emerged from the code of culture. Rubin and Rubin (2012) state that themes are summary statements or explanations of what is happening. Events, on the other hand, are occurrences that have taken place. There are two themes that emerged within the code of culture from events that took place in the lives of student participants. The first of which comes from an event that took place at the school. This event was a racist event that will be thoroughly discussed in chapter four, but it led to one Punjabi Sikh student being able to participate in discussing the importance and position of Punjabi Sikhs within the community. This emic theme is entitled "Hearing the Voices of Punjabi Sikh Students". There was one student participant in particular who was grateful for the opportunity to engage in community-wide discussions that offered her an opportunity to express her views. She suggested that there needs to be more communication between Punjabi Sikhs and the decision makers within the community. These discussions will bring to light the concerns of Punjabi Sikhs while also highlighting the emic theme that "Knowledge Brings Understanding". Only through open communication can knowledge be brought to those who simply do not know. This research seeks

to bring about the beginnings of conversations that could bring greater understanding to the entire community.

The emic theme of “Modern Versus Conservative Punjabi Sikh Worldviews: Conflict from Within” arose from an event that took place in the Gurdwara that impacted community wide peace. This event will also be discussed more thoroughly in chapter four, but it was a cultural event that not only impacted the community, but also helped to shape this research. The issue revolved around cultural perspectives as to how the local temple should be run. When tensions mounted and tempers flared, the warring culture of Punjabi Sikhs came to the forefront. Because of the subnational identity to which Punjabi Sikhs have had to cling, even in India, conflict is a commonality with which Punjabi Sikhs are familiar. This was a specific event within the community and speaks to the experiences within one culture showing how one event can reveal conflict that exists within a community that could be hidden. What was revealed by this event was that there were vastly divergent views of how the Gurdwara should be run, and these tensions led to conflict that became physical taking away the community’s peace.

The final emic theme came from the code of family. This theme is defined as “The Profound Importance of Family”. To Punjabi Sikhs, family is perhaps more important than anything in their lives. The perspective of student participants and their parents revealed that there is no doubt that family is nearly as important as religion itself, and to some participants, family and religion seemed to share similar significance. Rubin and Rubin (2012) state that themes not only address research questions, but also create broader understandings about what is important to individuals within the research. The theme, “The Profound Importance of Family,” speaks to the research and how family impacts student participants’ schooling experience, but it also discloses one facet of Punjabi Sikh identity. This speaks to the etic theory of the importance

of family discussed by Gibson (1988) regarding the Punjabi Sikhs of Northern California, and also the emic or insider perspective revealed by study participants within this research.

Ultimately each of the four aforementioned codes that emerged from this research yielded emic and etic themes that shaped how the data was organized and the conclusions that were reached.

Description of Research Instruments

The research instruments used in this process included the informed consent and the parental informed consent forms that are attached to this document in Appendices A and B. Appendix A includes an informed consent form for students that are 18 years of age or older. Appendix B includes the parental informed consent form for students who are under the age of 18. Appendix C includes all other recruitment materials. Included in the Appendices are the interview questions, but the follow up questions that occurred in the semi-structured interview that were asked of students when they were interviewed varied from interview to interview and are recorded in subsequent sections of this work.

Ethical Considerations

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), at the core of well-conceived qualitative research are ethical considerations for the population that will be researched. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) further state that the researcher must carefully consider how they will most effectively protect the people with whom they are performing the research. A primary task that ensures the safety and protection of individuals is providing each potential participant as much information as is possible to let them know exactly what is going to be done throughout the entirety of the research process. Informed consent provides individuals who may be willing to participate (and or their parents, if they under the age of 18) a great deal of information as to the risks, the benefits, and their rights as a participant. Glesne (2011) states that these rights include, but are

not limited to: privacy, dignity, safety, honesty in reporting and in all dealings with volunteers, a pledge to do no harm to the participants, and the opportunity to give the participants a voice in matters that are important to them. The ultimate aim of this researcher was to provide a critical yet accurate view of the participants' evaluation of the school they attend in order to honor those who are directly involved and for those who are not involved beyond the research. Baxter and Jack (2011) stress that researchers must be sure that the interpretation of data accurately portrays what the participants intended to communicate in interviews, observations, and in documents that could be used in the final reporting of the research. The protection of the participants and their ethical treatment is tantamount to the research itself. I did everything in my power to ensure that all areas of ethical matters were taken into consideration while gathering the data and reporting on it as well.

Delimitations of the Study

Price and Murnan (2004) point out that the delimitations of any study are those characteristics that arise from limitations in the scope of the study which define the boundaries within it, and the researcher has control over each delimitation. Goes (2016) states that the conscious exclusionary and inclusionary choices made during the development of the study plan flow from implicit characteristics of the chosen method in design; therefore, delimitations result from specific choices made by the researcher. The delimitations in educational research frequently deal with sample, the treatment of the individuals within the study, the setting, and why that location has been chosen, as well as the instrumentation being used to conduct the research. This study took place at the school site, the local Gurdwara, or in the homes of student participants and their families. Providing options of the locations where interviews took place was designed to offer convenience and comfort to anyone who chose to participate in this study.

The first round of interviews with students and the second round of interviews with their parents occurred at the location and the time that best suited each family creating flexibility based upon their needs. The third round of interviews with students took place at the school site during period four homeroom or at the location that was best for the students involved in the research.

Second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikhs are abundant in the school while significantly fewer first generation Punjabi Sikh students matriculate there. Because of availability and circumstance, this study focused on second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh students and not on first generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh students. Coordinating research with people who were in a central location was more practical and likely to be completed.

Limitations of the Study

Oftentimes power relations exist between the researcher and the researched. The researcher must be transparent about their presence within a research relationship. This requires honest reflection as to what was biased and what is not. It also means that examiners must emerge from behind the protected barricade of anonymity and own up to their involvement and connection to the subjectivity and power relationships within their work. Etherington (2007) points out that this requires varying degrees of self-disclosure for the researcher. According to Shipman (2017), standard procedure requires the detachment of the researcher from biases that exist within their investigation. It is no small matter for the reader to understand the relationship the researcher has with the subject. McCaslin and Scott (2003) assert that as the researcher, it is vital to identify and describe the potential skewed perspectives and recognize as well as deal with the biases held about the subject involved in the research. There are specific limitations to this study because I have a positive bias toward the students within the population of this analysis because they are my former students. The myth of the model minority has impacted me

as well, but to the very best of my ability, this reality did not ultimately shape the collection, codification, and analysis of the data, nor did it influence the outcome of the research. If this bias occurred in my analysis, then the conclusions were not accurate or objective. My appreciation and admiration for these students' culture and belief systems did not shape the way the results of the research were codified and ultimately reported. I have nothing but respect and appreciation for each of these students and their family's willingness to participate in this research, but my commitment to objectivity throughout the process of gathering information and analyzing the portions upon which to report remained one of my primary goals throughout.

Each time I interviewed students, I used semi-structured interview principles as follow up questions were asked based upon responses to the original interview questions. Great care was taken not to lead students where I wanted to take them, students were allowed to take the lead so readers could see what their beliefs about themselves were not what my beliefs about them are. McCaslin and Scott (2003) warn that the human element, complete with its assumptions, biases, and blinders, can cause researchers to fail to observe data even when it is clearly present. The interview questions these students were asked was intended to lead them to specific places of discussion that would allow them to take me where they wanted to go not where I wanted them to go. Commitment to objectivity was key to succeeding in this endeavor.

The interviewing of five female and five male second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh students as well as one or both of their parents occurred. Once the students were selected based upon who was willing and whose parents were willing to participate, there was an equal number of females and males because I wanted to attempt to pursue a balanced perspective. Because this research was performed at the convenience of the families involved, efficiency with each family's time was essential. The administration of the school corporation and the building

principal graciously agreed to allow this research to be completed, and both parties made it abundantly clear that the entire corporation would do whatever was necessary to ensure the completion of the research on behalf of myself as well as the Punjabi Sikh community.

Summary

This study employed qualitative interpretive research. In qualitative interpretive research such as this, the primary instrument of data collection and analysis attempted to derive meaning from the data collected from second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh students at a public Midwestern high school. The end result of this research culminated into data that was gathered, codified, and interpreted. The research that was provided was intended to be resonant and inclusive of dense descriptions of the data that was gathered. Interpretive research is different from other types of qualitative research because it does not begin with a hypothesis that is proven or refuted. Instead, interpretation of the data that was gathered, was separated into themes or categories, and then analyzed based upon the interpretation of the primary research that was gathered. Gathered data was then analyzed and filtered through the ultimate goal of the research. This data was then grouped together based upon similarities and given a categorical name. The primary objective of this analysis was to identify patterns found within the data. Smith (2015) asserts that these patterns must be arranged in relationships to each other in the construction of an interpretive study. Additionally, while building substantive theory, there was identification of a core or central category which identified some of the academic views of student participants.

A qualitative interpretive study was used throughout this research because it has not been used in previous studies that have revolved around perspectives of second generation Punjabi Sikh students and one or both of their parents. Additionally, studies that have been conducted exploring the lives of individuals from this specific state in India have not asked them what their

experience in United States public schools has been nor has it asked these youth to evaluate the schools they attend. This research, and the chosen methodology, was intended to better understand the experience and perspectives of Punjabi Sikh youth as they have attended a U.S. Midwestern public high school. Exploring each participant's understanding and unique view of their experience in this setting will inform the school site of ways they can better serve Punjabi Sikh students.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This study is designed to shed light on the experiences of 10 second-generation Punjabi Sikh young people and whether each student participant and their parent(s) perceive whether the high school students attend or attended was meeting or had met their academic needs and expectations. There are a total of 30 interviews. Each student participant was interviewed twice for a total of 20 separate interviews. Ten of the student interviews were conducted in the presence of one or both of their parents, and 10 of the student interviews were conducted with just individual students in my classroom, in the local Gurdwara, or in the home of the families involved in this research. Additionally, one or both of their parents were interviewed once resulting in 10 interviews with parents while in the presence of their children. All three rounds of interviews were aimed at answering the two primary research questions of this study:

1. What has been the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth at a U.S. public Midwestern high school? and
2. How effective has a U.S. Midwestern public high school been in meeting the academic needs and expectations of Punjabi Sikh parents and their children?

Table 1 offers a general introduction to each student and the parent or parents involved in this research. The table provides the protective identity of each participant, each student participant's gender, age, and what profession each student aspires to pursue beyond high school. The chart also shows each student's parent's educational background and current profession. Furthermore, the order of the chart follows the sequence in which each student appears in this chapter.

Table 1. Student and Parent Introductions

Participant Name	Gender	Age	Students' Professional Goal / Parents' Educational Background / Current Profession
Sarah	F	17	FBI Agent in a big city
Sarah's father, Samuel	M		Truck Driver
Miguel	M	18	Business Owner / Financial Advisor
Miguel's father, Maddox	M		Truck Driver
Frank	M	15	Undecided, but leans toward Engineering
Frank's mother, Andrea	F		Linguist by degree/ Works at Home
Frank's father, Alexander	M		Truck Driver
Todd	M	17	Business Owner
Todd's mother, Amy	F		Works at Home
Javarion	M	17	Engineer
Javarion's father, Jaheem	M		Engineer
Grace	F	18	Engineer
Grace's mother, Gabrielle	F		Teacher
Boaz	M	18	Truck Driving Business Owner / Business Student
Boaz's father, Bernard	M		Truck Driving / Business Owner
Patricia	F	17	Undecided
Patricia's mother, Sassy	F		Education Degree: Works at Home
Prescilla	F	17	Engineer
Prescilla's mother, Pearl	F		Economics / Political Science Degree: Works at Home
Gurkamal	F	17	Undecided
Gurkamal's mother, Jasmine	F		Linguist by degree: Works at Home
Gurkamal's father, Jaiquan	M		Education degree: Truck Driver

Prior to the interviewing process, I made students aware that they would be using alias names when I reported out the findings of the research to protect their identities and to ensure their anonymity. Some of the students were very excited about this because they wanted to select the names of their parents' pseudonyms. Patricia, in particular, was very excited about this and requested that I call her mother Sassy. I said if it was alright with her mother, then that it was certainly fine with me. She told me that she was not going to tell her mother, and that she wanted it to be a surprise when she read the final dissertation. Patricia couldn't keep it to herself though, and she told her mother the choice she had made for her. Sassy laughed when she heard and thought that this was very funny and had no problem with Patricia's choice. When I asked them why, they both laughed and said that this was something she called Patricia when she was a little girl so it was only fair that Patricia got her way.

Gurkamal was another student participant who was very excited about this. When I asked her why, she told me that she had always really liked the name, Gurkamal, and that she looked forward to using it in this capacity. Todd said that he was super happy about having the name Todd because no one would ask him how to pronounce it or if it was short for something else. The remainder of the participants picked names they said were names of people who were friends they had at school, or someone they had known in their past and they wanted to keep that connection by selecting their names as pseudonyms which some of them seemed to view as an honor to the ones whose names were being used. Several students didn't have a preference for what their parent's pseudonyms were so, to help me to remember the connection between names, I selected a name that was similar to the ones students chose.

The remainder of this chapter includes the student participants' responses to specific interview questions that were designed to ultimately answer the two primary research questions.

Subsequent sections are categorized by the parents' responses to the research questions as well as exploration of two specific incidents (one at school, and one at the Gurdwara) that have impacted the schooling experience of each student participant and each of their families. The primary aim of this chapter is to investigate and understand the experience of Punjabi Sikh youth in the public Midwestern high school in question.

Each section of this chapter is categorized thematically in the following manner. The first section discusses student perceptions of how well the school has served each student. Themes that emerge under this heading include discussion of how standardized test scores impact students' schedule of classes and the role standardized tests, and the school itself, have played in students' academic experience there. The second theme discusses the importance of teachers at the school which recounts student experiences in the classrooms of unnamed teachers with the admission that the school these students attend is made up of teachers who have made their schooling experience what it is. Theme three reveals that students not only feel the school has been effective, but it has also been a place that has allowed them to flourish by providing students with opportunities they might not have had were it not for the school site.

The next section identifies ways the school can improve. Themes that emerge here include the desire for Punjabi Sikh students to be understood. Students state concrete ways the school could contribute to a general understanding of certain nuances of Sikhism. One of the ways this could play out is in the cafeteria. Most devout Sikhs are vegetarian, and if the school provided daily vegetarian options on their menu, practicing Sikh vegetarians would deeply appreciate this. After discussion of the school menu, a more serious topic came to light which details a racist event at the school site and the subsequent fallout created by this horrific incident. In this section, one student described the opportunity Punjabi Sikh students and the Punjabi Sikh

community were offered to express what they deemed to be an appropriate response to this occurrence and any similar future situations of this nature, as well as ways that better communication could enhance the experience of Punjabi Sikhs within the municipality of this school site.

Parents' responses are chronicled in the next section where parent participants state their belief that their children have had a good schooling experience. Although parents believe their children are being served well, there is discussion of how parents feel like the school site can more effectively aid their children in the school setting. One of the ways parents would like to see improvements made by the school is for their beliefs to be understood particularly as it relates to what Punjabi Sikh students wear on their heads, and how they show devotion to God.

The next section of chapter four recounts divergencies of responses that reveal unique views of individuals and how this impacts the schooling experience of students within the study. These divergencies include a section that explains an incident that contaminated harmony within the Punjabi Sikh community and altered peace within. This incident also divided the local Punjabi Sikh Gurdwara as well as the entire Punjabi Sikh community showing how this clash revealed differing world views that have caused the conflict's impact to have far reaching implications. Not everyone in the Punjabi Sikh community shares identical beliefs on the ways in which Sikhism should be practiced and the impact this has had on the schooling experience of student participants will be discussed.

The final section of chapter four focuses on commonalities upon which participants agree. One of those commonalities includes discussion of the profound importance of family in the Punjabi Sikh community. Here participants discuss how important family is to them

personally, and ways in which their family and their family's beliefs impact their schooling experience on a daily basis.

Perceptions of How Well the Public School Has Served Each Punjabi Sikh Student

This portion of the findings will focus on Punjabi Sikh students' perspectives regarding this work's first research question: What has been the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth at a U.S. public Midwestern high school?

I Am More Than Just a Standardized Test Score

The first family with whom I spoke was Sarah and her father, Samuel. They decided to meet at the local Gurdwara. When they arrived at the Gurdwara, Sarah, Samuel, and I exchanged pleasantries and I asked them where they would prefer conducting the interview in the Gurdwara. To my knowledge, there were two choices: the sanctuary or the gathering place connected to Gurdwara's kitchen. Each Gurdwara has a kitchen so that they can serve meals whenever the Gurdwara was open. Sarah and Samuel chose the sanctuary because the kitchen always had people in it and would be louder than the sanctuary.

We went into the sanctuary, and I turned my back on the altar, something I did not know was an unacceptable and disrespectful practice to Sikhs. This was the first time that my positionality was revealed to me within the research. My ignorance was based upon my own worldview, and although Sarah and Samuel were very polite about my faux pas, I was embarrassed nevertheless, and very aware of how my own views made me blind to something Sikhs consider disrespectful. My own worldview regarding what is considered appropriate and what is not considered appropriate inside of a place of worship was fostered as a lifelong member of a protestant Christian church. In traditional Christian churches, it is not considered disrespectful to turn one's back to the altar. I had no idea that what I had done in the Gurdwara

was considered inappropriate. This act of innocent ignorance further revealed how my positionality as a member of the dominant religious group of the United States made me unaware of an expectation with which Punjabi Sikhs were familiar. They very kindly told me that one should not turn their back to the altar area, something that was considered a sign of disrespect. Of course, I asked them to pardon me, and they knew I did not know this standard so they both laughed it off and charitably disarmed the situation, but it was then that I saw how my religious worldview made me unaware of something Punjabi Sikhs clearly knew. Before the interview, we talked about their family in general and Samuel informed me that he is a truck driver, and that his wife stays at home with their children and works from home. We exchanged a bit more general banter and then we began the official interview.

Throughout the course of the interview, Sarah revealed her desire to be an FBI agent in a big city like Chicago, New York, or Los Angeles, and she believes that high school should be a place that prepares her for the college major that will help her earn a degree that will ultimately lead her to her dream job. When I asked Sarah what her expectations of the school were, and what she believed she should be gaining from her schooling experience, she revealed her expectation of how the school is responsible for aiding her in achieving her long-term collegiate and professional goals:

The school should be preparing me for the real world. Teachers warn us that things may be challenging in school now, but they only become more difficult at each of the next stages of life. I want to become an FBI agent, and FBI agents in big cities get paid more so I want to ready myself for opportunities in the future that the school can prepare me for.

I asked Sarah if she felt like the school was meeting her expectations in preparing her to meet her collegiate as well as her future employer's expectations, and she stated that overall, the school was doing its job. Yet she also believes that there is too much emphasis placed on standardized

test results and that many of her peers were placed in more academically challenging classes because they performed better on standardized tests than she did in her earlier schooling years which she believes partially limited her academic opportunities at the high school.

In reference to what I was saying earlier about schooling being more about numbers than about what a student is capable of doing in the classroom... I was not provided opportunities that some of my peers had in our first two years of high school and I find myself trying to catch up to them just because they did better on standardized tests than I did before we got to high school. I wish there would have been more of a conversation between myself and a guidance counselor or an older student that could've guided me in doing what was necessary to achieve the goals I have for myself when I graduate from high school. It's not all the school's fault some of it is circumstance, and even though I love the school, it's just not perfect.

Although her overall assessment of the school was positive, "I appreciate what I've learned in school, and in the end, they have met my needs," Sarah feels the high school could have more successfully communicated with her the classes in which she needed to enroll that would have made her more prepared to meet the expectations of her future major in college. If she had taken the courses she feels she missed out on in her first two years of high school, she stated that the school would have done a better job of more effectively preparing her to achieve her collegiate and ultimately her professional goals. Throughout Sarah's interview in the sanctuary of the Gurdwara, her body language conveyed her passion as she was leaning forward when she spoke using animated hand gestures while fervently expressing her views. It was clear that she loved the school and wanted to get the most out of her opportunities within it.

While Sarah expressed concerns about the importance that standardized tests played in placing students in classes, Miguel expressed a much more positive perspective of his experience at the school site. While sitting next to his father, Maddox, in my classroom where they chose to conduct their interview, Miguel articulated his approval of the school, how prepared he was for standardized tests, how well he felt prepared for college, and the impact it has had on him as a

future professional as well as a future contributing member to society, “I really love this school, and my experience at school has been very positive.” Miguel had nothing bad to say about the school and expressed his appreciation not only for his experience at the school, but also because he believes he is cared for at school. “My experience has been that the school cares for me and I appreciate that.” Miguel’s father, Maddox, drives a truck for a living, and Miguel’s mother works from home. Prior to coming to the United States, Maddox was a businessman that was involved in buying and selling products for Punjabi grocery stores. My time with Maddox and Miguel was the second time that my positionality came to the forefront during the interviewing process. When I asked Maddox what he did in India, his body language changed and he appeared to feel uncomfortable telling me about what he did in India versus what he did here in the United States. He told me what he did in the conversation, but his tone of voice subtly communicated that what he did in India was much more important in his eyes and carried with it a status that is higher than being a truck driver in the United States. He also appeared uncomfortable based upon his curt responses and apparent lack of desire to elaborate on what he did in India though I asked him twice about his professional life in India. It was as though he was embarrassed of being a truck driver because what he did in India carried with it a much higher status there than being a truck driver does here. This suggested to me that my position as a teacher and a member of U.S. society that enjoyed the privileges connected to it made him feel uncomfortable. He wasn’t telling me exactly what he was feeling or thinking because we were strangers and didn’t share the intimate relationship that I shared with his son as one of his former teachers. Maddox further stated to me that he still conducts business associated with the truck driving profession (aside from simply driving his own rig himself) and he seemed proud that Miguel shared the business acumen and ambition of his father as Miguel desires to pursue a dual degree in economics and

business to ready him for his professional goals. Miguel's evaluations of the school was positive calling the school "effective."

Miguel further revealed that he believed his schooling experience was one of tremendous quality because of his teachers and their care for him as a student and as a person. When asked what role teachers played in his schooling experience and whether he believed the things that were important to him were also important to his teachers, he responded by saying:

My teachers have played a significant role in shaping my views of the world and it probably would not have been so strong in my life if I didn't believe that teachers believed in me and cared about me as well as the things I care about. So yes, I do feel like the things that are important to me are also important to my teachers.

Miguel's positive viewpoint of the school and the faculty within it was shared by Frank who was accompanied by both of his parents who were more than pleased to share their responses to each research question in my classroom within the school site. At the time of these two young men's interviews, Miguel was a senior and Frank was a freshman, but their perspectives shared definitive similarities; especially regarding teachers in their schooling experience.

A School Is Only as Good as Its Teachers

Something Frank made clear throughout his interview is that in order for a school to meet the needs of their students, the teachers must be skilled, kind, and genuine. Frank as well as his mother, Andrea, and father, Alexander, decided to meet at the school site. Alexander is a truck driver, and Andrea holds a degree in linguistics, but chooses to stay at home to work with and for her family. Throughout the interview with Frank's family, not only did each interview participant stress the importance of their Punjabi Sikh roots, but they also emphasized how deeply they value education. This is something they have stressed to Frank since he was in his mother's womb as they have read out loud to him every day of his life. Andrea says that reading out loud together as a household keeps the family united and close. One of the texts they read

regularly is the Guru Granth Sahib, the sacred Sikh text. This is one of the ways Andrea and Alexander attempt to communicate to Frank how important enlightenment is. In addition to the importance of education to their family, each family member communicated how important teachers were in the schooling process. When Frank was asked who he deemed to be the most important group of people at school, he stated, “My teachers. I can have friends inside and outside of school, but the teachers are the ones that make each class experience what it is.” Frank views his teachers as positive influences in his academic experience and his overall encounters with them have been positive. Frank believes the teachers at the school site “care about me and want me to be successful.” Frank performs well in school and is planning on going to college by taking a rigorous college preparatory course load. When Frank was asked how the school shows that it cares about him academically, he stated:

The way the teachers teach reveals to me that the school cares about my academic success. If I ever fall behind, I know that I’ll be able to catch up whether it be through raising my hand in class, asking for extra help outside of class, or just sending an email to teachers for clarification on something. Whatever issue I may have, I know that teachers will assist me in any way they possibly can and that is one very powerful way the school has demonstrated to me that the school cares about me.

Frank’s positive body language reinforced his evaluative comments regarding teachers and his schooling experience.

Like Frank, Todd believes that the excellence of a school is measured by the quality of the teachers. Todd and his mother Amy performed their first interview at the school site. Todd’s father is a truck driver, and Amy works from home. Throughout the interview, Amy repeatedly told stories of how she was unable to complete high school, and it is something she has always deeply regretted. Because of this, she has stressed the importance of education to and with her children on a regular basis, encouraging them not to do what she did. She always wanted to complete her diploma, but the circumstances of her life made finishing her high school

experience a tremendous challenge. Todd has always been aware of this, and it has been a source of pressure for him at times because he doesn't want to disappoint his family, yet he admits that his grades do not necessarily reflect how much he cares about school as well as how much he values his own education. He is confident that the teachers at the school site care about him, his academic success, and his peers' success as well. He also believes that the teachers at his school "Are good at teaching, and they should be paid higher. All of the teachers that I have had are really nice". When asked if aspects of his identity that were important to him were also important to his teachers he said:

Yes, because of the fact that I have had teachers talk to me about my Punjabi Sikh Heritage and ask me questions. I appreciate being able to talk about things that are important to me to my teachers because it shows me that they care about what I care about.

Todd consistently revealed how important his teachers were to him. He also communicated that he believed his teachers cared for and about him.

One of the ways that Todd has seen this in his academic career is when he left the school and returned one semester later. Todd struggled in the ninth grade. He had a difficult time focusing, he lacked organizational skills, and these issues contributed to his inability to earn grades with which he and his parents were pleased. They all agreed that a change in schools may do him good so in his tenth-grade year, Todd transferred from the school site for one semester to a school in the same county only to return in the second semester because he felt more welcomed at the current school site than the school to which he transferred. Todd believes the school from which he chose to graduate has properly prepared him for the rigors of his next phase in life and stated that this school helped him in the process of "gaining knowledge" as well as being a place that "better prepared me for college by giving me the tools I need to do well after high school." These factors allowed Todd to state that his experience at this school has been "great." Like

Todd, Javarion expressed his connection to the faculty of the school and believes they have played a significant role in his schooling experience, one that cannot be extricated from the entire process.

Javarion is a conscientious student and a unique individual who has spoken openly to me about being a devout baptized Sikh even before I began this research. Based upon conversations we shared throughout his time in my classroom as a freshman and as a junior; he sincerely attempts to follow his beliefs and principles carefully. One of the ways that Javarion demonstrates that he is conscientious rests in his awareness of the role school plays in his and his peers' lives. He believes that working hard in school is something that everyone should do and is a reflection of one's true character. Additionally, Javarion views school as a means by which to gain exposure to curriculum to which he would not have been exposed were it not for the classes he selected: "It [school] provides me with what I need to succeed in life. School exposes you to things that you may not have been exposed to if you had not attended it." Javarion embraces education and demonstrates this by how hard he works in class.

Javarion and his father, Jaheem, chose to meet at the Gurdwara. There was an unscheduled social gathering on the night of the interview so I learned that there was a third place we could conduct an interview other than the sanctuary or the kitchen with which I was not familiar. As a result of the communal get-together in both the kitchen and the sanctuary, access to an upstairs room was granted and this is where the interviews took place. Jaheem was instrumental in the construction of the Gurdwara that was built in 2014 near the school site and his knowledge of the building provided us a more private place away from the crowd where we could talk. As we settled into our interview location, Javarion revealed that he planned on following in the footsteps of his father by attending college to become an engineer. Jaheem's

initial degree was a bachelor's in engineering in India, and then he came to the United States to earn his master's degree in chemical engineering.

The place where the interview took place appeared to be very comfortable to Javarion as he was very candid and reflective throughout the interview. Like Frank and Todd, Javarion believes he had teachers who were good at what they did, cared a great deal about the subject they were teaching, believed that what they were teaching was important to their students and their academic success, and cared about their students as well.

The teachers were good... and... cared deeply about their students and about the content they were teaching. Most of the time I had teachers who cared about me and my peers and they believed that what they were teaching was extremely important.

Furthermore, Javarion believes that the school he attended provided him with what he needs to succeed in life. He added that:

Another aspect that is not focused on very much is that students have an opportunity to interact with adults and to develop and establish relationships with adults through their relationships with teachers and administrators. The adults at the school are good people and getting to know them has been surprisingly important to me.

Javarion continued discussing the importance of his teachers at school: "The teachers at the school are great. Most of them are supportive and sincerely try to have a relationship with their students." Javarion believed that if the teachers care about students and their subject matter, students are much more likely to feel as though they are engaged in a positive learning environment. This was Javarion's experience. Javarion also feels as though his involvement at school was "a good experience overall academically" and that his teachers throughout his schooling encounter prepared him not only for the rigors of college, but also for his professional life beyond college as well. This was all as a direct result of the teachers who have made his schooling experience positive. Miguel, Frank, Todd, and Javarion each revealed why they felt

that a school is only as good as its teachers. Grace, Boaz, and Gurkamal each felt this way as well and elaborated on it in the next section.

Gratitude to the School Site for a Place to Grow

When meeting with Grace and her mother Gabrielle at the Gurdwara, Gabrielle, who is an educator herself pulled me aside before interviews began as Grace prayed in the sanctuary. Gabrielle expressed her appreciation for this research, and her gratitude was reciprocated for being willing to share her time. Both Gabrielle and I looked through a large plate glass window as Grace knelt at each of the four corners of the elaborately decorated square altar. After kneeling at each corner of the altar to pray, Grace then stood to pray at each corner. When Grace finished praying and paying her respects within the sanctuary, she met Gabrielle and I in the foyer where we proceeded to conduct the interview in the kitchen area. Based upon Grace's behavior at school, her actions at the Gurdwara before the interview started, and her approach to the interview throughout our time together, she is someone who cares deeply about her education.

Grace ultimately aspires to be an engineer. Her mother, Gabrielle, earned a degree in education and was a teacher in India before their family moved to the United States. Gabrielle works from home while Grace's father serves as a truck driver and a part time priest that Sikhs call a Granthi, a ceremonial reader of the Guru Granth Sahib at Punjabi ceremonial services. Grace's father was a full-time priest when they lived in India. Gabrielle again expressed her appreciation for this research and felt as though this would help other Punjabi Sikhs in the community. She shared her belief that this research was an extension of the school, a place that had helped her daughter to flourish. Appreciation for this unsolicited gratitude was once more

given in return and an expression that her daughter would have succeeded in whatever endeavors she sought ended our side conversation and the interviewing process began.

Grace, a normally stoic and quiet individual, openly demonstrated tremendous gratitude for her teachers and her experience at school:

All of my teachers were really nice and there was nothing negative for me at school. It was a very positive experience for me... I knew that in order to get better ready for college I had to be challenged so it was just part of it. I already get up early in the morning [to pray] so it was okay to do that and besides that I like a routine.

Grace was never one to speak much in class, yet throughout her interview her demeanor regarding the school and her experience at the school were glowing and positive as evidenced by the fact that she was leaning forward and ardently engaged throughout our time together in the kitchen. When asked to describe what school was to her, she stated, "School is a place I wanted to be... it was a good experience for me and I am thankful for it." Throughout Grace's responses, her mother looked at her in the eyes, and emanated extreme pride. Like Grace, Boaz discussed his positive view of his schooling experience.

Boaz and his father, Bernard, selected their home as the place where each of the interviews would be conducted. Throughout the interviewing process, Bernard told me that his trucking business had been thriving for several years. He started with one rig and took a risk in purchasing two more while he hired Punjabi Sikh drivers to drive the other two. Eventually, his risk paid off and he now owns an entire fleet of trucks that other Punjabi Sikh truckers drive as well. Throughout Boaz's high school career, he worked for his father translating and communicating for Bernard's Punjabi Sikh employees. At times throughout high school, Boaz saw this as a burden because his father leaned so heavily on his ability to speak both English and Punjabi. Nevertheless, at this time in his life, he has come to see it as a blessing because it helped him to choose his major in college, and also helped him realize how fortunate he is to be able to

speak two languages proficiently. Boaz has officially decided to go to college for business so he can eventually take over his father's business when Bernard retires. Boaz and his family stay deeply connected to Indian culture and visit Punjab, India every time they get the chance. While the interviews with Boaz and Bernard were going on, Boaz's aunt and uncle came over for a visit. Boaz's uncle asked us what we were doing, and he was informed of the interviews and the coinciding research. He provided his spontaneous evaluation of the school since his children attended the same school Boaz attended (one of which I had in class). Through all of the social aspects of the time spent in their home, Boaz provided his reflective evaluation of the school. Boaz enjoyed his time in school and shared how much he feels the school helped him to grow personally and that he understood that this would help him professionally in the end. "I'm glad I went to school there... it met my needs and expectations and I appreciate all the school has done for me... It was a good experience for me overall." Boaz made it clear time and time again that he was appreciative for where he had gone to school and his parents would continually tell him how great he had it at the school compared to what his schooling experience would have been like had he attended school in India. Since his parents were aware of these differences, there were expectations placed upon Boaz and his sister that many of his peers did not have placed upon them. "Our parents grew up in Punjab, India and there were certain expectations that were placed upon us that would not have been placed upon us were our parents from the United States." Boaz made it clear that based upon his parents' high academic expectations that were it not for caring teachers and a school that was concerned about his personal and academic success, he's not sure he would have made it through his experience as well as he did.

I always felt like that the school demonstrated that they cared about me by making sure that I was successful on assessments. If I didn't do well on an assessment, I could retake it and try to do a better job the second time. Teachers always made me feel like I could do it and even if I couldn't they would provide me with extra help so that I could get it. I

wasn't the hardest worker in school but my teachers never let me fall too far behind and I appreciate that.

Boaz further stated that the school, "definitely met my needs and expectations and I appreciate all the school has done for me." Like Boaz, Gurkamal shared her appreciation for the school and how much she appreciated their acknowledgment of her academically and personally.

Throughout her time at the school, Gurkamal consistently demonstrated academic excellence in the classroom. This was evidenced by the numerous academic awards presented to her in schoolwide convocations. She was the math student of the year two times, English student of the year two times, and she was the science student of the year three times. In most of the classes in which she is enrolled, she demonstrates excellence in everything she does based upon her perfect grade point average, her perfect attendance, and her perseverance in the face of any challenge. Every day she comes to class to work hard, to fully, as well as thoroughly, complete her work while showing her tremendous respect for and to others, including and especially, her teachers. Simply put, Gurkamal is a model student who enjoys completing tasks given to her with thoughtfulness, conscientiousness, and care.

When discussing Gurkamal's feelings toward the school site, she was asked if school was a place she wanted to be, and she answered in the affirmative. When asked why, she stated:

Teachers at my school care about me and they acknowledge my hard work which I appreciate deeply. They pay attention to me and to what I'm doing every day, they have helped me a great deal. I have good relationships with my teachers. When I'm at the academic awards ceremonies the administrators are also there and even though that's generally the only time I interact with them, I know that they know who I am and that makes me feel happy, especially when they compliment me. The school has shown me time and time again that they care for me personally and academically through some of the little things such as consistently complimenting me, and recognizing me for my hard work, this school means so much to me and it has provided me a place where I can grow academically and personally.

Gurkamal further considered her appreciation of the school by discussing the role that guidance counselors played in her schooling experience. Additionally, she mentioned the school's interpreter who speaks Punjabi and is able to communicate with her in ways other adults in the school cannot.

The guidance counselors are really helpful to me and the fact that Mrs. K is someone who is Punjabi Sikh, and speaks our language is really comforting to me. All of these different kinds of supports make me feel cared for as a student. This has impacted my ability to learn in school by boosting my confidence because I'm not really that self-confident of a person even though you guys keep telling me I should be. All of this support really helps me.

When asked to expound upon times when she felt deeply connected to the school she referred back to the academic awards ceremonies, a time where her appreciation for the school showed most. "The awards ceremonies always made me feel really connected to the school." When asked if she felt as though she was expected to be an A student simply because she is Asian Indian or Punjabi Sikh, she stated:

I actually never felt that. I was surprised too because a lot of people think that that is a common thing. I don't feel that. I have felt pressure from myself, but I have not felt pressure from anyone else that I'm expected to perform well just because an Asian Indian or Punjabi Sikh.

She finalized her appreciation for the school by stating: "This experience has been very valuable to me I've learned a lot and I've grown a lot. I've been successful and I've been recognized by the school and I appreciate that."

The overall experience of students involved in this study was positive and a general appreciation exuded from each of the student participants. As a faculty member who had each of these student participants in class at the high school site, it is encouraging to know that these young people feel like the school they attend is a place where they grew academically, professionally, and in the end personally. The next section of this chapter begins to discuss ways

in which the school can more effectively serve future Punjabi Sikh youth based upon the findings of this research.

Punjabi Sikh Youth Perspectives of Ways the School Could Improve

This portion of chapter four focuses on students' candid responses to the second research question: How effective has a U.S. Midwestern public high school been in meeting the academic needs and expectations of Punjabi Sikh parents and their children? Student responses come from the second round of interviews where students met in my classroom without their parents or anyone else in the room during homeroom period so they did not have to meet during their own free time. This round of interviews used the video scenario where students were told that if they could create a video on behalf of current Punjabi Sikh youth who already do or will attend this school site, what changes might they make to the school.

If Only We Were Understood

Both rounds of interviews with Patricia were quite insightful because she had clearly thought about many of the interview questions and the issues surrounding those questions before the interviews and her responses were very purposeful as well as passionate. Patricia and her mother, Sassy, designated the first interview to be conducted in their home. Patricia has not decided what she wants to do professionally. Her mother was a teacher in India and holds a degree in education and has used her teaching skills in the Gurdwara as she teaches Gurmukhi (the written script of Punjab) to young people so they are able to read text from the Guru Granth Sahib. Patricia's father is a truck driver, and Sassy chooses to work from home so she can spend more time with her children as well as the young people she instructs at the Gurdwara. Patricia's zeal seemed to be enhanced in the second round of interviews because she came to the classroom early and asked if we could get started right away as she felt as though she had so much to say.

Throughout the entirety of both interviews she leaned forward, spoke passionately, and was disappointed when our time was up. She made it quite clear that there were distinctions between cultures in her school, and she wondered aloud how the school might remedy this divisive reality. She believes that Punjabi Sikh students may perform at a higher level if there were no distractions that could potentially hinder a student's focus more than regular teenage life. As a person who feels as though she fits in many different Punjabi Sikh groups and many other majority groups as well, she understands the complexities of maneuvering through various subcultures and how this can affect a student's schooling experience as well as their performance. It troubles her though that there are people who struggle maneuvering through these complex social situations in school. In her video, the first group she would address would be her Punjabi Sikh peers:

My first address would be to Punjabi Sikhs. We often don't make clear the things that we believe and I think that it is important that we attempt to do so. Even if there are people that ask rude questions of Punjabi Sikhs, there are ways that we can better respond to them and ways that we can educate others because the word Sikh actually means learner. We could do a better job of helping others to learn about us. If we were more confident in what we believe and if we were more confident in explaining what we believe to others as well, we would serve ourselves much better. One of the ways that we could better explain ourselves is to fully understand what we believe and who we are through research. Too many Punjabi Sikh young people come to the Gurdwara for social interaction, but they don't necessarily go there for religious reasons or a deeper understanding of what we believe. If people went to the Gurdwara for more religious reasons they would be much more likely to be able to answer people's questions and not feel offended in the event that someone asked them what they believed or why they wear what they wear.

Patricia's video would begin by addressing Punjabi Sikh students to be more educated on what they believe, and if they were to be more aware of what they believed, they would be more fully equipped and ultimately more confident to answer any questions that came their way. She recognizes that most people resort to what they know and with what they feel most comfortable when faced with pressure in any form so educating themselves and being armed with

understanding of what Punjabi Sikh beliefs are may be the answer to bridging the cultural divide that sometimes occurs in the halls and classrooms of the school.

Patricia does not believe the school is responsible for building the bridge necessary for students to traverse between social groups, but if they could help, she would be deeply pleased. She states, “it would be nice if the school were to inform everyone of some basic Sikh principles so that Punjabi Sikh young people didn’t have to explain themselves to others.” Additionally, she believes “The school is doing as good a job as it can, and they are fulfilling what they say they’re going to fulfill [academically].” She recognizes that they’re keeping their promise to the families who attend the school, but there is something missing that she believes Punjabi Sikh students are going to have to remedy themselves. She believes Punjabi Sikh youth are going to be the ones who will need to reach out and to bridge the gap between cultures. “In the end though it depends on Punjabi Sikhs to accomplish the change necessary to find our place in the school.” Patricia understands that if the school did attempt to bridge this gap it might seem contrived and forced in the eyes of students. Some things need to happen from within and Patricia’s wisdom reveals that she comprehends what needs to be done to potentially shore up the breaches between Punjabi Sikhs and the rest of the student body starting with open lines of communication. Either way, feelings of acceptance and recognition for Punjabi Sikh culture could potentially aid Punjabi Sikh young people into performing at a higher level as they gain more acceptance and connection with the school as well as the people within it. Boaz echoed this sentiment in his second interview.

Boaz expressed similar notions to Patricia stating that if people knew about basic Punjabi Sikh beliefs and the unique nature as well as the rationale behind their beliefs, then walls that may exist could be brought down through understanding of that which is different. Boaz also

believes that this is something that could impact student performance. After 9/11 many Punjabi Sikhs were thought to be Muslims and were targets of overt acts of racism. Boaz stated that “it would be nice if students who did not know the ways of Sikhism understood why Sikhs wear what they wear so that there’s a basic understanding and a differentiation between Sikhs and Muslims.” Boaz believes that if people knew the difference between Punjabi Sikhs who wear turbans and Muslims who wear turbans, individuals within the community would be much more likely to accept the people with whom they live and attend school. Knowledge brings understanding and acceptance. Boaz further stated that any light shed on the beliefs of Punjabi Sikhs may be valuable in bridging any gaps that may exist between students and faculty. In the end, this could also increase Punjabi Sikh students’ performance as comfort levels, deeper more genuine connections to the school, and general feelings of acceptance develop.

Breaking Bread Together

Prescilla, a young lady who aspires to be an engineer, chose to meet at the Gurdwara for both sets of interviews. Her mother, Pearl, works from home and uses her multiple college degrees to help her daughters to be more successful in college. Prescilla’s father is a truck driver, a common profession among Punjabi Sikh adult males. When discussing the video scenario and ways the school might better serve Punjabi Sikh students who attend the school site, Prescilla offered a unique suggestion that may enhance the experience of Punjabi Sikh students and those with whom they attend school.

Punjabi Sikh baptized believers are vegetarians. It would be a tremendous gesture if the school offered a vegetarian menu to all students so that those who do not eat meat would not have to bring their lunch to school if they did not want to.

This potential token of benevolence may impact many students’ connection to the school and improve their entire schooling experience. This sentiment was echoed by Todd who felt the same

way that Prescilla felt about the vegetarian dietary needs of Punjabi Sikhs. “One thing the school can do to demonstrate that they acknowledge Punjabi Sikhs would be to provide a vegetarian menu since baptized Sikhs are vegetarian.” It may seem like a token action, but for some (especially those young people who have just arrived in the United States), this may go a long way in communicating to Punjabi Sikh families that the school cares about what is important to each individual.

Hearing the Voices of Punjabi Sikh Students

In order to shed light on an extremely unpleasant and deeply racist incident that will be alluded to throughout the remainder of this chapter, some background information must be provided that explains the occurrence that has impacted the schooling and personal experience of student participants as well as their families at the school site. This episode occurred at school in the fall semester of 2017. A group of male Punjabi Sikh young people were sitting at a lunch table, and a white individual took a picture of these young men who were all wearing turbans. She posted this picture on Twitter with the caption, “The Bomb Squad.” This caused a swift and significant global, national, and local response from Punjabi Sikh leaders. The tremendous worldwide as well as local outrage that ensued was unique to the school and its students as this was the first time such a racist, provocative, and profoundly insensitive incident of this nature directed toward Punjabi Sikh students had happened at the school site.

The person who took and posted the picture on Twitter was expelled from school and the superintendent of the school immediately called for a unified community response in the form of a civic conversation regarding diversity. Grace was on that committee. According to the findings in this chapter, one of the things that came from this incident was a strong desire by the families involved in this study for a greater understanding of Sikhism and why they wear some of the

unique things they wear as well as the rationale for some of their beliefs... particularly why baptized Punjabi Sikhs cover their heads. Study participants want the community and the students who attend the school to understand that there is an inherent and profound difference between Muslim terrorists and Punjabi Sikhs which calls for greater understanding and appreciation of Punjabi Sikh culture. Although most Punjabi Sikh participants of this study do not generally feel as though they have been treated in a racist manner, this incident was troubling for all participants and put a shadow of uncertainty and concern in the hearts of some of the young people and their parents that were interviewed. Grace was asked to be on a task force that addressed this situation. She felt honored and believes that when the voices of Punjabi Sikh students are heard, it gives them a sense of hope and belonging that it gave to her. Grace points out:

There needs to be more open conversations so that everyone in the school can be informed and can have a better understanding of... Punjabi Sikhs... who feel as though their voice isn't always as prevalent as the voice of the majority.

Grace also expressed her concerns with her fellow Punjabi Sikh peers who she feels are starting to assimilate into the prevailing culture. Her video would “challenge [her] peers to get back to their [Punjabi Sikh] roots.” Grace further discussed how her video would expound upon some of the basic beliefs of Punjabi Sikhs while hopefully inspiring her brothers and sisters to remember how hard Punjabi Sikhs have had to fight for their beliefs wherever they have been in the world.

Punjabi Sikhs are supposed to be saints and warriors. We have had to fight for our beliefs, our culture, our heritage and our religion since the inception of Sikhism. We had to fight for our rights when we were in India and we should continue to fight for our rights wherever we are in the world. Some of my Punjabi Sikh peers have forgotten this and the video would remind them while also letting non-Punjabi Sikhs know who we really are.

As Grace was sharing this, her generally meek demeanor changed to one of passion and fervor. She is proud of who she is, and she appreciates the school including her in the task force that was

intended to bring healing and understanding. Everywhere Punjabi Sikhs have been in the world, including and especially in India, they have had to fight for their religious rights, and it hurts Grace to see her peers nonchalantly forgetting this reality. No one understands this better than the parents of student participants.

Parent Findings: We Believe Our Children Have Had a Good Schooling Experience

When asked what the experience of their children was like at the school, each parent was generally pleased with their child's experience at the school in question. The first portion of parents' responses will again focus on the answer to the first research question:

What has been the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh youth at a U.S. public Midwestern high school? Like the student interviews, each of the interviews performed with student's parents were either in the family's home, at the local Gurdwara, or at the school site. Frank's parents decided to do their interview at the school and their feeling was that their son was having a good experience in school. They were asked what their educational goals were for their children when they came to the United States. Alexander discussed the difference between the schooling systems of India and the United States stating that:

Here [in the U.S.] the quality of public education...is very good...Some of the very expensive schools in India are good too, but we have a greater opportunity here, and we knew that our children would be given a good education here...something we care about very deeply.

Frank's mother, Andrea added that state schools in India are not as good as private schools, yet the private schools are very expensive and difficult to get into. Because they were unsure if they could get their children into those private schools, they left India, came to the U.S., and have trusted their children to the school corporation in question. Alexander and Andrea felt like staying in India was a risk for their children's academic careers, and although they said they could afford to send their children to the best schools, there was no guarantee that they would be

able to get their children into the school of their choice. Frank's parents stated that they believed their children would have a good schooling experience in the U.S.: "When we came to the United States, we knew that our children would be given a good education here." They were then asked to evaluate Frank's schooling experience. Alexander responded by saying that Frank's schooling experience has been: "Excellent, Excellent! We feel that the school corporation has served our children well we are glad they go to school here." There was genuine joy and gratitude on the faces of Alexander and Andrea.

Prescilla's mother, Pearl, has earned four college degrees and maintains very high academic standards for her daughters. She also expects that the schools where her daughters have attended to meet their academic needs. She stated that "The school has served my family well, Prescilla's experience at school was a good experience." A look of satisfaction and peace washed over Pearl's face as she turned to her daughter with maternal love as Prescilla made it clear that the school had met her stringent expectations, and that she believed her daughters were prepared for life beyond high school. As someone with tremendously extensive educational experience, her view of Prescilla's educational experience is appreciated.

Boaz's father, Bernard, was also asked whether he felt as though the school his children attended served them well. He admitted that he did not come to this particular location with the school in mind, but he had heard from friends and relatives that the school his children would attend in this location had the reputation of being a good one. Bernard never wavered in expressing his positive view of the school by stating: "The school has served our family very well and we appreciate all the school has done for our children." Bernard also said, "What we wanted for our children the school delivered. We are satisfied with the school and our children's

experiences at the school.” His positive body language suggested that his responses were thoughtful and heartfelt.

Grace’s mother Gabrielle has high expectations for her children so she hoped when they came here, they could find a place that helped her children match these expectations. Gabrielle responded without hesitation to each of these questions. She also stated that when they came here, the school was very important to their family and that they wouldn’t have moved here if they felt like the community did not have a quality school her children could attend. “When we came here... we had heard that the school system... was really good and that our children could flourish... otherwise we probably never would have moved here in the first place.” Each time she responded, she smiled, while leaning back and forth in her seat indicating that she felt as though the risk they took in coming to this specific location had paid off not only personally and professionally for she and her husband, but also on behalf of her children. She concluded by saying: “We do feel the school did a good job. We are satisfied with our children’s experience at school.” This feeling pervaded the interview and when the interview was over, Gabrielle thanked me again for asking about her children’s schooling experience.

Javarion’s father echoed the notion that they did not come to this location exclusively for the school, but they came here for familial and professional reasons and based upon research they had done prior to moving here that the schools would meet their children’s needs and their own academic expectations. Jaheem’s research included the quality of hospitals as well as the attributes of the in-state universities his children would likely attend when they finished high school. He was not only concerned with his children’s elementary and secondary schooling experience, but he also knew that once they graduated from high school that in-state tuition would be much more affordable than private schools or out of state college tuition so he wanted

to make sure that the colleges in this state met his standard. The elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools all met his standards as well as the hospitals so Jaheem and his wife made the move to this location, and they are pleased that they did especially as it relates to the secondary schooling experience of his children. They have yet to be disappointed. Jaheem and his wife have four children, one of them is a senior in college at a public in-state institution, and Javarion is a sophomore in college at a public in-state institution. Jaheem expressed true appreciation for how well he felt the school did on his family's behalf in fact he stated that he believed that the school corporation his children attended is "an excellent school corporation." Jaheem also stated that: "the overall experience our children have had has been very good." Everything that was shared throughout the interview was positive and demonstrated a satisfaction with the schooling experience of their children which was similar to the other parents throughout the interviewing process.

Successfully Serving Punjabi Sikh Families

This portion of chapter 4 explores parental critiques of the school and ways in which parents of student participants believe the school could have better served their children so that ultimately the school can better serve all Punjabi Sikh youth. This will aid in exploring parental responses to the second research question: How effective has a U.S. Midwestern public high school been in meeting the academic needs and expectations of Punjabi Sikh parents and their children?

Knowledge Brings Understanding

One of the primary common threads throughout the parents' responses, like their children, is the fact that they would love for the school to provide some basic information about Sikhism and why Sikhs wear what they wear and do certain things that others who are not Sikh

do not. Pearl would like for the school to inform non-Sikh students as to why Sikhs wear what they wear, the rationale behind this, and information about Punjabi language as well as the culture that defines a specific group of people who live in this community: “It would be nice if [all] students knew why we do some of the things we do.” Patricia’s mother, Sassy, feels the same way about informing people about Sikhism and the potential aid this could provide Punjabi Sikh youth.

Sassy’s feelings about this are similar to Pearl’s: “It would be deeply appreciated if the school taught students some basic Punjabi Sikh religious ideas early on so that non-Punjabi Sikhs would have a better understanding of the individuals they go to school with.” Basic knowledge of what it means to be Punjabi Sikh was something that was shared by most of the parents including Maddox who feels that providing this information may not only unite the student body, but also the entire staff, making life easier for all Punjabi Sikh students who attend this school. Maddox further stated, “I want people in this school corporation to know why my family does some of the things they do for our religion.” Parents of student participants were in favor of the school preparing something like a student made video that the corporation could use to inform non-Punjabi Sikhs ensuring that all students understood what Sikhism encourages baptized followers to practice and why. This is something that Maddox stated could bring about respect: “One of the reasons Sikhs wear long hair in turbans is that it is a sign of respect.” Respect is a personal tenet that pervades everything done inside and outside of Punjabi Sikh homes. Jaheem feels this way as well and takes his logic one step further. He does not want to be confused with Muslim people who also wear turbans. Although there are similarities between the look of Punjabi Sikhs who wear turbans and Muslims who wear turbans, there is a significant difference between the belief systems of those two religious groups. Jaheem stated that: “We wear what we

wear because we respect our God and we would like for non-Punjabi Sikhs to be aware of why we do what we do.” From Jaheem’s view, some general awareness of why Punjabi Sikhs wear what they wear would benefit the student population, particularly Punjabi Sikh young people. Another family that discussed Punjabi Sikh apparel was Gurkamal’s parents, Jaiquan and Jasmine.

Gurkamal and her father, Jaiquan, as well as her mother, Jasmine, chose to meet at the school site. Neither of Gurkamal’s parents speak fluent English so the school site’s interpreter agreed to interpret the entire interview. After exchanging some general pleasantries, Jaiquan began to speak of concerns he had about his children growing up in the U.S. He prefaced his assessment of the school by explaining that they intentionally came to the United States, and that they didn’t regret their choice, yet he worried about his children’s lifelong commitment to their Punjabi Sikh heritage. He further discussed how important it is to he and his wife, Jasmine, that their children preserve their Punjabi Sikh legacy, but one of the primary reasons they came to the United States was that they: “wanted their children to have the best opportunity that they could. India provides good opportunities up to a point, but in the United States there is greater opportunity than there is in India.” His fear though, was that their children’s connection to Punjabi Sikh culture will start to fade as they are immersed in the Western culture of the U.S. One way Jaiquan believed he could aid his children in maintaining their Punjabi Sikh identity and to continue to demonstrate his commitment to God, who Sikhs call Waheguru, was to continue wearing traditional Punjabi Sikh attire. Jaiquan communicated that if another Punjabi Sikhs chose not to wear exactly the style of clothes he was wearing that this was not necessarily a reflection of who they are as a person or as a Sikh. He further stated that one’s attire does not fully define their nature, their views of the world, or who they are in totality, but to some devout

Punjabi Sikhs, one's apparel begins telling a story that cannot be ignored. When Gurkamal's parents came the school site to conduct the interview, they had no trace of Western culture in their apparel. The school interpreter openly complimented Gurkamal's parents on their striking traditional Punjabi Sikh garb, and Jaiquan explained that their clothing was just one way he felt he and his wife could show their own family and God how meaningful and significant their enduring commitment to Sikhism truly is. Gurkamal's family also expressed that they believe deeply in the value and importance of education as well because improving oneself is another fundamental precept of Sikhism.

Jaiquan was a music teacher in India and holds a degree in education. He tries to continue teaching music (particularly traditional Punjabi Sikh music on the Taus, a Punjabi bowed string instrument), yet his current profession is a truck driver. Jasmine holds linguistics degrees in both Punjabi and Hindi and stays at home while Jaiquan is on the road. Jasmine's unique understanding of the impact of language has on the way someone sees the world became the next topic of discussion as she is aware that the amount someone speaks their own native tongue often impacts how connected an individual remains to their own culture. The main language that Gurkamal's parents want for their daughter to hold most dear is her family's mother tongue, Punjabi. Jaiquan and Jasmine continually repeated that maintaining Gurkamal's Punjabi Sikh heritage is very important to their family and one of the best ways to do this is through the daily usage of the Punjabi language. There is a general positive appreciation for how Punjabi Sikh parents in this study feel the experience of their children has been at the public Midwestern high school in question, yet there are also some ways parents believe the school could make the experience of their children better than what it already is and that would be for the school to offer Punjabi language as a curricular foreign language selection. Jaiquan believes: "The school is

doing a great job overall, but it is important to us that our children maintain their Punjabi Sikh heritage. One of the ways we believe this can be accomplished is through teaching the Punjabi language itself in school.” Furthermore, Jasmine believes that “if a Punjabi Sikh student doesn’t use their language, it’s possible and quite likely that they will lose it.” Jaiquan and Jasmine recognize that the more someone is exposed to any language, the more the culture that is connected to that language will become a part of the personal culture of the person using it. This creates anxiety in Gurkamal’s parents as they are concerned that their daughter will eventually lose what they desire her to hold dear and sacred. Gurkamal shares her parent’s wish to maintain her Punjabi Sikh culture and she hopes that she doesn’t lose her Punjabi Sikh identity. Gurkamal stated:

It is very important to me to maintain my Punjabi Sikh Asian Indian identity. I know that it is important to my parents, but it is also very important to me and it is something that I’m afraid I will lose at some point and so because of that I work hard to try to use my mother tongue daily while maintaining my religious perspectives and closeness to my family.

Gurkamal recognizes that if any non–Western individual is not concerned about being assimilated into Western culture, it is possible that they would be less likely to aggressively keep their family’s culture, as well as the language connected to it as a significant facet of their own identity. Gurkamal’s parents made it clear that they would like to see the school offer Punjabi as a foreign language choice. This would allow any student who took the course to connect with and to Punjabi language and culture providing those Punjabi Sikh students who wanted to remain connected to the language an opportunity to maintain the linguistic link to which Gurkamal’s parents alluded; something they believe will help students, like their daughter, Gurkamal, stay attached to the culture they each hold dear.

The parents in this research are generally pleased with the academic experience of their children at the public school in question, yet parents have expressed concerns about their children losing their Punjabi Sikh identity and have requested throughout this research, that the school begin teaching the Punjabi language in an effort to aid their children in keeping their unique Indian heritage... specifically their Punjabi Sikh identities. There are some other beliefs that Punjabi Sikhs want others to know about them because they speak to the core of what is most important and vital to their character. These beliefs will be revealed through another incident that altered Punjabi Sikh Peace in this community and has created a schism in the local Gurdwara that made plain some things that have been hidden to those who are not a part of this local Punjabi Sikh community.

Divergent Views of Students and Parents

This portion of chapter four chronicles divergencies that revolve around an incident that created a schism within and disrupted Punjabi Sikh peace within the community that was once united.

A Community's Peace Altered at the Altar

Another troubling incident that will be referred to for the remainder of this chapter occurred in April of 2018. The local Gurdwara was experiencing conflict between two distinct factions. One of the groups was more conservative in nature and did not see the need for tremendous fundamental change at the Gurdwara; whereas, the opposing group was more modern and sought for new leadership that would change the nature of the temple as well as the leadership within it. On the specific day in April, tempers started to flair and a brawl ensued that created a schism in the Punjabi Sikh community and all of those who attend the local Gurdwara. The fight was highly publicized in the local media and online through Twitter, Facebook, and

YouTube. This incident did significant emotional damage to many of the student participants and their families. Even though this incident occurred nearly two years ago, the residual impact it had on some of the families within this study was still fresh and painful. Throughout the interviewing process, student and parent participants revealed additional layers of beliefs and passion when this occurrence was discussed in any way. Their responses to this episode offer a deeper understanding of the impact this haunting event had on study contributors. It also juxtaposes their positive accounts regarding the school and galvanizes their responses about the quality of their experience at the school site in this research. Furthermore, it speaks to conflict that exists within Punjabi Sikh subcultures that has impacted the schooling experience of student participants of this study while revealing divergent views on something that many might assume was completely unified.

Modern Versus Conservative Punjabi Sikh Worldviews: Conflict from Within

The April 2018 fight at the Gurdwara publicized a preexisting yet seemingly dormant division within the Punjabi Sikh community and exacerbated tension between distinctions of Punjabi Sikhs. Discussion of this incident with student participants and their families revealed that this wound ran deep and became something many residents used to criticize their own. Throughout the interviewing process, the school site received very little criticism from student participants or their parents even though no school is perfect. The primary criticism was between differing Punjabi Sikh factions within the local community. In some cases, the criticisms were harsh, and responses were as caustic as the division that took place at the local Gurdwara.

Sarah identified one of her greatest sources of pressure to be from Punjabi Sikh conservatives who do not feel like she is being loyal enough to her people's beliefs. Although Sarah realizes that her more modern apparel and connections to the majority have created the

appearance of her being more modern, this has created tension between Sarah and some of her other Punjabi Sikh peers who view themselves to be more conservative. She stated that one of her greatest sources of pressure came from her Indian peers. Clearly the incident at the Gurdwara formed significant frustration and angst within Sarah and she began to become more and more passionate throughout the interview as discussions of this incident started becoming more personal. Sarah shared that she felt as though she was living in a home that demonstrated a double standard. Her parents did not want to attend Gurdwara because they consider themselves to be more modern, yet Sarah continues to see archaic attitudes connected to more conservative ways of treating women in her own home. The attitude that she has seen is that of the Jat view of women.

A significant population of the Punjabi Sikh individuals who here are Indian by race, Punjabi by region, culture, and language, Sikh by religion, and Jat by profession. Punjabi Sikh Jats are owners of land in Punjab, India who are Sikhs that are also land-owning farmers. Sarah feels as though her parents think that they are more modern than they actually are in the way they run their household. Sarah brings up the conflict she feels even in her own home between what her parents see as the roles of men and women as well as the impact this has on Sarah's role in her home. She is not only deeply frustrated with the conflict that occurred at the Gurdwara, a place she believes: "should not be a place where judgment is encouraged, but discouraged," but also the aftermath within the Punjabi Sikh community. This has created confusion and frustration within Sarah as these dichotomous feelings of her parent's anger at the events that took place at the Gurdwara, even though she sees the residual influence that conservative tradition has on how this is enacted by her parents in her home life. An example of this reality occurred when Sarah's younger brother shouted at her that doing the dishes is a "woman's job," yet does not face

discipline for saying this which reinforces an archaic view of the role of women in Sarah's home. Sarah further expressed how there was great conflict within as she tries to find her role in her home, her community, and her school. She also finds this to be "frustrating and hurtful" because her mother didn't even stick up for her in this situation. The one place Sarah feels the least amount of tension and conflict is in the classroom. It is the place where she finds peace. Often times she does not feel peace in her home, she does not feel peace at the Gurdwara, and there are also times when she is at school where she doesn't feel peace in the hallways when she's confronted by her more conservative Punjabi Sikh peers. This tension is real for many Punjabi Sikh students and Sarah was one of the students to discuss this most. She expressed that this has made her classroom experience that much more important to her, but she is disappointed that she feels so much tension in the other very important places in her life. She expressed a desire for peace in all of these places of her life, but because of the conflict that exists as a direct result of the fight at the Gurdwara, these pressures exist in her world. Sarah's reality diverges from some of the other students' experience because they did not share similar feelings she had about the lack of comfort she feels in her home, at the Gurdwara, and even in the hallways at school. Her only place of comfort, peace, and consistency was the classroom; whereas some of the other students did not express discomfort with any of the places they frequent at school or with their families. One student who shared Sarah's struggles was Patricia.

When this project began, I had little awareness of the experience of the student participants, yet the tension that exists between modern and conservative Punjabi Sikhs was revealed that was unanticipated, palpable, and stark. The admission that there was a reality within the Sikh community with which most are not familiar started coming to the forefront. It was also surprising how much this impacted the schooling experience of students involved in this

research. Patricia informed me that there were many different groups of modern and conservative Punjabi Sikhs at the school and that the variations between groups is at times very glaring. The fight at the Gurdwara had to do with power and influence. According to Sarah, there are definitely more orthodox people at the Gurdwara than there are modern people and these are the two groups that were at odds.

My family is very religious, and I consider myself to be religious as well. I don't like to use religion as a weapon even though some of my Punjabi Sikh friends do. I'm religious because I love Waheguru because that's what my family has taught me to do and be, but it is not a badge I'm trying to wear to impress anyone else so I'm never out to put anyone else down because of what they believe and how they practice Sikhism.

Patricia pointed out how this impacted her schooling experience. The problem, from her view, revolves around how some Punjabi Sikhs act and she grapples with understanding how others feel about the ways in which Punjabi Sikhs should act in a culture outside of India. One of the main reasons some Punjabi Sikh youth struggle at school is because of the drama that exists between the different Indian groups.

I do not feel pressure from white people or any other race, I also don't feel pressure from teachers, administrators, or anyone other than Punjabi Sikhs at the school. It is difficult at times to understand what all of the different Punjabi Sikh groups want as there are so many different variations of beliefs and feelings about one another, God, and the way Sikhs should act. It can be very complicated at times.

This tension seems to exist because of the lack of communication between orthodox groups versus more modern groups. Patricia stated that attempting to maneuver through these differing views can be complex. When asked how this has impacted her at school, she stated:

It really doesn't affect my schooling it only affects me when I have to think about how I'm supposed to behave outside of the classroom with different groups of Punjabi Sikh people... I just think it's stupid that I should have to think about it at all. The people that I should be closest with are my own people, but I find trying to connect with them to be more complicated and challenging than it should be. It does make me appreciate the daily routine of the classroom and non-Indian people because it's not something I have to really think about.

The separation of Punjabi Sikhs into different groups is something that became quite distinct on the day of the fight at the Gurdwara as it brought tensions between differing factions to light revealing what once was veiled. These hostilities also became a part of the everyday life of the students who attend this school site.

This revelation further revealed Patricia's views of the challenges Punjabi Sikh young people must endure as they attempt to live in multiple worlds with unique sets of rules. This specific conversation revealed Patricia's frustration with this reality. It also revealed some of the tensions that existed between parent's views and the views of student participants. Frustration with the view of adults was rarely expressed in the presence of adults, but when students were interviewed away from their parents, their responses revealed anxiety their parents may not know about regarding this division in the community and how this impacts their children in the Punjabi Sikh community, in their home, and at school as well. Miguel further elaborated on these differences as it related to his own home life and the impact that this had on him at school. One of the issues with which Miguel wrestles is arranged marriage.

Miguel: There are some things that my parents believe that I do not believe, for example arranged marriage. They believe that arranged marriage is still an acceptable practice. I'm not saying that it is unacceptable, but I am saying that in the event that an individual doesn't want to marry someone their parents have arranged for them to marry then they shouldn't have to marry that person.

Interviewer: Are there any other areas where you feel like that your parents' conservative views contradict your own modern views of things?

Miguel: My parents were raised to believe that if a baptized Sikh cut their hair, removed their turban, shaved their beard, removed the bracelet, got rid of their dagger, or did anything that was less conservative than they had been raised believing, they are not equal. I do not believe that this is an issue of equality because no one is perfect and because those outward appearances don't define the true nature of someone; it's their actions that define them. The act of removing ancient conservative traditions does not mean that someone is inherently evil, bad, or wrong and that is a place where my parents and I differ. In my video I would want to point out that baptized Sikhs are not good people because of what they wear, but because of what they do and that the same goes for anyone else no matter what their religion is or even if they don't practice any religion at all. If they're a good person, they're good person that is where my parents and I differ at

times... Punjabi Sikh youth have differing views whether they be moderate or conservative but that is not something that is focused on in the relationships between people who are Punjabi Sikh youth. We know that our views on things might be different but that is not the most important thing. The most important thing is doing well in school, getting along together as best as we possibly can, and showing others Punjabi Sikh people value not only other Punjabi Sikh youth, but everyone with whom they attend school.

Miguel's perspective is unique in that he openly states that it is reasonable if his views of Punjabi Sikh beliefs differ from his parents because he believes that many of his peers share his view of the world, one that diverges from their parents even though they may not want their parents to know these differences. Additionally, some conservative beliefs his parents hold make him question the strict nature of Sikh practices. He does not like what he deemed to be false pretenses that revolve around the importance of the traditions rather than what was best for the individual in the form of a suggestion rather than a rule. Miguel did not blatantly ridicule Punjabi Sikh beliefs, but some of his peers worry that his attitude is exactly what will cause them to forget where they came from as the distinctiveness of their culture and belief system erode in a culture that does not reinforce their familial beliefs. Miguel also pointed out that the tensions in the community were something he saw play out in people's homes and at the school, but since he didn't directly involve himself in these situations, he stated that it did not impact him as much as it impacted some of his Punjabi Sikh peers.

Some students in this study align completely with their parents, and some did not. Based upon what Miguel communicated throughout his interview, his appearance suggests that he is generally conservative, but he expressed frustration with his more conservative and religious peers who, at times, blindly followed some of the traditions of Sikhism. Here is where Miguel felt he differed from his parents and veered away from Sarah's and Patricia's views of the complicated nature of being a Punjabi Sikh youth attempting to live in multiple worlds. Grace's

view on this issue did not align directly with Miguel, but communicated how important it was for her peers to cling to Punjabi Sikh beliefs and tradition lest it erode away completely.

Grace is deeply concerned with the same things with which her parents and many of her Punjabi Sikh conservative elders are concerned. She believes that many of her Indian peers at school wanted to fit in with the majority and this is something that bothers her tremendously. Grace has experienced pressure at school from other less conservative Punjabi Sikh students who have criticized her for speaking Punjabi at school and treating her and the people with whom she was speaking Punjabi as backward and eccentric. Grace went to school in the United States until she was in the third grade, and then she went back to India to learn Gurmukhi (the written script of Punjabi) for two years. She returned to the United States in the fifth grade and ultimately finished her high school degree one semester early. She is currently enrolled in college with hopes of becoming an engineer. She made clear in her interview that the Guru Granth Sahib is written in Gurmukhi and Grace's studies firmly rooted her in the language, the culture, and the religion of Sikhism which are all closely linked and intertwined with the Punjabi language itself. The conflict to which Grace is referring is that "if Punjabi Sikhs don't purposely attempt to maintain their language, culture, and religion, that in the next 50 years that culture will die out and we will become completely Americanized." Assimilation is something Grace wants her generation to avoid at all costs. The fact that so many young people seem to be forsaking their Indian identities and trading them for more Americanized identities creates conflict in the Punjabi Sikh community within this study, particularly in the heart of Grace. It has even made Grace feel uncomfortable at school while being subject to perceived or real criticism from her more modern Indian peers. The conflict that exists between modern and conservative Punjabi Sikh youth bothers Grace, and it is something that creates within her a tension that is something

she believes to be unnecessary and that neither she nor any of her peers need in the schooling setting, but it is a distracting reality nevertheless. Javarion shares the same concerns that Grace has and expresses his concern that over time, if a concerted effort is not made by his Punjabi Sikh peers, they will be assimilated into the dominant culture.

Javarion has observed an erosion of Punjabi Sikh dedication from some of his Indian peers as well, and like Grace, it bothers him. This change is especially prevalent in the nature of younger generation Punjabi Sikh students with whom he attended school. When he was a freshman and a sophomore, he viewed his upper classman Punjabi Sikh peers as much more serious in their dedication to Sikhism. When he was an upper classman looking back at the younger generations, he did not feel as though his younger Punjabi Sikh peers were very sincere about Sikhism at all and this bothered him profoundly.

The juniors and seniors when I was a sophomore were more serious about Sikhism, but as a senior as I look back at the sophomores and the freshmen, they do not seem as serious about religion and there is a difference in the way that they behave. This concerns me. The Punjabi Sikh students that were here before me were less assimilated to American culture than the ones that I see coming into the school last year and this year. I think it is essential that we mix with white people without losing our core identity. The way I see it is these kids are sacrificing what Punjabi Sikh used to be and the name of fitting in.

Javarion believes it is essential to mix with the majority without losing their fundamental distinctiveness. He also believes these young people are sacrificing their heritage in the name of conforming to the majority. Like Grace, he wants the identity of Punjabi Sikh students to be embraced. Those who are more conservative feel frustration and concern about the wearing away of their culture amongst their peers. Those who are more modern don't want to be judged by those who are more conservative and the tensions that exist between both parties have impacted the schooling experience of each study participant because there is definite tension amongst Punjabi Sikh students.

Although, there is a general satisfaction with the schooling experience of student participants and parent participants, this friction created from within has caused there to be challenges that both parties feel in the form of an unnecessary distraction, something they do not need at school as regular life is challenging enough. There are some who are more modern and would like to see a change, yet there are some who are more orthodox and will do what they can to maintain their unique identities... even if that means ostracizing their own. Regardless of what side each person chooses, and there are definitive sides, the tension that exists is mostly hidden to the outside and unassuming eye, yet this has impacted the schooling experience of each student participant within this research in that each student is aware that they must navigate through differences within their own culture. Even though these tensions exist within the community, there is one thing that seems to be a consensus amongst all student participants and their parents and that is the importance of family within Punjabi Sikh tradition.

Commonalities Upon Which Participants Agree

As the previous section of chapter four revealed, there are definitive divergencies of experiences between student participants that find themselves in the middle of a community conflict that turns on differences between modern versus more orthodox Punjabi Sikh beliefs. This reality for students has created complications for some of the student participants, yet there are two things upon which student participants agree: that the school has met students' academic needs and expectations, and that family is profoundly important to student participants... something that has impacted them personally and throughout their schooling experience.

The Profound Importance of Family

The conflict within the community and the differing views of student participants and their parents only serves to reveal how important family is to Punjabi Sikhs. Even though some

of the conflict comes from within the home like Sarah stated (specifically about the role of women in the home and her issues with her parent's views regarding this matter), when asked what aspects of her identity were most important to her she stated, "When it comes to Punjabi Sikh families, we take family very seriously. Punjabi people cannot disconnect themselves from their families and that is how I identify most." Even though Sarah discussed how frustrated she was at her family's contradictory message that they see themselves as modern, yet their view of the role of women was not modern in her eyes, Sarah still stated that her identity is closely connected to her family and that she takes intimacy with her family very seriously. That is because one of the primary tenets of Sikhism is the profound importance of family. When asked about what aspects make up her identity most, Gurkamal stated "that to Punjabi Sikhs family is very very important." She feels deeply obligated to maintain her Punjabi Sikh Asian Indian identity knowing that it is important to her parents, but it is also very important to her as well, and it is something she fears she will lose at some point so she works hard to speak her mother tongue of Punjabi daily, to maintain her religious perspectives through prayer and meditation, and to spend quality time with her family as she stated that her family is her "constant source of support and love."

While interviewing each young person who was interested in elaborating on the importance of family to them and how this impacted their schooling experience, there were certain commonalities throughout each response. One of the realities that was common for each of the families of student participants was that all of them came from two parent homes. When asked about the importance of family to them, their countenances often changed and there was a seriousness that washed over them as if this were a sacred almost religious discussion. Even Miguel who stated that he doesn't necessarily agree with everything his parents say about issues

surrounding the lives of Punjabi Sikh youth, when asked what aspects of identity were most important to him, he stated: “My family, my culture, and my religion play a part and they are what drive me to being the best I can be.” Miguel further clarified his differing views from his parents by saying that he may not agree with everything they believe, but they have always been there for him to support him in everything he does, and that is something he appreciates deeply.

Frank, in particular, was very interested in sharing this view of family and the importance of it to him. When asked what aspects of his identity he would most want people to know aside from Sikhism he stated: “Our culture is predicated on family and respect... The significance and importance of family is very much a Punjabi Sikh reality. I want people to see how important family is to me.” Boaz felt similarly. He could not separate his love for his family from his gratitude for where he is today. “My family has shaped who I am. I have always had tremendous support and backing from my parents and I really appreciate that. So for me, family is more important than anything else in my life.” When inside Boaz’s family’s home, their affection and warmth for one another was evident based upon their body language, the way they spoke to one another, and the way they spoke to me about each other. Boaz was not alone in this regard. Student participants further stated that they believed their parents impacted their schooling experience tremendously because of their constant encouragement and reminders of the importance of becoming a better person through education. They also often remind them of why they came to the United States in the first place...to get better through opportunities that may not exist in India not only for themselves, but for their children as well. When Patricia was asked how important family is to her personally, she stated:

I cannot express how much my family means to me. My father sacrifices by working hard for us, my mother has taught me how to read and write in Gurmukhi so I can read the Guru Granth Sahib, and she is there for me whenever I have questions or challenges that I don’t know how to deal with myself. My family means everything to me.

While interviewing Patricia, she talked about her love for her parents, the sacrifices they've made, their fair treatment of her and her brother, along with their consistent support, love, and concern for them in every aspect of their lives. Moreover, Grace was asked what her greatest sources of pressure at school were and she discussed her desire to please her parents through her academic performance, not out of guilt or obligation, but out of appreciation and respect for them:

My parents expected us to do well in school, and I never wanted to let them down because I care so much about them and the sacrifices they've made for our family and because they're the people with whom I'm closest.

When Grace said this, she was looking her mother right in the eyes to let her know that it came from her heart. Her mother looked back at her and tears of appreciation welled up in her eyes.

Todd also stated something similar to the others when he said: "I want to honor my parents... I know what they have been through for us." Even though Todd has not performed academically at the level to which he aspired on behalf of his parents, he still worked hard to overcome his lack of organization to prove to his parents that he appreciated everything they have done for his family. Moreover, when Javarion was asked if he felt like he was expected to be an A student simply because of his Asian Indian or Punjabi Sikh heritage, he said:

No, my parents always set a high bar for me. When I was younger my parents would always go out of the way to make sure that I interacted with other students who were A students and accomplished and they would say things to me like 'make sure that you are like that individual...do not be anything less than the absolute best you can be'. I always try to meet that with my parents because it was something they did themselves, something they expected of me my whole life, and something they instilled deeply within me that became my own motivation moving forward. I do not feel like I was ever expected to be an A student simply because I'm Punjabi Sikh or because I'm Asian Indian. I think that my parents just instilled within me never to settle for that which is mediocre.

Javarion is not a very sentimental person, but when he was talking about his parents, he revealed

a vulnerability that he rarely displays. This openness suggested deep and genuine appreciation for his parents along with an inseparable intimacy that defined their very devoted relationship. The importance of family can be further seen in the sacrifices that parents have attempted to provide their children by leaving India and coming to the United States. This also means that Punjabi Sikh fathers who are truck drivers have had to fight to do their jobs and still spend time with their families. Frank's father, Alexander was born and raised in Punjab, India, but he moved to Los Angeles, California when he was single and lived there for 10 years. He had some friends that moved to Phoenix, Arizona, and before he moved to Phoenix, he went back to India, married his betrothed, lived in Los Angeles for a little while longer with her, and then they moved to Phoenix with the intent to start a family there. He had a friend who moved to the Midwestern state where this research takes place, and his friend told him that he should at least try to go to the capital city of this Midwestern state and check it out. Housing in the state was cheaper and since he is a truck driver, business in the Midwest is very good because it's in the middle of the United States. Truck drivers in this specific location can go to Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Nashville, St. Louis, Kansas City, and even to the East Coast like New York, New Jersey, or Virginia and still spend time with family. At the urging of his friend, he went to the Midwestern state's capital city to investigate. He and his wife decided that they would move to this location. Partially because there is already a Punjabi Sikh Community established here, and partially so he could do his job while still making it home most nights and weekends. Consequently, they purchased a home in this location and have lived here ever since. This theme was common throughout the interviews of the fathers. Each of them wanted to do their job, provide their children with opportunities they did not have, and be there with them instead of always on the road.

Boaz's father, Bernard, had a very similar experience. Bernard, like Alexander, wanted to ensure that he did his job, and provided for his family, yet was still able to spend time with his family because to him and other Punjabi Sikhs: "Family in Punjabi Sikh culture is very important." The fathers in this study also understand that if they are not with their families, they are less likely to be the positive influence they want to be on their children as they attempt to encourage them to stay connected to their Indian roots. "Because of the closeness of our family we are not necessarily worried that our children will abandon their culture, but it is important to us that they value some of the same things we value." Each parent participant of this study made it clear that they wanted their children to understand how much they loved them and the sacrifices that they made were not only made for themselves, but for their children as coming to the U.S. provided opportunities that might be less accessible in India. It was not an attempt to make them feel guilty, instead it was their way of showing their children that all they have done has been to provide their children with opportunities that would be very different if student participants grew up elsewhere.

Todd's mother, Amy, chronicled the sacrifices that her husband has made for their family and how difficult it was for him to be away.

My husband is a truck driver and he was making hauls from California all the way to New York and so part of the reason that we moved here was because it was centrally located and he could make hauls to cities that are much closer.

Todd's father wasn't able to spend as much time at home and part of the reason he wanted to move here was so he could spend more time with the family while still making a good living. The cost of living here is also much better than it is in New York and Pennsylvania so Todd's family was able to get a larger and nicer house for less money while his father got to spend more time at home.

Family cannot be extricated from the identity of Punjabi Sikhs. Traveling across the globe as well as this country to provide for their family is no small task. This inspired many student participants throughout the interviewing process to express their appreciation to and gratitude for the sacrifices their parents have made in an effort to make their children's lives better than their own. Each parent participant involved in this study has done what was necessary to spend as much time with their children as is humanly and professionally possible. Student participants stressed that family was as much a part of their identity as language, culture, religion, or any other facet of one's identity. Making sacrifices for family, doing what is necessary to be with them, and demonstrating every day how important each person is to the other in their families speaks directly to the intimacy that is shared by student participants throughout this research and the impact this has had on the schooling experience of 10 Punjabi Sikh students.

Summary

This chapter has extracted and explored selected data from parents of student participants' and student participants' interviews for the purpose of better understanding the schooling experience of 10 Punjabi Sikh youth. This chapter also attempted to include ways in which students and their parents believed the school could better serve Punjabi Sikh youth that attend this school. Discussion of two significant conflicts and the impact these conflicts had on the families and each student participants' schooling experience in this study were also explored. Furthermore, divergencies and commonalities were amalgamated to more clearly see where differences and similarities exist in the views of the participants of this study. In the next chapter, there will be a shift from explanation to discussion as well as interpretation by making connections between these findings and the literature cited in chapter two to connect the research

questions and to consider the implications of this project for the high school in question and others who may encounter situations similar to the one in this study.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed to investigate whether 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh young people and their parents felt as though a Midwestern public school met their academic needs and expectations. Identifying explicit ways the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh families also occurred. This chapter will revisit some of the literature from chapter two to link the theoretical to the pragmatic, while suggestions for further research will occur. Additionally, detailed ways in which the school can better serve Punjabi Sikhs based upon suggestions made by study participants will be distinguished and explored as well.

Connections to the Review of Literature

This portion of chapter five will connect students' responses to some of the literature reviewed for this study. The first portion of this section will review the myth of the model minority and the ways in which students felt as though the school did or did not place an undue or unnecessary burden upon them to perform well simply because they are Asian American. The second portion of this section will speak to the aspects of the formation of Punjabi Sikh youth's identity, the challenges of living in dichotomous cultural milieus, and what role identity formation has played in the schooling experience of student participants. The third and fourth portions of this section of chapter five will explore the role language plays in student performance and the role language plays in student participants' identities.

Exploration of Racism and the Myth of the Model Minority

One unexpected aspect of this research was that student participants did not feel as though they were ever treated in a racist manner at any time while attending the school site. Additionally, not one of the student participants was offended by the 'Bomb Squad' incident

where the white female student took a picture of a group of Punjabi Sikh males at a lunch table and posted this picture with the racist caption on Twitter. Each students' awareness of this yet their lack of personal connection to this racist incident was surprising. Observers may feel as though this would have created significant reaction amongst study participants, but the reaction came more from outside of the community than from within it. This was another time where my positionality became very clear to me. If a group of my friends or associates had been treated in a manner such as this, I would have considered a lawsuit of libel and potentially adding defamation of character to the suit. It astounded me that there was little to no reaction from those who were not in the picture. Even if I had not been in the picture, I would have still considered a legal remedy to this racist event. I can only conclude that because of the fact that they did not consider themselves to be a part of the dominant society that their case may not hold weight in a court of law, but it baffled me nevertheless and I was reminded of my positionality once again.

Although the families were cognizant of this episode, this did not seem to impact any of the individuals within this study other than their awareness of it. Because none of the student participants were directly involved in this occurrence, each participant seemed impervious to the reaction that came predominantly from outside of the school. Despite this racist incident and other less notable incidents than this one, none of the research participants felt as though they had been treated in a racist manner. This could speak to Ogbu's (1990) theory of voluntary versus involuntary immigration. From this theory, because Punjabi Sikhs voluntarily came to the United States, they understand that they would not be treated the same as the majority; consequently, Punjabi Sikh parents may embolden their children to ignore any indirect racism, but to report direct racism toward them to teachers without yielding to the temptation to react. It

is possible that because none of the students were directly involved in any racist events, their reaction to the most notable one was something they immediately seemed to put behind them.

It could also speak to the challenge Punjabi Sikhs face when attempting to fit into different cultural groups like their families, their community, and their school, which all require the understanding of different sets of rules and expectations known only by those who navigate through them on a daily basis. Not all of the Sikh young people in this study wanted to classify themselves as more orthodox or those who are more modern because those two terms were defined differently by each individual, and there is no definitive way to delineate someone's level of commitment to their religion, their family, and their friends at school. The findings of this study revealed that student participants occupied what Charbonneau (2011) called a place of cultural in-betweenness that sometimes they themselves can't even describe. Some of the participants seemed determined to successfully traverse through both traditional Sikh culture and United States mainstream youth culture, but that can be complicated and rife with unknown challenges; nevertheless, they persevere and try their best to find their way in complicated multifaceted worlds. On the other hand, this also created within some of the students cultural dissonance, social tension, a sense of confusion, or internal conflict when met with culturally challenging situations while also attempting to meet their parents' arduous expectations.

Gibson's study of Punjabi Sikhs in California may speak to the controlled reaction to this event as well. Gibson (1988) suggested that parents may view schools in the United States as being better than the schools in India, that their children would be treated better by American public school personnel than by the school personnel in India, and Punjabi Sikh parents tend to excuse discrimination and prejudice toward their children as long as it does not discourage their children from striving for academic success. Gibson also points out that Punjabi Sikh parents

impress upon their children that as immigrants they may have to endure injustice to achieve their goals; therefore, they hold their children responsible for doing well in school no matter how they are treated. Regardless of the reasons for why individuals in this study did not feel provoked by the racist incident that took place at the school site, because it did not happen directly to them, there was little reaction to it. Of all of the study participants, Grace, was the only one who spoke of the aftermath of this racist incident in depth, and it stemmed from the fact that she was asked to be on the task force that spoke about this episode. Being on the community-wide task force created an opportunity for her to express her feelings, and because Grace is quiet at school, this is not something she felt she had had the opportunity to do prior to being asked to participate in this civic event.

Another purpose of this research was to investigate whether student participants felt as though they faced the complication that challenge some Asian Americans in the United States: that they may be considered model minorities, something that is laden with unfair expectations (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Student participants of this study were asked if they felt pressure to perform well in school simply because they were Asian Americans, yet none of them felt as though they had undue pressure put on them from the school, from teachers, or from their white peers to perform well in school. Their consistent response in the negative to this idea seemed to dispel the notion that they felt pressure to live up to the ideal standard of the model Asian minority. Not all of the student participants involved in this study were straight A students. The myth of the model minority suggests that all Asian Americans should automatically earn an A in each of their classes. Nevertheless, the fact that not all of the students in this study were straight A students reinforces the incongruity regarding the certainty that academic success is a

given among Asian American students further revealing that some Asian Americans could face what Chou and Feagin (2015) call difficulties when trying to achieve academic success. However, there was discussion of pressures they felt to perform well, but that pressure did not come from the school. In some cases, this pressure came from within, yet in other cases, this pressure was planted deep within them by their parents. Although pressure to perform well in school was discussed, it did not seem to be negative pressure from parents that unfairly demanded excellence laden with consequences in the absence of perfection. Instead, it was a positive pressure that suggested familial teamwork, support, and love that also recognized the sacrifices their parents made by coming to this location, and how important getting what students want in the future would depend on their success in school. Students were aware that their parents were willing to do whatever they could to assist their children in achieving the kind of success that would grant them access to the best professional opportunities in their future professional field.

How Performing Well in School Is Forged into the Minds of Punjabi Sikh Youth

Although the student study participants did not feel as though school administrators, teachers, or their white peers expected them to perform well simply because they were Asian Indian, there was discussion of pressure to perform well in school. This portion of chapter five will explore those sources of pressure and the ways in which performing well in school is very much a part of the teaching of Punjabi Sikh parents to their children. Gill's (2005) study attempted to research how Sikh youth identify themselves and what external and social influences impact the construction of their individuality. As Punjabi Sikh youth struggle to find their distinctiveness in the midst of competing expectations, they may face institutional barriers that may complicate their identity. One of the most relevant questions Gill's (2005) research

raises is how Punjabi Sikh youth accommodate some cultural and religious values over others. Her study concluded that Punjabi Sikh youth are distinctly visible through their manner of dress, spiritual symbols, the length of their hair, and what they wear on their heads. This impacts how much each of these young people feel the need to juggle their cultural and religious identity in the face of conflicting community, school, and familial expectations.

Many Punjabi Sikh youth find it difficult to find a space for themselves in the context of their family, friends, and the wider community, including conflicting expectations that are imposed upon them by their family and the Sikh community. Sikh youth specifically must mediate conflicting demands from the mainstream school culture, while navigating their own culture, ethnicity, religion, and community influences. Gill (2005) further asserts that identity is a socially constructed, fluid concept that is an increasingly complex phenomenon for children and youth of non-Western immigrants, who are raised in a mainstream Western environment. Sikh youth, in particular, face conflicting messages of what it means to belong to the community, religious group, and the school institution. According to Hall (1995), this constant conflict creates within Sikh young people a perception that they are themselves neither completely Indian nor completely American. At times second generation Sikhs believe that there is a time to act Indian and a time to act otherwise. Furthermore, Tiwana (2012) discusses how Punjabi Sikh youth view themselves within these different settings speaks to the formation of their own views toward schooling, community, and how their views of both have been formed. The young people involved in this study had varying feelings about these inner conflicts. It seemed that the more conservative or orthodox a student proclaimed to be, the more aware of, and impacted by the expectations they felt that their parents put upon them. On the other hand, the more modern a student declared themselves to be, the less role their parent's pressure to perform well in school

impacted them. Nonetheless, each of the students involved in this study felt pressure either from within, or from their parents, to perform well academically. The more pressure they put upon themselves, the less pressure they felt from their parents, regardless of how they actually performed in school.

To further emphasize this point, Punjabi Sikh youth whose families promote an unwavering emphasis on education can substantially deviate from the views of their non-Punjabi Sikh peers. These youth are challenged to reconcile their parents' demands with those of their friends. While their parents insist that children follow familial, cultural, and religious norms by prioritizing their time around school and family obligations, the message from Western society is for youth to search for their own independence and personal happiness. This subsequently creates a dual burden for those students who attempt to balance these conflicting values. Thus creating a world where young people must live in what Johal (2003) calls both a demanding 'Indian' world and the 'Western' world, both of which are a reality to second generation South Asians. Again, this seemed to impact more modern students of this study because the conservative or orthodox students have already embraced who they are, how they would behave, and what role religion and culture plays in their own lives. For the more modern students who don't necessarily adhere to conservative Sikh religious, cultural, and familial traditions, there was much more conflict within than students who appeared to be determined to carry on their parents' religious and cultural views of the world.

Although student participants did not feel pressure from the school, there were pressures that did exist and that were discussed. Every one of the student participants of this study were aware of why their parents came to the United States and what it meant that they were living in this specific location where there was a preexisting Punjabi Sikh community within a

community. Student participants had varying degrees of traditional versus more modern views. These diverging views did not mean that a student was completely orthodox or completely modern as students seemed to adopt some of their parents' traditions while questioning others. For some of the students this impacted their appearance regarding the apparel they chose to wear. The more conservative students fervently desired to fully adhere to their parent's views, and they openly expressed how important being traditional in their apparel, their actions, and their adherence to Sikh tradition was to them. There were however, student participants who considered themselves to be somewhere in between where they were and where their parents were. These students shared that they considered themselves to be more modern than their parents as they openly rejected some of their parent's views of the world and questioned what they viewed as double standards played out in their home. Regardless of whether a student viewed themselves as modern, orthodox, or somewhere in between, in the end, each student involved in this study knew how important it was to their parents that they stay connected to Punjabi Sikh, as well as traditional Indian cultural beliefs even if it wasn't as important to the students themselves.

Student participants in this study were encouraged by their parents to be adaptable and accommodating to the society in which they lived, while remaining committed to family and the teachings of the Gurus found in the Guru Granth Sahib. The pressure of adapting to a society in which their parents were not raised, but in which they all reside while balancing their commitment to family, community, and faith was a perceptible reality. The Punjabi Sikh parents in this study encouraged their children to become skilled in the ways of the dominant group while resisting assimilation to it. The hope of these parents centered on accommodation and acculturation to this specific community without completely succumbing to cultural assimilation.

Acculturation can entail rejection of, or resistance to, cultural elements and not simply the adoption of foreign cultural elements. The individual who identifies with both the majority and minority group is what Sam and Berry (2006) call acculturative. Acculturation development is a process toward gaining confidence within two distinct cultural domains in order to have a sense of belonging and to be able to participate successfully within both. Fuligni (2007) maintains that the ways people behave and evaluate their experiences are guided by their values and, even if basic values appear to be universal, their individual importance in priority vary between persons and nations. In contrast to assimilation, LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton's (1993) acculturation model implies that the individual, while becoming a competent participant in the majority culture, will always identify as, and embrace their membership in, their own minority culture. Family life is profoundly significant in the lives of first generation Indian immigrant parents for their second generation Sikh children according to Hall (2002), but the family is only one place where young Sikhs learn about what it means to be Sikh, Indian, and Asian while being individuals immersed in the Western Diaspora.

The degree to which student participants felt pressure, and the source of that pressure, depended on their personal orthodox or more contemporary views of how Punjabi Sikhs should behave in the current society in which they reside. All student participants felt pressure from their parents, but it was framed in a positive way in that students appreciated everything their parents have done for them. Punjabi Sikh parents continue to believe that public schools are a viable means for their children to acquire both the necessary social and academic skills necessary to maneuver through the complex maze of American culture. However, Liang, Li, and Kim (2004) indicated that there is a risk in this reality because Indian culture is not valued in American schools potentially causing Punjabi children to be tempted to fit in socially, which

could lead directly to the rejection of their Indian ways. Student participants of this study valued the sacrifices their parents had made on behalf of their family and did not begrudge their parents' desire for them to perform well in school. In fact, the students either adopted this view or claimed it as their own. With the exception of two student participants (Miguel and Sarah), each student participant felt strong connections to what their parents' beliefs were and seemed to earnestly desire to please their parents. This is not to say that Miguel and Sarah did not want to please their parents, but they did not agree completely with everything their parents wanted them to believe. This created tension for Sarah in that she felt that her parents, who view themselves as modern, contradicted themselves because of their less than modern view of the role women should play in the home. Although Punjabi Sikh parents are engaged in their children's educational experience, they attempt to avoid being overly involved in the achievement process, putting that responsibility in the hands of their children. Despite this balancing act that Asian Indian parents attempt to negotiate, relationships between Sikh mothers and daughters living in Western societies can experience tremendous strain. The process of adapting to a new environment and surviving in the dominant American culture places Sikh daughters in peculiar, and at times, difficult situations affecting their relationship with their immigrant Sikh mothers according to Saeltzer (2009).

Furthermore, Miguel spoke of arranged marriage, but it was just an example of one area he and his parents may differ. He stated that their views of such things were not necessarily similar to his own beliefs, yet from his perspective this did not seem to strike tension between he and his parents. Instead, it just pointed out differences in some of their perspectives. In the end, students truly felt that their parents loved them, cared for them, and were their greatest allies or advocates. The greatest tension for students came from the schism that was created by the fight

at the Gurdwara. The fight at the Gurdwara revealed preexisting tensions that already existed but were hidden between modern and orthodox students and how this played out in their behavior at school. Some of the students who were more orthodox felt pressure from other students who felt the desire to let go of some of their Punjabi Sikh beliefs; whereas, the less conservative students felt harshly judged by students who were more traditional. Both parties stated that this impacted their schooling experience because they had to think about the conflict that existed among their own Indian peers.

Niyogi's (2010) theory of pre-migration or sub-national identity regarding how Punjabi Sikhs formed their own identity while they were in India before they ever migrated from India was something that was very real to the more conservative participants. Their desire to advocate on behalf of maintaining their unique Punjabi Sikh identities pressed those who wanted to conform to the dominant culture. On the other hand, non-orthodox participants felt judgmental pressure from their more conservative peers and stated that one of the only places they felt completely free to be themselves was in the classroom at school. Regardless, friction between the differing views of how Punjabi Sikhs should demonstrate their beliefs created tensions that were not discernible prior to this research. Niyogi (2010) pointed out that this social strain is common in India, a place that embraces an astounding assortment of cultural groups, an abundance of mutually incomprehensible languages, as well as many different varieties of religions and ethnic practices. Wherever they are in the world, Punjabi Sikh immigrants actively manipulate their sub-national characteristics, including their local, spiritual, and linguistic attributes, to create an innovative identity in the host society in which they put down roots.

As a direct result of sub-national practices, the identity of many Punjabi Sikhs are able to be maintained in second generation youth since it was already practiced in India by their first

generation immigrant parents who left India in search of something outside their native land. Because Sikh families have separated themselves from the predominantly Hindu religious culture of India, this practice has been ingrained within many Sikh families regarding the importance of maintaining their own unique identity wherever they may be in the world according to Niyogi (2010). Nieto (2002) points out the assumption that one must sacrifice culture and identity to become American does not seem to be the case with Punjabi Sikhs. Additionally, assimilation may be slowed when immigrants settle among their compatriots who have already formed a local population within their new residence of choice. Cultural absorption may also be thwarted when immigrant settlements establish leadership, official or otherwise, from their homeland, when there is a possession of their own newspapers, churches, and associations of every description. Bunle (1950) stated that when immigrant groups form independent settlements, enclosed within the local population, the policy of home administration often prevents assimilation. The families within this study are a part of a community that live closely with many other Punjabi Sikh families, and, even though there is tension, there is still an expectation that a connection to India, Punjab, and Sikhism still exists. Although there appears to be a loosening of the strict nature of some of the students who attend the high school in question, it cannot be presumed that the importance of separation from U.S. culture for student participants is as important to them as it is to their peers or their parents.

These types of social connections are not uncommon among immigrant groups. Many who live transnational lives enjoy the expression of religious and social celebrations in ethnic enclaves. Basically, these experiences aid in the retention of Indian rituals, beliefs, customs, and practices among the Asian Indians in the United States. Indeed, studies indicate that immigrants tend to hold onto their native identities, values, and cultural norms many years post immigration,

as it provides them with cultural and social capital as they transition to a new cultural community according to Sanghavi (2010). These complicated realities have put Punjabi Sikh young people at the forefront of battles that are tremendously challenging. The tensions each student faces have impacted their schooling experience, shaped their identities, and made them into the people they are today. In this case, study participants reinforced the preexisting research by revealing the complicated nature of being Punjabi Sikh outside of Punjab, India.

Language Ability as Advantage or Disadvantage in the Classroom

Each of the Punjabi Sikh students involved in this study are fluent in at least two different languages, Punjabi and English. Many of them also understand Hindi and, if they were in India outside of Punjab, they could effectively function because the two link languages of India are Hindi and English. Each state in India uses their own mother tongue, but many Indians speak more than just their mother tongue. When asked whether they believe that their language ability gave them an advantage in the classroom, most of the students did not really feel as though it provided them with a tremendous advantage over their peers. Hammond's (2014) research suggests that the ability to comprehend multiple languages can be beneficial to more effectively grasping scholastic concepts. Individuals who know just two languages are more likely to be able to learn more languages beyond their mother tongue and their second language. Each experience of learning a foreign language is highly beneficial because individuals who do so don't just learn the target language, but they also learn about the nuances of their own. Hammond (2014) further states that once a new language is acquired and individuals know it well, it is easier to make comparisons to other languages, simplifying the whole learning process. Even if someone learns a language that is not closely related to one that they know and use already, there are advantages that will transfer when learning a third

language. Confidence and conversational skills are essential to one's ability to apply the languages they are learning, and understanding grammar is very important for fluency. Study participants had varying degrees of belief that their ability to speak multiple languages helped them in the classroom. Some believed it helped them to better understand Spanish, a popular foreign language option at the school, while others didn't really think it impacted their academic success at all. Some students were aware of the notion that the more languages someone learns, the better they will understand grammar in their own language as well as any additional languages they learn. According to Genesse (2009), this, however, does not necessarily mean that the ability to speak multiple languages will give an individual the ability to speak and fully understand the language of currency in a given culture. Hammond (2014) posits that different languages use very different grammars, but when a person understands the function of each part of a sentence, and that these parts are not necessarily in the same order in different languages, that individual is at a tremendous advantage when they want to learn another language. This does not speak to the nuance of the language, only the ability to maneuver functionally through it. Since each of the students in this study grew up predominantly in the United States, it would be difficult for them to grasp whether or not their language ability helped them or it didn't because they could not compare it to any other experience they had. This would be an avenue to explore deeper regarding the ways in which language ability assisted people's academic performance in a language that is different than the one that is native to their parents. Although the Punjabi Sikh students in this study demonstrated proficiency in a linguistically diverse setting, not all scholars agree that this is as advantageous as is commonly purported. Le (2007) points out that there is still dissension as to whether individuals who speak multiple languages experience academic advantages over others. However, the way that the dominant culture

communicates this as an advantage or a disadvantage may impact whether individuals within a linguistically diverse setting embrace it as a benefit or a hindrance.

The role that language plays in both the cultural and educational lives of second generation Punjabi Sikh students cannot be underestimated. Because many sub-national Indian people are accustomed to speaking three languages, namely Hindi, English, and their mother tongue (Punjabi in this particular case), there are two side effects that language distinctions play in the lives of Indian people wherever they are in the world. Gans (1997) discloses that the first side effect is that when the mother tongue of a specific sub-national group is spoken in the home and also within the cultural community of the individuals, a delineation of culture is much more likely to be maintained. Many second generation Punjabi Sikh students speak English at school and Punjabi at home and in their cultural center of their community outside the home, which tends to be the *Gurdwara* (Female Cultural Informant, personal communication, August 10, 2017). As previously stated, this serves to maintain a cultural distinction between American culture and Punjabi Sikh culture, but it could also enable Punjabi Sikh students to become familiar with the nuances of language that could potentially enable them to more effectively speak the academic language that, in theory, should enhance their schooling experience. Furthermore, Gans (1997) states that Punjabi Sikh youth who are integrated into their ethnic community, or continue to speak the immigrant language, often do better in American schools than their less integrated or less bilingual peers. The student participants in this study did not seem to think that they had a distinct advantage or disadvantage over their peers simply because they were able to speak multiple languages or because they spoke Punjabi at home regularly.

Language as a Means to Maintain Identity

Even though the reality of a language of currency exists, Sikh students and their parents maintain a positive image of the host culture in relation to the home culture from which they have come. Both the parents and the students have a sense that the U.S. provided professional opportunities that would not be available within India because of the political problems of integrating traditional Sikh culture into modern Indian society, which is intricately intertwined with Hinduism. Although Sikhism has adopted some aspects of Hinduism and some aspects of Islam, Sikhism is a unique religion that has carved out its own identity which in India has not always been welcomed. Chawla (2001) asserts that Sikh parents encourage their children to maintain a positive image of schooling in the U.S., as both parents and the students have a sense that education is the key to social and economic advancement within the larger society. According to Mouw and Xie (1999), the cultural perspective holds that bilingual children have better access to the ethnic and cultural capital of their parents than do their monolingual counterparts. If there was something culturally specific about immigrants and values and practices that facilitate academic success, then bilingual children would have the advantage of benefiting from both their cultural heritage and from the potential to acquire English language fluency.

Bilingualism is important in a transitional sense because it enables immigrant children to communicate effectively with parents who are not proficient in English. This was especially true for Boaz, as he communicated on behalf of his father whose English was not as good as his English. Mouw and Xie (1999) further point out that in contrast to the cognitive and cultural perspectives, the general claim is that bilingualism is beneficial for academic achievement only because it prevents a language gap from emerging between parents and children. In some

immigrant families, the emergence of a language gap is a real possibility because children more frequently use the language they speak outside of the home. Some immigrant children more quickly obtain English language fluency than their parents and develop a preference for speaking English over their native language. The danger is that the rapid linguistic assimilation of immigrant children may cause them to lose the ability to communicate effectively with parents whose English-language assimilation is proceeding at a slower pace. If the language gap doesn't merge, parents can encounter difficulties in monitoring their children's performance and instilling values and behaviors parents view as important. In this sense, delaying linguistic assimilation is important, as it ensures effective communication between parents and children. This attention can manifest itself in a variety of ways, such as instilling values and aspirations that contribute to success and courage in the child's development by being involved in the school and monitoring homework. The quality and quantity of this attention determines the degree to which children are able to access the human capital of their parents.

Huang's (2000) study examined the interaction between Asian American high school students' schooling and their racial, cultural, and linguistic identity development. The data suggested that the individuals she researched were diverse in terms of their degree of English proficiency, the process of acculturation, family background, parents' methods of upbringing, and academic achievement. Each student's interaction between their identity and schooling is multifaceted, and identity is a social construction that is continually being re-created. Their status as Asian Americans is constantly being negotiated as they interact with teachers and peers. It cannot simply be assumed that all Punjabi Sikh students are able to grasp Standard Formal Academic English just because they grasp more than one language. Gurkamal expressed that there were times in class where teachers or students used idioms, clichés, or jargon with which

she was not familiar and her ensuing lack of understanding when others laughed made her feel separated from others at times. This is the kind of information that may aid the high school in being aware that not all students can speak the language of currency and ways to shore up this discrepancy must be addressed. There must also potentially be an understanding of the ways in which language separates so that the school can find ways to include Punjabi Sikh youth in all phases of student life.

Recommendations for Further Research

When doing qualitative research of this nature, the study naturally raises questions that require greater examination beyond the initial investigation. This research attempted to answer two very specific research questions and, in the process of doing so, has raised other potential queries that could be explored. The first of those questions revolves around further understanding Punjabi Sikh students' relationships with their parents and the implications of those relationships to school academic achievement and acculturation. The second inquiry revolves around Punjabi Sikh students' feelings about the difficulty of living in and walking the tightrope of two different worlds: The Western world, as well as the Indian world outside of continental Asia yet within their home and community. It would also be very interesting to explore more closely the importance of Sikhism to each student and the impact that has on feelings toward school and students' views as to how Sikhism and their views toward school influences their performance in school. Finally, further investigation is needed of the role students feel their language ability plays in maintaining their identity in a culture that is different than their own. The remainder of this chapter will take a closer look at each of these four different possible studies and how they might be constructed.

The Impact of Punjabi Sikh Parents on Their Children's Performance in School

The interviews conducted in this research looked for answers as to whether student participants felt as though the school had done everything in its power to effectively serve second generation students whose families come from India. Research gathered in chapter two of this study speaks to the general instruction that Punjabi Sikh parents offer their children as they attempt to accommodate the society in which they live without assimilating to it. This can create tension for students as they attempt to please their parents and at the same time fit in at a school immersed in Western society. Each study participant had respect and admiration for their parents, but not all of the students agreed with every belief to which their parents observed. When speaking of pressure, students experienced pressure to perform well in school in some capacity, yet students did not speak negatively about that pressure, as many of the participants believed that this pressure came from within themselves. Something that could fill in gaps in this research would be to further investigate the ways in which student participants believed their parents influenced their views of academic excellence, and what conduct students felt was acceptable inside and outside of their parents' homes while juggling the social expectations of Western society.

The format of research of this nature could either be a quantitative study that formulated questions students could answer to better pinpoint how students felt about their parents' impact on the importance of doing well in school. This research could also take the form of a mixed method research project that qualitatively interviewed students, while also using a quantitative approach to determine if the new research was consistent with preexisting research. Because the focus of this study was on how effectively the school served Punjabi Sikh youth, less focus was on the impact parents had on their schooling performance and the subsequent pressure or support

they felt from their parents as they attempted to matriculate through the school. If the focus was altered, and parents' expectations were explored, as well as how that impacted the emotional experience of students who may struggle in school, this could yield responses that may shed a more clear light on the potentially challenging relationship that Punjabi Sikh students and their parents have when it comes to academic performance. Additionally, this could provide a glimpse into the challenges that Punjabi Sikh youth face who feel that they cannot or do not want to live up to their parent's expectations.

The Impact of Multiple Forms of Pressure

As a high school teacher, something that is tangibly and visibly clear is that some students strongly desire to fit in. Of course, there are students who could care less what others think, and they either become leaders, or they are viewed as rebellious outcasts that don't have a group to which they belong. Watching the evolution of the behavior of second generation Punjabi Sikh youth over the past decade has been interesting to observe. There are too many stories to tell, but something that emerges every year is that there are more and more Punjabi Sikh young people who walk the tightrope of living in dual worlds. One of the ways this is manifested is through the participation in extracurricular activities. Punjabi Sikh students who participate in sports, performing arts, or academic teams have stronger relationships with non-Punjabi Sikh peers. It would be very interesting to more closely explore whether students feel they are living in two worlds. Is it so much a part of their natural daily lives that they don't think much about it, or is there truly a struggle that creates tension within? And if there is tension, how is that tension displayed in the lives of Punjabi Sikh young people? This study would need to be another qualitative study to investigate the various responses students may provide. It would be

fascinating to further explore how students feel about their place in the two different worlds in which they are immersed.

What Role Sikhism Plays in Students' Lives

Religious practice in the U.S. often includes weekly church attendance and participation in spiritual life is often equated with integrity of character. This does not seem to be the case with the Sikhs throughout this research. Since the conflict that took place at the local Gurdwara, the attendance of the families of student participants has gone down, as many of the participants' families found attending the Gurdwara to be awkward and uncomfortable. It would be very interesting to do a qualitative study to discover what role Sikhism plays in the lives of the individuals in this specific area, as well as the ways in which it is practiced in the home outside of the Gurdwara. Sikhism is perhaps not as well-known as some other Eastern religions, and information regarding how this is practiced by Sikh believers would be something that would be very interesting to explore. Some other aspects that would be interesting to research include the teachings that Sikhs value most from their holy scripture text, the Guru Granth Sahib. In what ways does God play a role in the lives of Sikhs? What common views of the afterlife do participants have, and how does that influence student identity and school performance? Additionally, how does Sikhism influence the way young people go about being students, family members, and friends?

How Language Shapes Identity

Finally, another suggestion for a study that would further the information that was introduced in this research would be how much and the ways in which Punjabi Sikhs believe language shapes their identity. It would be interesting to know how many student participants go out of their way to speak Punjabi at school. It would also be interesting to know how many

student participants speak Punjabi at home, and, if they do, is it exclusively Punjabi or is it a mix between English and Punjabi? Discovering whether the parents of participants have made this a requirement could potentially speak to some of the tensions that may, or may not, exist between students and their parents. Along these same lines, exploring how important it is for Punjabi Sikh parents that their children marry someone who is Punjabi Sikh would be interesting to explore. Also, if a second generation Punjabi Sikh young person chose to marry someone else who was Punjabi Sikh, what role would the Punjabi language play in their future home? Learning how important speaking Punjabi was to each participant and whether they believe that speaking Punjabi keeps them connected to their family's roots would be a very interesting extension of this research.

Such a study could use a mixed methods approach. This could lead to greater discovery of the feelings participants have toward the importance of speaking Punjabi and the ways in which they believe that shapes who they are. In the hallways of the school site, there are still some students who speak Punjabi to one another, but as chapter four revealed, there are some Punjabi Sikh students who do not want to speak Punjabi at school, and the students who don't believe that Punjabi should be spoken at school also don't believe that others should speak it either. Grace and Prescilla spoke of struggles they had because they went out of their way to speak Punjabi at school. Gurkamal stated that speaking Punjabi at school was a comfort to her, and she did not want this to be controversial, but some Punjabi students looked down on Grace, Prescilla, and Gurkamal because they were speaking Punjabi at school. It would be interesting to see what the perspectives of the students who did not speak Punjabi at school and explore why they did not want to do so. Of that same group of students, how many speak Punjabi at home,

and what are their feelings about this? Is the speaking of Punjabi forced upon them, is it desirable to them, are they angry about it, or is it just a natural part of their lives?

Recommendations

The practical recommendations presented in this chapter will be directed toward policymakers within the school corporation and the school site that can grant or deny any request. The groups that will be addressed include the school corporation's school board, the central office administrators, including the superintendent of the school corporation, and any other central office individuals who influence school corporation policy. School administrators at the high school, as well as teachers at the high school, will also be addressed.

Requests for the School Board and Central Office School Corporation Administrators

Some of the suggestions that have been made by students in this research will not require any financial subsidies, yet there are two that will. The first request that may require pecuniary backing revolves around school lunches. Baptized Punjabi Sikh believers are vegetarians, and it would be a sign of good faith if there were a vegetarian menu offered at the school site. It would also be a sign of earnest recognition if some of these vegetarian items on the menu were traditional Indian cuisine; however, just having a daily vegetarian option would be appreciated even if the food offered is not considered customary Indian fare. The devout baptized Punjabi Sikh students involved in this study packed and brought their own lunch to school because the school does not provide exclusive vegetarian options.

Another proposition that may require financial support would be that the school offer Punjabi as a curricular language option, as it would require that another staff member be hired who is licensed to teach as well as fluent in Punjabi. One of the most significant ways someone identifies themselves is their language. If Punjabi Sikh students are not using their language on a

daily basis, it is possible they will not maintain their unique identity, and if the school were to make this a specific course offering, study participants and their parents would deeply appreciate this gesture. Punjabi is spoken by nearly 100 million people on the planet and as such is one of the most prolifically spoken languages on earth. Student engagement with the written language of Punjabi, known as Gurmukhi, would connect participants not only to the Punjabi language, but may open cultural doors to India as well. To offer the Punjabi language as a curricular choice would be deeply appreciated by the Punjabi Sikh families in this study and was requested by several families in this study. This would also benefit students who are not Punjabi as learning this language will connect them to and with their fellow Punjabi students while linking them to India as well. Additionally, the acquisition of foreign languages is central to a multicultural education and the aim of valuing diversity in a pluralistic society.

The next recommendation for the corporation school board and central office would be to include the three major Punjabi Sikh holidays onto the school corporation's calendar. These holidays are Baisakhi, Diwali, and the November celebration of Guru Nanak, the founding father of Sikhism. In the calendar year, the first Punjabi Sikh holiday celebrated on the 13th of April is known as Baisakhi or Vaisakhi. This festival day celebrates the birth of the '*Khalsa*'. The *Khalsa* are the five K's of Sikhism: the *Kesh* (uncut hair), *Kangha* (a wooden comb), *Kara* (an iron bracelet), *Kachera* (cotton undergarments) and *Kirpan* (an iron dagger). Baisakhi was originally celebrated to mark the beginning of the New Year according to the ancient Indian Lunar Calendar. To Sikhs, the importance of this day is both historical and religious. It was on this day on the 13th April, 1699, when Guru Gobind Singh gave Sikhs the new name of Singh and a new identity of being a nation within a nation by making them distinctively different in physical appearance and personal behavior. From this point forward,

Sikhs were asked not only to keep inner discipline, but they were also challenged to keep outer discipline too by wearing the five K's (Sikh Festivals and Holy Days).

The next holiday that should be included in the corporation calendar is called Diwali. Although Diwali is essentially a Hindu festival, Sikhs celebrate this day as another important festival. Diwali is commonly known as the festival of lights or lamps. During this holiday many Sikh homes and businesses are decorated and lit with oil lamps made of clay called *deevas*, candles, and multicolored electric bulbs. Some Sikh families enjoy fireworks and family feasts during Diwali. It is also at this time that the Golden Temple at Amritsar (the main Gurdwara of Sikhs in Amritsar, Punjab) presents a spectacular sight at night, with hundreds and thousands of big and small oil lamps, candles and electric lights. Usually, Diwali falls in the month of October (Sikh Festivals and Holy Days).

The most sacred of all Sikh holidays is the celebration of the founding father of Sikhism, Guru Nanak. Although Guru Nanak's birthday is in April, his importance is celebrated in November and is considered the most monumental celebration of Punjabi Sikhs because of who Guru Nanak is to Sikhs. His teachings are revered among Sikhs and the recognition by the school of his importance to Sikhs in November would definitely be a sign of good will toward all devout Sikhs (Sikh Festivals and Holy Days).

The final act that the school board and central office of the school corporation of this site could do to further welcome this specific population into the community is to seek ways to include Punjabi Sikhs in civic relations. The school corporation always makes public any time they meet, whether it be a formal or an informal meeting. However, the central office would be extending a proverbial olive branch if they actively sought Punjabi Sikh leaders in the community to attend and be a part of the meetings central offices holds. Grace, one of the student

participants highlighted in chapter four, was asked to be on a community-wide task force that spoke to the racist incident also alluded to in chapter four. The school site and its policy makers should actively pursue opportunities to interact with Punjabi Sikhs. In this attempt to be proactive, and by seeking ways to better connect with and serve Punjabi Sikh families, open lines of communication, with interested families, could encourage better understanding and more involvement in corporation decisions. It is not always a school corporation's fault if people choose not to participate in activities that are offered, but it is vital that the school corporation do its due diligence to extend consistent requests to leaders of the local Gurdwara and family members of Punjabi Sikh students to engage and participate in school corporation events that impact policies that involve all students.

Recommendations for the School Site's Administrators and Teachers

Throughout the interviewing process of this research, something that became clear was that Punjabi Sikh students would like for their school administrators and teachers to feel comfortable to talk to them about their beliefs and their culture. There was a general sense that the administrators and staff cared for each and every student participant, but not every administrator or teacher spoke to students about the things that were most important to, or personal to, Punjabi Sikh students, which in some cases revolves around culture and religion. Student participants also did not believe that the staff knew much about their religion, their culture, or why students choose to wear some of the things they do. The solution is that the staff must be made aware of certain general beliefs Punjabi Sikh students have and why those things are important to students, knowing that open dialogue can bring comfort and connections to any young person.

The ways in which the school administrators and teachers can augment the experience of Punjabi Sikh young people who attend this school include informing corporation staff about some basic Punjabi Sikh beliefs, practices, and unique worldviews held by the students and their families. Study participants expressed that they do not believe that all administrators or teachers at the school site knew why devout Sikhs wear some of the apparel they do. Students also did not believe that the staff knew that many Punjabi Sikh students who attend the school could speak two and, at times, three different languages. Information provided by Punjabi Sikhs in the community can inform staff members of some basic tenets of Sikhism, and the implications of this for students who attend school in this particular corporation. Carefully constructed and informative instruction that explains why Punjabi Sikh students wear what they wear will potentially aid teachers in having some basic understanding that they wouldn't have otherwise. By offering an in-service that is organized and delivered by Punjabi Sikhs instructing teachers about religious, lingual, and cultural markers, about which teachers should be made aware, the school could better serve individual students while bridging any gaps that may exist between the school and the Punjabi Sikh community.

Additionally, being on the forefront of allowing students to avoid identifying themselves via race or ethnicity on standardized tests. Being on the front lines of actively seeking the option of Asian Indian standardized tests will bring the belief that the school recognizes the individuality of each person who attends the school. Todd mentioned that not having an Asian Indian box to check when disclosing his race and ethnicity on standardized test answer sheets created tension within him. He stated that he wished that any time he took a standardized test, he didn't have to check the Asian box when listing his identity. He further noted that there are 48 countries in Asia, and he couldn't grasp why standardized test makers couldn't at least put Asian

Indian as a choice since there are over a billion people in India alone, not including the Indian Diaspora worldwide. Todd did not desire for the boxes to be specific regarding his Punjabi Sikh heritage, but at least he could be seen as an individual whose family is from a specific country in Asia. It is uncomfortable for some Asian Indian students when school districts categorize all East and Southeast Asian students at school sites as ‘Asian’ regardless of whether or not students embrace what Lee (2015) calls a pan-ethnic identity. Todd hopes that the school site will promote his culture by advocating that all Punjabi Sikh students be seen for who they are... Asian Indian.

It is difficult for people who live in and are a part of the dominant culture to comprehend how challenging it is for all Asians to be considered categorically identical since there are so many Asian countries that speak vastly different languages, possess unique cultures, and practice dissimilar religions. Todd’s request revisited the problematic nature of myth of the model minority. The school can remedy this by recognizing that there is diversity even within this diverse population. This study was an attempt to guard against essentializing, stereotyping, or lumping an entire culture into a label that may or may not be accurate for each Punjabi Sikh individual. Punjabi Sikh identity is composed of a host of markers, and asserting that all Punjabi Sikhs share identical identity markers such as language ability, levels of religious devotion, and the importance of Indian, Punjabi, and Sikh culture as well as to what principles each Punjabi Sikh adheres is inappropriate. The school must be on the forefront of recognizing the uniqueness of each Punjabi Sikh individual and be equipped to meet the distinct needs of each student, meeting them right where they are. The school itself could become a place to begin the process of unifying or uniting their Punjabi Sikh students, while appropriately equipping teachers with the knowledge that Punjab Sikhs want teachers to know about their language ability, their

religious convictions, familial expectations, and their cultural expectations. This response would bring about the kind of recognition students and parents requested throughout this research and potentially offer healing, unity, and comfort to a diverse and multifaceted host of unique and distinctive individuals.

Another way the school can better serve Punjabi Sikh families is to look closely at the curriculum of the school. Teaching is a political act, and the choices that are made by the school communicate messages. That which is considered important is taught, and that which is considered unimportant is left out. This is particularly true with certain subjects taught in school such as Social Studies and English Language Arts. The World History textbook used by the school was published in 2007 and has not been replaced because the high school has not adopted new textbooks since 2009. When the religions of India are discussed, Sikhism is not highlighted as one of their primary religions. The text discusses the tenets of Hinduism and Buddhism, but mentions Sikhism as an afterthought. There is discussion of Great Britain's colonization of India and its subsequent independence from British rule in 1947 through the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent civil disobedience. Yet when digging deeper into more recent history there is cursory coverage of the Indian army's invasion of the Golden Temple of Amritsar in 1984. Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, ordered her army to invade the Golden Temple on June 6, 1984. The aim of the invasion was to quell a Sikh rebellion, led by Sikh fundamentalist Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, that had been gaining momentum since it began in 1982. Many Sikhs desired independence from India and wanted to create their own state called Khalistan which means 'Land of the Pure' (Indian army storms Golden Temple, 2010). Prime Minister Gandhi is not related to Mahatma Gandhi, but when Mahatma Gandhi is mentioned in History class,

Punjabi Sikh students associate Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Mahatma Gandhi and do not speak fondly of how he is portrayed.

I would have never known this were it not for something I was teaching in class prior to this research about nonviolent civil disobedience that was advocated by Henry David Thoreau called *Civil Disobedience*. In the textbook we were using, there were allusions to both Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. After class, a Punjabi Sikh student came to me and told me never to speak of Gandhi again. Of course, I was taken aback because I knew nothing of the Indian army's invasion of the Golden Temple in 1984. However, after speaking with this student, who was not directly involved in this study, I realized that there is more to the story regarding the personal views of Punjabi Sikhs as it relates to Indian history and I was also reminded that it is vital to teach manifold and varying first-person perspectives of historical events when determining and delivering a given curriculum. Furthermore, this invasion of the Golden Temple of Amritsar was one of the times when many Punjabi Sikhs began to leave India to seek refuge outside of their home country because they wanted to avoid violence in India that had been directed toward Sikhs by a predominantly Hindu government. It would be appropriate for Social Studies teachers to delve more deeply into the history of India and the impact certain events had on the families of the students to enhance the experience of the individuals who attend the school site. This would also potentially provide Punjabi Sikh students' and parents' voices to be heard about why their family left India and came to the U.S.

In addition to taking a very close look at the Social Studies curriculum, there must be an examination of the English Language Arts (ELA) curriculum. One of the ways in which ELA teachers can better serve their students is to be aware of the critical lens through which a story is taught as well as the stories that are taught as well. Although the College Board may not admit it,

they are responsible for creating a literary canon through the list of works that have been assessed on their Advanced Placement English Literature and Composition Exam (AP Lit Exam) from its inception in 1971. A literary canon contains works of literature that a society deems to have achieved the status of a literary classic. One of the ways a work can be placed on this list in the U.S. is if it is placed on a high stakes exam. In this case, that high stakes exam is the aforementioned AP Lit Exam. The list of works that the College Board calls ‘Works of Literary Merit’, has over 432 works of literature. Of those works of literature, nearly 81% of those novels were written by white men with a significantly smaller percentage of authors who are white women. An even smaller portion of those novels were written by men or women who are not white. With this reality, how can varied and diverse voices be heard and valued? Lost are the perspectives of people whose experiences remain hidden and unexplored. Perhaps it is time for ELA teachers (including myself) to shed the traditional works of the literary canon for something written by individuals who are not white, yet are on this list. Replacing some current texts to make space for the rich literary and intellectual history of people of color will be essential to exploring the voices of those who have not always been heard in American classrooms (Abarvia, 2020). The school site of this study needs to look at the ELA curriculum and be willing to alter the traditional curriculum in favor of a more modern and diverse one.

Generally speaking, students in this study did not feel as though the school expected them to perform well simply because they were Asian American, which seemed to allay the possibility of students feeling as though they were directly impacted by the myth of the model minority. However, Todd’s point regarding ethnic identification on standardized tests made him wonder why he couldn’t be seen for who he truly is. If those who keep statistics of the

individuals who take standardized tests wanted to know his identity, he would feel more comfortable identifying as Asian Indian instead of simply as Asian.

Conclusion

Exploring the schooling experience of 10 second generation Punjabi Sikh young people has revealed that the students feel as though the school has served them well. There are some things the school could do to better serve Punjab Sikh students whose families immigrated from India and from other parts of the United States to this seemingly obscure Midwestern location. Those recommendations have been chronicled in this chapter, but the most significant enhancement would be an overt effort to recognize that they are here, that they have unique cultural and religious views, and that those views are valued in the community in which they reside. As a teacher in this particular school corporation, I sincerely hope that we willingly and actively address the suggestions made by study participants.

References

- Abarvia, T. (2020, February 16). Disrupting texts as a restorative practice. Retrieved July 09, 2020, from <https://triciaebarvia.org/2018/07/11/disrupting-texts-as-a-restorative-practice/>.
- Banks, J. A. (2009). *The Routledge international companion to multicultural education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bariana, A. K. (1997). *Broken covenant: Punjabi Sikh narratives*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 304394354). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/304394354?accountid=11620>.
- Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2009). Multiple identities and the paradox of social inclusion. *Coping with minority status: Responses to exclusion and inclusion*, 31(5), 269-292.
- Barton, K. C. (2015). Elicitation techniques: getting people to talk about ideas they don't usually talk about. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 43(2), 179-205.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544-559.
- Bialystok, E. (2011). Reshaping the mind: The benefits of bilingualism. *Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 65(4), 229.
- Bunle, H. (1950). The cultural assimilation of immigrants. *Population Studies*, 3(Sup1), 5-11.
- Calabrese, R. L. (1990). The public school: A source of alienation for minority parents. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59(2), 148-154.
- Chakrabarti, L. (2008). *Educational experiences and academic achievement of Asian Indian American students in a midwestern university town in the United States: A*

- multiple case study*. Available from Ethnic News Watch. (UMI No. 304548819). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/304548819?accountid=11620>.
- Charbonneau, S. (2011). *Becoming culturally proficient: A cross-cultural study on the public school experience of Sikh students*. Available from PsycINFO. (UMI No. 909299789). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/909299789?accountid=11620>.
- Chawla, B. (2001). *Sikh immigrant students in New York City: Negotiating dual cultures*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 251661784). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/251661784?accountid=11620>.
- Chenoweth, K., & Theokas, C. (2011). *Getting it done: Leading academic success in unexpected schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Cheryan, S., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000). When positive stereotypes threaten intellectual performance: The psychological hazards of “model minority” status. *Psychological Science, 11*(5), 399-402.
- Choi, Y., & Lahey, B. B. (2006). Testing the model minority stereotype: Youth behaviors across racial and ethnic groups. *Social Service Review, 80*(3), 419-452.
- Chou, R. S., & Feagin, J. R. (2015). *Myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. London: Routledge.
- Chung, A. Y. (2016). *Saving Face: The Emotional Costs of the Asian Immigrant Family Myth*.

New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Cocchiara, F. K., & Quick, J. C. (2004). The negative effects of positive stereotypes: Ethnicity-related stressors and implications on organizational health. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, 25(6), 781-785.
- Coelho, G. V. (1986). *Tradition and transformation: Asian Indians in America* (No. 38). Dept. of Anthropology, College of William and Mary.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Delucchi, M., & Do, H. D. (1996). The model minority myth and perceptions of Asian-Americans as victims of racial harassment. *College Student Journal*.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *The landscape of qualitative research (Vol. 4)*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry (Vol. 2)*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- English as a National Foreign Language in India - Reading Comprehension Exercise. (2005). Retrieved March 28, 2017, from <https://www.usingenglish.com/comprehension/9.html>.
- Etherington, K. (2007). Ethical research in reflexive relationships. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(5), 599-616.
- Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power*. London, UK: Routledge.

- Farver, J. A. M., Bhadha, B. R., & Narang, S. K. (2002). Acculturation and psychological functioning in Asian Indian adolescents. *Social Development, 11*(1), 11-29.
- Faulkner, C. L. (2011). *Economic mobility and cultural assimilation among children of immigrants*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Female Cultural Informant. (2017, August 10). Personal Interview.
- Fenton, J. Y. (1988). *Transplanting religious traditions: Asian Indians in America*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Fordham, S. (2004). “Signithia, you can do better than that’: John Ogbu (and me) and the nine lives peoples.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 35*(1), 149-161.
- Fuligni, A. J. (Ed.). (2007). *Contesting stereotypes and creating identities: Social categories, social identities, and educational participation*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Galton, M. J., & Steward, S. (2009). *Motivating your secondary class*. London: Sage.
- Gans, H. (1997). Toward a reconciliation of “assimilation” and “pluralism”: The interplay of acculturation and ethnic retention. *The International Migration Review, 31*(4), 875-892. doi:10.2307/2547417.
- García, E. E. (2001). *Hispanic education in the United States: Raíces y alas*. Lanham, TX: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Genesee, F. (2009). Early childhood bilingualism: Perils and possibilities. *Journal of Applied Research on Learning, 2*(2), 1-21.
- Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction (4th ed)*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Gibson, M. A. (1988). *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an*

- American high school*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gibson, M. A. (2001). Immigrant adaptation and patterns of acculturation. *Human Development*, 44(1), 19-23.
- Gibson, M. A. (1998). Promoting academic success among immigrant students: Is acculturation the issue? *Educational Policy*, 12(6), 615-633.
- Gibson, M. A., & Bachu, P. K. (1988). Ethnicity and school performance: A comparative study of South Asian pupils in Britain and America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 11(3), 239-262.
- Gill, J. K. (2005). *Exploring Sikh youth in Toronto and issues of identity*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 305346416). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305346416?accountid=11620>.
- Goes, Jim. (2016) Dissertation recipes. *Dissertation advice and resources for the rest of us*. Retrieved from <http://www.dissertationrecipes.com/>.
- Griffin, R. S. (1988). *Underachievers in secondary schools: Education off the mark*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Grigonis, R. (2014, May 01). Images of the 12 Most Popular World Religions and Sects. Retrieved September 22, 2017, from <http://www.newsmax.com/TheWire/most-popular-religions-sects-images/2014/05/01/id/569022/>.
- Hall, K. (2002). *Lives in translation: Sikh youth as British citizens*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hall, K. (1995). "There's a time to act English and a time to act Indian": The politics of identity among British-Sikh teenagers. *Children and the Politics of Culture*, 9(3), 243-264.

- Hall, K. D. (2004). The ethnography of imagined communities: The cultural production of Sikh ethnicity in Britain. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 595(1), 108-121.
- Hammond, A. (2014). The more languages you know, the easier it is to learn another one. Retrieved April 21, 2017, from <https://blog.esl-languages.com/blog/esl/the-more-languages-you-know-the-easier-it-is-to-learn-another-one/>.
- Hazel, C. E. (2016). *Empowered learning in secondary schools: Promoting positive youth development through a multitiered system of supports*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Hing, B. O. (2000). *To be an American: Cultural pluralism and the rhetoric of assimilation*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Huang, W. (2000). *The interaction between identity and schooling of Asian-American high school students*. Available from Dissertations & Theses @ CIC Institutions; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 304614483). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/304614483?accountid=11620>.
- Illsley, C. (2016, March 21). Largest Religions in the World. Retrieved September 22, 2017, from <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-religions-in-the-world.html>.
- Indian army storms Golden Temple. (2010, February 09). Retrieved July 09, 2020, from <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/indian-army-storms-golden-temple>
- Indiana Department of Education Compass Statistics (2019). Retrieved January, 2019, from <https://compass.doe.in.gov/dashboard/enrollment.aspx?type=state>.
- Jiménez, T.,R., & Horowitz, A. L. (2015, May 08). Whitewashing academic mediocrity.

Contexts, 14, 38-43. Doi:

<http://dx.doi.org.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/10.1177/1536504215596945>.

Johal, R. S. (2003). *The world is ours: Second-generation south Asians reconcile conflicting expectations*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No.

305299472). Retrieved from

[http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-](http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305299472?accountid=11620)

[com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305299472?accountid=11620](http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305299472?accountid=11620).

Joppke, C., & Morawska, E. T. (2003). *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joshi, K. (2006). *New roots in America's sacred ground: Religion, race, and ethnicity in Indian America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Kao, G., & Tienda, M. (2005). Optimism and achievement: The educational performance of immigrant youth. *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, 6(5), 331-343.

Kim, G. (2018). "Because the United States is a great melting pot": The influence of students' sociocultural backgrounds on understanding world history (Order No. 10974427).

Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2131026890).

<https://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fdissertations-theses%2Fbecause-united-states-is-great-melting-pot%2Fdocview%2F2131026890%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D11620>.

Klassen, R. M. (2004). A cross-cultural investigation of the efficacy beliefs of South Asian immigrant and Anglo Canadian nonimmigrant early adolescents. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 96(4), 731-742.

Klein, W. L. (2008). *Punjabi Sikh families in Los Angeles: Discourses of identification and youth socialization practices (California)*. Available from PsycINFO. (UMI No.

- 621711998). Retrieved from
<http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/621711998?accountid=11620>.
- Kloosterman, V. I. (2003). *Latino students in American schools: Historical and contemporary views*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing.
- Ladson-Billings, G. J. (1999). Chapter 7: Preparing teachers for diverse student populations: A critical race theory perspective. *Review of research in education*, 24(1), 211-247.
- LaFromboise, T., Coleman H. L.K. and Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114(3), 395-412.
- Le, C. N. (2007). *Asian American assimilation: Ethnicity, immigration, and socioeconomic attainment*. New York, NY: LFB Scholarly Publications.
- Lee, S. J. (1994). Behind the model-minority stereotype: Voices of high-and low-achieving Asian American students. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 25(4), 413-429.
- Lee, S. J. (2015). *Unraveling the "model minority" stereotype: Listening to Asian American youth*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Liang, C. T., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(1), 103.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* (Vol. 75). London: Sage.
- Macias, J. (1993). Forgotten history: Educational and social antecedents of high achievement among Asian immigrants in the United States. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23(4), 409-432.
- Male Cultural Informant. (2017, August 13). Personal Interview.

- McCaslin, M., & Scott, K. W. (2003). The five-question method for framing a qualitative research study. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(3), 447-461. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-3/mccaslin.pdf>.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. 2nd ed. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mouw, T., & Xie, Y. (1999). Bilingualism and the academic achievement of first- and second-generation Asian Americans: Accommodation with or without assimilation? *American Sociological Review*, 64(2), 232-252. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2657529>.
- Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture, and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum.
- Nieto, S. (1999). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Niyogi, S. (2010). *Crafting identities: Ethnic incorporation of two sub-groups among Asian Indians in the San Francisco bay area*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 518818208). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/518818208?accountid=11620>.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1990). Minority education in comparative perspective. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59(1), 45.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1992). Understanding cultural diversity and learning. *Educational*

- Researcher*, 21(8), 5-14.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1987). Variability in minority responses to schooling: Nonimmigrants vs. immigrants. *Interpretive Ethnography of Education: At Home and Abroad*, 12(6), 255-278.
- Olive, J. L. (2014). Reflecting on the tensions between emic and etic perspectives in life history research: Lessons learned. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/forum: qualitative social research* 15(2), 781-796.
- Oyserman, D., Sakamoto, I., & Lauffer, A. (1998). Cultural accommodation: Hybridity and the framing of social obligation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1606-1612.
- Paap, K. R., Johnson, H. A., & Sawi, O. (2014). Are bilingual advantages dependent upon specific tasks or specific bilingual experiences? *Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, 26(6), 615-639.
- Peng, S. S., & Wright, D. (1994). Explanation of academic achievement of Asian American students. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 87(6), 346-352.
- Peshkin, A. (1988). In search of subjectivity—One's own. *Educational Researcher*, 17(7), 17-21.
- Peshkin, A. (2000). The nature of interpretation in qualitative research. *Educational Researcher*, 29(9), 5-9.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Price, J. H., & Murnan, J. (2004). Research limitations and the necessity of reporting them. *American Journal of Health Education*, 35(2), 66-67.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum for the study of

- acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38(1), 149-152.
- Rice, E. E. (1978). *Ten religions of the East*. New York, NY: Four Winds Press.
- Richardson, J. G. (1986). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Robinson, L. (2009). Cultural identity and acculturation preferences among South Asian adolescents in Britain: An exploratory study. *Children & Society*, 23(6), 442-454.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (1996). The new Californians: Assessing the educational progress of children of immigrants. *CPS Brief*, 8(3), n3.
- Saeltzer, S. G. (2009). *My Sikh mother and I: The way we are in America*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 305067699). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-om.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305067699?accountid=11620>.
- Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sandhu, S. (2012). *Asian Indian professionals: the culture of success*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publications.
- Sanghavi, T. (2010). *Factors influencing Asian Indian American children's academic Performance*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No.762515268). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest->

com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/762515268?accountid=11620.

Saran, P., & Eames, E. (1980). The new ethnics: Asian Indians in the United States. *Praeger Special Studies*, 21(3), 123-137.

Saran, R. (2006). *Asian Indian students: Achievement, schooling, and positive stereotyping*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 305356203).

Retrieved from

<http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/305356203?accountid=11620>.

Schmid, C. L. (2001). Educational achievement, language-minority students, and the new second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 15(25)71-87.

Shipman, M. (2017). *Limitations of social research*. London, UK: Routledge.

Sidhu, A. (2010). *Case study: A study of a selected group of Indo-Canadian males and their experiences at high school*. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

(UMI No. 807678871). Retrieved from

<http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/807678871?accountid=11620>.

Sidhu, K. K. (2000). *Second-generation Sikh adolescent males: A grounded theory model*

of self and identity construction. Available from ProQuest

Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 304681142). Retrieved from

<http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/304681142?accountid=11620>.

Sikh Festivals and Holy Days. (n.d.). Retrieved May 12, 2020, from

<https://www.canteach.ca/elementary/sikhism6.html>.

- Singh, K. (2006). *The illustrated history of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh Bhola, H. (1999). Asian Indians in Indiana. *India Studies Program*, 1(2), 7-8.
- Smith, J. A. (Ed.). (2015). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage.
- Somerville, K., & Robinson, O. (2016). Keeping up appearances within the ethnic community: A disconnect between first and second generation south asians' educational aspirations. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(2), 99-117. Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/1815479247?accountid=11620>.
- Spindler, L. (2014). *Interpretive ethnography of education at home and abroad*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- State of Indiana Population (2019). Retrieved January, 2019, from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/IN>.
- Steinberg, L., Elmen, J. D., & Mounts, N. S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychosocial maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child development*, 7(14),1424-1436.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(1), 72.
- Tiwana, R. K. (2012). *Shared immigrant journeys and inspirational life lessons: Critical*

- reflections on immigrant Punjabi Sikh mothers' participation in their children's schooling* Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 1029852714). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/1029852714?accountid=11620>.
- Torres, H. J. (2016). *"I didn't even know cultures were real": How children respond to learning about world cultures*. Available from Dissertations & Theses @ CIC Institutions; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (UMI No. 1814215487). Retrieved from <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/1814215487?accountid=11620>.
- Trytten, D. A., Lowe, A. W., & Walden, S. E. (2012). "Asians are good at math. What an awful stereotype" The model minority stereotype's impact on Asian American engineering students. *Journal of Engineering Education*, 101(3), 439-468.
- United States Population (2019). Retrieved January, 2019, from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table//PST045216>.
- Valenzuela, A. (2008). Ogbu's voluntary and involuntary minority hypothesis and the politics of caring. In *Minority status, oppositional culture, & schooling* (pp. 528-562). London: Routledge.
- Vang, C. T. (2005). Minority students are far from academic success and still at-risk in public schools. *Multicultural Education*, 12(4), 9-18.
- Vinayaga, S. D. (1987). Can religious will heal the Punjab?: Toward a new Sikh/Hindu unity. *Hinduism Today* (1979-1989). Retrieved from

<http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/220856086?accountid=11620>.

- Wellington, J., & Szczerbinski, M. (2007). *Research methods for the social sciences*. London: A&C Black.
- Willis, J. W., Jost, M., & Nilakanta, R. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The “model minority”: Bane or blessing for Asian Americans? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 34(1), 38-49.
- Wu, E. D. (2013). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Xu, J., & Lee, J. C. (2013). The marginalized “model” minority: An empirical examination of the racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Social Forces*, 91(4), 1363-1397.
- Yee, A. H. (1992). Asians as stereotypes and students: Misperceptions that persist. *Educational Psychology Review*, 4(1), 95 – 132.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Consent Form **INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR Heath Harrison 1612710269**

Dissertation Title: Schooling Second Generation Punjabi Sikh Youth: Exploring the Effectiveness of One Public Midwestern United States High School

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in a research study of how effectively you feel the school you attend has served you. You were selected as a possible study participant because your family is from Punjab, India and has some potential connection to Sikhism. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. The study is being conducted by Heath Harrison of the Indiana University School of Education Curriculum and Instruction and Literacy, Culture Language Education Departments.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to examine whether or not you believe the school your child attends has met their needs.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

If you agree to participate, you will be one of at least 20 participants who will be participating in this research.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things: Help me finish my doctorate while potentially assisting other Punjabi Sikh students who attend the school site based upon the results of the study. Others may benefit in the future from the information found in this study. This may also inform the school of ways upon which they could better serve Punjabi Sikh youth who attend the research site school.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY?

You will be involved in two different sets of interviews. In the first round of interviews, you will be asked a series of questions that will be followed up by questions that are intended to further clarify what has been communicated through each initial question. The following is the list of questions you will be asked in the first interview.

- What is your experience like at this school?
- What have been your most successful achievements or accomplishments at this school?
- What have been your greatest sources of pressure? How has that pressure impacted your schooling experience?
 - School is a place I want to be because...
 - School is a place I do not want to be because...

- What challenges have you faced at this school? (In learning, with your teachers, with your peers?)
 - The teachers at my school...
 - The administration at my school...
 - My Indian peers at school...
 - My Non-Indian peers at school...
- In what ways does the school show that it cares about you academically? Personally? How has this affected your ability to learn?
 - A time(s) where I felt like I was deeply connected to the school I attend was...
 - A time(s) where I felt like an outsider at my school was...
- What are your expectations of the school? (The school's purpose and what you believe you should be gaining from your schooling)
- How effective has the high school been in meeting your academic needs and expectations?
- If you had complete control of this school, what changes would you make to it?
- How many languages do you speak, and which of these language do you speak primarily at home (with parents/siblings), with your Punjabi Sikh friends at school, at Gurdwara, and internally, and how do you believe this has impacted your ability to learn in school?
- Has there ever been a time at this school where language ability aided you in being more successful than if you didn't have that knowledge?
 - A time at school where my language ability was an advantage for me was...
- Has there ever been a time at this school where language was a barrier to your success?
 - A time at school where my language ability was a disadvantage to me was...
- Do you feel that you are expected to be an 'A' student simply because you are Asian Indian / Punjabi Sikh?
- What aspects of your identity are important to you? Do you feel that those aspects of who you are important to your teachers? Peers? To your academic success?
 - Ways in which my school could better recognize and include me are...
 - The most important person (or group of people) for me at school are...
 - My overall experience at school has been...

The first round of interviews will take no more than 55 minutes and could take place at Gurdwara, the school site, or in your home (whatever is most convenient for your family). Before I begin the second round of interviews, I will synthesize your responses and verify that my summarized notes accurately communicate what you intended to communicate in what is called a member checking exercise.

Upon completion of the first round of interview and the member checking exercise, the second round of interviews will include a scenario to which you will respond. This will lead to further questions of clarification to ensure that I understand exactly what you stated in your responses. The second round of interviews will take an additional 55 minutes and will take place during Period 4 at school. The following is the scenario you will be given:

Scenario: Say you and a group of your Punjabi Sikh peers who attend your school were asked to make a video that was a candid evaluation of the high school you attend. Imagine no one would

ever know that you and your friends were the ones making this video so there would be no consequences for your honest assessment of the school. This video would be viewed by people who can bring about change and would be created on behalf of yourself, your Punjabi Sikh friends who were making the video, and all Punjabi Sikh youth who currently and will attend the high school in the future. Envision that the video would be viewed by:

- The CPCSC school board
- The CPCSC superintendent
- All of the WCHS administrators
- All of the WCHS teachers
- By your local Gurdwara
- Your parents
- Your relatives in India

How would you address each of these groups of people on behalf of all Punjabi Sikh students in the school where you have gone and where you currently attend school?

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

While on the study, the risks include: The potential for loss of confidentiality. There is also the possibility that the questions may be personal in nature and this may cause you to feel uncomfortable. I will do everything in my power to minimize these risks by corresponding with you privately, making sure that I keep your identity hidden, and making it plain that you may withdraw yourself from this process at any time.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There are no direct benefits to participation. We hope to help future students to see what factors aided you in being so successful at WCHS. If those factors are common, perhaps they can be duplicated in the lives of other students. In addition to helping other students, you will be helping me to finish my doctorate.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential. Audio recordings of the interviews will be made available to the Indiana University Institutional Review Board, my dissertation chair (Dr. Patricia Kubow) as well as my entire dissertation committee (Dr. Kathryn Engebretson, Dr. Serafin Coronel-Molina, and Dr. Keith Barton). Each of these participants may request access to these audio recordings. They will, however, be used exclusively for educational purposes, and upon completion of my dissertation they will be destroyed, unless you specify otherwise.

PAYMENT

You will not receive payment for taking part in this study.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact me at XXX-XXX-XXXX . For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office in Bloomington at 812-856-4242 or 800-696-2949. Call me on my cell phone at XXX-XXX-XXXX at any time before 8 P.M. You can also call me at school at XXX-XXX-XXXX (Extension XXXX) or email

me at harrheat@indiana.edu if you have questions about the study, or if your child experiences anything contrary to what has been promised.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with me, WCHS, or the CPCSC.

SUBJECT'S CONSENT/ASSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent/ assent to participate in this research study. I will be given a copy of this document to keep for my records. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject's Printed

Name: _____

Participant's

Signature: _____ Date: (__ / __ / __)

Printed Name of Person Obtaining

Consent: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining

Consent: _____ Date: (__ / __ / __)

Appendix B: Parental Informed Consent Form
INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR
Heath Harrison 1612710269

Dissertation Title: Schooling Second Generation Punjabi Sikh Youth: Exploring the Effectiveness of one Public Midwestern United States High School

INTRODUCTION

Your child has been invited to participate in a research study of how effectively they feel the school they attend has served them. Your child was selected as a possible study participant because your family is from Punjab, India and has some potential connection to Sikhism. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to allow your child to be involved in this research. The study is being conducted by Heath Harrison of the Indiana University School of Education Curriculum and Instruction and Literacy, Culture Language Education Departments.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY?

Your child will be involved in two different sets of interviews. In the first round of interviews, they will be asked a series of questions that will be followed up by questions that are intended to further clarify what has been communicated through each initial question. The following is the list of questions they will be asked in the first interview.

- What is your experience like at this school?
- What have been your most successful achievements or accomplishments at this school?
- What have been your greatest sources of pressure? How has that pressure impacted your schooling experience?
 - School is a place I want to be because...
 - School is a place I do not want to be because...
- What challenges have you faced at this school? (In learning, with your teachers, with your peers?)
 - The teachers at my school...
 - The administration at my school...
 - My Indian peers at school...
 - My Non-Indian peers at school...
- In what ways does the school show that it cares about you academically? Personally? How has this affected your ability to learn?
 - A time(s) where I felt like I was deeply connected to the school I attend was...
 - A time(s) where I felt like an outsider at my school was...
- What are your expectations of the school? (The school's purpose and what you believe you should be gaining from your schooling)
- How effective has the high school been in meeting your academic needs and expectations?
- If you had complete control of this school, what changes would you make to it?
- How many languages do you speak, and which of these language do you speak primarily at home (with parents/siblings), with your Punjabi Sikh friends at school, at

- Gurdwara, and internally, and how do you believe this has impacted your ability to learn in school?
- Has there ever been a time at this school where language ability aided you in being more successful than if you didn't have that knowledge?
 - A time at school where my language ability was an advantage for me was...
 - Has there ever been a time at this school where language was a barrier to your success?
 - A time at school where my language ability was a disadvantage to me was...
 - Do you feel that you are expected to be an 'A' student simply because you are Asian Indian / Punjabi Sikh?
 - What aspects of your identity are important to you? Do you feel that those aspects of who you are important to your teachers? Peers? To your academic success?
 - Ways in which my school could better recognize and include me are...
 - The most important person (or group of people) for me at school are...
 - My overall experience at school has been...

The first round of interviews will take no more than 55 minutes and could take place at Gurdwara, the school site, or in your home (whatever is most convenient for your family). Before I begin the second round of interviews, I will synthesize your child's responses and verify that my summarized notes accurately communicate what they intended to communicate in what is called a member checking exercise.

Upon completion of the first round of interview and the member checking exercise, the second round of interviews will include a scenario to which they will respond. This will lead to further questions of clarification to ensure that I understand exactly what your child is stating in their responses. The second round of interviews will take an additional 55 minutes and will take place during Period 4 at school. The following is the scenario your child will be given:

Scenario: Say you and a group of your Punjabi Sikh peers who attend your school were asked to make a video that was a candid evaluation of the high school you attend. Imagine no one would ever know that you and your friends were the ones who made this video so there would be no consequences for your honest assessment of the school. This video would be viewed by people who can bring about change on behalf of Punjabi Sikh students. The video would be created on behalf of yourself, your Punjabi Sikh friends who were making the video, and all Punjabi Sikh youth who currently and will attend the high school in the future. Envision that the video would be viewed by:

- The CPCSC school board
- The CPCSC superintendent
- All of the WCHS administrators
- All of the WCHS teachers
- By your local Gurdwara
- Your parents
- Your relatives in India

Understanding how your child would address each of these groups of people on behalf of Punjabi Sikh students in the school where your child attends or attended high school will be one of the primary purposes of this research.

I will ask additional questions of clarification in the form of follow up questions. After I have synthesized their responses I will ask them to verify that what I've reported is accurate. This will take no more than 15 minutes (unless there are significant corrections that need to be made), and this will take place during Period 4.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PARENTS

You will be asked nine questions that will further clarify the experience of your child at the high school they attend from your view.

1. Would you please describe for me how you ended up in this specific location?
2. What were some of the primary motivations for moving to this location?
3. Would you please describe for me some of the goals you had for your children's education when you came to this specific location?
4. You live in a county with six public school and your children could have gone to any of them, why did you pick this particular school?
5. Based upon your goals for your children's education, how do you feel the school corporation has served your child / children?
6. If you could say anything to the school corporation on behalf of your children or other Punjabi Sikh children what would that be?
7. How would you describe the experience of your child while attending this school corporation?
8. Do you feel the school has done everything they possibly can to meet the needs of your family and your child?
9. If you could change anything about the school corporation where your children attend, what changes would you make that may better serve them or other Punjabi Sikh youth?

RISKS

This study involves the following risks. Your child could lose two sessions of Period 4 time at school. They will also be asked to answer some personal questions that may be sensitive in nature.

BENEFITS TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?

It is reasonable to expect the following benefits from this research: Helping me finish my doctorate while potentially assisting other children based upon the results of the study. However, we can't guarantee that your child will personally experience benefits from participating in this study. Others may benefit in the future from the information we find in this study. This will also inform the school of ways upon which they could better serve Punjabi Sikh youth who attend the research site school.

PAYMENT

Neither you nor your child will not receive payment for taking part in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your child's name will not be used when data from this study are published. Every effort will be made to keep, research records, and other personal information confidential. I will do everything within my power to keep all the divulged information confidential, and to protect it from

unauthorized disclosure, tampering, or damage. Your child will be given an alias of their choosing to ensure that their identity remains hidden.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE STUDY

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your child has the right not to participate at all or to leave the study at any time. Deciding not to participate or choosing to leave the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which your child is entitled, and it will not harm his/her relationship with me. If your child decides to leave the study, they can tell me at any time and they will be completely released no questions asked.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS?

Call me on my cell phone at XXX-XXX-XXXX at any time before 8 P.M. You can also call me at school at XXX-XXX-XXXX (Extension XXXX) or email me at harrheat@indiana.edu if you have questions about the study, or if your child experiences anything contrary to what has been promised.

PERMISSION FOR A CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

As parent or legal guardian, I authorize (child's name) to become a participant in the research study described in this form.

_____ (Child's Printed Name) & Date (_ / _ / _)

_____ (Parent's Printed Name) & Date (_ / _ / _)

_____ (Parent's Signature) & Date (_ / _ / _)

Appendix C: Recruitment Materials

Step 1 Recruiting: After I passed the oral exam of the dissertation proposal, and received Indiana University Institutional Review Board as well as my school corporation's approval to proceed with recruiting students for this study, I approached students where I teach during the passing period of my prep period to ask them if they would be interested in aiding me in finishing my doctorate. I privately pulled students off to the side, and I asked them if they were interested. If they were interested, I told them that I would send an e-mail to them and to their parents if they were under the age of 18 informing them and their parents of the parameters of the study. If they were 18 years of age or older, I told them (and not their parents) that I would be sending them an e-mail informing them of the parameters of the study. My students were aware that I am working on my doctorate so my hope that some of them would be interested in aiding me in this endeavor came in handy.

Step 2A Contents of the Formal Recruitment E-Mail for a Child Under the Age of 18 :

Dear Mr. and Mrs. _____, my name is Heath Harrison, and am an English teacher at the high school your child attends. In the (insert the dates of the school year...) school year, your child was in my English class. Your child is an extraordinary young person, and I cannot express how much of a delight it was to have them in class. Since the 2011-2012 school year, I have been pursuing a doctorate in Education at Indiana University. I have fulfilled all of the requirements for this degree except for the dissertation, and that is where you and your family can assist me.

Over the past decade many second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh have come to our school and I am curious as to how your child feels the school has met their needs and expectations. Additionally, I would like to glean from their ideas as to how the school can better serve all Punjabi Sikh youth.

I asked your child at school if they would be interested in helping me complete my dissertation, and that they will be the centerpiece of what I do in the final step of my degree. They have agreed to join me on my journey, and with your permission, I will use interviews with your child that will occur here at school as well as general observations I have made of them in our time together. I would like to know how your child feels we have met their needs and how we can better serve Punjabi Sikh young people.

If you would be so kind as to grant me permission to work with your child, and you are generally agreeable to these terms, I will send you both a hard copy (that I will give to your child), and a digital copy of the parental informed consent form that I will need for you to sign and return to school within a two week window after you have received the second e-mail. After I have received the signed parental consent form, I will begin the process of interviewing your child at the school site, at the local Gurdwara, or in your home if that is convenient for you.

I sincerely appreciate your aid in this endeavor. If you are in any way uncomfortable with this research, you are in no way obligated to aid me. Regardless, it was a true honor to have your child in class, and should you grant me permission to work with them, I will be grateful for both your permission and their aid. Regards and Appreciation...Heath Harrison

Step 2B Contents of the Formal Recruitment E-Mail to Students Who Are 18 Years of Age:

Dear _____, you are an extraordinary young person, and I cannot express how much of a delight it was to have you in class in the (insert date) school year. As you may know, since the 2011-2012 school year, I have been pursuing a doctorate in Education at Indiana University. I have fulfilled all of the requirements for this degree except for the dissertation, and that is where you can assist me.

Over the past decade many second generation immigrant Punjabi Sikh have been attending our school and you are one of them. I would like to know two things. First, do you feel as though the school has met your needs and expectations, and second, in what ways can the school better serve Punjabi Sikh youth?

Based upon our conversation in the hall today, you have tentatively agreed to join me on my journey, and with your permission, I will interview you here at school, at the local Gurdwara, or in your home.

If you would be so kind as to grant me permission to work with you, and you are generally agreeable to these terms, I will send you both a hard copy, and a digital copy of the informed consent form that I will need for you to sign and return to me within a two week window after you have received the second e-mail. After I have received the signed informed consent form, I will begin the process of interviewing you at one of the aforementioned locations and at your convenience.

I sincerely appreciate your aid in this endeavor. If you are in any way uncomfortable with this, you are in no way obligated to aid me. Regardless, it was a true honor to have you in class, and should you grant me permission to work you, I will be grateful for both your permission and your aid. Regards and Appreciation... Heath Harrison

Step 3A The Second E-Mail that Contains the Parental Informed Consent Form:

Dear _____, thank you for agreeing to allow your child to work with me as I complete my doctoral work at Indiana University.

Attached is the digital copy of the parental informed consent form. I sent a hard copy of it home with your child on (insert the date), and I request that you have your child return a signed hard copy to me that gives me permission to proceed in working with your child by (insert the date). Regards and Appreciation... Heath Harrison

Step 3A The Second E-Mail that Contains the Informed Consent Form:

Dear _____, thank you for agreeing to work with me as I complete my doctoral work at Indiana University.

Attached is the digital copy of the informed consent form I need for you to sign. Once you sign this document, I will proceed with setting up an interview time with you. Regards and Appreciation... Heath Harrison

Step 4 E-Mail Reminder to Parents of Students Who Have yet to Turn in the Signed Parental Informed Consent Form:

Greetings, this is Heath Harrison. I was wondering when you would be able to sign and return the parental informed consent form with your child to school? If you could have them return it to me by (insert date) that would be perfect. Thank you! Regards and Appreciation... Heath Harrison.

Step 5 Phone Call Home to Parents of Students Who Have yet to Turn in the Signed Parental Informed Consent Form:

Good morning (or another time sensitive greeting). This is Heath Harrison the English teacher of your child in (insert school year here). When you get the chance, will you please sign and date the parental informed consent sheet that gives me your permission to work with your child in my dissertation? On what day may I expect receipt of this document? Thank you very much, I appreciate it. Have a great day!

Dr. Heath Aaron Harrison

“Buy the truth, and sell it not; also wisdom, and instruction, and understanding” **King Solomon**

“Love Truth, but pardon error” **Francois Voltaire**

“Nobody cares how much you know unless they know how much you care.” **Teddy Roosevelt**

EDUCATION:

Indiana University Bloomington	Fall 2011 – May 2021
Ed.D. Curriculum and Instruction Program	
Indiana Wesleyan University	Spring 2004 - Fall 2005
Master of Education	
Indiana University Bloomington	Spring 1992 - Summer 1996
Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education/English	
Fork Union Military Academy	Fall 1990 - Spring 1991
Post Graduate Diploma	
Columbus North High School	Fall 1987 - Spring 1990
High School Diploma	

CERTIFICATION:

Licensed to teach Secondary English in the State of Indiana effective through 2027.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Indiana University Bloomington School of Education	Spring 2015
Indiana University School of Education	
201 North Rose Avenue, Bloomington, IN 47405	
Associate Instructor in Education	
IUPUC	Fall 2014 – Spring 2016
Indiana University Purdue University Columbus School of Education	
4601 Central Avenue, Columbus, IN 47203	
Adjunct Professor in Education	

Unnamed Community High School Fall 2002 – Present

Unnamed Community School Corporation

Main Street, Indiana

High School English Teacher

Unnamed High School Fall 1997 - Spring 2000

Unnamed School Corporation

Main Street, Indiana

High School English Teacher

ACTIVITIES:

English Department Chair: 2012-2013

English Department Co - Chair: 2014-Present.

Teacher Leadership Academy Graduate: 2008

Church Leader: Minister at The Sanctuary Church and Member of the Executive Board

Published Work: Indiana University Bloomington Literacy Culture Language Education Working Papers: <http://education.indiana.edu/graduate/programs/literacy-culture-language/specialty/wplcle/WPLCLE-Volume-5-2017.pdf>.

Coaching: Basketball and Golf Coach at 2 Unnamed High Schools

Activities: Spending time with my family: my wife Alicia and our 2 children.