

SECOND GENERATION SIKH ADOLESCENT MALES:
A GROUNDED THEORY MODEL OF SELF AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

by

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ABSTRACT

Empirical research indicates that the adolescent years are critical in the development of a coherent sense of self and the subsequent emergence of identity. The construction of a sense of self and identity can be especially complex for children of South Asian immigrants in Canada. 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 process of acculturation. The effects of these contextual factors have not been given due attention in the identity development literature. In this study, I examined self and identity construction among one specific subgroup of South Asians in Canada, second generation Sikh adolescent males.

The grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) was used to examine the construction of a sense of self and identity of second generation Sikh adolescent males. Through audiotaped, semi-structured interviews in English and Panjabi, 20 Sikh males aged 16 to 19 years were asked to describe how they were constructing a sense of who they are. Transcribed interviews were systematically analysed to develop a model of this process. Resulting from this analysis, the core process in defining a sense of self and identity is being strong enough to stay on track. Three life scripts are incorporated in the construction of the track: the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant culture sociocultural script. The initial track is shaped through parents' selective integration of elements of the Panjabi ethnic script and the Sikh religious/spiritual script. As Sikh males become socialized in the mainstream context, inconsistent elements of all three scripts are negotiated in the

reconstruction of the track and maintenance of a track. This reiterative process is affected by issues of striving to be set, managing visibility, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and being guided versus doing it alone. As each young Sikh man negotiates discrepant elements of the three scripts and is confronted with developmental tasks of getting a good education, acquiring a prosperous career, becoming married, and having children, his sense of who he is and who he is becoming becomes further integrated. The model articulates how the construction of a sense of self and identity is embedded in the life contexts of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Implications for theory as well as intervention by mental health professionals and educators are presented.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	x
DEDICATION	xii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	6
Overview of the Literature Review	7
Relevant Constructs	8
Self Development in Adolescence	11
Gender and Self	17
Culture and Self	18
Summary	20
Identity Formation	21
Erikson and Ego-identity	22
Theoretical Critique	25
Critique of Research on Erikson's Theory	29
Summary	35
Culture, Self, and Identity	36
Ethnic Identity	38
Gaps and Limitations in Research	42
Identity Research and Second Generation South Asian Youth	43
Canadian Sikh Youth	44
Summary	47
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY	50
Grounded Theory	50
Research Method	52
Data Collection and Analysis	52
Data Sources	52
Unobtrusive observations and informal meetings	52
Participant recruitment	55
Participant screening and consent	56
Data Collection	58
Interviewing	58
Interview protocols	59
Transcription of interviews	60
Analysis of Transcribed Interviews	61
Open coding	61

Axial coding	63
Selective coding	64
Theoretical Sampling	64
Memos, Operational Notes, and Diagrams	67
Memos and Operational Notes	67
Diagrams	69
Criteria for Judging Trustworthiness	69
Theoretical Sensitivity	69
Rigor	70
Ethical Considerations	72
 CHAPTER 4 RESULTS - LIFE CONTEXT	75
Construction of a Sense of Who I Am by Second Generation Adolescent Sikh Males:	
A Grounded Theory Model	76
Overview of the Model	76
Life Context of Second Generation Adolescent Sikh Males in Western Canada ...	81
The Micro level - The Family and School	81
Being an Adolescent	83
Being a Child of Immigrant Parents	86
The Meso level - The Ethnic and Religious Community	88
Changing Culture and Shifting Norms	88
Making Sense of Sociopolitical Ethnic and Religious Events ...	90
The Macro level - The Wider Social Context	92
Managing Stereotypes, Discrimination, and Racism	92
Being a visible minority member	92
Role of media	94
Summary	96
 CHAPTER 5 RESULTS - CONSTRUCTING A SENSE OF WHO I AM	98
Being Strong Enough to Stay on Track	98
Constructing an Initial Track:	
Integration of Sociocultural and Spiritual/Religious Scripts	99
Becoming Financially and Socially Set: The Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural	
Script	100
Becoming Financially Set	103
Becoming Socially Set	106
The Meaning and Dimensions of Becoming Financially and Socially	
Set	108
Becoming set and being a male	109
Becoming set and the parent-son relationship	110
Summary	114
Becoming Spiritually Set: The Sikh Religious/Spiritual Script	115
The Meaning of Becoming Spiritually Set	117
Externalization and Internalization of Sikhism	118
Externalizing religiosity	120

Internalizing spirituality	121
Being on the outside looking in to being on the inside .	122
Summary	125
Integrating the Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural Script and Sikh	
Religious/Spiritual Script	125
Integrating in Childhood or Adolescence	126
Integrating After Becoming Socially Set	130
Not Wanting to Become Spiritually Set	130
Summary	131
Staying On Track	131
Assessing Whether I am On Track	132
Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural Script	132
Sikh Spiritual/Religious Script	133
Aspiring to be My Best While Striving to be Set	134
Staying out of Trouble	135
Participating in athletics	135
Keeping streaks	137
Avoiding rumours	138
Choosing Friends with Similar Values	140
Keeping Up	141
Having Faith in Myself	142
Faltering and Getting Back on Track	142
Summary	145
Reconstructing the Track	146
Incorporating the Dominant Culture Script	146
Being Guided Versus Doing It Alone	148
Being Guided by Parents	149
Parental time	152
Parental knowledge	153
Parental interest	154
Parental communicativeness	155
Parental modelling	156
Mothering and Fathering: Support and Nurturance versus Gender	
Identification and Empathy	157
Mothering: Support and nurturance	157
Fathering: Gender identification and empathy	159
Receiving Guidance from Others	161
Doing it Alone	163
Summary	165
Belonging While Avoiding Exclusion	165
Making Parents Proud	167
Sticking Together	169
Avoiding Whitewash	171
Being a Normal Teenager	172
Summary	173

Managing Visibility	174
Dimensionalizing Visibility	175
Passive versus active visibility	175
Degrees of visibility	177
Social contexts of visibility	177
Developing Pride versus Shame	183
Learning who you are and justifying it to others	186
Balancing negatives and positives	187
Developing pride in being an Apna	189
Developing pride in being a Sikh	190
Summary	191
Summary of Findings	192
 CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION	 194
Identity	194
Erikson and Marcia: Ego-identity	194
Ethnic Identity	205
Family Environment	208
Self and Self-concept	211
Possible Selves	213
Other Elements of Self	216
Culture and Ethnicity	217
The Interdependent Self	221
Other Relevant Literature	224
Religiosity	224
Acculturation	228
Peers	231
Conclusions	233
 CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS	 236
Summary	236
Conclusions	239
Limitations of Study	239
Implications	243
Theory and Research	243
Interventions	246
 REFERENCES	 251
 APPENDICES	 271
Appendix A: Participant Demographics of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males	271
Appendix B: Informal Interviews	275
Appendix C1: Sample Advertisement in flyers and written media	276

Appendix C2: Sample Advertisement on e-mail	277
Appendix D: Participant Consent Form	278
Appendix E: Parent Consent Form	279
Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire	280
Appendix G1: First Interview Protocol	282
Appendix G2: Later Interview Protocol	284
Appendix H: List of Panjabi Terminology Used by Participants	287
Appendix I: Self - An Historical Perspective	289
Appendix J: Blos and Separation-Individuation	292
Appendix K: Context: Sikh Adolescent Males	300

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Phases of Head Covering for Young Sikh Males	53
Figure 2: Being Strong Enough to Stay on Track	78
Figure 3: Life Context of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males	82
Figure 4: Integrating Scripts into an Initial Track: Panjabi Sociocultural Script	101
Figure 5: Becoming Set and the Changing Parent/Son Relationship	111
Figure 6: Integrating Scripts into an Initial Track: Sikh Spiritual/Religious Script	116
Figure 7: Externalization of Religion and Internalization of Spirituality	119

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Theory and research that specifically examines the identity formation process of second generation South Asian youth in North America is lacking (Das & Kemp, 1997; Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997). Although these adolescents are similar to all other youth in that they share the same biological and cognitive changes during this period of development, the formation of a coherent sense of self and identity can be especially complex for South Asian youth. For these North American-born children of immigrant parents, identity formation is contextually embedded in their culture and ethnicity (Gergen, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Rotheram-Borus & Wyche, 1994), the process of acculturation (Ibrahim et al., 1997; Yeh & Huang, 1996), and their status as minority group members (Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994; Smith, 1991). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the process of identity construction among second generation South Asian adolescent males in order to formulate a midrange¹ theoretical model.

Two general theoretical frameworks of identity development have been applied to minority adolescents to date; the theories on psychosocial or ego-identity in developmental psychology (e.g., Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968) and the ethnic identity development framework in cultural psychology (e.g., Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990).

¹The term midrange theory is used interchangeably with substantive theory to refer to a theory developed for a substantive area of study. "Such a theory falls between the 'minor working hypotheses' of everyday life and the 'all-inclusive' grand theories" (Glaser, 1978, p. 144).

Current theory about adolescent identity formation has been largely driven by a Western perspective. Anthropology and cultural psychology have clearly established that world cultures vary in their degree of emphasis upon individuation and connectedness as healthy forms of mature development (Triandis, 1985). Western cultures focus more on individualistic features of self and identity whereas non-Western cultures, such as those of South Asia, tend to focus more on interdependence among individuals and in the expression of self and identity (Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995). Popular Western-driven theories of identity may not be sufficient in describing the self and identity formation process of second generation Canadian youth whose parents have come from South Asia. Holland (1997) states that

South Asian religious and philosophical writings and pronouncements on the self, for example, have been read by anthropologists such as Dumont (1966/1980) and Marriott (1976a, 1976b) as signs or indicators of a culture deeply at odds with Western culture....The culture derogates individuals to the point that, especially for Dumont, the Western concept of the "individual" is not very helpful, to say the least, in the study of Indian societies. They have little relevance to behavior and events in those societies. (p. 164)

This observation brings into question the applicability of the Western notions of self and the construct of identity to South Asian adolescents. Further to this, Western theories of identity development (e.g., Erikson, 1968) may not sufficiently specify the elements that influence the identity formation process of South Asian adolescents. Investigations in the area of psychosocial identity have generally focused on the examination of four identity domains; occupation, religion, politics, and sex roles (e.g., Marcia, 1993), and have not adequately considered ethnicity as an aspect of identity formation. The empirical research that supports current theories of adolescent identity formation is additionally limited by a

lack of culturally sensitive instrumentation and methodology as well as sampling bias (Côté, 1996).

Models of ethnic identity development within the discipline of cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1983, 1993; Cross, 1971; Kim, 1993), in contrast, have been limited to how a minority individual develops a sense of ethnic identity while living in a majority culture and have not thoroughly considered the minority individual's development of ethnic identity within the context of the overall process of identity formation. It is clear that a false dichotomy of ethnic identity development and overall identity development has been established between these two areas of theory and research (Myers et al., 1991). Although recent research has begun to integrate models of ethnic identity development with overall identity formation (e.g., Phinney, 1993; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999), further research is needed to fully understand how adolescents from non-Western cultures develop a sense of self and identity. South Asian adolescents born and raised in North America have not been sampled within this research.

Some research indicates that late adolescence is the time of greatest stress and conflict between South Asian immigrant parents and their North American-born adolescents (Kurian, 1991; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Sandhu, 1980; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981); conflict that is related to the adolescents' experience of two diverse sets of cultural expectations, that of the parents and the peer group/dominant society. As Canadian-born children of South Asian immigrant parents enter adolescence, negotiation of a sense of self in the midst of the divergent world views of their acculturating parents and the dominant society may be a complex and difficult task. The process of how these

adolescents develop a coherent sense of self and the psychological, social, and behavioural consequences for those adolescents who do not effectively construct a sense of identity are not clearly understood. Increased risk-taking and delinquent behaviour of minority ethnic youth who seem to be grappling with a lack of connectedness, continuity, and sense of values has been noted as an indication of a growing social problem by some South Asian ethnic media (Basu, 1989). If this is indeed the case, then it is clear that social workers, educators, and counsellors would benefit from a greater understanding of the process of identity formation by these youth.

Because gender and culture may both be important factors in the development of self and identity (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1989; Harter, 1996; Hattie & Marsh, 1996; Hill-Collins, 1990), in this study, I specifically examine the identity formation process of second generation adolescent males. A focus on South Asian adolescent males is important because most of the studies on South Asians to date have focused on either families or females (Anderson & Lynam, 1987; Dyal, Rybensky, & Somers, 1988; Guzder, 1992; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1988; Naidoo, 1984, 1992, 1994; Szeleky, 1990) and 'relationship' and 'connectedness' may be important considerations in studying males from collectivist cultures. Additionally, studies on South Asian females in Canada indicate that they experience less social choice and power due to the patriarchal nature of South Asian cultures (Naidoo, 1994), thus, an examination of South Asian male identity development may provide another perspective on this power imbalance.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to use grounded theory method (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) to develop a midrange

theoretical model of the process of identity formation of South Asian adolescent males.

Due to the diversity among South Asians with respect to religiosity, language, culture, and sociocultural experiences in Canada, and because Sikhs are the largest subpopulation of South Asians in Canada (Naidoo & Davis, 1994), the focus of this study is the identity construction process of second generation adolescent Sikh males with parents from India.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a review of the literature that has implications for the understanding of the identity development process of second generation Canadian male adolescents of South Asian descent in general, and Sikhs in particular. The strategy for reviewing the literature when using grounded theory method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) differs from the design and aim of a literature review for a hypothetico-deductive investigation. Strauss and Corbin (1990) state that when using grounded theory method,

there is no need to review all of the literature beforehand (as is frequently done by researchers trained in other approaches), because if we are effective in our analysis, then new categories will emerge that neither we, nor anyone else, had thought about previously. We do not want to be so steeped in the literatures as to be constrained and even stifled in terms of creative efforts by our knowledge of it! Since discovery is our purpose, we do not have beforehand knowledge of all the categories relevant to our theory. It is **only** [bold by author] after a category has emerged as pertinent that we might want to go back to the technical literature to determine if this category is there, and if so what other researchers have said about it. (p. 50)

Guided by Strauss and Corbin's (1990) recommendations, I used the literature for a number of different purposes. First, a critique of the theoretical models of identity development that are commonly applied to, or have relevance to, the identity construction process of second generation South Asian adolescents provided justification for the study and the choice of grounded theory method. Second, knowledge gathered from the literature about philosophical paradigms and existing theories increased my awareness of concepts and relationships and guided me in formulating some of the initial questions to be used in interviewing participants. Third, knowledge of the literature gave me ideas about what kind of questions to "ask" of the data and gave me some direction about how to uncover the process under study. In keeping with the grounded theory method, after the

theory was developed, the literature was reviewed again for constructs, processes, and theory that related to the study findings. Thus, the discussion section relates specific elements of current theories to the study findings.

Overview of the Literature Review

I begin by noting the relevance of the construct of identity to other constructs such as self, self-concept, and self-esteem. Second, to further lay the groundwork for the understanding of the emergence of identity in adolescence, I briefly focus on current knowledge about the development of self in adolescence. Particular reference is made to historical developments in the theory on formation of self in contemporary Western society, empirical knowledge about self development during adolescence, and limitations in the study of the self as it applies to the experiences of second generation South Asian adolescents.

Third, having examined the foundation for emergence of identity, I then turn to the theoretical and empirical literature on identity development as it relates to the identity construction process of second generation South Asian adolescent males. I particularly critique the theoretical underpinnings and empirical support for one of the most popular Western derived models of identity formation, specifically Erikson's theory (1959, 1963, 1968) in its ability to describe the experiences of minority immigrant youth from non-Western roots.

Fourth, I examine ethnic identity models for their relevance to second generation South Asian adolescent males and indicate the implications for the study of identity. Finally, I provide a brief overview of possible contextual factors that may affect the

identity formation process for this youth group in general, and specifically 16- to 19-year-old Sikh males.

Relevant Constructs

In conducting a literature review on identity, one invariably encounters a related construct, self. Within the literature, sometimes self and identity are used interchangeably and at other times each construct is used exclusively to refer to what seems like similar entities, but without reference to the other term (Marcia, 1994; Ross, 1992). This lack of clarity is further complicated by an apparent inconsistency and confusion in the usage of related terminology such as self-concept, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Hattie & Marsh, 1996).

One of the reasons for the confusion between the notions of self and identity may be that these constructs have been developed and examined by different disciplines. The construct of self has underpinnings in philosophy, social psychology, personality theory, and psychoanalytic theory, whereas the construct of identity appears to be particular to adolescent psychology and most often used in reference to Erikson's (1968) notion of ego-identity (e.g., Erikson, 1968). With respect to historical foundations in contemporary Western theory, identity seems to be a much newer term that became popularized by Erikson's (1963, 1968) writings, whereas academic discourse on the construct of self is traced by Harter (1996) to the turn of the twentieth century (e.g., Cooley, 1902; James, 1890, 1892; Mead, 1934). Moreover, another factor that serves to increase the confusion of these terms is that the construct of identity, as well as investigation into its development, seems particular to Western thought as this term is not commonly found in Eastern writings.

What is the connection between self and identity and how is it important to the present investigation on the identity construction process of second generation South Asian adolescent males? In order to answer this, it is helpful to begin with the construct of identity. Kroger (1996) notes that developmental theorists such as Blos (1967), Erikson (1963, 1968), Kegan (1979), Kohlberg (1969), and Loevinger (1976) have all attempted to formulate models that illustrate how individuals define a sense of self and identity. These theorists concur that at various stages of the life cycle, the individual's evolving sense of identity is a rebalance between "that which is considered to be self and that which is considered to be other" (Kroger, 1996, p. 8). More specifically, Marcia (1994, p. 72) has asserted that "a solid sense of self is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for identity" formation.

It seems then, that if self is a precursor to identity and the formation of self is a foundation for identity development, then as self develops, identity must emerge. But what is self and what is identity? Psychoanalysts view identity as "a coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within that social context," that emerges out of one's formation of self and is thought to be most salient in adolescence (Marcia, 1994, p. 4). Wolfe (1989, pp. 546-547) proposes that self refers to "a center of initiative as the recipient of impressions [that] includes more comprehensive experiences of willing and feeling," compared to identity, which is more limited in focus.

Supporting the notion that identity has more to do with how one views oneself in relationship to society, Harter (1990) indicates that identity emerges in adolescence and refers to the adoption of general roles in society, which occurs after one is able to develop a clear and coherent sense of self. She states that self formation begins in infancy and

evolves as the individual becomes more aware of I am and subsequently, Who I am. To confuse matters, the answer to the question Who am I has been proposed to be related to identity, by some theorists (Kroger, 1996), yet this same question if answered by description of specific self attributes seems to be similar to what Harter (1990) describes as self formation.

Because the aim of this study is to explore the construction of identity by second generation South Asian adolescent males, an open and flexible approach to defining identity is advantageous as the very definition of identity for the population may emerge from this research. Thus, I consider self and identity to be constructs that describe one's awareness or conceptualization of oneself (self), and one's commitment to particular roles in society (identity). These constructs overlap, as self does not stop existing once identity emerges in adolescence, but instead, continues to evolve at a deeper level in the psyche (Harter, 1990; Marcia, 1994). Therefore, an investigation on the construction of identity during adolescence would invariably involve some exploration and understanding of the development of the self.

Thus, it is relevant to explore conceptions of self because an understanding of theory and research on the self may be imperative to understanding the foundation from which identity emerges during adolescence. Moreover, Eastern philosophies, including South Asian cultures, have not commonly addressed the concept of identity development. In addition, second generation South Asian adolescent males may be affected by their parents' ethnic culture to varying degrees, therefore it is not clear which term, identity or self, is more appropriate to use.

Self Development in Adolescence

In a recent review of theory on the formation of the self in adolescence, Harter (1996) notes that Western scholars generally recognize the intellectual efforts and contributions of James (1890, 1892) and symbolic interactionists such as Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) in initiating the study of the self and self-concept in contemporary Western psychology. According to Harter, James (1890, 1892) was instrumental in our current understanding of self, by differentiating between the self as subject I, and the self as object, Me. The self as subject or I is the knower, and is the active agent that organizes and interprets one's experiences to construct the Me, the aggregate of things objectively known about the self. This latter objective self is what has generally become labelled as the self-concept and has received the most attention in self psychology (Harter). See Appendix I for a more thorough discussion of the historical development of the self.

Before considering self and development, it is important to point out two general trends in the study of self. Theoretically, the distinction between self as subject, I-self, and self as object, Me-self, still seems to be important, however empirically, more emphasis has been placed on the latter (Harter, 1996). The self as subject, process, or active agent, has only recently begun to receive attention in the empirical literature and some authors indicate that this process of self formation requires considerable emphasis in future research (Gergen, 1991; Hattie & Marsh, 1996). Additionally, although earlier researchers tended to focus on a global concept of self, as a result of accumulating support, more recently attention has been directed toward consideration of the self as multidimensional (Bracken, 1992; Harter, 1990; Hattie, 1992; Marsh, 1993; Oosterwegel & Openheimer, 1993).

Developmental psychology clearly links the formation of self to the increasing cognitive abilities of humans as they mature from childhood through adolescence. One of the key contributors to this understanding has been Piaget (1965), who, in focusing on the developmental cognitive activity that constructs the self, emphasized what James (1892) referred to as the I-self. Piaget (1965) proposed four stages of cognitive development that emerge at particular points in human development: Sensorimotor (birth to age 2), Preoperational (2 to 7 years), Concrete Operational (7 to 11 years), and Formal Operational (11 to 15 years). Following Piaget's (1965) stages of cognitive development, it is apparent that the cognitive abilities required to construct the Me-self as a theory are not available until late adolescence (Harter, 1996). In adolescent psychology, adolescent development is generally separated into three temporal phases; early adolescence (11 to 12 years of age), middle adolescence (14 to 15 years of age), and late adolescence (17 to 18 years of age) (Harter, 1990).

Considering the capabilities and limitations of each cognitive developmental stage as postulated by Piaget (1965), it follows that the nature of the Me-self would be qualitatively different dependent upon a person's temporal developmental stage. Thus, differences in "complexity, differentiation, organization, coherence, abstractness, internal consistency, stability, empirical validation, and valence are to be expected at different developmental stages" (Harter, 1996, p. 8). The increasing cohesiveness of this self-theory, or Me-self, is therefore postulated to be correlated with increasing cognitive abilities during adolescence that allow for greater introspection and self reflection that in turn enhances self definition (Harter, 1990), thus laying the foundation for the eventual evolution of a sense of self in relation to the social context.

Theorists still do not concur as to whether the self is unidimensional or multidimensional (Blustein & Noumair, 1996). In support of the multidimensional nature of self, there is accumulating evidence that multidimensionality increases with development. Some studies indicate that the number of domains of self that can be distinguished increases from childhood through to adulthood with late adolescents being able to differentiate more domains or aspects than either early or middle adolescents (Harter & Monsour, 1992; Harter & Pike, 1984). Empirical findings indicate that in adolescence, differing social roles and contexts are associated with display of different aspects of self (Hart, 1988; Harter, 1986; Harter & Monsour, 1992).

Adolescents are affected by two important contexts, that of the parental environment and the peer group. In adolescence, parents increase their expectations, evaluations, and desires for their adolescent. As well, their peer group becomes increasingly significant in providing values, feedback, directions, and social comparison (Harter, 1990). The self that is displayed by the adolescent within these two environments and even to individuals in the same environment, such as father and mother, may be quite different. For example, an adolescent who is fun loving and outgoing in the peer context may be depressed in the parental environment, or an adolescent who displays a sad self in the context of the paternal environment may display a happy self in the context of the maternal environment. The recognition that one feels or acts differently in varying contexts has the potential to lead to distress (Harter, 1996).

How distressed a young person becomes in recognizing that the self expressed in one context is different than the self expressed in another context, depends on his/her developmental stage (Harter & Monsour, 1992) and has been proposed to be associated

with increasing cognitive abilities that allow the young person to detect inconsistencies in his/her roles. Early and middle adolescents are able to perceive these inconsistencies but are not able to integrate these perceived contradictions into higher order self-attributes and may therefore be more distressed than late adolescents. To exemplify, Harter (1996) states that it is not until late adolescence that the concepts of cheerful and depressed can be integrated into a higher-order abstraction such as moody. These increased cognitive skills provide the older adolescent with the ability to integrate contradictions about self-attributes across different roles. Thus, the 17-to 18-year old is not only able to perceive him or herself as flexible and adaptive, but can also rationalize the normalcy and desirability of being different in varying roles. Harter (1996) suggested that:

Beginning in late adolescence, potentially opposing attributes that differ across social roles and context can coexist as well as be integrated into a self-theory with the emergence of the ability to create more abstract postulates that erase the contradictions and give meaning to the seeming disparities (p. 25).

The processes through which these differing self-conceptualizations are organized and integrated are not well understood and still need to be further addressed (Harter, 1996). Studies indicate that for South Asian second generation adolescents, the discrepancies between the peer culture and the home culture in terms of values, expectations, and norms, are probably the greatest source of distress (Kurian, 1991; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Sandhu, 1980; Wakil et al., 1981). As is true for other adolescents, cognitive abilities that allow integration of these discrepancies and inconsistencies in roles within differing contexts are generally not expected to develop until late adolescence.

Different aspects of the self that have been proposed by developmental theorists include the notions of the real self and ideal self (Rogers & Dymond, 1954), the possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986), and the true versus the false self (Broughton, 1981). The cognitive abilities that allow the adolescent to detect inconsistencies in roles also provide the adolescent with the ability to hypothesize images of future selves and thus make the distinction between the real self and the ideal self (Rogers & Dymond, 1954). The real self is how an individual believes his or her self is in actuality, whereas the ideal self is how an individual would like to be. Increased discrepancy between the real and ideal self has been hypothesized to be linked to the degree of maladjustment of a person as it may result in feelings of despair, discouragement, and lowered self-esteem (Rogers & Dymond, 1954).

Markus and Nurius (1986) argue that although the discrepancy between the real and ideal self can be debilitating, this discrepancy can also have a motivational function. They propose the construct of possible selves. Possible selves encompass hoped for and dreaded selves that help the individual assess those selves that are to be avoided and those that are to be approached and provide direction for self development. Markus and Nurius propose that a balance between hoped for and dreaded selves is most desirable as this provides direction for future self growth as well as redirection from negative or feared aspects of future selves.

Other theorists propose that true versus false selves emerge during early adolescence (Broughton, 1981; Harter, Marold, Whitesell, & Cobbs, 1996). Studies (Harter et al., 1996, p. 15) indicate that adolescents perceive the true self as one's "inner thoughts or feelings," and the false self as "being phony" or being the way others want one to be.

Within the developmental literature, false self behaviour is considered an aspect of normal developmental changes in the self because it is appropriately connected to role experimentation (Broughton, 1981). There is research support that some older adolescents are cognitively able to justify false self behaviour as a means of experimenting with different roles thereby reducing the amount of distress experienced in recognizing that one acts differently in different contexts (Harter et al., 1996). However, high levels of false self behaviour have also been associated with adolescents who perceive that the support they receive from significant others is conditional and therefore they must act in a false manner to gain this support, resulting in suppression of true self and feelings of hopelessness (Harter, 1996). The notions of false and true self may be directly applicable to the experiences of second generation South Asian adolescent males who find themselves caught between the disparate expectations of the home and peer/school environment.

Because false self behavior has been connected to perceived support from significant others, in understanding the formation of self in adolescence, the role of significant others needs to be further considered. There is research support that not all significant others will be equally significant at every developmental age (Rosenberg, 1979). In fact, parental support, which is quite important in childhood in terms of promoting self-esteem, by early adolescence is equal in influence with peer support (Harter, 1990). This is not to say that parental support has become less important, only that peer support has also become significant (Oosterwegel & Oppenheimer, 1993). Research with older adolescents indicates that there is a continued shift in this process from high school to the college years (Harter & Johnson, 1993). Harter and Johnson found that although parents are still

significant during the adolescent years, there is a marked difference 6 months after high school graduation with transition into college, as acceptance by peers, classmates, and professors becomes more salient in influencing self-esteem. With respect to this shift in significant others after high school, studying 16- to 19-year-olds should allow this transition to be examined, if in fact it occurs among second generation South Asian male adolescents.

Gender and Self

Hattie and Marsh (1996) indicate that gender and development are two dimensions of cultural context that require study. The influence of gender on self-concept has been examined from the perspective of "gender as a context and cultural influence for the way in which an individual views his or her world" (Hattie & Marsh, 1996, p. 442). According to Eagly (1987), this perspective has resulted in the stereotype of males as more agentic and females as more communal. Oyserman and Markus (1993) argue that gender differences in self development are associated with men valuing "an individuation process in which personal, distinguishing achievements are emphasized" in contrast to women's sense of self, which is distinguished as "a process in which connections and attachments are emphasized" (p. 198). Considering the notion of collectivist and individualist cultures (Triandis, 1989), these conceptions of male and female self development seem to have a Western bias, and may not be directly applicable to the experiences of second generation South Asian adolescent males.

Empirical support for differences between males and females have been found for some domains of the self. Males and females may differ in the strategies they use to integrate their self-concepts (Crocker & Major, 1989). Males may be more likely to

overestimate personal abilities and accomplishments, whereas females may be more likely to underestimate their personal abilities and accomplishments (Roberts & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1989). In Roberts and Nolen-Hoeksema's study, the "self status quo" strategy used by males consisted of selective responses to feedback from others in that positive feedback was given greater importance than negative feedback, in order to protect the self-esteem. In situations when feedback was absent, males were also found to judge their performance more favorably than females. Additionally, males viewed skill as responsible for positive feedback whereas females viewed luck as more responsible. These differences in integration of self (males as being "self-enhancers" and females as "self-verifiers") have been found to emerge in the adolescent years (Hattie & Marsh, 1996, p. 443). Because of the importance of gender in research on self and identity, in order to be manageable, the present study was limited to male second generation South Asian youth.

Culture and Self

Any notion of the self as independent of culture has been challenged by disciplines such as cross-cultural psychology and anthropology in addition to metatheoretical orientations such as social constructionism and ethnogenics (Semin, 1996). Hofstede (1980) coined the terms individualism and collectivism to refer to how different cultures may vary in perceiving the self. Individualism refers to the common Western notion of a self that is seen as separate and unique from others, whereas collectivism entails conception of a self in relation to others, and is more typical in Eastern cultures. Hofstede's (1980) conceptualization of collectivism and individualism has most markedly been researched by Triandis (1995). Accumulating empirical support shows that the collectivist or individualist focus of a particular cultural group may affect a person's self-

perception, attributions about internal or external causes, emotion, cognitions, motivation, attitudes toward self reliance or interdependence, norms, values, social behaviour, attitudes toward privacy, communication, conflict resolution, morality, responsibility, personality, professional behaviour, self evaluation, helping behaviour, love and marriage, as well as identity (Triandis, 1995). With respect to identity, persons who hold collectivist values are more likely to focus on relationships and group membership, such as belonging to a family or cultural group, compared with persons who hold individualist values. Empirical support for the collectivist nature of Asian identity is emerging (Yeh & Huang, 1996).

More recently, a similar distinction between cultures has been termed independent versus interdependent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This perspective is similar to Hofstede's (1980) distinction among cultures in that Western societies are characteristic of the independent self that construes the self as separate from others. The notion of the interdependent self is more typical of non-Western cultures that focus on the individual's connectedness to the social context. Further distinction between the self across cultures indicates that the self in Western society is unitary and stable, whereas the self in non-Western societies is seen as flexible and varied (Blustein & Noumair, 1996)

Sociocultural influences on one's conception of self require further investigation because previous studies have often utilized measures normed on middle-class Euro-American individuals (Hattie & Marsh, 1996). Variables such as ethnicity, gender, social class, religion, and nationality are generally considered to be correlated with self-concept (Triandis, 1989). Yet, it is still not well understood how these contextual factors influence development of self-concept, "and particularly how they lead to differing ways that

individuals integrate the various conceptions of self into a sense of identity and person” (Hattie & Marsh, p. 442).

Cultural differences in self-concept indicate the need to consider collective and individual factors in understanding variation in self-concept development (Triandis, 1989). Post-modern theorists such as Gergen (1991) note that this may require us to abandon the notion that the locus of knowledge resides within the individual and instead point to the need to incorporate how relationships between people and intersubjective meanings may serve as the basis for an individual’s interpretation of his or her self-concept. Therefore, it is important to examine relationships between adolescents and significant others, as well as their subjective meaning in order to understand the development of self and identity.

Harter (1996) noted that recent formulations about the self point to the complexity of this construct and emphasized the importance of understanding the function self concept plays in one’s life.

Filling our journal pages are now hundreds of studies in which self concept is related to group membership (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, social class) or to other psychological variables (e.g., achievement, anxiety, depression). Such approaches will not advance our understanding of human behaviour unless we take a more process-oriented perspective on the function that self-concepts, in various forms, play in the people’s lives. (p. 16)

Additionally, any consideration of processes must attend to the context in which that process occurs.

Summary

Research suggests that the development of a coherent sense of self generally occurs in late adolescence. Although research support for the multidimensionality of the self is

increasing, the process of self formation still requires further investigation (Gergen, 1991; Hattie & Marsh, 1996). Most of the studies on adolescent self construction have been focused on Euro-American adolescents, yet these findings have been generalized to all adolescents. Research on collectivism and individualism, as well as independence and interdependence, suggests that sociocultural influences are significant in the conception of self. Further investigations are required to understand this influence as previous studies have often utilized measures normed on middle-class Euro-American individuals (Hattie & Marsh, 1996). The grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) is especially appropriate as it allows for examination of the process of self construction through the actual life experiences of South Asian adolescents undergoing this process.

Identity Formation

A number of developmental theorists have proposed theories about how individuals attempt to define a sense of self and identity (e.g., Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1963, 1968). Kroger (1996) asserted that these theorists use different terms to refer to identity formation but all concur that identity is developmental in form and progresses through qualitatively different stages based on earlier development. They also agree that synthesis and continuity are key elements of identity formation as successive stages build upon, incorporate, and transcend previous stages of development. Kroger (1996, p. 8) noted that these developmental theorists "invariably describe identity at various stages of the life cycle as a balance between that which is taken to be self and that considered to be other." From this perspective, each consecutive developmental stage is therefore a rebalance between self and other in the individual's evolving sense of identity.

In this section, I review the most ambitious contemporary psychological account of identity formation that has been articulated (Erikson, 1959, 1963, 1968). See Appendix J for a discussion of Blos's notions of separation-individuation.

Erikson and Ego-identity

Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) is credited for being the first to recognize the psychosocial nature of identity and the important role played by the community in recognizing, supporting, and helping to shape the developing ego. His seminal writings on identity have generated over 80% of the theoretical and empirical work on this construct in the last 25 years (Blasi & Glodis, 1995). Erikson's (1959) eight stage ego-psychoanalytic theory of human psychosocial development conceptualizes identity versus role confusion, later termed identity versus identity confusion (Erikson, 1968), as the fifth stage in the life cycle.

At earlier ages, Erikson's model parallels Freud's psychosexual stages but then extends beyond Freud's stages to consider the entire human life cycle. As a person grows and meets life's challenges, his/her ego growth is believed to progress sequentially through each of these eight stages of psychosocial development. Each stage in Erikson's (1959) model is associated with a particular phase in human development and is defined by a unique developmental task or crisis that must be resolved in order for healthy development to progress to the next stage. The tasks or crises for each developmental stage are: Stage 1: Basic trust versus mistrust (infancy); Stage 2: Autonomy versus shame, doubt (toddlerhood); Stage 3: Initiative versus guilt (early childhood); Stage 4: Industry versus inferiority (middle childhood); Stage 5: Identity versus identity confusion (adolescence); Stage 6: Intimacy versus isolation (early adulthood); Stage 7: Generativity versus

stagnation (middle adulthood); and Stage 8: Ego integrity versus despair (late adulthood).

Although these tasks are proposed to be particular to specific developmental stages, elements of each are expected to be present throughout the life span.

Within this formulation, identity versus identity confusion is the expected task or crisis of a particular developmental period, adolescence. Erikson (1968, p. 91) noted that identity is not assumed to develop fully before middle to late adolescence because “not until adolescence does the individual develop the pre-requisites in psychological growth, mental maturation, and social responsibility to experience and pass through the crisis of identity.” Many researchers (e.g., Blasi & Glodis, 1995; Paranjpe, 1998; Stevens, 1983) concur that Erikson did not provide a clear definition of what he termed ego-identity, but throughout his many writings he endeavoured to elucidate ego-identity through concepts connected to it. Erikson (1968, p. 22) perceived identity to be a psychosocial process that is “located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture.” It is both a conscious and unconscious process that involves the development of a sense of “selfsameness and continuity of one’s existence in time and space and the perception of the fact that others recognize one’s selfsameness and continuity” (Erikson, 1968, p. 50). The closest Erikson (1968, p. 163) appears to come to a precise definition of identity is:

the process of identity formation emerges as an evolving configuration - a configuration established by successive ego syntheses and resyntheses throughout childhood. It is a configuration gradually integrating constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles.

Erikson’s description of identity occurred in several lengthy volumes and essays (1959, 1963, 1968), without a succinct summary of this concept. Subsequently many authors have elaborated Erikson’s conceptualization about identity. For example, Blasi

and Glodis (1995, p. 405) attempted to capture Erikson's conceptualization of identity as follows:

Identity is an explicit or implicit answer to the question, Who am I?; that consists of achieving a new unity among the elements of one's past and one's expectations for the future, such that it gives origin to a fundamental sense of sameness and continuity. The answer to the identity question is arrived at by realistically appraising oneself and one's past; by considering one's culture, particularly its ideology, and the expectations that society has for oneself, while, at the same time, questioning the validity of both culture and society and the appropriateness of the perceptions that others have of oneself. This process of integration and questioning should occur around certain fundamental areas, such as one's future occupation, sexuality, and religious and political ideas.

Erikson (1968) viewed identity formation as resolvable through either an active or passive form. The passive form refers to either an acceptance of an "unmitigated form of role confusion (diffusion), or a foreclosed acceptance of others' choices, recommendations, or expectations. The active form is volitional in nature, with searching, self-selection, and psychological integration and synthesis as key processes underlying identity formation" (Adams & Archer, 1994, p. 35).

Erikson (1968) differentiated between identification, the process by which one is led to think, feel, and behave as though the characteristics of another person belonged to oneself, and identity. An individual identifies with parents, peers, and others to varying degrees. Successive and inter-related childhood identifications are useful, according to Erikson (1968, p. 159), because they can provide a child with "a set of expectations as to what he is going to be when he grows older." But these patterns of childhood identification are not sufficient in themselves to form a coherent and consistent image of the self. They must first be repudiated, assimilated, and integrated by the adolescent in order to formulate an identity. Erikson (1968, p. 161) stated "The final identity, then, as

fixed at the end of adolescence, is superordinated to any single identification with individuals of the past: it includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them.”

Theoretical Critique

Erikson developed an epigenetic theory of lifelong human development. Of relevance to the present investigation is his formulation of identity formation. Although Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) hypotheses have been invaluable in generating research on identity during the last three decades, his notions about identity formation have not escaped criticism. Erikson's description of the identity development process may not be entirely generalizable to male and female adolescents from non-Western cultures. Erikson's writings about identity developmental have most extensively been critiqued by feminist writers (Gilligan, 1982; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979; Mirkin, 1994; Morgan & Farber, 1982; Stattin, 1995) who contend that Erikson does not adequately address the experience of women. They fault Erikson for his insufficient lack of attention to how sex differences between men and women might alter identity formation.

Western-derived psychological models in general have only begun to be examined from a cross-cultural perspective (Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Misra, 1996; Gross, 1987; Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Misra & Gergen, 1993a; Paranjpe, 1998). Thus, Erikson's theory has been less thoroughly critiqued by cross-cultural experts (Gross, 1987; Paranjpe, 1998). This discrepancy may in large part be due to two factors (Gergen et al., 1996; Sinha, 1986). First, Western psychologists' lack of knowledge about psychological processes in other cultures as most research on psychological constructs was previously carried out by Euro-American investigators who may have been unaware of particular

contextual processes and variables in other cultures. Second, the unquestioning adoption of Western psychological frameworks by psychologists in non-Western countries (Gergen et al., 1996). In India, for example, psychological theory and intervention has primarily been imported from the Euro-American tradition (Sinha, 1986). The influence of colonialism, subordination to Western thought, and training by Western psychologists resulted in a lack of scrutiny of imported Euro-American psychological theory and any aberrations found in the indigenous samples were attributed to errors (Gergen et al., 1996). Thus, a cross-cultural challenge to Erikson's (1968) framework of identity development has not been as concerted as the feminist critique.

A general cross-cultural critique of Western psychological models asserts that "while quintessentially psychological, issues of cultural variation have played but a peripheral role in the psychological sciences. In the major domains of inquiry, culture is noticeably absent from the agenda" (Misra & Gergen, 1993, p. 226). Although Erikson (1963, 1968) proposed that cultural variation is likely within his life cycle theory, in order to consider the applicability of Erikson's theory to the identity development process of second generation adolescent Sikh males, it is first helpful to summarize Erikson's cross-cultural work. In addition to thoroughly examining North American society, Erikson's initial work from the 1930s to 1950s compared American society to largely European societies. In the 1960s he focused on India and Hindu culture. Erikson attempted to understand cultural variation in the human life cycle by conducting participant observations of child rearing practices among the Sioux and Yurok Indians of North America (Erikson, 1968), and through life history analysis of various historical figures such as Luther (Erikson, 1962) and Gandhi (Erikson, 1969). "Although he displayed modest interest in describing Sioux

and Yurok ego strengths instead of psychic deficits, he did not consider psychoanalytic theory, national culture, or developmental stages to be his primary focus" (Friedman, 1998, p. 365). Based on his cross-cultural observations, Erikson (1968) postulated that different societies develop different customs that encourage an individual's developing capacities. The sequence of stages of the life cycle are presented as universal (Erikson, 1968), but cultural variation is expected in the actual developmental tasks and their solutions (Paranjpe, 1998). Thus, Canadian adolescent Sikh males' bi-cultural context, the ethnic culture of their parents who migrated from India and the culture of the larger Canadian society, would be expected to influence the development of these youth.

Erikson's notions about identity formation may not fully capture the identity construction process of second generation South Asian male adolescents in Canada. Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968), for example, presents a grand theory of life-long development that attempts to describe the process of human development among all human subgroups. Erikson has recognized that cultural, historical, and ethnic variation likely exists within the stages and elements of his model, including the fifth stage, identity versus role confusion. Thus, it is this cultural, historical, and ethnic variation that needs to be further elucidated in order to understand the identity formation of second generation South Asian adolescent males. Erikson's examination of youth in South Asia is limited to the biography of Gandhi's life (1969). Within this biography, Erikson focused on middle-age and generativity of a unique individual, Gandhi, and did not attend to identity development of average South Asian youth. For example, Gandhi's life was unique with respect to the historical moment in Indian history in which he was born and raised, his marriage at age 13, the influence of his Hindu and Jain upbringing as well as Christianity in

his life, and the degree of moratorium and free role experimentation he experienced as a student of Law in England.

A possible cultural bias has been raised about the importance of role experimentation and crises in the formation of a healthy identity. Erikson (1963, p. 13) points out that in order to attain a sense of identity, a youth must make "a series of ever-narrowing selections of personal, occupational, sexual, and ideological commitments." Ideological roles refer to the domains of religion and politics. If active role experimentation is required for establishing a sense of identity (Erikson, 1968), then it appears that identity establishment would only be possible in those cultures or contexts that allow for an adolescent to have choices in social, vocational, and ideological roles. This may not hold for many minority adolescents in North America, nor for adolescents in other parts of the world who have contexts that limit their choices in these domains (Kroger, 1996). Contextual variables such as culture, socioeconomic status, minority group status, or political or religious ideology may all be significant (Spencer, Dornbusch, & Mont-Reynaud, 1990).

In cultures with dominant interdependent or collectivist features, identity formation may be connected more to family and group membership than to individual characteristics (Triandis, 1995). These contexts may not promote individual choice and role experimentation in vocation, religion, political views, or marriage. Instead, normative adolescent development may require conformity and compliance with parental or extended family wishes regarding these areas of identity formation. In some non-Western cultures, such as India, being the eldest male in the family or the only son of a widowed or divorced mother may have further implications for role experimentation and choice because these

males may be expected to fulfil predestined or prescribed roles. Therefore, Erikson's notions of active exploration and choice in the formation of identity need to be further examined in order to understand this process for Canadian-born adolescents with parents who have migrated from India.

Critique of Research on Erikson's Theory

In developing his theory, Erikson used numerous clinical vignettes, life analyses of famous individuals, and field observations of child rearing practices in North American, Sioux, and Yurok cultures (e.g., Erikson, 1963, 1968, 1969). Erikson's attempts to understand different cultural, historical, and ethnic contexts in human development is commendable. His research has been criticized by other researchers for their inability to replicate Erikson's study on childhood play, and the possibility of cultural bias. For example, Stevens (1983, p. 111) notes that although Erikson "recognizes that his conceptualizations of identity and the life-cycle are centred in contemporary Western life, he is still tempted to use them (as in the case with Luther for example) when they may not be applicable in the same way."

Some researchers find Erikson's conceptualization of identity to be too imprecise and metaphorical and thereby not easily operationalizable (Archer, 1992). In a British Broadcasting Corporation interview, Erikson (1975, p. 6) concurred with critics when he reflected "I've read it over and over again that people felt something, found it very good and found it very convincing and afterwards they didn't quite know what I had said. So my readers have to be warned there." He later adds "I think one could be more precise than I am, or than I am able to be" (Erikson, 1975, p. 7).

However, Erikson's (1963, 1968) theoretical formulations about identity development have generated considerable research. Blasi and Glodis (1995) reviewed the empirical research on identity formation and concluded that at least 80% of the available data on identity were obtained with measures that reflect Marcia's (1966) operationalization of elements of Erikson's psychosocial conceptualization of ego-identity. Marcia's operationalization has been critically examined and challenged by Côté and Levine (1988a; 1988b), who contend that Marcia's framework is limited and does not accurately capture the key aspects of Erikson's theory of identity formation. More specifically, they argue that Marcia (a) only focuses on psychological aspects without consideration of the interplay between sociological, historical and psychological; (b) identifies processes as outcomes and contextual factors as dispositions; (c) violates the continuum concept of identity; (d) uses terminology that does not reflect Erikson's notions of identity; and (e) does not clearly differentiate between identity crisis and identity stage. In contrast, Waterman (1988, p. 185) defended Marcia's operationalization and the subsequent research that has been carried out, on the grounds that Côté and Levine's critique "attributes claims to the identity status theorists that have never been made and attacks positions, which if they were once held, have since been abandoned by the proponents of the paradigm long before this critique." Waterman does agree that Marcia's operationalization only focuses on a few aspects of Erikson's notions on identity. Although this controversy exists, it seems relevant to critically examine investigations using Marcia's operationalization as this literature comprises a large percentage of the research generated by Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) theory about identity formation.

Marcia (1966) was the first to operationalize Erikson's theoretical construct of identity in a mode that was amenable to research. He chose to study two aspects of ego-identity, active exploration of alternatives ('crises') and commitment. In addition, he focused on three general domains of identity: occupation, political and religious ideology, and sex-role commitments. Based on the notion of exploration and commitment, Marcia attempted to distinguish four methods of resolving the identity crises; and referred to these as identity statuses (i.e., identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement). Those in identity diffusion have not yet begun active exploration of their identity and have not committed to any social roles. Those in foreclosure are believed to have bypassed the identity formation process by merely adopting roles and values of childhood identification figures, such as parents. For these individuals, identity formation has not yet begun and identification remains the mode of identity resolution. Individuals in moratorium are undergoing an active evaluative process in search of suitable social roles. Identity achievement in adolescents suggests they have gone through a crisis or decision-making period and have arrived at commitment through a process of ego synthesis. Marcia's (1966) status classification identifies individuals as being either passive (identity diffusion or foreclosure) or active (moratorium and identity achievement) in their identity exploration and formation. Based on findings from semi-structured interviews that tapped vocational, ideological, and sometimes sexual expression and sex role commitments, each identity status has been associated with distinct personality characteristics, family antecedents, and developmental patterns of change.

Meeus (1996) reviewed the research on Marcia's identity status paradigm and concluded that the studies provided some support for the development of a sense of

identity with age, from high school to college/university, but did not clearly support a linear and systematic progression. A major limitation may be the identity status model's inability to address the means of transition between the statuses, even though this model purports that identity is a developmental process (Lavoie, 1994). Although some patterns of movement from foreclosure and diffusion, to moratorium and achievement have been found in a number of studies (Kroger, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1992), the findings do not reveal what changes during this transition. This movement and transition between these states has received minimal attention and still needs to be investigated more thoroughly.

The identity status model may also be more appropriate for older adolescents from North American cultures. Although the identity status model has been quite useful in the assessment of late adolescents, 17- to 18-years of age, as most of them can be categorized into one of Marcia's (1966) four identity statuses (Lavoie, 1994); younger adolescents are commonly assigned a diffusion status, falsely implying structural arrest. It is possible that absence of commitment may be quite appropriate for early adolescents and therefore diffusion must not be interpreted as an indication of abnormal development within this age group because cognitive abilities that are inherent to the formation of a sense of self and identity are not available till late adolescence (Harter, 1990, 1996).

Meeus (1996) conducted a meta-analysis on all the articles published in international English-language journals between 1966 and 1993 on Marcia's identity status paradigm. Meeus searched the Social Sciences Citation Index for all articles pertaining to Marcia's identity status and selected only those articles addressing empirical research on adolescents and young adults using identity measures specifically investigating

commitment and exploration. Meeus concluded that there is ample support to suggest that systematic differences in psychological wellbeing exist among the identity statuses.

Moratoriums have generally been associated with the lowest levels of psychological wellbeing and diffusions with the second lowest levels. Surprisingly, both high commitment statuses, achievement and foreclosure have been correlated with highest levels of wellbeing. Meeus' s finding brings into question the necessity of active exploration in the formation of a healthy identity. If identity achieved and foreclosure adolescents have committed to an identity and both groups have similarly high levels of psychological wellbeing, then is it really necessary, as Marcia (1980; 1993) proposed, that an adolescent must move through an active phase of exploration before a healthy identity can be achieved? Could the cultural context of the individual be an important influence in this relationship?

Structural issues are also evident in current identity formulations. Erikson and Marcia both view identity in structural terms. Erikson (1968) portrayed identity as a unitary structure, while Marcia (1980) suggested that identity is a self structure that is flexible in order to meet changes in society and in relationships. Although Marcia conceptualized identity as a flexible structure, researchers have been unable to identify the structural components of the four identity statuses, especially identity diffusion (Kroger, 1989; Lavoie, 1994). In fact, some studies have demonstrated that identity formation does not consist of a distinct organization but rather a series of overlapping stages that are not mutually exclusive, indicating that identity formation is a continuous process (Kroger, 1989; Lavoie, 1994). The apparent absence of a common deep structure of

identity when looking across identity measures may be one of the major problems with existing identity models.

Blasi and Glodis (1995) further contend that Marcia's (1966, 1980) identity status paradigm has distorted Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) conceptualization of identity and lost the basic question of Who am I? as a subjective experience by misdirecting research into identifying statuses solely based on exploration and commitment. To substantiate their argument, they point out that most of the items in the semi-structured Identity Status Interview developed by Marcia (1980) refer to exploration and commitment, a few to functional adaptation (e.g., confidence, self-esteem, pleasure in achievement), and only two items refer to a sense of self (Blasi & Glodis, 1995). Erikson (1968), in conceptualizing identity, wrote of a basic sense of loyalty and fidelity, as well as deep, subconscious feelings of rootedness and wellbeing, self-esteem, confidence, and sense of purpose. The latter aspects appear to be neglected in the status model.

Sampling bias is evident in many of the studies on identity development (Josselson, 1994; Meeus, 1996). Nonrepresentative samples of the adolescent population have not only been used in the formulation of previous identity theories, but also continue to be utilized to substantiate theoretical hypotheses. Although Erikson's psychosocial model has sparked an array of studies into identity formation among late adolescents, many of these participants have been volunteers from psychology classes in a university or college setting (Marcia, 1993). The generalizability of these findings to all adolescents is questionable and less is known about the intra-psychic restructuring of adolescents in the general population. College samples could also be biased in that the post-secondary settings may provide a form of institutionalized moratorium that does not exist for those

who do not engage in post-secondary education. Meeus's (1996) recent review of identity research indicated that the few studies that have been conducted with high-school samples show either more or equal progressive developmental shifts in identity development, compared with the college years, indicating a need for identity studies to include high school students.

Summary

Erikson's (1968) formulations on identity and the subsequent research that has been generated on identity development points out that in Western societies, adolescence is a time when the identity crisis emerges and is actively explored. However, Erikson's notions of identity formation may not fully capture youth from non-Western cultures. Non-Western youth may not explore and refine their sense of uniqueness in the domains of career, politics, and religion. Research needs to further examine how this exploration process occurs for these youth.

Methodological limitations related to Marcia's (1966) operationalization of Erikson's construct of identity have been identified. In addition, most of this research has been carried out within Western cultures, and generalization of findings to adolescents from non-Western populations may be limited. Empirical data does suggest that identity emerges in the domains of career, sex roles, politics, and religion during the high-school years and becomes increasingly defined through college. Future studies clearly need to: (a) explore identity formation in high-school students and post high-school transition, not only for academically oriented individuals who pursue post-secondary training but others as well, and (b) to study this process in non-Euro-American adolescents.

Culture, Self, and Identity

Culture, according to Triandis (1985) is referred to as norms, roles, belief systems, laws, and values that form meaningful wholes and which are inter-related in functional ways. Culture reflects the fundamental assumptions related to attitudes, sense of causality, lifestyles, commitments, relationships, and expected resources that shape individual behaviour (Kim, 1993). It follows that how individuals define their concept of self and what is considered healthy or unhealthy adolescent development would be highly influenced by cultural expectations and norms. Granted that some aspects of the identity developmental models, such as synthesis and continuity may be universal, the meanings attributed to these aspects and the consequent behaviours in response to them, are likely culture-specific. Unfortunately, the "extent to which and the ways in which culture and identity are inter-related has not been addressed in a systematic and empirically testable manner" (Côté, 1996, p. 417).

Ethnicity is the identification of an individual with a larger social group on the basis of common ancestry, race, religion, language, or national origin (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). Ethnicity may influence patterns of attitudes and behaviours that are acquired during childhood and may directly influence how, when, where, and in what manner adolescent identity emerges. Ethnicity may also affect to what extent society will limit or hinder an adolescent's identity search, and even the desirability of a search for identity. Hence, it is likely that in collectivist cultures, such as India or Japan for example, adolescents' identity search may be minimized due to an emphasis on group or familial identity (Roland, 1988; Yeh & Huang, 1996). Gender, socioeconomic status, generation of immigration, educational level, and other factors may all influence the extent to which Erikson's (1968)

notion of ego-identity is developed in any particular ethnic group (Rotheram-Borus & Wyche, 1994). Even though an adolescent may acculturate and identify very little with the values, traditions, and attitudes of his or her ethnic group, physical markers of race are often unalterable (Ibrahim et al., 1997), and therefore ethnicity may need to be considered an important factor in most second generation South Asian adolescent males' identity construction.

Although culture and ethnicity, as well as historical context were hypothesized to be significant elements of Erikson's (1968) notions of psychosocial identity formation, ethnicity has not been historically included in the mainstream identity literature as cultural variation has not been traditionally attended to in either sampling or data analysis. Empirical research on non-mainstream youths may have been limited by a number of factors. Some of the more obvious factors include: (a) difficulty in accurately operationalizing constructs, (b) lack of culturally appropriate and normed measures, (c) inability of the researcher to speak the ethnic language, which limits first-hand data collection, (d) limited interest by researchers in investigating the identity development of minority ethnic youth, (e) difficulty in participant recruitment, and (f) lack of funding to support research with minority ethnic youth. When researchers do include minority group members in their studies on identity, often members from different ethnic groups, socioeconomic levels, ages, and gender are clumped into the same category, without consideration of the degree of heterogeneity within these groups (Yeh & Huang, 1996). Yet generalizations are made to members of all minority groups.

Ethnic Identity

In reviewing the psychological literature on cross-cultural studies of identity, what one finds is a separate conceptual literature on ethnic identity development. Ethnic identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 255). This literature has mostly examined Blacks (Parham & Helms, 1985) and Chicanos (Arce, 1981), with some focus on Asian-Americans (Kim, 1993; Atkinson et al., 1983). These ethnic identity models hypothesize how minority identity develops in a majority context for minority individuals but does not speak to how individuals in an ethnic minority see themselves, or wish to be seen by others (Ibrahim et al., 1997). Few studies focus on minority individuals' consolidation of an identity beyond the ethnic subdomain, thereby not recognizing that ethnicity may affect the personal identity and adjustment of minority youth. Contextual and environmental factors affecting identity development for minority youth rarely have been examined within this framework.

Ethnic identity research also has not typically investigated individual change with respect to the process of exploration and decision-making related to ethnicity. Yeh and Huang (1996) contend that although ethnic identity stage theorists propose psychological correlates for each stage of development, this process has not been clearly defined and it has not been shown that it progresses in stages. In addition, most studies on ethnic identity have used either children or adults, even though empirical research points to adolescence as the developmental stage that is most associated with identity transition and consolidation. Development of an ethnic identity by children is thought to be a complex

process that encompasses many associated constructs such as ethnic awareness, ethnic self identification, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic behaviours (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Cognitive abilities and socialization play key roles in the development of each of these processes. Rotheram and Phinney (1987) have been instrumental in focusing on minority children's development of an ethnic identity because most previous models were more focused on the adult experience. However, an exploration of the critical transitions during adolescence and early adulthood is still needed.

Stage theories of ethnic identity formation generally follow Marcia's (1966) formulation of four identity statuses. Two of the more prominent models of ethnic identity development in the cross-cultural psychology literature have been proposed by Atkinson et al. (1983, 1993) and Sue and Sue (1990). Atkinson et al.'s Minority Identity Development (MID) model has been used in programs to assist counsellor trainees understand how minority individuals develop a sense of identity. Atkinson et al. (1993, p. 28) describe their MID model as "a schema to help counsellors understand minority client attitudes and behaviours within existing personality theories."

Atkinson et al. (1993) propose five developmental stages, each of which is associated with corresponding attitudes the minority individual has toward self, others of the same minority group, members of other minority groups, and members of the majority or dominant group. In Stage 1, Conformity, a minority individual is depreciating of self and own group, discriminatory toward members of other minority groups, and appreciative of members of the dominant group. In Stage 2, Dissonance, the individual becomes conflicted between self-depreciation and self-appreciation, conflicted between own group depreciation and appreciation, conflicted between dominant held views of minority

hierarchy and feelings of shared experience, and conflicted between majority group appreciation and depreciation. In Stage 3, Resistance and Immersion, the individual becomes self-appreciating, own group appreciating, conflicted between feelings of empathy toward other minority's experiences and feelings of culturocentrism, and depreciating of dominant group members. In Stage 4, Introspection, the minority person becomes concerned with the basis of self-appreciation, the nature of unequivocal appreciation of own group, the ethnocentric basis for judging members of other minority groups, and the basis of depreciation of dominant group members. In Stage 5, Synergetic Articulation and Awareness, the minority individual is now appreciative of self, members of own group and other minority groups, and selectively appreciative of the dominant group.

Atkinson et al. (1993) contend that (a) the developmental process outlined in their model can be reversible in that individuals may move backwards in the model, (b) minority group individuals may vary in how far they progress through these stages, during their lifetime, and (c) not all minority group members will experience the earlier stages of the model, dependent upon the family environment that they are born and raised in. The MID model may be too linear, as it offers no explanation for transition between stages, and does not acknowledge that an individual may have characteristics of two different stages. This model also places the blame on the minority individual by suggesting and encouraging change in the minority individual, and not recognizing the role of the individual's sociocultural context in affecting that individual's attitudes.

Sue and Sue's (1990) model of acculturation suggests that individuals of Asian descent can be classified into one of three categories: traditionalist, marginal, and Asian-

American. The traditionalist is an individual who values traditional ethnic values and practices. The marginal individual values some ethnic aspects and some dominant group characteristics but does not fit into either group. The Asian-American label describes individuals who associate themselves more with the dominant culture. Sue and Sue's (1990) model is limited in that the use of these categories tends to define ethnic identity in static, oversimplified terms without consideration to within group differences in generation, age, and gender (Yeh & Huang, 1996).

Phinney (1989, 1993) attempted to integrate ethnic identity research into developmental psychology by reviewing models of ethnic identity and then applying Marcia's model of identity statuses to the development of ethnic identity among non-Euro-American adolescents. Phinney (1993) has refined her model to three types of young people, those who are unexamined (have not explored ethnicity), searchers (are beginning to explore ethnicity), and identity-achieved (have reached a state of clarity and understanding about the meaning of their ethnicity). Her results have shown that adolescents range on all three types, with many having achieved a sense of ethnic identity.

Although stage theories of ethnic identity, like those of Atkinson et al. (1983, 1993) and Sue and Sue (1990) have heuristic value, they are not generalizable to all minority ethnic populations, such as Asians and Asian-Americans (Yeh & Huang, 1996), or specifically second generation South Asian adolescent males. Stage theories imply that ethnic identity is a final and fixed outcome resulting from unidirectional progression through the various stages, however, ethnic identity is more likely a dynamic, multi-dimensional evolutionary process that does not progress linearly. Such variables as family dynamics, sociocultural and geographic context, as well as psychological proximity

to Asian-American political movements may all influence this process (Yeh & Huang, 1996). Additionally, because these ethnic identity stage theories were created to be generalizable to all minority ethnic populations, they fail to capture the dimensionality and uniqueness of South Asian experiences, and the collectivist nature of South Asian ethnic populations. Finally, stage theories imply that progression through the stages is valued, but in reality this may not necessarily be desirable or even achievable.

Few studies on the process of ethnic identity development of second generation South Asian adolescents in North America are available. The ethnic identity of South Asian adolescents has received considerable interest in Britain (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1996) and a little in the United States (Gibson, 1988; 1998). These British and American studies suggest that South Asian adolescents are integrating elements of their ethnic culture and mainstream culture.

Gaps and Limitations in Research

Due to the theoretical and methodological limitations of previous studies on self and identity, it is apparent that neither the general literature on self and identity development, nor the literature on ethnic identity development has sufficiently and accurately considered contextual factors in capturing the process of identity construction of North American born adolescents with parents from collectivist cultures. Erikson's (1963, 1968) theoretical conceptualizations and the subsequent empirical research on identity can be critiqued for inadequately describing the complexity of identity formation of adolescents in non-Western cultures in general, and second generation South Asian youth in particular. Even though cultural psychology has recognized that culture plays a major role in the experience and meaning making of psychological processes, the articulation of

developmental models derived from the actual life experiences of immigrant youth are lacking.

Research on identity would benefit from examining the whole person in context in order to enrich and deepen our understanding of the individual as he or she traverses adolescence into adulthood (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Lavoie, 1994; Stattin, 1995). Stattin (p. 385) asserts that "attending to the whole person, both with his or her resources and shortcomings in dealing with the developmental tasks of adolescence, helps to formulate more solid theoretical ideas about the developing adolescent." Moreover, there is a growing recognition that theoretical models that give coherence to observations of individual behaviour are needed (Lavoie, 1994; Stattin, 1995). Kroger (1992), for example, suggests that qualitative approaches may provide increased understanding of the changing meaning of the various dimensions of identity over the course of intra-psychic restructuring. A few researchers have recently begun to use qualitative methods such as narrative analysis (Grotevant, 1997; Munoz, 1995; Sankey & Young, 1996), semi-structured interviews (Goodenow & Espin, 1993), and projective drawings (Yeh & Huang, 1996) to investigate identity formation.

Identity Research and Second Generation South Asian Youth

At present, there is little theoretical knowledge about the identity development process of second generation South Asian adolescent males. These youth are similar to all other youth in that the parental environment and peer group influence this process. However, second generation South Asian adolescent males are unique in that they must forge a sense of self and identity within the context of high disparity between the parental

or home environment in which they live and the mainstream educational and societal context in which they must function and survive as minority group individuals.

In general, psychological theory sensitive to issues of culture is limited by a lack of culturally appropriate research designs, methods, instruments, and analyses (Barnes, 1996). Due to the lack of accumulated theoretical and empirical knowledge about South Asian adolescents' process of self and identity construction, a grounded theory methodological design that allows for examination of this process is appropriate. In this study, I focus only on males and one South Asian ethnic subgroup for purposes of homogeneity, specifically male Sikh adolescents, whose parents are from the Indian sub-continent.

Canadian Sikh Youth

The study of Canadian-Sikh youth provides an ideal population for this investigation due to availability, visibility as a minority group, high disparity of some cultural values when compared to mainstream Canadian society, and my ability to communicate in the heritage language of Canadian Sikhs (Panjabi). Originally, from the northwestern state of Punjab in India, Sikhs first came to Canada at the beginning of the 20th century. Initially male sojourners, they later brought over wives and children to become permanent residents (La Brack, 1988; Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Although Canada's 1992 Census reports that about 150,000 Sikhs live in Canada, with the largest settlements in Ontario and British Columbia, some investigators have estimated that there are approximately 200,000 Sikhs living in Canada (Naidoo & Davis). This discrepancy between Census Canada and other estimations is related to the fact that not all individuals who subscribe to Sikh philosophy may label themselves as Sikh on the Canadian Census as this is not a

categorical option that is provided. The largest settlements of Sikhs in Canada are in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Ontario, and Vancouver, British Columbia. Other significant settlements beyond the Panjab, are in Britain and in California.

The Sikh religious authority and philosophy as enshrined in the Reht Maryada (Sikh code of ethics) defines a Sikh as:

any human being who faithfully believes in (a) ONE immortal being, (b) Ten Gurus from Guru Nanak Dev to Guru Gobind Singh, (c) the Guru Granth Sahib, (d) the utterances and teachings of the Ten Gurus, and (e) the baptism bequeathed by the Tenth Guru, AND who does not owe allegiance to any other religion, is a Sikh (Shromani Parbandhak Committee, 1994).

In reality, individuals who identify themselves as Sikhs are not a homogeneous group and differ greatly in their practice of Sikhism. Thus one finds, Amritdharis (baptised Sikhs), Kesadharis (nonbaptised Sikhs who endorse religious values), and Sehajdharis (nonpractising Sikhs). Understanding the identity formation process of Sikh adolescents needs to consider the differing endorsement of religious values by both parents and children who may identify themselves as Sikh.

Another distinction needs to be made between the term Panjabi and Sikh. The term Panjabi refers to someone who originates from the province of Panjab, in northwestern India. In common language, and in some empirical research, this term has been used interchangeably with Sikh. Although Sikhs comprise a slight majority in the Panjab, there are also many other religious groups who have members living in the Panjab, each having their own religious ideology (Helweg, 1979).

Within the North American empirical literature, studies on Sikhs have been categorized under Sikh, East Indian, Indo-Canadian, and Panjabi. More recently, in the social sciences literature, the broader label of South Asian has been used to describe a

heterogeneous group of people including Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, Ismailis, Buddhists, Christians, Jains, and Zoroastrians with roots from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka (Naidoo, 1994; Ralston, 1988). Of the South Asians in the greater Vancouver area, approximately 65% are Sikh (1992 Census Metropolitan Area).

With respect to their sociocultural context, Sikh immigrants share some similarities to other South Asian immigrants. These include the experience of racism and discrimination due to their visible minority status, common experiences of uprootedness and adjustment to a new land upon immigration, disintegration of previous cultural resources due to acculturation, lowered family status upon immigration, a sense of a lack of belonging in a new land, shift in power structure within the family, and conflict due to varying degrees of acculturation of family members (Helweg, 1979; La Brack, 1988; Naidoo & Davis, 1988).

Sikhs, like other South Asians, also adhere to values generally associated with collectivist cultures (Helweg, 1979; Larson & Medora, 1992). Collectivist values include attitudes of self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, accentuation of family membership and obligations as central aspects of self-definition, valuing of restraint and harmony (Enns, 1994), importance of adjusting to the environment and demonstrating concern for the community's wellbeing and future (Engler, 1991), loyalty, humility, honouring parents and elders, family security, accepting one's position in life, and discovering a sense of belonging (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Variances in endorsement of these values may directly and indirectly affect the process of identity formation.

Sikhs are distinct from other South Asian subgroups with respect to religious traditions, history, and values. With respect to the experience of gender, the Sikh religion

is unique in espousing an egalitarian relationship between the sexes (Mansukhani, 1982). Disappointingly, for some families integrating this perspective into practice is a challenge. Like other South Asian females, in reality, many Sikh women do not experience gender-equality. Nevertheless, the religious equality granted to Sikh women does make this group unique from other South Asians. Sikhs are also quite visibly distinct from other South Asians in the practice of their religion, which may directly influence the process of identity construction for second generation adolescent males. See Appendix K for a more thorough discussion of the life context of second generation Sikh adolescent males.

Summary

According to developmental psychologists, a coherent sense of self is the foundation from which identity is thought to emerge. Theory and empirical support for the evolution of self during the teenage years reflects the influence of increasing cognitive abilities and the adolescent's social context in the process of identity development. In order to capture the process of self integration and identity emergence, it is necessary to focus on later adolescence.

A review of one of the most popular models of identity formation (Erikson, 1963, 1968) and empirical research revealed that current identity theories may not be entirely applicable to the experiences of adolescents from non-Western cultures in general, and collectivist cultures, such as South Asians, in particular. There is a lack of sufficient description of cultural variation in these formulations of identity formation.

A review of the literature reveals that current models of identity are limited in their description of the process of identity construction of second generation South Asian males in Canada. These models have been formed from a Western perspective and do not

sufficiently consider the influence of cultural context in the form of collectivist or individualist values (Triandis, 1995), minority group status (Spencer et al., 1990), acculturation and stress (Berry, 1997), and attitudes of dominant society in the construction of a coherent sense of identity by Canadian-born children of immigrants from collectivist cultures. More specifically, second generation adolescent Canadian-Sikh males with parents from India may not experience the role exploration and choice which have been considered to be necessary in popular models of identity formation (e.g., Erikson, 1968). Ethnic identity models were also shown to be limited in that they do not adequately consider the development of identity beyond the ethnic domain. The lack of cross-culturally sensitive measures has also been a hindrance in formulating theoretical models of self and identity construction in non-Western cultures. Thus, there is a need to develop a midrange theoretical model of the process of identity construction from the actual life experiences of these youth who are dually influenced by Western and non-Western cultural contexts.

Based on the foregoing conclusions, the focus of this research was to develop a midrange theoretical model of the process of self and identity construction of 16- to 19-year-old second generation adolescent Sikh males. The fundamental research questions were: (a) What is the process of self and identity construction for second generation adolescent Sikh males?, and (b) What are the dimensions, meanings, and attributes of this process? Specifically, the following questions were of interest: (a) How do second generation adolescent Sikh males describe themselves?, (b) How have they come to know who they are?, (c) What do they perceive as others' perceptions of them?, (d) What or who has had an influence on how they view themselves or feel about themselves?, and

(e) How is their current perception of themselves similar to or different from their perception of themselves in the past and the future?.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

I first provide a brief overview of grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and then outline the methodology used to conduct this study including data sources and collection, data analysis and management, as well as researcher bias and rigor.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a methodology that was originally formulated by the combined efforts of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and further clarified in subsequent writings by Glaser (1978, 1992), Strauss (1987, 1995), and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998). The aim of grounded theory method is to generate explanatory theory about psychological and social phenomena (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Process questions related to phenomena such as self and identity formation are thought to be especially amenable to the Grounded Theory approach due to its naturalistic-inductive methodology. The systematic procedures used in Grounded Theory increase the likelihood of producing theory that is conceptually dense and has considerable meaningful variation (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

The grounded theory methodologist identifies an area of investigation, and systematically gathers and analyses data to develop important concepts and relationships between concepts. Data collection and analysis occurs concurrently throughout the investigation, in a process of constant comparison of meaning units or data points. Thus the evolving analysis is used to guide subsequent data collection through theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is "sampling based on the basis of emerging concepts, with the aim being to explore the dimensional range or varied conditions along which the properties of concepts vary" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 73). Additionally, with respect

to theory development, the purpose of theoretical sampling is to ensure representativeness of concepts relevant to the core concept identified in the emerging model. The core concept is the concept or category that provides the greatest conceptual meaning and density among the categories of data. A core concept or category, is termed a basic social process if it has "two or more clear emergent stages" (Glaser, 1978). Glaser notes that although a core category or concept should always be identifiable in a grounded theory investigation, a basic social process may not always be found.

Through the process of theoretical sampling, data sources may be expanded to promote maximum variation and meaningfulness within the developing theoretical model. Dimensions of concepts observed in the data set may suggest that new data sources should be accessed to further refine the developing theoretical model.

The investigator aims to verify or refute provisional hypotheses throughout the analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interpretations made by the investigator are cross-checked and validated through subsequent interviews with participants. Data collection and analysis continues until saturation of all theoretical aspects of the emerging explanatory model. Theoretical saturation is said to have occurred when "no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 136).

Research Method

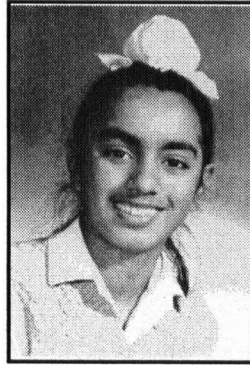
Data Collection and Analysis

Data Sources

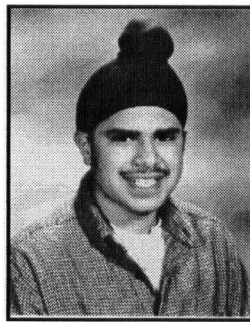
Data were collected for this study between December 1997 and February 1999. Initial sources of data were 28 semi-structured interviews with 16- to 19-year-old male second generation Canadian Sikh youth. Of these 28 interviews, 8 were follow-up interviews with participants. The adolescent Sikh males in this study ranged in educational level from grade 10 to first year university. Most came from largely working class families (18/20) and two were from middle to upper class families. Demographic details about participants are presented in Appendix A. Participant recruitment was limited to those who self-identified as Sikhs in order to increase homogeneity among the sample with respect to culture, religion, and historical experiences of the ethnic group in Canada. All participants had historical connections to the Sikh faith. Some participants ascribed to the code of conduct of the Sikh religion to varying degrees, whereas others did not but still considered themselves a Sikh. I selected this broader definition to reflect the Canadian population that claim to subscribe to the Sikh faith. Some of the young men had short cut hair, whereas others kept their hair tied up in a knot on top of their head, with or without a turban (also termed a pug or dastar) covering the head (See Figure 1). Unobtrusive observations and informal meetings. In order to immerse myself in the life context of adolescent Sikh males, I conducted a number of unobtrusive participant observations and informal meetings with adolescent Sikh males, before initiating data collection through interviews. The unobtrusive observations were carried out in public

Figure 1: Phases of Head Covering for Young Sikh Males

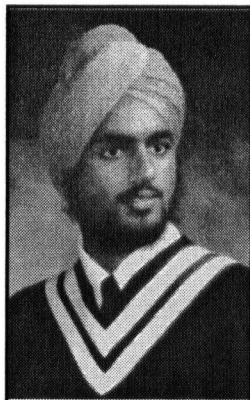
(a) Young man with a joora covered with a Ramaal



(b) Young man with a joora and head covered with a Patka



(c) Young man with a joora and head covered with a Dastar/Pug (Turban)



Note: These young men are presented as examples. They were not study participants but gave permission for their photographs to be used.

social settings such as high school basketball tournaments, wedding receptions, religious forums, and the funeral of an adolescent Sikh male. This assisted me in becoming sensitized to the world of adolescent Sikh males, and moving beyond my own preconceived ideas of what their developmental context may be. I became aware of their integration of Panjabi and English language in their everyday speech with each other, the ratio of turbaned to nonturbaned young men in the general adolescent population, the importance of sports in their lives, the quantity and quality of interactions between young adolescent Sikh males and adolescent Sikh females, adult Sikhs, and non-Sikh peers.

I informally met with three adolescent Sikh males to elicit issues that might influence data collection and analysis. These informants were second generation Sikh males who had, 2 years earlier, been members of a junior high school basketball team coached by my husband, a junior high school teacher/coach. I explained the aims of my study and asked informants to brainstorm any issues they thought I needed to be aware of in terms of recruiting participants and conducting the interviews. They recommended that I use word of mouth as a means of participant recruitment in addition to advertising through media, flyers, and contact with social agencies. They also highlighted the importance of addressing issues of credibility, nonjudgmental attitude, and confidentiality when I conducted the interviews. Additionally, it was suggested that paper and a pen/pencil be provided to participants so that they may have the opportunity to doodle while being interviewed. I incorporated this information into participant recruitment techniques as well as the interview protocols.

The second informal meeting was carried out part way into the study. Informants were two second generation Sikh males and three immigrant Sikh males. The immigrant

males had been born in India and migrated in their late teens. They were now in their early 20s and attending post secondary institutions. These participants provided insight into contextual differences for adolescent Sikh males growing up in India and Canada, and this information was used to highlight the shifting cultural norms for second generation adolescent Sikh males (see Chapter 4).

Informal interviews with individuals who did not fit the criteria for participation in the study, but might have insight into the process were carried out throughout the investigation (Appendix B). Thus, second generation Sikh males in their twenties, parents and siblings of participants, immigrant Sikh males, teachers and counsellors who had contact with Sikh males, as well as young second generation Sikh females, were informally interviewed to corroborate or refute aspects of the model. This information was not formally used as data, but aspects brought up by these interviews were considered as possible questions to be introduced into the interview protocols to check their relevance to the experiences of participants. For example, an interview with a second generation adolescent Sikh male aged 23 confirmed many of the dimensions of the developing theory as he felt this resonated with his own experiences of constructing a sense of who he was. Interviews with parents of second generation adolescent Sikh males validated elements of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script as well as the cultural norm of what was on-track and off-track behaviour for their sons. Elements of Becoming Financially, Socially, and Spiritually Set, and the dimensions and meanings of these, were also confirmed by parents, young males in their 20s and female siblings.

Participant recruitment. My initial efforts in recruitment included use of written ethnic media (e.g., Mehfil Magazine), contact with social agencies, social workers, school

counsellors and teachers, and community workers who may have had contact with potential participants in this study, as well as word of mouth. Advertising through media, formal organizations, and flyers proved fruitless after 5 months, and I subsequently abandoned these efforts.

The most successful recruitment technique was advertising the study through personal contact with individuals within the ethnic community who might have had direct or indirect contact with youth who fit the criteria for participation in this study. Thus, letting community members know about my study, and speaking to student organizations in the community, as well as at the universities was quite productive. I spoke to Sikh teachers, social workers, and any other professionals with whom I came into contact.

I asked individuals I spoke to, to inform possible participants about this investigation and have the potential participant contact me by telephone if he was interested in participating. Some participants in this study, for example, found out about the study through my husband, a high school teacher. He informed students who had already graduated that I was recruiting participants for my study. Some of the initial participants ($n = 4$) who volunteered were adolescent Sikh males who had previously been on my husband's junior high school basketball team, 2 years earlier, but had since left the school. Other participants ($n = 16$) were recruited through other community members to whom I had spoken about my study.

Participant screening and consent. Participants were screened over the phone to ensure they were: (a) Sikh (self-definition), (b) second generation, and (c) were willing to participate in the study. We then agreed upon a mutually convenient location for the interview that maintained the participant's confidentiality. Most of the interviews were

conducted at my home office, some at the participant's home or school, and a few in an interview room in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia.

The participant chose a pseudonym before commencing his interview in order to protect participant confidentiality. This pseudonym was used during the interview and on transcribed interviews and subsequent notes I wrote about the client. I spoke to each participant about confidentiality and explained what it meant. I also explained to them how every investigation is required to have Ethics Approval from the university, and that if they had concerns about my conduct with them, the name and phone number of the university contact person was on the Participant Consent Form.

Each participant was then asked to complete a Participant Consent Form (Appendix D) and we jointly completed the Participant Demographic Form (Appendix F). Background information such as age, grade, work status, living situation, family constellation, age of parents at migration and their length of stay in Canada, was collected because these were considered to be of some relevance to the developing theory.

A Parental Consent Form was also completed for those participants between the age of 16 to 18 years ($n = 18$) (Appendix E). If I could not meet with the parent in person before the participant interview, parental consent was obtained over the telephone and then two copies of the Parental Consent Form were given to the participant during the interview. One signed copy was returned to me. During the interview, participants were provided a soft drink and snack, as well as paper and a pencil. Participants were also informed that those participants who completed the interviews would have their names put

into a draw for five prizes approximating \$20 to \$30 value per prize. The draw was made once all interviews were completed.

Data Collection

Data collection and analysis occurred alternately throughout the investigation.

Interviewing. Data were collected through 28 in-depth audio-taped interviews, including 8 follow-up interviews. Although the research participants were not requested to stay longer than 1 ½ hours in the first interview, many ($n=18$) agreed to continue the interview well past this time. Thus, initial interviews lasted between 1 hour and 3 1/4 hours, with an average time of about 2 to 2 ½ hours. The major reasons cited by participants for continuing the initial interview past 1 ½ hours included: This is very interesting, I've never been able to talk to someone like this before, I'm learning something about myself through this process.

Although, the interviews were predominantly conducted in English, because participants knew of my ability to speak Panjabi, all of them took the opportunity to utilize Panjabi terminology or phrases whenever they thought these terms or phrases better described their experiences. Some participants naturally integrated Panjabi terminology into the interview without any prompts from me. For those who did not automatically use Panjabi terminology, I gave them permission to do so if they wished. Barnes (1996, p. 432) notes that:

language describes the boundaries and perspectives of a cultural system and reflects how social life is represented within that culture . . . Different cultures use words, narratives, and explanations differently according to the understandings shared by members of a culture . . . Language also has a filtering effect on perception and concepts largely acquire their meanings through their being embedded in culturally specific explanatory verbal networks . . . In other words, different cultures supply differently verbal interpretations of reality and of thought.

Allowing the participants to express themselves in English or Panjabi during the interviews was considered to be an important aspect of data analysis. For example, participants used Panjabi terminology to refer to ethnic and religious ceremonies, traditions, colloquial terms, and common phrases their parents would use in speaking to them. As well, terminology for individuals belonging to one's own ethnic group or other ethnic or dominant community members were used commonly by the adolescent Sikh males. Having a common understanding of these terms decreased the need for the participant to explain these terms to me in detail each time they were used. For example, one young man spoke about having a weak heart. Due to my insight into the Panjabi language and culture, I sensed that he was not talking about a medical condition, so I explored this with him. He had been speaking about feeling emotionally weak.

The initial interviews were open ended in nature (Appendix G1). These semi-structured interviews with provisional questions that came from the literature review were guided by the fundamental research question of this study, What is the process of self and identity construction by second generation Sikh adolescent males? The semi-structured format of the initial interviews allowed me to deeply probe by encouraging the participants to discuss aspects of self and identity formation that seemed significant to them. It also allowed the participants to tell their stories and gave them the opportunity to introduce new material about self and identity that I had not anticipated. This process resulted in descriptively rich personal accounts.

Interview protocols. The initial questions in the interview protocol (Appendix G1) were designed to access general areas suggested in the literature relevant to self and identity formation. These included questions aimed at eliciting participants' conceptions

of their past, current, and future development of who they are, and who they are becoming. My aim was to follow participants' lead to gain detail and clarity about the information they presented. I used subsequent interviews with participants to obtain more targeted information to further fill in gaps left by earlier interviews with the same or other participants.

The interview protocol was modified several times over the course of data collection and analysis. Modifications were made to incorporate questions regarding concepts that had been introduced by previous participants but still required further exploration, as well as to delete questions that had not been productive. Questions were considered to be unproductive if participants did not have much to say about that particular area, or if they said it was not significant.

In addition to audio-taping the interviews, I also took written notes of observations and emerging themes or key ideas during the interviews. These notes were entered into data analysis as memos. Memos are discussed in more detail, later in this chapter.

Transcription of interviews. Audio tapes of participant interviews were transcribed word by word, including notations made about nonverbal behaviour such as extended pauses and laughter or use of terms such as hmmm. Any Panjabi terminology was highlighted and an ongoing list of Panjabi terminology was compiled (Appendix H).

Transcribing the first three interviews assisted me in becoming immersed in the data, but eventually became tedious and unproductive as it prevented me from moving more quickly into the initial analysis phase of grounded theory. Thus, a transcriptionist completed the other interviews. I edited transcribed interviews by concurrently listening

to the audiotape while reading the transcripts for accuracy. Line numbering was used to number all lines of data in each participant's interview.

Analysis of Transcribed Interviews

The first seven participant interviews were transcribed and analysed before I carried out subsequent interviews. These provided guidance for the next set of interviews. During analysis, I listened to the audio tape and read the transcribed interviews concurrently. This ensured that enunciations, inflections, pauses, and emphases placed by the participant on particular words and phrases were taken into consideration. Thus, the participant's meaning making of the process of self and identity construction was kept central to the analysis.

Three major types of coding procedures were used: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open coding and axial coding were largely carried out at the earlier phases of analysis, whereas selective coding became the main coding paradigm associated with the latter phases of analysis in the study.

Open coding. During open coding, I examined verbatim transcripts of participant interviews word by word, line by line, and monologue by monologue and attempted to define the actions or events that were occurring in the data or were represented by it, into conceptual labels (Charmaz, 1995). These labels were created by studying the data and as much as possible, I attempted to use the participants' own words in creating the labels.

Rereading literature on grounded theory method was useful at this point in the analysis. This refreshed my knowledge about grounded theory method from the perspective of an investigator immersed in the data, rather than from one reading about a method without data to help integrate knowledge. The first 7 interviews were then

recoded for open coding. The major difference between my first attempt at open coding and my subsequent open coding was a shift toward using process rather than static terms. For example, after reexamination of the transcript, what was initially labelled, sports was changed to playing sports, and athletics was changed to being an athlete. Subsequent interviews were carried out only after I felt confident with this initial aspect of analysis.

These conceptual labels were written in the right-hand margin on a hard copy of the transcript and then typed into a computer file. The conceptual labels within each transcript were then grouped into categories of similar concepts. These categories of concepts were then given names, or open codes. The name making parents happy was given to trying to make my parents happy, doing well in school to make parents happy, and not wanting to embarrass parents. Each participant's open codes were identified with the line number and name of the participant so that when open codes were compared across participants, the sources of data were trackable. Conceptual labels supporting each open code were listed under the appropriate category.

For purposes of data management, I analysed the first seven transcripts in small sets and then compared across sets. Through the process of constant comparison, data within individual interviews as well as across interviews were compared for similarities and differences. As I compared the data, I asked myself how self and identity formation was reflected in the data. This questioning allowed any assumptions that I may have had about self and identity to be questioned and explored so that the developing theory was in fact grounded in the data. I compared beliefs, motives, and actions of each participant with that of another. Thus, open codes within participants were compared across participants to look for similarities and repetition among categories and subcategories of concepts.

Axial coding. As the categories and concepts were developed using the constant comparative method, analysis moved into the next phase, axial coding. The aim of axial coding is to put the data back together in new ways by looking for connections between categories and their subcategories. During axial coding, I attempted to articulate hypothetical relationships between categories and subcategories and then tried to verify these hypotheses with actual data, across interviews. As I analysed the data, I kept searching for data that detailed properties and dimensions of categories and subcategories. Additionally, I continued to look for variation in the process of self and identity construction by searching for different patterns of dimensional relationships between each category and its subcategories. For example, in taking the concepts, getting a good education, becoming married, acquiring a prosperous career, and becoming set, I hypothesized that these may be dimensions of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script. The concepts wearing a turban, going to the Gurdwara, practising religion were hypothesized to be external or behavioural dimensions of religion, which I termed externalizing religion. The concepts meditating because I want to, wanting to learn more about the religion, being baptised because I want to be, were hypothesized to be internal dimensions which I termed internalizing spirituality.

Axial coding was largely carried out with mapping techniques to illustrate the relationships between concepts and categories as they were identified in the data analysis. Mapping was especially helpful in identifying conditions that gave rise to each category, the context in which the category was embedded, the action/interactional strategies by which it was handled, managed, and carried out, and the consequences of such categories. Each category gained more precision and detail as I continued to specify features of each

category or subcategories. As subsequent interviews were being carried out through theoretical sampling, these new transcripts were analysed through open coding and axial coding using the constant comparative process.

Selective coding. In the last phase of analysis, selective coding, the categories that were developed through constant comparison and theoretical sampling were integrated along the dimensional level to form a theory. I validated these integrative statements of relationships with data, and filled in any categories that needed further development. Some of these categories were internalizing spirituality, externalizing religion, becoming financially, socially and spiritually set, constructing a track, being guided versus doing it alone, dealing with visibility, faltering, staying on track, reconstructing the track, being strong enough, and aspiring to be my best. I identified the core process in the theory as the category that provided the greatest conceptual meaning and density among the categories of data. All of these categories could be linked as dimensions of the core process, being strong enough to stay on track, with constructing an initial track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track as subprocesses of the core process. The other categories were placed as dimensions of these three subprocesses.

Theoretical Sampling

Initial sampling (i.e., selection of participants) was purposive in that individuals fitting the general selection criteria for the study (i.e., second generation adolescent Sikh males aged 16 to 19 years of age) were interviewed. Once data collection and analysis was well underway, after the first seven interviews were open coded and axial coded, theoretical sampling was begun. In grounded theory method, sampling is concerned with representativeness of concepts. Thus, theoretical sampling was carried out based on

concepts that appeared to be relevant to the developing theory. A concept is said to be relevant if it has either been repeatedly present or absent in the data or if it is deemed to be a category through the coding procedures.

The aim of theoretical sampling was to sample incidents or events that may be examples of the properties or dimensions of categories already defined in the data. Theoretical sampling increased in depth as the investigation progressed and differed dependent upon the phase of data analysis (Barnes, 1996). For example, sampling in open coding was aimed at uncovering as many potentially relevant categories and their dimensions and properties as possible. Thus selection of initial interviewees was based upon the general criteria for participation in this study (e.g., second generation, Sikh, male, 16 to 19 years old). As concepts and categories were developed in the analysis, (e.g., axial coding), sampling shifted to uncover variation and relationships among the categories by looking for examples of different dimensions and properties of the categories. For example, the first seven young men spoke about not feeling strong enough. This seemed to be connected to not wanting to be visible within the dominant community, by wearing a turban. It was therefore hypothesized that young Sikh males with turbans may provide an important perspective on the emerging concepts of visibility and being strong enough but none of the participants so far had worn turbans. Thus theoretical sampling was utilized to seek participants who could provide insight into these aspects of the emerging theory. Additionally, it was hypothesized that since visibility seemed to be an issue, but the adolescent Sikh males interviewed so far resided in areas with large Sikh populations, that young men in more rural or urban areas with smaller Sikh

populations may also provide another perspective on visibility. Theoretical sampling was then used to access participants who lived in non highly Sikh populated areas.

Once a few interviews had been conducted with turbaned young men, rural young men, and young men living in smaller Sikh communities, the constant comparison method was used to code these interviews and then integrate the coding structures and compare categories and subcategories from all the interviews to date. With further analysis, a number of key categories and processes began to develop. At this point, new participants were sought and follow-up interviews were begun with 8 of the initial 12 participants who wished to participate in them. The interview protocol was modified to include questions about emerging categories, and any questions that had not been fruitful, were deleted. For example, specific questions about visibility were added. The initial questions that were used to explore the basic research question, such as "Who are you?" and "How would you describe yourself," were retained for new participants.

Sampling during the selective coding phase was very directed and deliberate as the core process had already been identified. I specifically attempted to seek persons that might assist in refining the emerging story line and clarifying relationships among the categories, as well as fleshing out any categories that required further development. I reinterviewed previous participants in order to direct attention to particular aspects of the analysis. I continued to sample new participants who could provide insight into particular aspects of the emerging model. Thus, adolescent Sikh males who were out of school, lived with a single parent, were non athletic, had varying degrees of religiosity, were average students, had only male, only female, or no siblings, were attending public and private schools, etc. were sought. The density of the model increased with each subsequent

interview as new data served to either refute or support emerging concepts. Each new interview was transcribed, open coded and axial coded before selective coding was carried out to fit the new coding structures into the developing model.

Sampling continued until theoretical saturation of each category was achieved. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) criteria were used to judge the point of saturation. Saturation occurred when: (a) no new or relevant data seemed to emerge regarding a category, (b) the category development was dense enough such that all of the elements of the paradigm model, as well as variation and process were accounted for; and (c) the relationships between categories were clearly defined and supported by the data. This occurred at 28 interviews. At this point, data collection through participant interviews ended.

Memos, Operational Notes, and Diagrams

I created two parallel systems of data management. The primary system consisted of a computer generated hierarchy of directories and files. As the study progressed and I became more familiar with the grounded theory method, the complexity of this system increased and continued to provide structure and coherence to the data management involved in handling transcribed verbatim interviews of each participant, coding of these transcripts, open code and axial code files, and details of the emerging relationships between the various dimensions of the key process. A hard copy was made of each of these files and organized into a file created for each participant.

Memos and Operational Notes

The aim of memoing and diagramming was to assist me in tracking the developing theory in the form of written or visual impressions or abstractions. Memos were

generated and systematically recorded from my earliest exposure to the data and became progressively more complex with theory development as earlier memos were extended and further clarified by subsequent memos.

Memos took a number of forms including code notes, theoretical notes, and operational notes. Memos with code notes contained the products of open, axial, and selective coding in the form of labels, attributes, or indications of the process under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theoretical notes contained my thoughts on the developing model and made reference to either relevant or potentially relevant categories. These notes included dimensions, properties, variations, and processes related to particular categories. Operational notes guided me about methodology and included comments about sampling, questions, and future areas to explore.

I made memos to track my thoughts as the investigation progressed. Memos were also written immediately following each interview to capture main themes or impressions that I had of the interview. These memos were either hand written and then transferred to computer files or directly typed into computer files, whatever seemed most convenient. I filed any memos that specifically referred to analysis of particular participants' interview data in a computer directory created for each participant. Any memos that referred to theoretical analysis or to methodology were filed in a directory for general memos. As aspects of the theory developed, a computer directory was also created for memos under each concept in the developing theory. A hard copy of each of the general and specific memos was then put into a binder that functioned as a key medium for tracking the developing theory.

Diagrams

Diagrams were found to be a useful means of creating a visual illustration of relationships between emerging concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Both logic and integrative diagrams were constructed to assist me in the process of theory development. My natural tendency toward use of visual representation of abstract thought provided a key impetus to the use of diagrams on large sheets of white paper. Logic diagrams helped clarify logical relationships between categories and subcategories in the developing model. Just as importantly, integrative diagrams provided the freedom to try out new concepts and links that extended the developing model in some way.

Criteria for Judging Trustworthiness

Theoretical Sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity is an essential component of grounded theory method (Glaser, 1978). It specifically refers to personal qualities of the investigator that influence the way data are collected and analysed. My personal life experiences as a child of South Asian immigrant parents in Canada, my graduate training in cross-cultural and adolescent counselling psychology, my experiences as a school counsellor within a diverse school population including Sikh children and adolescents, and my ability to speak Panjabi, have all helped enhance my theoretical sensitivity in regard to the phenomenon under study. My ability to speak Panjabi was an asset in this investigation as it gave the participants the opportunity to articulate and make sense of their identity construction experiences using English and Panjabi terminology and provided greater access to family members who were more fluent in Panjabi than English.

Theoretical sensitivity was further enhanced through the initial review of relevant literature, and as I interacted with the data through the parallel process of data collection and analysis. All these factors helped me see what might be important in the data and to give this meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theoretical sensitivity assisted me in ascertaining what the key means of participant recruitment might be, how to garner parental permission for their son's participation in the study, how to increase credibility in the eyes of the participants, and what aspects of data to pursue or which not to pursue as these may conflict with the participant's need to maintain confidentiality.

Rigor

Rigor was addressed in this study by ensuring adequacy of the amount of data collected. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) rigor is thought to be attained (a) when sufficient data have been collected and saturation occurs so that variation is accounted for and understood, (b) through appropriateness of data by using theoretical sampling, and (c) through careful documentation of the conceptual development of the project so that other researchers can reconstruct the process by which the investigator reached her conclusions.

Rigor was also addressed through verification and refutation of the theory with subsequent participants and secondary informants such as family members, school teachers, counsellors, and young second generation males who were older than 19 years of age. Eight follow-up interviews with participants also assisted in ensuring that the theoretical model was true to the data.

In a sense, interviewing young males gave me more distance from the data because the experiences of adolescent Sikh males are different from my personal experiences as a

woman. Pointing this out to them assisted me in obtaining details about their process of self and identity construction. Of course, rigor might also have been compromised by being a woman interviewing young men, as elements of sexual development were left largely unexplored in the interviews. The adolescent Sikh males rarely brought up issues of sexuality as an aspect of their personal self and identity construction. However, they did reveal some aspects of themselves that could put themselves in a negative light within a cultural and religious perspective. Some young men revealed that they either had a girlfriend or had had a girlfriend. One young man spoke about not being sure whether he would be a turbaned Sikh, if his parents did not encourage it. Another young man spoke about just wanting to have fun right now in his life, and stated that he would not want his parents to hear this.

Interviewing skills acquired through my professional experiences as a school counsellor and psychotherapist also assisted in creating rapport, and clarifying any areas of thought that seemed unclear to me. My ability to create a safe and credible environment was illustrated in many of the young participants staying much longer than the initially agreed upon 1 ½ hours to further explore their self and identity development process.

Rigor was also addressed through regular initial biweekly and later monthly consultation meetings with members of my research committee. In addition, I met monthly with a Grounded Theory Study Group facilitated by Dr. K. May, that consisted of five Ph. D. students using grounded theory method to analyse their data. This consultation provided (a) feedback on sampling, interviewing, analysis, memoing, mapping, and writing, (b) discussion and exploration of researcher reflexivity, and (c) support and encouragement.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are important in ensuring a balance between proposed benefits and risks for participants in the study. Participant privacy and confidentiality was assured through several means. First, potential participants were requested to make the initial contact with me or give their name and phone number to someone who could forward it to me. Second, during the initial phone conversation, the details of the study, including audiotaping of interviews, were provided and participants had the opportunity to decline participation. Two young men declined to participate after the initial telephone conversation. Third, for those adolescents who required parental permission to participate in the study (e.g., those under 19 years of age), the parent consent form was first read in English and then orally translated into Panjabi for any parents who indicated that they were not fluent in English. All parents were explicitly told that the interview between their son and myself would be confidential and parents would not have access to the content of what their son told me. The same information was provided to the participant. Fourth, participants had the opportunity to be interviewed at a place that was convenient for them. Thus, interviews took place at the University of British Columbia, at a school, at a participant's home, or in my home office. Fifth, participants and parents were both given the name and phone number of the Director of the Ethics Review Committee so that they could contact him if they had any concerns about the young man's participation in the study. Sixth, parents and participants were told that a young man could withdraw from the study at any time and that his participation or withdrawal would in no way influence his participation in future studies through the University of British Columbia. In terms of confidentiality, participants were informed that if they informed me that they were going

to harm themselves or someone else, or were at risk of harm, then confidentiality may be limited in that I would have a professional responsibility to consult with others.

Possible risks for participating could include a sense of vulnerability resulting from disclosure of intimate issues. The issue of confidentiality was clearly explained to participants and participants were requested to choose a pseudonym to protect their confidentiality. The master list of pseudonyms and participant names was kept in a locked filing cabinet and only I had access to this list. Participants were given permission to not answer any questions in the interview that they found uncomfortable to answer. Two young men took this opportunity when issues of relationships between mother and father and parents and other siblings came up.

Participants also had the opportunity to stop the interview at any time or delete something that they were concerned about having audiotaped. A number of times in the interviews, when I sensed that the next question may be somewhat sensitive (e.g., asking them about dating, whether they would wear a turban if they had their own choice), I stopped the tape and told the young man what question I was going to ask and acquired his consent before asking the question on audiotape and recording his response.

Many young men seemed very sensitive around issues of sexuality and I did not pursue this topic. I did not ask young men who were dating whether they were sexually active. From what these adolescent Sikh males informed me about private elements of self, sexuality was not openly discussed with friends, parents, or others. This may have been influenced by the cultural expectation of not being sexually active before marriage and they might have thought I might judge them. Also, I knew that intimate details around sexuality were not often discussed between women and men in the community and

this was an embarrassing topic. As a member of the community, I was also aware that parents who had given permission for their sons to participate in the study had an expectation that sensitive issues would not be talked about. They, and the community at large, would have been very disappointed if they found out that a woman had spoken about sexuality with young men in the study. Considering all of this, I did not pursue this topic. Participants commented on how nonjudgmental the context of the interviews had been. Many of the participants chose to continue being interviewed well past the 1 ½ hours that we had initially agreed upon.

Benefits and risks to the Panjabi Sikh community, in conducting of this study and presentation of results also needed to be considered. Risks could be related to presentation of results in such a way that the community becomes stereotyped and this leads to discrimination or biases against community members in general. These issues did not arise.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS - LIFE CONTEXT

In this chapter, I first present a brief overview of the grounded theory model by outlining the key process of construction of a sense of Who I Am, and its subprocesses as they are reflected and rooted in the life experiences of these adolescent Sikh males. Second, I describe the life context of second generation Sikh adolescent males growing up in Canada as depicted in the young mens' stories. During the process of data analysis, it became apparent that the process of construction of a sense of who each young man is, is nested within his life context. Giving the reader insight into this life context is essential to the reader's understanding of the theoretical model developed in this investigation. In the next chapter, I detail the various aspects of the theory and explain the elements of the core process and subprocesses of construction of a sense of Who I am. Because of the lack of agreement within the literature regarding the definition of the construct of self and the construct of identity, the terms Who I am, or Who I am becoming, are used to refer to the process of constructing a sense of self, and a sense of identity.

In presenting this model, concepts within the model are underlined when first introduced in the text and later integrated directly into the text. To illustrate aspects of the theory and to highlight the rootedness of this model in the actual life experiences of Sikh adolescent males, I use verbatim quotes extracted from transcribed interviews. For each quote, the pseudonym and age is indicated at the time of the quote. For some young men, two ages may be presented in the results, depending upon whether the quote is taken from the first interview or second interview after a birthday.

Quotes are indicated in the text through use of double quotation marks or indentation. I have used solid brackets [] to signify insertions I have made to clarify

aspects of the quotes, for the reader. Missing words and verbal nuances have been indicated by use of these brackets { }. Three periods (e.g., ...), are used to indicate when I have integrated two consecutive responses by the participant into one quote. In most instances, consecutive responses have only been integrated into one quote if the participant was clarifying something he had just said.

Because the aim of this chapter is to present the theory of the construction of a sense of self and identity by second generation 16- to 19-year-old Sikh adolescent males, in order to avoid repetition, I use the term youth, adolescents, adolescent males, or young men to refer specifically to these males. If I am using the term youth, adolescents, adolescent males, or young men in a broader sense to refer to all adolescent males, regardless of generational status, culture, ethnicity, religion, etc., I indicate this.

Construction of a Sense of Who I Am by Second Generation Adolescent Sikh Males:

A Grounded Theory Model

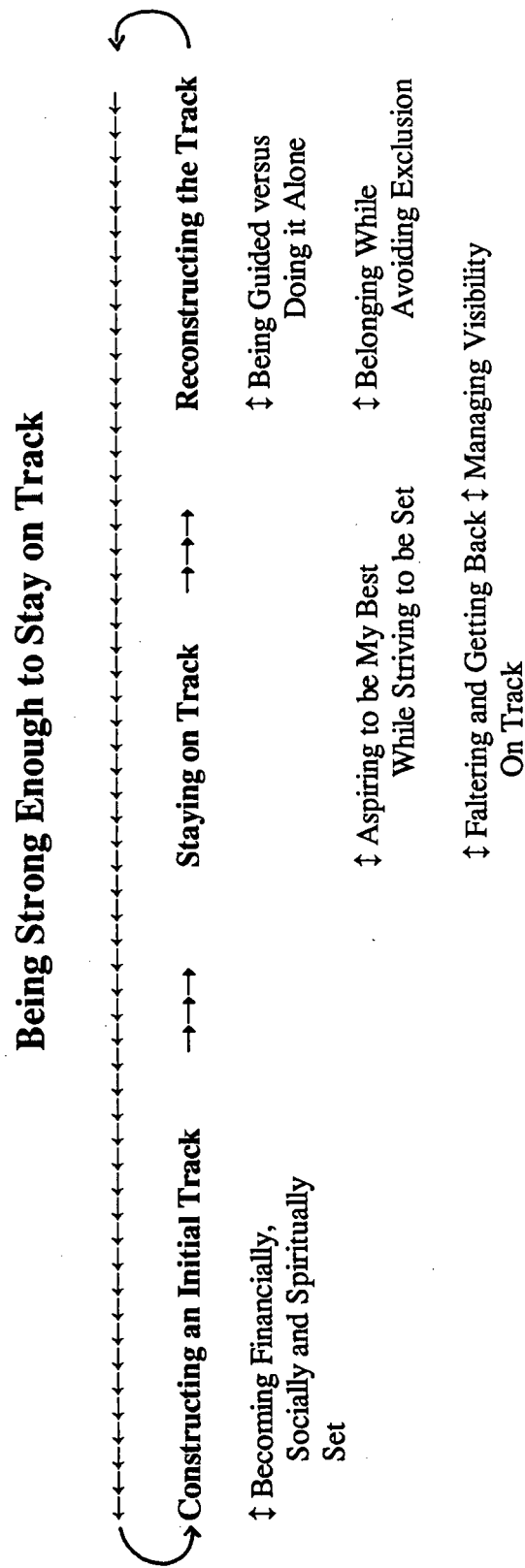
Overview of the Model

The results of this study of adolescent Sikh males growing up in Canada reveal that the construction of a sense of Who I am is a process. As adolescent males become older, their description of Who I am moves from more concrete to more abstract descriptions of who they are. Adolescent males also fluctuate between knowing who they are and not knowing who they are, and this is tightly intertwined with having a sense of where they are going in life. For these young men, construction of who they are encompasses aspects in the physical domain, emotional domain, social domain, and spiritual domain. Construction of a sense of who they are occurs in a social context and is grounded in the life context of second generation Sikh adolescent males. Their ethnicity, religiosity/spirituality, visibility

as minority group members in Canada, need for belonging, and guidance, are key factors in this process.

In this theory, constructing a sense of Who I am is seen as a process that parallels each young man's construction of a projected path of development that integrates aspects of three social scripts he may be exposed to, and sees as relevant to him. The term script is used specifically to refer to a socially accepted and expected pattern of attitudes, values, and behaviours seen as influencing life choices by individuals belonging to a particular social group, such as a cultural or religious group. The three scripts that adolescent Sikh males growing up in Canada saw as relevant to them were the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script and the dominant Canadian sociocultural script. The term dominant culture is used to refer to the predominantly Euro-American mainstream culture of Western Canada. The term track is used in this theory to refer to each young man's individualized construction of a future path or direction of development of Who I am and Who I am becoming, based upon the integration of elements of these scripts. The core process in constructing a sense of Who I am is being strong enough to stay on track (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Being Strong Enough to Stay on Track



Note: ↑ indicates varying degrees

The three subprocesses of being strong enough to stay on track are: constructing an initial track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track. The elements, sub-processes, and meanings of being strong enough to stay on track are an interplay between current and future-oriented intrapersonal and interpersonal concerns about getting an education, having a career, becoming married, having children, incorporating religiosity, and achieving prosperity in the Canadian context, while maintaining a sense of connectedness and belonging in the social domain and spiritual domain. The function of the track is to provide each Sikh male a sense of continuity of past, present, and future aspects of who he is and who he is becoming within a social context.

The construction of an initial track is seen by second generation adolescent Sikh males as guided largely by Panjabi immigrant parents. Panjabi parents are seen to selectively socialize their sons to particular values, attitudes, behaviours, customs, language, and traditions, which integrate elements of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and the Sikh religious/spiritual script, thereby imparting expectations of what is normal development for their sons. The basic structure of the ideal projected life long track with respect to general phases, and timing and sequence of phases, is similar for second generation Sikh adolescent males, and is highly influenced by the ethnic and religious/spiritual script. Markers, or points of Being Set on the track, function as indicators of achievement and continued progress on the track.

Staying on track is multifaceted, dynamic, and future oriented. It is grounded in each Sikh male's construction and clarity of a track and his ability to be strong enough to stay on track while being immersed in his present life context in Canada. It is influenced by the subprocess of aspiring to be my best while striving to be set.

Through exposure to the dominant culture through school and friends, and visual media and music, Sikh males become aware of the dominant sociocultural script. This propels them into integrating the three scripts and reconstructing the original track. With increasing cognitive abilities and social experiences in the dominant culture, in childhood and adolescence, each young man continually makes daily choices that influence the maintenance or modification of elements of the various phases of the original track. Therefore, progress on a track as well as modification of a track is seen as an active process that becomes more conscious and deliberate in adolescence. Integrating the three scripts may be a complicated process, especially where adolescent males see aspects of ethnic or religious scripts in direct contention with elements of the dominant sociocultural script.

In this grounded theory, Being strong enough is defined as the ability to persevere through psychological confusion and distress associated with trying to construct a track, stay on track, and reconstruct the track while meeting one's needs for psychological continuity, rootedness, and belonging within the Panjabi ethnic, Sikh religious, and dominant culture social contexts. Reconstructing the track is influenced by the subprocesses of, being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility. How a young man manages these processes influences the degree to which he feels strong enough to stay on track and his subsequent development and clarity of a sense of self and identity.

The life context of these adolescent Sikh males living in Western Canadian cities influences the intensity and role of these sub-processes as each young man attempts to be strong enough to stay on track and constructs a sense of who he is. The articulation of the

life context as part of this theory accentuates how the process of construction of a sense of Who I am for adolescent Sikh males is similar and yet unique from that of non-Sikh males. Intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic contexts function to influence the individual lives of these Sikh males in various ways. The interplay of these contextual factors define their development and propel them towards a more coherent sense of who they are.

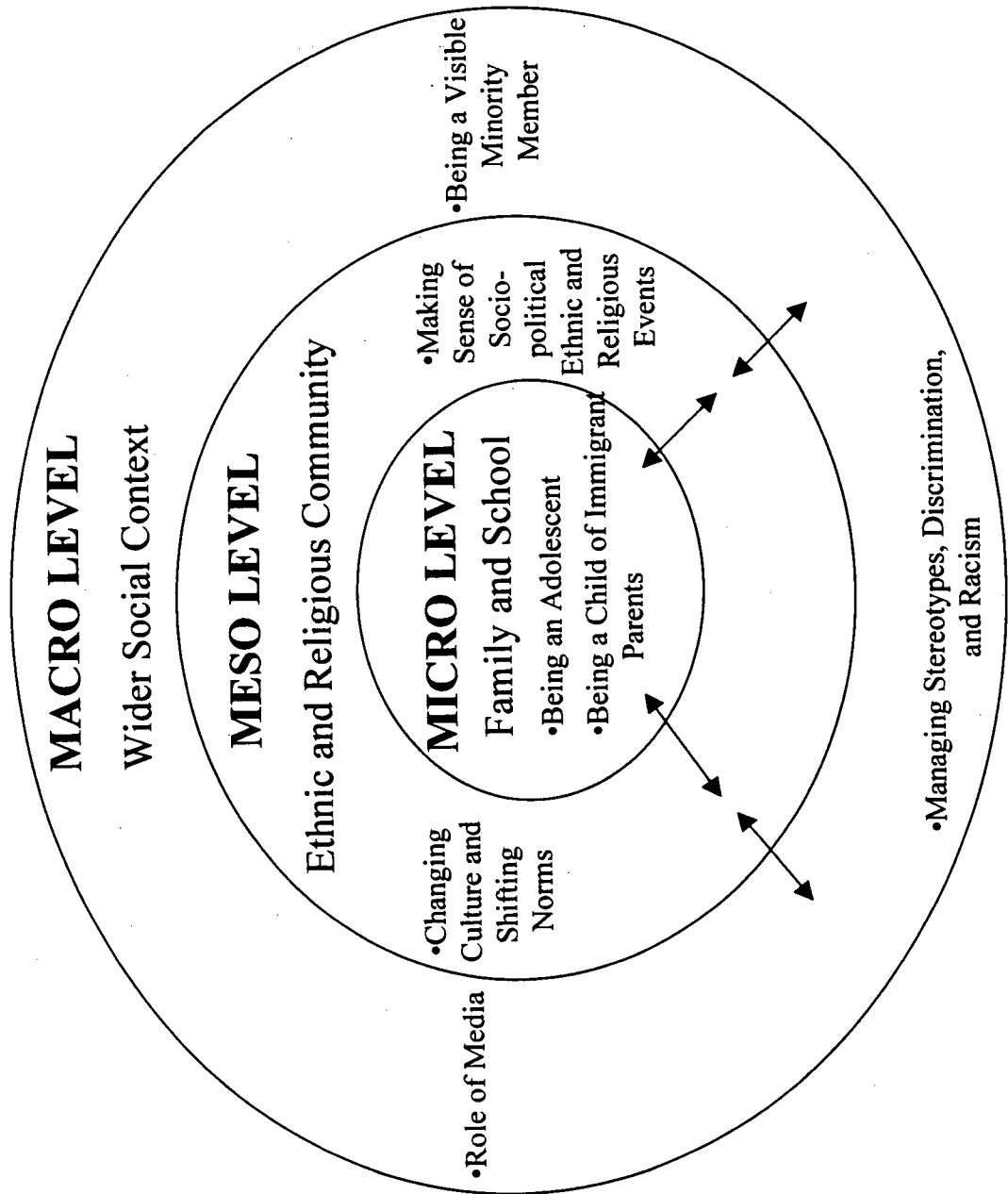
Life Context of Second Generation Adolescent Sikh Males in Western Canada

The construction of a sense of Who I am occurs in a sociocultural context. Adolescent Sikh males in this study reported that their sense of self has been variably influenced by: the family and school (the micro level), the ethnic and religious community (the meso level), and the larger community (the macro level) (see Figure 3). This designation parallels Bronfenbrenner's (Friedman & Wachs, 1999) bioecological environments of the microsystem, mesosystem, and macrosystem. Quotes from participants are used to highlight key aspects of these three levels of context within which the construction of a sense of Who I am is nested. These three levels of context are fluid and interacting and therefore some of the elements described within a particular level may also be influenced by another level. Tensions between these levels further affect the life of each young man and his ongoing development of a sense of who he is.

The Micro level - The Family and School

Contextual factors that were identified as part of the family and school contexts of adolescent Sikh males included being an adolescent and being a child of immigrant parents.

Figure 3: Life Context of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males



Being an Adolescent

Adolescent Sikh males in this study saw themselves as typical adolescents with respect to increasing cognitive abilities, increasing sense of responsibility for self and others, increasing responsibilities at home and in society, increasing desire for choice in life, and increasing interest in the opposite gender. For those who were students, varying degrees of immersion in the educational context were also perceived as a typical aspect of being an adolescent.

An increase in age was connected to an increasing focus on Who I am. In general the younger adolescents, those closer to age 16, defined Who I am in concrete terms such as use of their name, physical appearance, age, grade, and gender; whereas older adolescents, those aged 18 or 19 years, were more abstract in their self descriptions and described themselves in terms of ethnicity, religion, values, ideas, and hopes and desires. For example, Amm (16) responded:

I guess I'd say, I'm Amm. I'm a 16 year old. I am Indo-Canadian, probably Sikh, I guess. And I'm a male. That's it.

With age came greater analytic abilities as well, such as increased self understanding about personal biases. It was apparent in the interviews that adolescent Sikh males varied in their ability to articulate their past, present, and future sense of who they were, and who they were becoming. Their ability to self reflect and have insight into their own motives and behaviours also corresponded to a clearer sense of who they were. But, the older participants, those aged 18 or 19 did not always have a clearer sense of who they were and wanted to be, than the younger, 16- or 17-year-old participants, although all participants indicated that they were now better able to analyse situations than they had

been able to a few years earlier. Some of the younger males aged 16 or 17, especially those who had incorporated elements of religion and spirituality into their lives, were also more abstract in their self descriptions, compared with their non religious/spiritual peers.

For example, in response to the question "Who are you?" Jaspreet (16) said:

Who am I? [laughs] That's a broad question. [laughs]. Okay. Umm... you know, you could answer that in big essay style questions [laughs]. You know, it could be 10 pages of what I think I am [laughs]. Umm.. But, I don't think I'm anybody special. Umm.. I'm fortunate in a lot of sense. My parents are successful. My sister is successful and my brother's going to be successful. I hope I will be successful. Ummmm.. But I'm nothing, nothing special. I think I'm just a regular proud Sikh male. Umm. Who would do whatever it takes to become what he wants to be. Now those things whatever he wants to become might change over a period of time tremendously. But the stride and determination and the intelligence are all there to become what he wants to be. Hopefully.

With respect to increased social expectations and responsibility, as these adolescent Sikh males grew older, the relationship between themselves and their parents also shifted. During this period, they were expected to be more considerate of the needs of the family when making decisions and were expected to be more responsible for themselves as well as for others. The marital status of their parents, presence of male siblings, and their birth order in the family influenced what was expected of them.

Being interested in the opposite sex was also considered a part of becoming an adolescent. Due to different degrees of religiosity and the Panjabi tradition of assisted marriages, variability occurred in the behaviours of these adolescent Sikh males with respect to dating. Most adolescent males who participated in this study were not actively dating. Only a few of the adolescents had previously dated or were currently dating.

Many adolescent Sikh males were involved in team sports either in school, in the ethnic community, or larger community setting. The most popular sports were basketball

and soccer, although some young men were also involved in wrestling and weightlifting and a few played volleyball, rugby, or badminton. Adolescents Sikh males who played on sports teams typically had been involved in sports since elementary school. Many adolescent Sikh males spoke about their athletic activities as important aspects of their daily lives. Hardip (17) described the role of sports in many adolescent males' lives when he spoke about a typical day for him.

Wake up around 7 in the morning and then I go to the bathroom. Get changed, get ready, then I pray for about 15 minutes, eat breakfast around 7:45 [a.m.]. Then, me and a friend go to shoot around just before school starts, basketball. Then we go through our classes. And then by the end of the day I usually have practice at around 5:30 [p.m.] or go home get something to eat. Come back to school, practice from around 5:30 [p.m.] to around 8, 8:30 [p.m.]. And then come back home, eat dinner. Do my homework afterwards. Or, if I'm too tired, get up the next morning to do it.

Participation in sports was highly encouraged by many fathers who were themselves athletically minded. Familiarity with particular sports seemed to be an aspect of this as Sikh immigrant fathers who had been involved in soccer, wrestling, or weightlifting tended to encourage their sons to be involved in similar activities. Fathers who had an interest and had the time coached their son's team or came to watch their games. Some immigrant mothers were also reported to observe their son's athletic competitions, however, mothers were not involved in coaching.

Participation in sports provided a sense of camaraderie with other males as well as a means of processing bothersome concerns. For example, Sukh (17) commented on how he went to shoot baskets to figure things out.

Um, whenever I'm actually troubled or anything I usually just go out and play basketball. Shoot hoops. It kind of helps me kind of answer some questions, I guess. It's good for me. Sometimes I shoot by myself. Gives me a chance to think [about] just daily things. Like anything that's being going on through the day. Maybe

homework that I've done or have to do. Something happened at school. That kind of stuff. Just gives me time to think.

Those young men who did not see themselves as athletically skilled participated in similar recreational activities, such as shooting baskets with friends.

Being a Child of Immigrant Parents

Being the child of immigrant parents was seen to influence the lives of adolescent Sikh males in a number of ways. The parents' knowledge about Canadian culture and society, communication due to varying language fluency of parents and children, and the amount of time mother and father had for parenting as a dual-income family were all aspects of the experience of being a child of immigrant parents.

Being children of immigrant parents who originated from a non-European culture, Sikh males reported experiencing disparity between their ethnic culture and religion compared with the dominant culture and religion they were exposed to at school and in the community. Making sense of disparate expectations and values was complicated and had the potential to influence the construction of a track and the perseverance needed to stay on track. Satnam (16) described how he tried to educate his immigrant mother by giving her examples of how parents should not be.

Usually I talk to my mom and I try to like tell her how parents are. I don't know, not understanding. Like, I don't know. East Indian parents that are a bit old fashioned. I think, they seem uneducated. Like, if I go out, like with my friends, all she'll say is. She sits there and says, 'You go out too much, you go out too much.' And like, she doesn't understand that it's not like, it's not bad as long as I'm not doing anything bad. And she knows I'm not doing anything bad. And like, it's not good to sit inside all day. And that's what she wants me to do, sit inside all day. And she doesn't realize that it's good to go out.

Another aspect of being a child of immigrant parents who still had many connections to their country of origin was that many Sikh males had had an opportunity to visit India

with their parents. The visits to India were described by participants as largely positive experiences. Experiencing these trips was seen as providing a sense of connectedness to the childhood anecdotes of immigrant parents and grandparents. As well, Sikh males had the opportunity to visit sites associated with contemporary and earlier Sikh history as many of these trips included pilgrimage to Sikh religious places (e.g., Harmander Sahib, the Golden Temple). Amandeep (16), spoke fondly about the two trips that he had taken to India with his family and his current desire to go back again.

My dad brought home a tape from a carnival in India. Like, it was my Mama's [mom's brother's], or whatever, and I enjoyed watching that. There were a lot of games and everything. And that's why I'm telling my dad, "Let's go to India this summer." Cause I, I love it there.

Although most adolescent Sikh males expressed a real sense of belonging when they went back to India with their families, not all had positive memories of their trips. Some found the culture shock too much because they had grown up in Canada, and only knew Indian society through their family and ethnic group in Canada. When they directly experienced India, they were not always taken by it and had a hard time adjusting. For Banti (17), going to India was "sort of weird, because going back in the place [to India] was way different than what you live in before [referring to life in Canada]. It was hard."

Visiting India provided Canadian-born children of immigrant parents first hand contact and exposure to traditions, values, and social behaviours of Panjabi ethnic culture as it is practised in India. Regardless of whether they had positive or negative experiences, ultimately these experiences were seen as influencing the construction of a sense of self, through increased awareness of the Panjabi ethnic script and the Sikh religious script. Thus, being a child of immigrant parents was an important contextual

factor in the construction and clarity of a track for the development of a Sikh male's sense of who he was.

In summary, for adolescent Sikh males, within the contexts of their families and their schools, being an adolescent and being the child of immigrant parents were significant elements of the micro context within which each developed a sense of self.

The Meso level - The Ethnic and Religious Community

The broader context of the ethnic and religious community included factors identified as relevant to informants, such as changing culture and shifting norms, and the need to make sense of sociopolitical events within the Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious community.

Changing Culture and Shifting Norms

The transmission of culture from one generation to the next invariably results in the shifting of some aspects of the culture. When successive generations are living in two radically different life contexts due to migration by the parental generation, culture change is likely. Much has been written about how cultural groups change at the individual and group level upon migration from their homeland (Berry, 1997). Immigrant parents often carry with them sentimental images, values, ideas, traditions, and customs of their homeland from the time they migrated. However, culture also keeps changing in the homeland, in this case, Panjab.

Unless immigrant parents go back and see that the culture in the homeland has shifted and changed with time as well, they may have an expectation that their children should be the way the parents were when they were growing up. Thus, the norms in the society that these adolescent Sikh males are growing up in are quite different than the norms their

parents grew up with, or their peers in India are growing up with now. Adolescent Sikh males were quite aware that they were being exposed to cultural/religious values and expectations different from their parents' ethnic context and dominant community context in Canada. In talking about how the cultural context in Canada was different for second generation Sikh adolescents in comparison with how it was for their parents growing up in the Panjab, Surinder (18) noted:

It's only time. It takes time, but I think it [cultural norms] would be affected. Right. Cause in India you're living with other Panjabis. You know, In Panjab. So there wouldn't be as much change. But if you move out to another country. You adapt a bit. So, adapt the issues. And adaptation goes further and further, with your children and then their children.

Because the adolescent Sikh males were born in Canada, they were not able to articulate how Panjabi cultural norms in India differed from norms in Canada. Therefore, I drew on the narratives of two immigrant males in their early 20s, who participated in informal interviews, to highlight shifting cultural norms. Raj and Harjinder, two males with dastars (turbans) had migrated from India at the age of 17 and 18, respectively, and were attending post-secondary institutions in British. They pointed out that when they were living in India, they felt like everyone was like them so they never felt like outsiders. Their larger society in Panjab valued the wearing of a dastar. Many young males and adult males wore a dastar in India and therefore it was not considered inferior or abnormal if a young male wore a dastar. In contrast, in Canadian society, the norm for males is to be clean cut with short hair. Thus, wearing a dastar in Canada was seen as uncool. Parm (18), further clarified the Canadian norm that Raj and Harjinder alluded to.

On t.v. you don't see fashion models with turbans right. It's nothing funny but it's true. Right, you just don't see that. It's not viewed like that. If it was, hey maybe we'd see more guys with turbans but it's just not the way it is. I don't know. T.V.'s

a big thing too. And you know how on shows, on fashion shows. You know fashion shows when they show East Indian culture you all see that clean cut, shaved, trim, trimmed hair type of guy wearing a kurta pajama. Whatever, you know. You don't see him wearing a turban. You see that modern type of look. Everybody's into that type of thing.

Another aspect of culture that was changing between immigrant parents and their children was that of language fluency. Adolescent males spoke mostly in English during the interviews, but every one of them also incorporated Panjabi terms in describing their life context and who they were (see Appendix H). In contrast, they indicated that in general, their parents were more fluent in Panjabi, although many immigrant parents were able to communicate somewhat in English. Some of their parents were equally fluent in English and Panjabi, with fathers generally more fluent in English than mothers.

Adolescent Sikh males were aware that dating was not a traditional aspect of Indian culture in general or Panjabi culture in particular. Participants indicated that most of their parents had arranged marriages, in which the two partners were introduced to each other through parents and were often expected to marry each other. Dating was an aspect of the dominant culture that was becoming a part of the lives of some adolescent Sikh males and most males reported that they would like to have some choice in who they marry. Some wanted to do this through dating, whereas others were satisfied with having an assisted marriage whereby they would be introduced to a prospective partner and have an opportunity to get to know her before agreeing to marry her.

Making Sense of Sociopolitical Ethnic and Religious Events

During the course of this study, a number of highly publicized events occurred within the Sikh community. Most of these events were related to disagreement among Sikhs in British Columbia regarding the continuation of religious traditions related to the Sikh

religious authority, Akal Takht. The ongoing conflict received much local, national, and international ethnic and mainstream media attention. The specific issue of contention was eating Langar (religious food) on the floor, a Sikh tradition, or using tables and chairs, an adopted practice by Sikhs in British Columbia. Individuals supporting the two perspectives were termed by the mainstream media as fundamentalists and moderates, respectively, and the association of the Sikh community with violence was repeatedly portrayed in the media.

Adolescent Sikh males in the study were aware of the ongoing disagreement, which had not been resolved by the completion of data collection. Participants were asked to comment on whether this affected their sense of self. Most second generation adolescent Sikh males felt that their sense of who they were had been influenced by these events as they resulted in the Sikh community being divided along lines of those supporting sitting on the floor to eat Langar, and those supporting sitting at tables and chairs to eat Langar. Sunny (17), a young man who had a haircut and therefore did not wear a dastar (turban), spoke about how the first question that he was now asked when introducing himself to new Sikh and non-Sikh peers in school, was "Are you a fundamentalist or moderate?" Even those adolescent Sikh males who had not considered the relationship of religion in their lives felt forced to choose between one label or the other. They felt that if they did not choose, a label would be ascribed to them by their peers and the larger society because adolescent Sikh males with a dastar were automatically assumed to be fundamentalists, whereas those with haircuts were assumed to be moderates. Sunny (17) further articulated the assumptions people would make about him if he wore a dastar.

People would automatically think of me as an extremist or something like that. You know, fundamentalist or something like that. People start naming me stuff like that.

In summary, the ethnic and religious communities were seen by adolescent Sikh males as influencing their ongoing development of a sense of self by requiring them to deal with changing culture and shifting norms, as well as to make sense of sociopolitical events.

The Macro level - The Wider Social Context

The wider social context of these adolescents is beyond the family, school, and ethnic and religious community and largely consists of the perceived Canadian dominant community culture as well as other minority ethnic and religious groups. Within this context, a young man's developing sense of self was influenced by the experience of racism, discrimination, and stereotypes.

Managing Stereotypes, Discrimination, and Racism

Being a visible minority member. For second generation adolescent Sikh males, being a member of a visible minority group meant having to deal with stereotypes, discrimination, and racism. Stereotypes are commonly held beliefs about a particular group that neglect individual attributes of members of that group. Discrimination is the denial of basic rights to individuals of a particular group that may be based on ethnicity, religion, gender, or race. Hardip (17) most cogently articulated how this played out in the lives of adolescent Sikh males:

It's not just Canada. [It's] like just the human race where we see like ideals that should be outstanding. They're not there. We still draw lines between races and cultures. Whereas like we see governments trying to do this and that, to like try to improve relations but its still there. Like uh, there's racial divisions in terms of like just people not being open to other people just because of their color. Um, maybe in context to just like walking up and down the street and getting a dirty look and maybe even applying for a job or something like that.

Many of the adolescent Sikh males who participated in this study were aware that stereotyping, discrimination, and racism was a part of their lives and took it for granted that it occurred commonly in Canada. Jaspreet (16), a young man with a dastar (turban), described an experience he had with stereotyping.

Um... no matter what your good education or successful career whatever. Always be aware that outsiders of your religion will look upon you as just that. Just a guy with a turban or nothing. They won't necessarily see a respectable person. In fact, the chances are they won't. Umm... what they will see in my case is a guy with a turban, that's it. I was at the airport picking up my sister. And, uh, my brother parked the car. But I was looking for him. I thought he was driving around here. Some guy came up to me and said "Excuse me sir, are you with the taxi service?" I said, "What made you think that I was a taxi driver?" He said, "Because you're wearing that turban." I said "c'mon. Give me a break. Is that the only reason why you thought I was a taxi driver?" He said, he said, uh he said, "Well, a lot of you guys drive a taxi." "That may be, but a lot of us guys also own the taxi companies, not just drive them." He said, "Oh really." I said, "Yeah, we are, we are entrepreneurs, we're doctors, we're lawyers. For all I know, for all you know, I could be running you right now. [laughs]. I could be doing anything, right? Owning one of these airlines." And he said, "Sorry about that." I'm like, "Ok. It doesn't matter." But I was just seen as a taxi driver because of my turban.

Discrimination and racism in the lives of adolescent Sikh youth took the form of verbal slurs, physical assault, as well as hindrances in advancement. Sikh males who either wore a dastar or lived in a rural community were more likely to experience discrimination and racism. Some of the discrimination had to do with their different physical appearance. Young men with dastars spoke of having strangers, usually youth, hurl insults at them at school as well as when they were in the larger community. Jaspal (16), a young man growing up in a rural community, spoke about how discrimination might be fueled sometimes by envy or jealousy connected to lack of playing time on sports teams, as many young adolescent Sikh males were actively involved in school sports teams.

In our school, all these East Indian guys, right, they all join the sports, right. And, cause there is only one guy on our "A" team and he's White, the rest are all East

Indian. Maybe, cause of that, cause we got a lot of playing time for basketball, right. Maybe cause of that, I don't know. Some people are just stupid, they are just trying to be racist and all that.

Some forms of discrimination resulted in lack of opportunity to advance in structured social groups such as Cadets, a youth group of the Canadian Army. Jagtir Singh, a small framed, soft spoken 16-year-old with a dastar, spoke of having been in Cadets for 3 years and not been considered for advancement up the ranks of Cadets. He talked of being called Raghead and being physically pushed around by White guys in Cadets. Additionally, he spoke of having filled out an exam for advancement three times over the last 2 years, and had yet to receive any results back.

For those adolescent Sikh males who were living in rural communities or were more visible because they wore a dastar, discrimination and intolerance were experienced as a significant part of their lives. Most spoke about wanting to live in a discrimination and racism-free world. In expressing what a perfect life would be like, Jaspal (16), a nonturbaned adolescent said, "A perfect life? Um...a good paying job and peaceful town and like no racism stuff like that, no fighting, that's it."

Role of media. For many adolescent Sikh males, the role of the mainstream media in promoting negative stereotypes that they then had to deal with in their lives in the form of discrimination and racism was real. Some second generation adolescent Sikh males felt that the mainstream media had construed their entire ethnic community in a negative light through inaccurate reporting of intra-ethnic events as well as by simplifying the disagreement within the Sikh community as that between those wanting tables and chairs, or not, for eating Langar.

Thus, for some adolescent males, waking up every morning to see what had been written about their community in the daily paper was an anxiety-provoking and disheartening process. They expected to find the image of the Sikhs further tarnished in front page articles yet felt powerless to do anything about it. Knowing that they would feel down after reading the article, they still felt compelled to read it because they wanted to know what messages were communicated about them and what they might have to deal with in terms of questions from their dominant community peers at school, as well as reactions from strangers. Mandeep (17), a young man with a turban, clarified how he thought stereotypes were perpetuated and how he believed the media had influenced his personal interactions with mainstream individuals.

That's [stereotyping] like human nature I think, right. If one guy's bad and then you think the whole group's bad right. Just like the newspapers are doing with Apnay [our people] now. Like I come to [public] school and they're like "So what do they do in that school [private Sikh school]? Do they have like guns and everything in the gym? In P.E. do they teach you how to operate a shotgun?" Right? And the goray [Individuals of mainstream culture], that's what they're thinking. And they're serious, right, because that's what, that's the negative outlook they have right. And now, if I'm walking down the street and some Gora [mainstream male] sees, or some Gori [mainstream female] old lady is sitting. Old, right. Has a purse or something right. She might cover it up or something, cause I'm a terrorist and I might take it from her.

Mandeep (17) further explained how he believed the mainstream media had focused on the events within the Sikh community at the expense of other more important larger community events.

Like one time one of those fights happened at the Surrey Gurudwara, right. At the same time there was a molester on Cambie street, right. A Gora [mainstream] guy, 30 or 40 years old, and uh, and there was so much coverage on our thing. Right. And nothing. Like this guy was just roaming free, and he, and he had like another hit. Or, whatever right. Like everyday or something. And then, that, that. That made me so mad, right. Cause what's happening at the Gurudwara is nothing compared to what's happening on Cambie Street right. Cause he was, he's just, that's where all

his whatever, attacks took place right. Then eventually, they didn't catch the guy, and that story just died down.

Depending upon the ethnic make-up of the school that they attended, the Sikh youth had to deal with negative stereotypes of their ethnic community to varying degrees. Some were able to distance themselves from the media's portrayal of the ethnic community due to a large ethnic student population in their school. Due to less daily interaction with dominant community members, they did not often have to stop to critically think about what the media was portraying. For example, Parm, a nonturbaned adolescent, lived in a largely Panjabi ethnic neighbourhood and attended a school that had a large Panjabi ethnic population. In speaking about the role of media images in his personal experience of discrimination and racism, Parm (18) said:

If I think about it properly, it [media's portrayal of Sikh intra-ethnic conflict] is. But, uh, to me, it's just another event. Like, why get mad over this, when your own people are fighting with each other, right. Cause this kind of stuff used to happen before. Didn't it? It did, right. Plus the media makes a bigger deal about it too then it is. But, that's what the people are going to believe, the media, not you. Always. Like, when they're saying, I remember the Gurudwara fight, they were saying "zinda baud police" [long live the police] or what ever. "RCMP zinda baud." [long live the RCMP] Right. Well, BCTV, they were saying, uh, "die police die." And that's not what they were saying, right. I'm thinking to myself, like, "what? Whatever!" Right. I'm like, it didn't really occur to me as that big of a deal right. Like whatever, they made a mistake. But when you think about it after, you know, I don't know.

It is clear from the stories of adolescent Sikh males that discrimination and racism played a part in the construction of their sense of who they were, to varying degrees. How visible they were in their own social contexts was an important consideration.

Summary

The life context for second generation adolescent Sikh males was seen as an essential part of how they constructed a sense of who they were. Adolescent Sikh males were

similar to other adolescent males as they described commonly identified adolescent changes such as increasing cognitive abilities, increased social expectations, shifting parent-child relationship, and increasing interest in the opposite sex. Yet, their context was different with respect to being children of immigrant parents, having to make sense of sociopolitical ethnic and religious events, managing negative stereotypes, discrimination and racism, and dealing with a changing culture and shifting norms. Issues within the familial and school context, the ethnic and religious context, and the larger social context, increased the complexity of the process of developing a sense of self. The next chapter details the theoretical model developed to explain this process in terms of being strong enough to stay on track.

CHAPTER 5 RESULTS - CONSTRUCTING A SENSE OF WHO I AM

Being Strong Enough to Stay on Track

I gotta look at myself and just do whatever I can to achieve my goals. And like I can't, I have no power over the way other people look at me. So, I just gotta continue doing what I'm doing and just like stay on the track that'll get me to my destination. Getting settled, having a good job. Like, being able to provide for my family.

(Hardip, 18)

The core process in constructing a sense of Who I Am, by second generation adolescent Sikh males in Canada, was being strong enough to stay on track. The process of constructing a track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track was an ongoing, dynamic process that evolved during adolescence. Thus, being strong enough to stay on track was a psycho-social process. Who a Sikh male saw himself to be at any point in time was an interplay between his cognitive and emotional appraisal of himself within his social contexts. In this grounded theory, cognitive appraisal refers to how a young man perceived himself and emotional appraisal refers specifically to his feelings about who he is, for example, having a sense of comfort, confusion, and pride.

For these Sikh males, social contexts encompassed the familial environment, including siblings and extended family, the family's social network, male and female ethnic and nonethnic peers largely in the school setting, the ethnic community as a whole, and the dominant community. These social contexts functioned to provide both positive and negative feedback that was incorporated into the young man's cognitive and emotional appraisal of who he was and who he was becoming, and thus, being strong enough to stay on track.

In this chapter, I highlight the key processes involved in the initial construction of the track, staying on track, and the reconstruction of the track through increasing awareness and negotiation of inconsistencies in various life scripts. As this process evolved in a recursive manner, a young man's sense of who he was became further clarified and solidified, resulting in greater cohesiveness of a sense of who he was and who he was becoming.

Constructing an Initial Track:

Integration of Sociocultural and Spiritual/Religious Scripts

The core process in the construction of a sense of who they are by second generation adolescent males was being strong enough to stay on track. The process of constructing this track involved the integration of three specific perceived scripts including a Panjabi sociocultural ethnic script, Sikh spiritual/religious script, and a dominant Canadian Western culture script.

The initial construction of the track in childhood was largely influenced by immigrant parents but during adolescence, Sikh males reported asserting more personal input into the construction of this track. The basic structure for the track was seen to be formulated from the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, and notions regarding Sikh religiosity/spirituality further modified the various phases and the issues that adolescent Sikh males dealt with in terms of being strong enough to stay on track. The framework of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script was perceived by adolescent males to be similar to the dominant Canadian sociocultural script with respect to the phases of the script but different with respect to the sequence, timing, aspects, and meaning of each of these phases. Thus, through the words of the participants in this study, I first present the basic

framework and meaning of the dimensions of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script. I then describe the aspects and dimensions of the Sikh religious/spiritual script and outline how it is integrated into the ethnic sociocultural script, resulting in an initial sociocultural/religious track.

The terms Sikh and Panjabi do not denote the same meaning. Sikh refers to spiritual and religious values, and Panjabi refers to social and cultural values. Thus, not all Sikhs are Panjabi and not all Panjabis are Sikh. For individuals who do belong to both categories, such as the adolescent Sikh males in this study, the two terms may become confused. Yet, those young men who were more religiously/spiritually oriented were able to better articulate the difference between being a Sikh and being a Panjabi.

Becoming Financially and Socially Set: The Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural Script

Being strong enough to stay on track reflected the presence of an ingrained Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script that explained features of the normative developmental process from childhood through adulthood (see Figure 4). This Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script accompanied immigrant parents when they migrated from India to Canada and was transmitted to the adolescent Sikh males through the family environment and was reinforced through interactions with members of the ethnic group. The family imparted this sociocultural script to its children through parental values, traditions, customs, behaviours, language, and expectations of current and future development as an individual.

Figure 4: Integrating Scripts into an Initial Track: Panjabi Sociocultural Script

PANJABI Sociocultural Script : Becoming Financially and Socially Set

Good Education → **Successful Career** → **Marriage** → **Children**

K- post-secondary

Dating and Courtship
Role of parents

Passing on values

FINANCIALY
SET

SOCIALY
SET

Age 5 - 24

25 ish

Late 20s to early 30s

The Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script as perceived by the informants comprised of a number of developmental phases: (a) Phase 1: Acquiring a good education, (b) Phase 2: Having a successful career, (c) Phase 3: Getting married, and (d) Phase 4: Having children and passing on values. In this grounded theory, a phase is defined as a period of time in which an individual was expected to focus on a particular life task. These phases are overlapping and do not have distinct boundaries. These four phases in the sociocultural script were conceptually understood by adolescent Sikh males as inherent in the normative development of an individual from childhood through adulthood. Thus, these four life tasks were significant in the lives of second generation Sikh males, in that, within the Panjabi ethnic community, this developmental script functioned as a blueprint for each young man's process of defining who he was and appraising his future development. All participants attending high school or post secondary institutions saw themselves as being in the first phase, acquiring a good education. Those adolescent Sikh males who had finished high school and were not enrolled in post-secondary institutions perceived themselves as being in transition between Phase 1 and Phase 2.

What was most unique about this Panjabi ethnic-socio cultural script for second generation adolescent males was that, acquiring a good education, having a successful career, getting married, having children and passing on values were expected to occur in a particular sequence and be completed by a specific age. For example, Jaspal (16), a grade 11 student, pointed out that his future aspirations included "Going to college, going to university, getting a good job. Hopefully getting married in the future. Then having children."

The four phases could be separated into two parts. The first part was acquiring a good education and having a successful career. The second part was getting married, having children, and passing on values. The achievement of each of these parts functioned as developmental markers, referred to as points of being set. Becoming set or being set were commonly used terms in Panjabi language. Set was a borrowed English term and was commonly used with the Panjabi term hojana or hona, which was equivalent to the English verb, to be.

In the present theory, these two different points are referred to as becoming financially set, and becoming socially set. In assessing who they were and who they were becoming, second generation adolescent Sikh males defined themselves in terms of what point they were at relative to being set and the significance of becoming set as a goal in their psycho-social development.

Becoming Financially Set: Acquiring a Good Education and Having a Successful Career

The process of becoming financially set involved two aspects, acquiring a good education and securing a financially lucrative career. Developmentally, adolescent Sikh males expected to become financially set by the time they were about 25 or 26 years old. At this point, they thought that they would have completed all their formal education and would have a secure, prosperous, and socially respectable career.

Getting a good education was perceived to be specific to acquiring formal education in the school setting. Therefore, this first phase of development began in Kindergarten and encompassed high school and postsecondary training. Chronologically, this phase was age specific from about 5 years of age to about 25 years of age. Because the first phase of the track began with primary school education, parents and the ethnic community placed

adolescent Sikh males on the track in childhood. But, realization that there was a track and that getting a good education was part of being on track usually did not occur until adolescence. Hardip (18) recalled when he first realized there was a track.

You don't really think about it. You're just like going to school. You don't really think about how you're doing it until you get a little bit older. I'd say it varies from person to person. For me it was, uh, having a good teacher meant something to me at about grade 10, maybe grade 9.

The level of formal education that was expected to be acquired varied with family. Because receiving a formal education was believed to lead to a successful career, all adolescent Sikh males expected to at least complete high school, however, their parents expected them to go on to postsecondary education. Amandeep's (16) articulation of his father's aspirations for him are typical of other adolescents as well. Amandeep said,

He [my father] always says, "Just get an education 'cause there's no jobs left out there for a person without a good education." He's like, "Just, just get a good education. An education that will lead you up to a good, a good career. A good job."

The amount of postsecondary education they expected to acquire was closely related to what the family perceived a successful career to be, because the aim of getting a good education was to acquire a successful career. Although, having a successful career could be as basic as having a job "that puts food on the table and supports your family" (Amandeep), additionally, money and status might be considered in assessing the success of a particular career.

Adolescent Sikh males were certain that they needed to be financially set by about age 25, but these 16- to 19-year-old males varied in their career choices and career aspirations. Those who were attending postsecondary institutions were more certain of their career interests and which careers they were considering. The adolescent Sikh males

who had graduated from high school but were not enrolled in postsecondary institutions were less certain of which careers they wanted to pursue. The younger males, those in high school, also varied in their clarity about career choices, but had some ideas (e.g., teacher, lawyer, psychologist, entrepreneur, accountant). In assessing which careers to pursue, the adolescent Sikh males felt that they were generally unable to rely on their immigrant parents for realistic input that considered their personal interests. Instead, they looked to older cousins or siblings for career guidance. Regardless of their career clarity, adolescent males were certain that having a good education and acquiring a successful career was important in their lives. Ultimately, this influenced who they thought they were and who they thought they were becoming.

In order to become financially set, not all adolescents needed to acquire a good education. Adolescent Sikh males with entrepreneurial or prosperous parents were able to sidestep acquiring a good education if they had the option of achieving a prosperous career by going into the family business or acquiring the family fortune. This was especially relevant for those who were only children as they stood to inherit the family wealth. Thus, the pressure to acquire a postsecondary education was minimized for these young men in order to be considered on track for becoming financially set. In speaking about not entering a postsecondary institution since he graduated from high school a year ago, Surinder (19) said:

Well you know, they [young men attending post-secondary institutions] need to get a degree or something to get a job right. And for me, there's also this. If I don't do anything there's also the business and the houses that we have right. There's that too. I am going to do something right, but there's that thought in my head that, if you know, if I don't do anything, there's always that option. Right.

In terms of the social status of career, a good education was related to career paths that were considered good, such as white collar, high paying jobs. Thus, even those youth who might inherit family businesses or wealth could be expected to run the business and therefore have some business education. But for those wealthy families who did not need their children in the businesses right away, getting a degree was a status symbol that the family wanted their children to achieve. Becoming financially set was the first developmental marker in the ethnic sociocultural script, and was a condition for the attainment of the second marker, becoming socially set.

Becoming Socially Set: Getting Married, Having Children, and Passing on Values

Becoming socially set refers to a phase of being financially secure, being happily married, and having children. Chronologically, adolescent Sikh males expected to accomplish these goals by their late 20s to early 30s. Becoming married was seen as a normal aspect of their future development. Like other adolescents Sikh males, Amandeep (16) spoke about the importance of being financially set before getting married and having children.

Like, I want to be set for everything by the time I'm like 25, 26. Like, I want to get married before I'm 30, like 30. So, I want to get married like around, like. I don't want to have a late, late marriage. Like I want to get married, I want to get married, I want to have kids or whatever. And I want to be like, young enough still, to like play sports with my kids.

Although 16- to 19-year-old males were not actively considering marriage, they were aware that there would be familial and ethnic community expectations that they become married, as a part of their normative development. In articulating his thoughts about marriage and the importance of being financially secure when he gets married, Jaspal (16) said:

All I know is when I get older, I gotta get married. Well, I don't have to, but I would like to get married. 27, around there. I don't know, I think that is the perfect time. [Depends on] how long my course will take to become a counsellor and when I'm done that, I try to find a job, get some money too. It costs a lot of money to get married right? You gotta have a party and stuff like that. Well you have to do like East Indian tradition stuff, you have to buy jewellery for the lady, buy rings, stuff like that.

Adolescent Sikh males who did not marry by this time might be perceived as not developing normally. For example, Amandeep (16) spoke about a male cousin who was nearing age 30, and was not yet married.

Yeah, like I want to have a, know what career I'm gonna have after like my first, second year at University. Cause, I have seen my cousin, like he's 28. And, like I mentioned in the other tape, like just recently, he has found out what he wants to become. And I'm like, he's going to be at least 30, 33. He hasn't gotten married. When [will] he get a job or whatever?

Only one of the participants, a 17-year-old in high school, was actively considering marriage; the remaining participants assumed that marriage would definitely happen once they acquired a good education and had a successful career. Getting married was therefore seen as an important aspect of the predicted future life track for the adolescent males in this study.

The adolescent Sikh males spoke about having children as a normal next step after they married. None had considered the consequences of not being able to conceive children. Generativity through giving birth to and raising children played an important role in how they saw themselves developing as socially mature adults. In raising children, passing on the Panjabi language and Panjabi tradition to their own children was important and many recognized that this could only be accomplished if they themselves knew the language and the culture.

I should learn more about my culture. Grasp as much about my culture right, and learn. Know as much Panjabi as I can, right. So I could pass that down to my kids, right. Cause then that's, my kids are talking like *Auntie Ji*, [speaking Panjabi with English accent] and stuff like that, right. You know how that is right. I'm sure you've heard it before, right. Like, it's stupid right. (Parm, 18)

The parents' role in their sons becoming socially set was also something about which the adolescent Sikh males spoke. Although adolescent Sikh males had their own perceptions about their predicted future path, they predicted that parental expectations would also play a part in their process of becoming socially set. Adolescent Sikh males recognized that their parents desired input on the timing of marriage and who the young men married. These were not pressures they were presently dealing with, but they predicted that these could be issues they would have to manage in the future.

In general, the young men did not believe that they would be able to marry just anyone. Most predicted that their parents would want them to marry a woman who belonged to the same religion or ethnicity, or was at least of Indian origin. In the case of some adolescent Sikh males, ensuring that the future partner was from the same geographic region in the Panjab was also important to their parents. The young men did not think their parents would be happy with them marrying someone of a different race, but were not too concerned about this because they did not project becoming married until they were in their mid 20s.

The Meaning and Dimensions of Becoming Financially and Socially Set

In further understanding dimensions and significance of becoming financially and socially set, it is important to consider the role of being a male, and the evolving parent-son relationship.

Becoming set and being a male. Adolescent Sikh males believed that their gender could be an asset as well as a limitation in the significance and meaning of becoming financially and socially set. They believed that as males, they had more social freedom in that in some families gender could influence how on-track and off-track behaviour was appraised by immediate and extended family members, as well as the degree of off-track behaviour that was permitted as a normal developmental process. In voicing this, Surinder (19) spoke about gender differences he had noticed and articulated how he thought that a young man's off-track behaviour could influence his reputation as well as his family's reputation less than a young woman's.

From what I understand boys are like ya know, boys are supposed to be kind of like bad. Ya know, if you go out and you get in trouble, its ok, you're a guy right. It doesn't matter. Girls, that's not supposed to happen to girls right. But so, it doesn't add any pressure to me if I do go out and I screw up, ya know. I guess it's expected or something like that cause you're a guy, it's alright. But there's no added pressure on me cause I'm a guy. Cause well sometimes with my cousins like ya know they'll get kicked out of the house right. And ya know, its alright 'cause you're the boys you [parents] know they'll come back right. If they get in trouble from their parents or something like that. Just as long as it's not any of the girls that that happens to right. Yeah. They will be concerned but not as much as if it was like the daughter or something like that. Yeah. Ya know the phrase, "Koi nahi Munda ai" [It's ok, he's a boy], ya know stuff like that, ya know, its alright. There isn't any difference.

When asked whether he thought there was greater freedom for boys to have a wider range of what were considered on-track behaviours, Surinder (19) responded,

I guess, right. I guess girls are supposed to be straight line, supposed to go to school and supposed to ya know, have good grades or supposed to ya know, get some degree and get married and that's about it right. And we're [boys] supposed to have fun and we're supposed to go out ya know, I guess we're supposed to. I don't know what it is but it's just society. This attitude, I see a lot of my uncles and stuff like that when it comes to their kids right.

But being a boy may not always be considered an advantage by adolescent Sikh males when it comes to progressing on the track. Due to the patriarchal hierarchy and more

socially prescribed gender roles in Panjabi ethnic culture, young males felt there was increased pressure for them to become financially set, as compared to young women.

According to adolescent males, young women had it easier in that once they were married, they had the option of staying home, or going to work outside the home. Adolescent Sikh males felt pressure to be the primary earners in their family once they were socially set.

Jaspreet (16) spoke about this.

With women it's different. They don't have to be too successful at the point or at the beginning point of their marriage, basically. Most of the time, the men um support them, or right. Um, so it's more pressure on us to be successful before we get married.

Becoming set and the parent-son relationship. Adolescent Sikh males expected movement along the phases of becoming financially set and becoming socially set to shift their degree of dependency on their parents towards a point of interdependence (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Becoming Set and the Changing Parent/Son Relationship

Movement toward Interdependence

	→→→→→	Financially Set	→→→→→	Socially Set
Son dependant on parents		Son less dependent financially		Son and parents interdependent
		↑ Parents involved in courtship		↑ Parents providing guidance on major decisions only, unless son becomes Unset
		↑ Son encouraged to stay with parents until Socially Set		
				Increasing sense of accomplishment by parents (Pride)

Note: ↑ indicates varying degrees

Through this process, functional connectedness to parents would be transformed but potentially remain a lifelong emotional constant in the lives of these adolescent Sikh males.

The importance of maintaining a strong relationship with one's parents and family throughout life was highlighted by most of the males. Hardip (17) best captured the importance of family connections in the current and future lives of adolescent males.

I think to have friends is great, but you have to be really closely knitted with your family. I mean in the end, like friends can come and go, but your family will always be there. So, I think, like, that bond has to be there initially. And I think it's really important to have it there.

This bond or relationship between parents and son was predicted to continually change from childhood through adulthood. In childhood, the son was entirely dependent upon his parents. From this point of dependence, as he progressed through life, the relationship between a son and his parents moved towards interdependence and would be directly correlated with how set he was at any point in his life.

Until an adolescent Sikh male became financially set, he perceived that his parents would support him financially and socially, and make most major decisions for him. Adolescent Sikh males expected that their parents would attempt to support them financially throughout their secondary and postsecondary education. In becoming financially set, a Sikh man would move to being financially self-sufficient and less dependent on his parents for decision making and this would be seen by parents as an accomplishment in their role as parents.

Once a Sikh man was socially set, his relationship with his parents would become further equalized as he would now be seen as responsible and capable for managing his own life, without direct assistance or intervention from his parents. Parental responsibility

for raising him would finally be complete, and he and his partner would be responsible for raising and passing on culture, religion, and values to their own children. The parents would continue to provide guidance on larger decision-making matters such as buying a house or vehicle but could now rest assured that all major aspects of life had been incorporated into their son's development as a socially responsible person. Therefore, the parents would perceive that their son did not require active direction from them anymore.

Similar to traditional Indian society, most adolescent Sikh males imagined that once they were married, they and their partners would live in his parents' house. They predicted that unlike Indian society, they would likely not stay with his parents forever, but would consider staying with his parents for at least a few years until the couple became financially set. Jag (17) spoke about this.

Um, I think we'll probably end up living at my house with my parents for a couple of years. And then, when we feel its right then we'll end up buying our own house. When we have enough money, whatever. Buy our own house. And then moving out, I guess after maybe a couple of years of marriage. Maybe more, depending on when we feel its right to move out.

The adolescent Sikh males were aware that although they wanted to live with their parents once they became married, their future partner would have input into the decision about how long to stay with the parents. But, if these Sikh men had a choice, their preference would be to stay with their parents as long as possible after marriage. For some, it was hard to imagine living without their parents after marriage, because their parents would have been such an integral part of their daily lives. For many adolescent Sikh males, moving out before marriage would only be considered a viable option if they had to move away either to achieve further education or to increase career opportunities. But a few adolescent Sikh males, those who felt that they currently had little opportunity to make

their own life choices living in their parents' home, did imagine that they would move out with their wives upon marriage. Only one young man (16), indicated that he might move out before he was married. Marital discord between his parents was a factor in his family.

Once sons became socially set, these youth imagined that a certain degree of reciprocity in the relationship between parent and adult child would be expected in that they would be responsible to ensure social ties with their parents. These social ties would be maintained regardless of whether they were living in their parents' home or chose to move out with their wives and children. The importance of these social ties was felt as a necessary component of being an adult son, as ultimately these adolescent Sikh males believed that they were responsible for elderly parents' social, emotional, and financial welfare.

Once they became socially set, these youth predicted that they would have to work hard to maintain being socially set. But, if they should start slipping off track on any aspects of being socially set, their parents would again become more active in their lives to help them become reset. Additionally, if possible, their parents would help with raising grandchildren by providing child-minding support as well as parenting advice.

Not all adolescent Sikh males expected to take care of elderly parents. In some circumstances, they predicted that their parents' took pride in their own independence and may not require as much financial assistance from their son as the generation in India might have, because of retirement savings plans and other savings their parents had.

Summary

These narratives of adolescent males elucidate aspects of a future-oriented life track which informants saw as situated within the Panjabi socioethnic culture. As long as a

young Sikh man was appraised as working toward the age-appropriate life task, he and others appraised him to be on track. Second generation adolescents still adhered to the basic framework of the Panjabi socioethnic script through their personalized expectations of their future development. Who they were and who they were becoming was tightly interwoven to this basic life script. However, there was also a second script that was incorporated into the future oriented tracks of adolescent Sikh males, that related to religion.

Becoming Spiritually Set: The Sikh Religious/Spiritual Script

Although the ethnic sociocultural script provided a basic structure to the track, a second script was overlaid onto this track and specifically addressed issues of religion and spirituality (see Figure 6). Like the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the spiritual/religious script was also an aspect of traditional culture and values that immigrant parents brought over when they migrated to Canada. This spiritual/religious script was based upon the philosophies of the Sikh religion.

Figure 6: Integrating Scripts into an Initial Track: Sikh Spiritual/Religious Script

SIKH Spiritual/Religious Script : Becoming Spiritually Set

↑ Internal Development
(*Knowledge, Choice
Desire, Commitment*)

+

SPIRITUALLY SET



↑ External Development
(*Visibility in Canadian Context*)

↑ Internal/External Integration

(Pride or Shame?)

Note: ↑ indicates varying degrees

Incorporating aspects of religion and spirituality into their lives to varying degrees was significant for most adolescent Sikh males but there were some who had no desire to incorporate religion into their life, currently or in the future, but still saw themselves as Sikh due to their status as individuals of Sikh heritage. Therefore, this religious/spiritual script was not incorporated into their tracks. Because self classification as a Sikh male was one of the criteria for this study, most study participants perceived their association with Sikhism to influence who they were and who they were becoming.

For many second generation adolescent Sikh males, religion and spirituality co-existed. For the purpose of the present theory, religiosity refers to the behaviours, values, traditions, or norms of a particular structured spiritual group. Spirituality is defined as the belief in a higher power, connectedness or universality, apart from the confines of a particular religious orientation.

The Meaning of Becoming Spiritually Set

A third dimension of becoming set was present in the future oriented tracks of those adolescent Sikh males who incorporated religion and spirituality into their lives, to varying degrees (see Figure 6). In the present theory, becoming spiritually set refers to the process of actualizing behaviours and beliefs that lead one to attain spiritual salvation, to become one with God. In Sikh philosophy, the state of spiritual salvation is attained in life, not after death, as in many other religions. Thus, becoming one with God is a goal that is realizable while one is alive, and a goal towards which one struggles from the moment of birth. Thus, like becoming financially set and becoming socially set, becoming spiritually set is an aspect of life. According to Sikh philosophy, once a person achieves spiritual salvation or is spiritually set, he or she would not be reborn after death in the current life.

Becoming spiritually set was predicted by adolescent Sikh males to be achieved through following a religious script and alluded to the process of becoming secure about one's position in the afterlife. This process was a spiritual endeavor as it required some action that denoted one's connection to spirituality. Nurturance, revelation, and building of a stronger spiritual connection provided a certain assurance and sense of security that a young Sikh man was on a track to the actualization of being spiritually set. This process also brought into awareness, earlier issues of mortality and the importance of staying on track as a motivation to achieve a goal beyond this life.

Externalization and Internalization of Sikhism

The spiritual script incorporated intrapsychic and social aspects of the development of a sense of who one was and was becoming as a Sikh. In order to clarify the process, I classified all adolescent Sikh males in this study into various gradations of Sikhism with respect to these intrapsychic and social dimensions (see Figure 7). In the present theory, the intrapsychic and social dimensions of variation in practice of Sikhism among second generation Sikh adolescent males have been termed internalizing spirituality and externalizing religiosity. All second generation adolescent Sikh males can be placed on this gradient according to their degree of internalization of spirituality and their degree of externalization of Sikh religion.

Figure 7: Externalization of Religion and Internalization of Spirituality

High							C	Baptised - 5K*, practising Sikh by choice
6	Baptised and wear 5k* (e.g., Joorā, Patka, or Dastar) but not by choice						O	
5	Not baptised but cover head (e.g., Joorā, Patka, or Dastar) but not by choice				Wear turban and unshorn hair by choice		M M	
4	Keep head hair unshorn - trim beard, turban as "cultural symbol" only - not worn by choice						I	
3						Doing Path (prayers) because you want to	T	Doing Path (prayers) and ready to take Amrit (external signs of religion in family context only)
2			Religion in future - do a few Paurian (prayers) cause parents say so - no visible signs of religion				M	
1	Perceive self as Panjabi "Communist" "Atheist" No interest in spiritual aspects of Sikhism		Wanting to know about religion in the future - important but no time now - no external signs of religion		Believe in faith - wanting to wear turban "no courage" "not strong enough"		EN T	Ready to take Amrit (no external signs of religion) "Feeling strong enough"
Low	1	2		3	4			High
(Increasing level of Knowledge, Choice, Desire, and Commitment to Sikhism) Internalizing Spirituality (in the form of Sikhism)								

Note: * indicates the five symbols of Sikh religion (Kunga, Keshaira, Kurra, Kirpan, Kes), see Chapter 2 for details

Externalizing religiosity. Externalizing religiosity refers to the expression of one's spirituality in the form of Sikh religious practices, behaviours, and norms, within the context of one's social world (e.g., doing prayers, wearing a turban, going to the Gurdwara). Adolescent Sikh males' social contexts included the micro level (e.g., family, school), the meso level (e.g., the Panjabi ethnic community, the Sikh religious community), and the macro level (e.g., the dominant culture as well as other ethnic minorities residing in Canada). Externalizing visibility was dimensionalized from low visibility as a Sikh to high visibility as a Sikh, within these social contexts.

In the lives of adolescent males, Sikh religious practices included varying degrees of attending the Gurdwara (Sikh place of worship), social service, meditation and recitation of prayers, learning about Sikh history and religion, and fulfilling the requirements of a baptized Sikh. The requirement of a fully committed Sikh was to become baptized and wear the five symbols of the Sikh religion, the Kara (steel bracelet), Keshaira (pair of boxer style underwear), Kirpan (small dagger), and Kes (unshorn facial and body hair) tied up on top of the head and covered with a dastar (turban), and a Kunga (small wooden comb kept in hair). The most visible of these symbols was the dastar and the uncut facial hair of Sikh males.

Some adolescent Sikh males aged 16 to 19 years of age did not have well developed facial hair and thus the keeping of the facial hair was not addressed at this point in their life. However, for Sikh men who had not developed facial hair, three phases of covering of the head hair and a joora, or knot of unshorn hair on top of the head, were articulated (see Figure 1).

A male child could initially cover his joora with a small kerchief. As he grew older into early adolescence, he could cover his joora and entire head hair with a patka. During adolescence he would likely switch over to wearing a dastar/pug. Among the adolescent Sikh males who were practising Sikh religiosity, six out of seven wore a dastar, whereas one wore a joora. None wore a patka.

Internalizing spirituality. Internalizing spirituality refers to the actual psychological incorporation of a spiritual belief system based upon the Sikh religion (e.g., believing in the teachings of the 10 Gurus, having a sense of social interest, getting psychological value from reciting prayers), which lead to a feeling of spiritual connectedness to a higher power. Among adolescent Sikh males in this study, internalization of Sikhism moved along a number of sequential phases ranging from lack of desire to incorporate religion and spirituality into their lives, currently or in the future, to those who felt they had a sense of spiritual connection in their current lives. Phases of internalization of Sikhism among adolescent males included: (a) Those who were not exploring spirituality and religion and had no desire to explore it in the future; (b) Those who were wanting to know more about religion and spirituality in the future, but it was not believed important at the time of the interview; (c) Those who were wanting to know more in the future, were wanting to practice it at this time, but felt they lacked courage to follow through with wearing a turban and keeping facial hair; (d) Those who wore a turban but were not Amritdhari (baptized Sikhs); (e) Those who were Amritdhari (baptised) and felt an increasing sense of spiritual connectedness to a higher power.

The process of how internalization of Sikhism developed for adolescent males was connected to four internal dimensions. These included knowledge about Sikhism, a desire

to learn more, a sense of choice, and commitment to Sikhism as a spiritual path.

Knowledge referred to the level of knowledge a young man had about Sikh religion and history, as well as the heritage language of Sikhs, Panjabi. This knowledge was largely given by the family, but adolescent Sikh males supplemented it through taking Sikh history and Panjabi language courses through various means, such as their high school or through the Gurdwara. Desire referred to degree of motivation or interest in learning more about religion and spirituality. Choice referred to his sense of whether he was choosing to learn and practice aspects of the religion, or whether he engaged in religious behaviours out of obligation or pressure. Commitment referred to whether he was feeling psychologically committed to incorporating aspects of religion/spirituality into his life. The interplay of these factors influenced a Sikh man's internalization of spirituality and externalization of religion. A Sikh man who had internalized spirituality to a high degree felt confident about who he was and who he was becoming and had courage to express his spiritual and religious beliefs in dimensions of his social contexts. The process of internalization of spirituality was described by the adolescent Sikh males as movement from feeling as if one was on the outside looking in towards increasing feelings of being on the inside.

Being on the outside looking in to being on the inside. Increasing internalization of Sikhism lead to movement from feeling like being on the outside looking in to a sense of being on the inside. Many adolescent Sikh males reported going to religious functions at the Gurdwara and not understanding any aspect of what was happening. Most young Sikh men attended religious functions during childhood at their parents' insistence and some continued to go during adolescence as well.

Yeah, I used to go there and sit behind Dad and just wait there. Sit there for five ten minutes, and make him feel like I sat there. And then, "O.k. dad, can I go downstairs and play?" or "Dad can I go to the car?" or something like that. Yeah. I was going before, umm. Just because I think my parents made me, I guess you can say.

(Sunny, 18)

But as they became less dependent on parents in later adolescence, some started asserting more choice and choosing not to go. Instead, they chose to stay home or participate in some other nonreligious activity. For example, as a child, Banti (17), like many youth, accompanied his parents to religious functions at the Gurdwara or at family friends' or relatives' homes, but in adolescence he chose to not go. At the time of the interview, Banti rarely attended Gurdwara, "They [parents] tell us to. But we're like, 'No'. It's boring. It's like sitting there."

Part of the reason for not wanting to go to religious functions was connected to feeling like they were on the outside looking in. Because many adolescent Sikh males did not have knowledge about the religion and the significance of ceremonies and traditions, they did not feel a sense of connection to the religious ceremonies and functions that were occurring, and therefore did not feel that they were part of the process. Knowledge of and fluency in Panjabi language was an important aspect of whether a young Sikh man felt he was on the outside looking in, in that most of the ceremony at the Gurdwara was in Panjabi. Although all the participants in the study could socially converse in Panjabi, their skill with Panjabi was at a much lower level than the Panjabi spoken at the Gurdwara. Additionally, the hymns sung at the Gurdwara were often in combinations of Panjabi and Sanskrit.

For adolescent Sikh males who were not fluent in Panjabi, attendance at the Gurdwara became an exercise in patience as they felt disconnected from the process. Their

attention wavered and they started focusing on where they would rather be, which was anywhere but at the Gurdwara. Thus, they felt like they were going through motions that were supposed to help them become spiritually set but, they did not experience psychological value in this process. Hardip (17) articulated his experience of feeling like he was on the outside looking in.

I don't have a full understanding of it [religion and spirituality]. I mean, like I, I pray 15 minutes every morning but it's from. Like, I read the same words over and over again. And until I got an English translation I didn't even know what I was reading. So, like, uh, I mean, it's, I'm, it's as though I'm on the outside looking in, that I. Like, I mean, I go to the temple everyday Sunday, but it's like I just sit there for the hour and then come back. And it's like, I don't know. I mean I believe in God. And I know he's like, he's like, influential in the way that we like live our lives everyday. A number of interconnected factors were involved in movement towards being on the

inside. Knowledge of Panjabi language and Sikh religion affected a young man's desire to learn more. Sunny (17) pointed out the importance of knowledge for adolescent Sikh males of his generation and the role of inquisitiveness or desire in this process.

First they [adolescent Sikh males] need to accept that they are, they're not Gora [of European descent]. That they are Panjabi. And after that they need to work on, you know getting knowledge of how this came about or why we do this, you know. Some people don't know why we have a certain wedding ceremony or stuff like that. They should know why we're doing it. Whenever I do something, I ask the question why. In just this past year, I've known a couple of things why we do this and why we do that and stuff like that.

Once a young Sikh man began to have knowledge and an increasing interest or desire to learn more, it resulted in his feeling that he was participating in religious activities because he was choosing to do so. The combination of increasing knowledge, desire, and choice lead a young Sikh man to feel a greater degree of commitment to incorporating religion and spirituality into his life. This resulted in increased self understanding, self-esteem, and social consciousness, and decreased stress.

Umm.. It helps you stay calm. Before I was very stressed out, and had problems and stuff, like that. You know school stress and all that. Now I've come to understand that whatever is going to happen is going to happen, and I should just deal with it. And, if I had that to deal with, you know, and stuff like, and deal with it by going to the gurdwara and stuff like that. It helps me deal with it. Like before, if I had a problem or something, I would go do something stupid or something like that. Like not drinking or anything. Like go hit someone, like my sister. Like, just push her, or be mean to my parents, and stuff like that. Now, I go to the gurdwara. Like, if I'm all stressed out, then I'll go to the gurdwara and sit there for a while and start listening. I feel like I'm learning something. And then, I start thinking about it like whatever happened, happened for the better right. (Sunny, 18)

Summary

For adolescent Sikh males who were religiously/spiritually oriented, becoming spiritually set was a third developmental marker that they strived to achieve. Becoming spiritually set was not equally important to all second generation adolescent Sikh males. A young man's degree of externalization of religiosity and internalization of spirituality provided insight into the influence of religion/spirituality in his construction of a sense of who he was and who he was becoming. Knowledge, desire, choice, and commitment were articulated by the young men as important elements of an increasing sense of spirituality.

Integrating the Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural Script and Sikh Religious/Spiritual Script

The Sikh religious/spiritual script was woven into the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script in the construction of the initial track. Religion, in the form of Sikhism, was a part of the lives of many adolescent second generation Sikh males in this study. Even for those who had not explored the value of Sikhism for themselves, it played a role in their social world because most significant life events such as birth, marriage, and death were centred around religious ceremonies. Thus, regardless of the degree of personal belief that

adolescents Sikhs had in the Sikh faith, they found that their ethnic social world was often contextualized in the religion.

Partaking in religious activities, such as attending the Gurdwara, was a regular weekly routine for some of the immigrant parents and grandparents of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Going to the Gurudwara functioned as a means of worship and socialization with ethnic community members. Banti, a 17-year-old, reported that his grandparents and parents went to the Gurudwara sometimes for an "Akhand Path [3 day reading of Guru Granth Sahib, Sikh scriptures], or just for the heck of it." The Sikh religious/spiritual script could be integrated in childhood, after becoming socially set, or not at all.

Integrating in Childhood or Adolescence

For adolescent Sikh males introduced to religion/spirituality in childhood or adolescence, it was incorporated into the Panjabi sociocultural script early on and, as a consequence, both scripts were synthesized more actively during adolescence and early adulthood. Variation in the degree of incorporation of the religious script into the sociocultural script to form an individualized track depended on the degree of religiosity of his parents, as well as his own interest in incorporating religion.

In many circumstances, adolescent Sikh males indicated that their mothers were often much more religious than their fathers. Thus, religiosity in the form of faith in the religion and practising the behaviours of the religion was modelled by mothers more often than the fathers of adolescent Sikh males. Jag (17) confirmed what other adolescent Sikh males reported when he described the difference he observed in his mother's and father's degree of religiosity.

I think, its more important to my mum than my dad. Because she does Path [prayers] like every morning. Well not every morning but most, I feel like its about five, six, four to five times maybe even more. I'm not sure, maybe I don't see her sometimes but a week, four, five, six times a week. She'll like pray every night. I just do that same thing [prayer] over and over. But my, my dad he's like, he's like that too but I don't know like if he's that religious because he drinks and everything. So I know that's like against our religion but so I don't know if he, like if he cares that much.

For those young Sikh men who had parents who actively practised the Sikh religion, the integration of religion in the form of behaviours and practices was directly incorporated into the track. In terms of dimensions of how religion was being incorporated into the track, variability was seen to be dependent on when the parents became religiously active.

For the youth who were exposed to varying degrees of religiosity and spirituality through their parents, it was invariably incorporated into the sociocultural track in some way. Adolescent Sikh males who incorporated aspects of religion into their life and had been doing so since childhood were continuing to do so either because of an increasing internalization of spirituality and a desire to do so, or because they felt obligated to their parents. Adolescent Sikh males who were partaking in religious activities and behaviours out of obligation had less understanding of the meaning of these behaviours. For example, for some young men, repeating a portion of the daily prayers every morning and evening was a regular part of their religious routine, yet they had little understanding of the meaning and significance of their behaviour.

Religion, right now I'm not very religious right now. But I know like a couple of 'Paths'[prayers]. I guess, like 'Ek Onkar...Satnam' [There's only one God, Truth is his name]. I know like, just like two or something. And I like say those before I go to sleep every night but I'm not sure like what its doing. I don't know my religion that great, every night I do that.

(Jag, 16)

If these behaviours did not cause a young man concern, even though he did not understand them, he continued to do them without distress, because he believed that it was assisting him in becoming spiritually set.

For some Sikh males, learning about Sikh religion and history was related to feeling a sense of connectedness, or rootedness in history, through knowledge of the experiences and lives of particular individuals or of their ethnic group as a whole both within Canada and in India. Thus, although these adolescent Sikh males might not have been very high on the internalization or externalization aspects of religion and spirituality, knowledge of the historical roots of their religion was important to them. Knowledge about the history of their ethnic group was something they believed they needed to carry on into the next generation through their own children. Jaspal (16), verbalized this.

Religion is important to me because like if I didn't grow up with it, I wouldn't know who I am. And when I grow up, I want my kids to know what religion is too. Like, where we came from, and stuff like that.

For those to whom religion was a significant part of their lives, it was important to learn as much about the religion as possible in order to be able to pass it on to their own children.

Um, just that I want to be able to teach my children about the religion and my dad wants the same thing. We see modern families as lost with Sikhism by not learning enough when they were a child. I don't want to be like that, I want to learn about everything I can. It's important. They say that if you learn more about your religion you know more about your culture, you can understand about a lot of different things.

(Jaspreet, 16)

Although it was less common, an adolescent Sikh male could choose to start practising religiosity and incorporating spirituality out of his own initiative, without too much modelling or encouragement by his parents. This desire from within was often

connected to the experience of a traumatic event such as an accident, death of a loved one, or visiting the Harmander Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar, Panjab. Sunny (17) spoke about beginning to go to the Gurudwara everyday for the last couple of months whereas his parents attended Gurudwara only on weekends. While at the Gurudwara he started paying more attention to the significance of ceremonies, which resulted in him becoming much more religious and spiritual than his parents. He spoke about how his recent trip to Harmander Sahib (Golden Temple) in India, changed his perspective on life and spirituality.

I could have read as many books. I wanted to, and like, prepare. Like, you don't know nothing unless you go there right. I could have read so many books. I could have, uh. I had the knowledge, but I didn't have the actual experience of doing it, and going there, and just getting the feeling. It was something really interesting. I never felt it. It was just a feeling I had. It's like, it was so open and free, and sort of like. It felt like you know there were very, very poor people there and very, very rich people there [at the Golden Temple]. But everyone was still there to, like you know, just for the sake of just being calm and praying and doing what they felt they wanted to do. If they wanted to just walk around, or you know, anything they wanted to do. I [had] uh a similar goal. I guess, people like our family, uh went there to be calm and out of uh stress, relieved, uh very stress relieving. I don't know. You're in a religious place and you know there's this sense of you know, of God I guess you can say. But even now, I still don't know a lot of the religious aspects of it but I still have a feeling for it. Umm... the feeling it gave to me was of respect. I think it uh like. I used to go the Gurdwara here too, before. But it was totally different than from the time I go now to the Gurdwara. I guess now I have more calm, I try to listen and uh sit there for hours and stuff like that. (Sunny, 17)

Sunny further articulated that his increasing knowledge about the significance of traditions and aspects of the religion increased his interest to know more about the religion. The interplay between knowledge and desire, as well as choosing to go was resulting in him feeling more committed to learning more about the religion.

Integrating After Becoming Socially Set

For adolescent Sikh males who had some interest in Sikh religion, but did not actively practise or explore it, spirituality was considered something that could be explored more actively after they became socially set. At this point, they expected that having accomplished all major life tasks, they would settle down and focus on the after life because issues of external visibility as a Sikh would be less likely to affect their becoming financially set or socially set. In explaining when he would try to more actively explore spirituality, Hardip (17) said:

I think, like, I see many people around me, like even my uncles. Right now they [referring to uncle using direct translation from Panjabi polite form of referring to elders] are in their forties. And, he's like, he's beginning to grow his beard and wearing a Pug [turban] and everything. And going all out. So, I for some reason, maybe late 30s or maybe early 40s. When you've had time to settle down. You have a house. Maybe, then you have less things to worry about. Other, like you're gonna get married, find a job, and this and that. And, I guess, when like, I have less things to worry about. I mean, there's probably like, you have your share of worries. But, I mean, that's when people take time to learn.

Not Wanting to Become Spiritually Set

Although the lives of many young adolescent Sikh males were contextualized in the Panjabi culture and Sikh religious ceremonies, some were not actively practising religion and spirituality. For those Sikh youth who were not practising religion to even a minimal degree and had no interest in incorporating religion into their lives, becoming spiritually set was not a part of their track. To these individuals, their Panjabi ethnicity was more important than Sikh religiosity or spirituality. In commenting about his peers, Jaspal (16) said, "Most people they don't even care these days. [They think] We are East Indians and that's all we need to know right. I think religion is real important."

Summary

In general, the integration of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script with varying degrees of the Sikh religious/spiritual script was significant in most adolescents' future oriented tracks. The timing and degree of integration depended on his parents valuing and modelling of Sikh religiosity/spirituality. Adolescent Sikh males who valued and practised religion/spirituality often wore a turban and were trying to actively become financially, socially, and spiritually set. Those young Sikh men who were not incorporating spirituality were only working towards the achievement of the first two markers. Depending on whether a young man's track incorporated only becoming financially set and socially set, or also integrated being spiritually set, as a young man then attempted to stay on track, what they saw as on-track and off-track behaviour also varied. This subsequently influenced a young man's appraisal of who he was and who he was becoming.

Staying On Track

In defining the track and behaviours and attitudes associated with staying on track, off-track behaviours were also articulated within the ethnic sociocultural script as well as within the Sikh religious/spiritual script. For adolescent Sikh males who were not concerned with spirituality/religion, only the Panjabi ethnic-sociocultural script was important in their staying on track. Thus, only behaviours that were considered off-track in the larger Panjabi ethnic context were considered in staying on track or in moving off track. In contrast, for those adolescent Sikh males who incorporated the Sikh religious/spiritual script into the sociocultural script, what was considered off track differed. Thus, whether an adolescent male was on track or off track was influenced by

the degree to which the religious/spiritual script was incorporated into the ethnic track. In staying on track, assessing whether he was on track and making personal efforts to stay on track was perceived as significant. Adolescent Sikh males also reported experiencing losing sight of the track and movement off track, which is referred to as faltering. I first define what the adolescent males perceived to be on track with respect to the ethnic and religious scripts, then discuss how adolescent Sikh males described how they attempted to stay on track by aspiring to be their best while striving to be set, and finally I present the notion of faltering and getting back on track.

Assessing Whether I am On Track

Panjabi Ethnic Sociocultural Script

As articulated by the adolescent Sikh males in this study, within the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, off-track behaviour was connected to defamation of an individual's character or a family's reputation. Off-track behaviour referred to any behaviour that influenced an adolescent male's ability to become financially set and subsequently, to become socially set. Because most adolescent Sikh males were in the first phase, acquiring a good education, any behaviours or attitudes that affected the completion of this phase was considered off-track behaviour within the ethnic community. Thus excessive use of alcohol, use of recreational drugs, rudeness to parents, truancy, poor academic performance, and involvement in illegal activities were all considered off-track behaviour. Additionally, for most adolescent Sikh males, depending upon the family context, lack of respect for parents, not considering family needs when making decisions, and not considering family reputation in behavioural choices were considered off-track as well. Dating could also be considered off-track behaviour because it took the focus off

acquiring a good education, and challenged the notion of arranged or assisted marriages. Dating from a cultural perspective was seen as undermining group cohesiveness by prioritizing individual needs. Thus, the family's social status could be affected. Retaining language and culture and patriarchal hierarchy in generations were also aspects of ethnic culture that played out in what was considered off-track behaviour by a family. Adolescent Sikh males were aware that equality among the genders was not an aspect of Panjabi culture. Thus, what was considered off track on the ethnic script was dependent largely on the family's values and interpretation of what was off track.

Sikh Spiritual/Religious Script

For those adolescent Sikh males who were also attempting to become spiritually set, in addition to the ethnically-based off-track behaviours, they perceived greater restrictions to what was considered off-track behaviour. In general, a young man who was on the spiritual track could be expected to attend the Gurdwara (Sikh place of worship), partake in religious activities, be able to read the Sikh scriptures (the Guru Granth Sahib), do daily prayers and meditation, and develop social consciousness. Depending on a young man's degree of religiosity, this varied. For example, off-track behaviour for adolescent Sikh males who were Amritdhari (baptised) or were practising aspects of religion to a lesser degree, also included: shaving or getting a hair cut, not wearing a turban when it was age appropriate to do so, any use of alcohol or drugs, engaging in premarital sexual activity, being a nonvegetarian, and marrying some one who was not a Sikh.

What was considered by informants to be off-track for any Sikh man varied with how the ethnic sociocultural script and the religious/spiritual script had been integrated, if at all. Generally, what was considered off track was seen to be shaped by the family, and thus it

was the family's expectations that became critical when assessing on-track and off-track behaviour. Assessing whether he was on track influenced a young Sikh man's sense of who he was becoming. Most importantly, personal and familial assessment affected whether a young Sikh man was developing toward an ideal self, as ascribed by ethnicity, religion, and family. For adolescent Sikh males who were attempting to be on track, aspiring to be their best while striving to be set was an important aspect of staying on track.

Aspiring to be My Best While Striving to be Set

The key process in staying on track was aspiring to be my best while striving to be set. Aspiring to be my best while striving to be set, was an interplay between a young Sikh man's desire to have the best in life with a desire to become set in life. Aspiring to be my best was about attempting to achieve his potential in all aspects of his life including the physical and emotional. Striving to be set referred to the desire to become financially and socially set, and additionally to become spiritually set for those who were incorporating the spiritual/religious script into the track. Thus, aspiring to be my best while striving to be set meant that a young Sikh man aspired to not only achieve the minimum requirements for becoming set, but in fact to achieve his full potential as a human being in all realms of the life track.

Nobody wants to be a failure. I honestly mean that. Think about it. Nobody wants to be outside of 7-11 asking for spare change. Everybody wants to be driving around in a fancy car in Armani suits everyday. That's what they want. (Jaspreet, 17)

Because being strong enough to stay on track was a psychosocial process, both intra- and inter-personal factors motivated a young Sikh man to aspire to be his best while striving to be set. In aspiring to be my best while striving to be set, staying out of trouble,

choosing friends with similar values, keeping up, and having faith in myself were important considerations. I now detail these dimensions.

Staying out of Trouble

The degree of incorporation of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and dominant Canadian cultural script influenced what was considered to be off-track behaviours as well as what behaviours were considered to lead a young Sikh man off track. One way that a young Sikh man could influence his ability to stay on track was to consciously avoid certain behaviours that could lead him to be off track.

Adolescent Sikh males used a combination of different means to try to stay out of trouble, and thereby stay on track. Staying out of trouble was an active process that required daily appraisal of choices about their behaviours, and making decisions about which behaviours might lead to being off track. In making conscious efforts to stay on track, they used the strategies of participating in athletics, keeping streaks, and avoiding rumours.

Participating in athletics. Many of the adolescent Sikh males who participated in this study were involved in athletic activities, particularly team sports, throughout their childhood and teenage years. Only one of the young men was involved in an individual sport, body building. The role of athletic involvement was multidimensional. In addition to contributing to a healthy strong body, which was encouraged by the ethnic community, athletics also provided a means of staying on track. Involvement in sports within school or in the community provided a sense of accomplishment and self-esteem gained through trying to be one's best, in a competitive yet cooperative group environment. Due to the

amount of time that was required in actively participating in sports, many adolescent Sikh males said it left little time to spend on activities that might lead them off track, such as going to parties with peers and consuming alcohol, using drugs, or even dating.

Amandeep (16) spoke about the role of athletics in his life.

Well, you got soccer practices right which my dad doesn't force me or tells me to go to. Instead of like hanging out somewhere right, smoking or whatever, like Tuesday/Thursday I'm always busy at soccer. Sundays I'm always at soccer. I think most people that do this 'bad stuff' as they say, like, are bored or want some attention. With playing soccer I'm never bored. Well, it keeps me out of trouble. That's why my dad won't let me quit, that's one of the main reasons. It keeps me out of trouble and then I've got something to do after school.

Being on sports teams required attending many practices and games during the season. For adolescent Sikh males who played in more than one sport, this added up to a lot of time. Hardip (17) articulated best what all the young men who participated in sports talked about.

Whereas, if you're not involved in something like sports or an extra curricular activity, you can end up mixed up with the wrong type of people and get yourself in trouble. Specifically, sports is an activity where you can stay away from that kind of stuff. Like, be in an environment where you're in the mix with good people. I think it's that dependence on each other, in trying to achieve a common goal. Like, whereas its positive and that atmosphere, like that togetherness, where you're trying to strive to be your best in a particular kind of activity other than what are you going to be doing wasting your time on the street or something like that. That's where you find mostly that, beneficial, benefit.

Even if they did not consider themselves to be strong athletically, some adolescent Sikh males chose to be on a sports team for the social benefits it provided them. Being on a team provided a group-oriented perspective on achieving a common goal that promoted the ability of young men to strive to be their best "on court and off court."

Well, I mean it's not that you don't have to be the best dribbler, passer, shooter on the court. As long as you're giving it your 100 percent and, uh, whenever you're feeling down to have that guy next to you say "Run a little faster. You can do a bit

better. I know you can." That push that comes from your team mate. Where that lifts your spirits up there. That you find like, "Yeah I can do this or do that." Keeps you striving to be your best. (Hardip, 17)

Ultimately, participating in school-based and community athletics teams functioned to keep second generation adolescent Sikh males out of trouble, and thereby on the initial track, as they had little free time to get into trouble. Many parents of adolescent Sikh males encouraged them to maintain their involvement in sports.

Keeping streaks. Another means of consciously avoiding behaviour that could result in a young Sikh man moving off track was keeping streaks. A streak was defined by the young men as an unbroken chain of positive events or accomplishments. For young Sikh males, keeping streaks was associated with having a sense of pride in themselves for never having succumbed to particular behaviours that could lead them off track, such as drinking, smoking, dating, or sexual activity.

Keeping streaks was about a young Sikh man knowing that he was on track and doing well, and that he could continue to do well by avoiding certain behaviours. It involved knowing that experimenting with particular behaviours could result in increased likelihood of taking part in those behaviours once the streak was broken. It required a clear understanding of what behaviours needed to be avoided in order to stay on track.

Amandeep (16) best articulated how streaks were really important in keeping him on track.

Um. Like I got, like I got so many streaks going on, and I hate, and I probably won't break them. Like that's another reason, like, that I don't want to drink 'cause you know I have never touched it and one day if I do out of curiosity, it won't be the same cause I have already done it. And skipping, like that's not that big of a deal, right. Well, well if it's an every day thing. But like if you just want to, that you can do out of curiosity 'cause you know you won't regret it, it's just one day, right. That's what I'm, so streaks, keeping streaks help you too.

Avoiding rumours. Another aspect of staying on track by staying out of trouble was to avoid rumours. Within the Panjabi ethnic community, an adolescent Sikh male was not just affected by his own personal accomplishments but also by the accomplishments of family members. Thus, having rumours spread about him could significantly influence how a young Sikh man's family was perceived within the ethnic community. Rumours could be about truths or nontruths. For adolescent Sikh males, especially those growing up in rural communities, a major motivation for staying on track was to avoid rumours about himself in the ethnic community. In using this strategy, adolescent Sikh males attempted to publicly avoid any behaviours that might lead to rumours about them and which would cause their parents embarrassment in the community (e.g., being publicly seen with other adolescents who were drinking and smoking, getting into trouble with the law, dating, or even being publicly seen with a female classmate). In trying to actively avoid rumours, they saw themselves as staying on track. In speaking about why his parents did not want him to socialize out of school with his female acquaintances from school, Jaspal (16), who lived in a rural community said:

Um...they don't want like people to know because if somebody saw me with a girl, right. And they go tell, my parents will be embarrassed like they'll be, "No, it can't be my son, it can't be my son," stuff like that. Cause here in a small town stuff gets passed around that quick. Like nasty rumours.

If a young Sikh man had rumours spread about him, significant others could perceive that he was not a good boy, good Sikh, good son, good child, or just not a good person. Avoiding rumours was important not only to protect one's reputation in the larger ethnic community but within the family circle as well. Rumours could affect the young Sikh man's process of becoming married, especially if the traditional process of assisted

marriages was expected by his parents. Thus, a young Sikh man who had rumours spread about him, could find that they damaged his reputation as a desirable partner.

If a young Sikh man was later successful in his career, these minor demeanours of character might be overshadowed. What was significant was whether the behaviour got in the way of his acquiring a good education and becoming financially and socially set.

Jaspreet (16) spoke about rumours.

Umm.. Cause yeah we talk about it all the time. At the dinner table it will be like "Did you hear about their son? What happened to him?" Could be anything. Very rarely is it about getting in trouble with the law, but uh, if he's caught drinking or something like that. It's uh, you don't get a good reputation, but then again you can take that out. Umm.. There are, uh, there are Panjabis who do drink, but they're like getting into Med. School or something. So, it sort of overshadows the little things like that.

The degree of importance attributed to rumours was also connected to whether a young Sikh man lived in a rural community or in an urban community as well as whether he had a close-knit ethnic network. Rural communities had smaller ethnic populations and Sikh adolescents felt that they were continually monitored because "everybody knew everybody else." Thus, all their activities were noticed and assessed by community members. Contrary to this, in a larger urban centre, anonymity was greater, resulting in greater freedom and less likelihood of using this strategy of avoiding rumours as a means of actively staying on track. Jaspal (16) reported his observations of the greater variability in dating behaviour among adolescent Sikh males in urban centres due to their greater anonymity within the ethnic community.

Um...large city? Like Vancouver, Surrey? It's common. East Indians go with White girls. Here you don't see that much because there is not that much East Indians. There you see it all the time. Like they [ethnic community] don't really care or something.

Choosing Friends with Similar Values

Having friends who had similar motivations and values about staying on track, also assisted adolescent Sikh males in aspiring to be their best while striving to be set. Being around friends who had similar values about avoiding actions and choices that could lead to off-track behaviour was seen as beneficial because a young Sikh man's personal and family values regarding what was considered on-track or off-track behaviour, were not challenged and he did not have to constantly defend his actions. For Jag (16), having friends who had similar values about abstaining from drinking and drugs meant that he was supported to stay on track. For the last year he had been hanging out with a new group of friends. He compared his new friends with other peers.

I like, like, I really like going out with my [current] friends because they're like easy to talk to. They understand like how I feel and I understand how they feel. They like, like they don't drink or smoke or anything like that. And like a lot, like I'd say about eighty percent of our school does, maybe even more. But these guys don't, and I don't really like people that drink. Sometimes they [people who drink] just think they're, most of them think they're so cool. It's like, like sometimes I go to places like to people's houses, they're having like a little party there. They're like "Why don't you drink?" and I'm just like "I don't because I don't want to." And then they're like, "Well just try some of it." "No." And then if I don't say anything they'll just keep doing it.

(Jag, 16)

For some adolescent Sikh males staying on track could mean choosing mostly ethnic friends over dominant community friends because Panjabi ethnic friends were more likely to have similar values regarding becoming financially and socially set and spiritually set. For example, the importance of choosing ethnic friends who did not date over nonethnic friends could be especially relevant to an adolescent if avoiding dating was an aspect of his staying on track. Because dominant community adolescents were perceived by adolescent Sikh males as more likely to see dating as a normal pattern of development, a young Sikh

man who was attempting to avoid dating in order to stay on track could find himself pressured to date in order to appear normal in the dominant community context. In order to avoid this situation, it was easier to hang out with people who had similar values. Banti (17), attended school in an urban setting with few similar ethnic peers in his school and reported that to "Like [to] stay East Indian, [I have to] like hang out with East Indian guys."

Additionally, for adolescent Sikh males who had incorporated the spiritual/religious script, this might mean choosing friends who were at a similar level of internalizing spirituality and externalizing religiosity. Thus, for example, a young Sikh man who wore a dastar, might seek friends who wore a dastar.

Keeping Up

Another motivating dimension of aspiring to be my best while striving to be set as an aspect of staying on track by adolescent Sikh males, was keeping up with peers and older siblings. Adolescent Sikh males who had friends or older siblings who were exhibiting choices and behaviours indicating that they were on track and on their way to becoming set, experienced an internal drive to keep up with them. In explaining the importance of staying on track by getting good grades, Amandeep (16) spoke about the role of keeping up with friends.

My friends are like, they're smart guys. Like, and then you gotta, like you can't be, whatever, a slacker of the group. You gotta be like equal, like you guys gotta be. Yeah. [It's] not really competition but like you gotta be, I don't know how to say. You gotta keep up with them, like you can't be the only one getting a "D" or whatever.

Having Faith in Myself

Another aspect of aspiring to be my best while striving to be set, was whether a young Sikh man believed that he was capable of becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set while growing up in the Canadian context. Having faith in himself affected a young Sikh man's self confidence and his ability to motivate himself to stay on track even if he failed on a small task, thus knowing in the long run that he would succeed.

I think that staying on track should be uh have faith in yourself. Yeah. Reason for that being, is, because if you don't have faith in yourself to do what you want to do. Um, you won't succeed. Keeping up, yeah, you should keep up with your siblings, but then having faith in yourself is basically a positive impact on yourself. You have to think about, "ok you can do that cause I'm me. Right. But that's the way I am." Umm., if you put your mind to it you can do it. I think it's pretty important.

(Jaspreet, 16)

Although adolescent Sikh males reported making efforts to try to stay on track by using the strategies of staying out of trouble, choosing friends with similar values, keeping up with friends and older siblings, and having faith in themselves, some also spoke about experiencing faltering.

Faltering and Getting Back on Track

Just being a teenager right now is enough in itself where you have certain pressures to like go out all night. Or to just party, or drink and smoke. You just gotta, you gotta set your priorities and see what you set yourself for and what you wanna achieve in the future. And things like that, that can just bring you down. And where incidents like one mistake can destroy you. You just don't want that to happen to yourself. Cause you've seen it happen to many other people. So you try to save yourself from situations.

(Hardip, 17)

Having a sense of faltering, or moving off track, was also reported by adolescent Sikh males as an aspect of being strong enough to stay on track. Faltering was experienced by adolescent Sikh males as confusion about whether there was a track, what the elements of

the track were, whether they were on track, and whether they wanted to be on track.

Faltering was reported by adolescent Sikhs to sometimes be connected to placing the importance of peers over putting effort into school. For example, Parm (17) was not able to graduate with his high school peers because he was missing one course credit and spoke about his priorities in life at the time of the interview.

I just want to have fun, to tell you the truth. At this stage right. Like if my parents heard this right, they probably wouldn't be very happy right. I'm sure they know that too inside, but it's just coming out of my mouth. Like, at this stage, I just want to have fun. Fun, it's just like, having, having a good time basically. Going with your friends. It's like, a lot of stuff. Just be carefree, basically. Less worries. Yeah, less responsibility, basically. Like I like, I like taking responsibility, in certain things though. I like it when people want me to take responsibility. I mean, I like it when someone goes to me, oh, like I like, I like good comments towards myself.

Second generation adolescent Sikh males also reported experiencing faltering related to traumatic life events, dating, or having failures and losing confidence in academics or athletics. The experience of a traumatic life event such as a death of a significant individual could increase the likelihood of an adolescent Sikh male faltering as he tried to make sense of his grief, loss, and meaning in life. Sometimes the confusion associated with having to deal with these issues made focusing on academics to stay on track seem unimportant. Being involved with girlfriends was also reported by some second generation adolescent males as an influence in their faltering, if worrying about the relationship or spending time with their girlfriends influenced the quantity of time left over for focusing on academics and sports. This was especially significant as most adolescent Sikh males who had been involved in dating reported that they had done this behind their parents' back. Because many of these adolescents did not want to openly challenge their parents' ideas about dating, these young men often felt some degree of guilt and distress in

dating. This distress sometimes resulted in lowered academic and athletic performance, and subsequently movement off track.

A young man could become aware that he was off track due to his timing on the track in comparison with his peers. This was especially significant during points of transition from one phase in life to another. For adolescent Sikh males, significant transition points were reported to include movement from junior high school to senior high school, and graduation from high school and movement to either postsecondary institutions or the work world. Recognizing that his friends and peers were now ahead of him could lead to an adolescent Sikh male's realization that perhaps there was a track and he was no longer on that track. Surinder (18) graduated from high school 6 months before the interview and tried to rationalize whether he was on or off track.

I think so. Um. First of all, when I look at my cousins. They're going to school, but they still don't know what they're going to do. They're still taking general courses and stuff. So, isn't that just a waste of time and money to be just..you know you don't know what you're doing, you're just taking all these courses. And so I look at that and that's kind of why I'm backing off too a bit right. I think I am on track cause eventually, I will get married, I will have kids right. You know. Other than the fact that I'm not going to school. If they're [adolescents are] not going to school, they should have a job right. And I don't have a job right now, I guess. Then I would say no. Cause I'm not going to school and I don't have a job currently so I guess I'm off track. Yeah, according to what those. Well, you are supposed to get a good education, and I would like to do that too, right. I would like to further my education, further my development. And personally, I would like that. So, you know, I would, I am going [to go] to school right. I think it's important to be on track. I'm not like I'm never going to school again. I want to go back to school. Right. I just don't know when, that's the problem.

When an adolescent Sikh male was experiencing faltering, getting back on track was perceived to be a challenging process. Hardip (17) spoke about feeling as if he was faltering because his academic marks dropped dramatically after he experienced a death in

the family. Although he recognized that he was faltering and moving off track, Hardip spoke about not having the energy to get himself back on track.

When you see your marks drop, like you feel it's like a, you're getting punched. And you can't like, get up. I mean, it takes a strong person to get up from it, right. And sometimes, I just, I don't know. Sometimes I just want to sit down.

Getting back on track could be a complicated and difficult process. This process was perceived by adolescent Sikh males to be aided through recognition that one was in fact off track and then making efforts to get back on track, such as taking small risks that allowed successes to accumulate. When a young man was feeling discouraged about his capabilities and lacking motivation, having someone believe in him, such as an older brother, parent, or other significant person was reported to assist him get back on track by giving him strength to risk successes, and experience small successes that built into bigger successes.

Summary

In aspiring to be my best while striving to be set, adolescent Sikh males were continuously dealing with the dialectic of trying to stay on track while trying to achieve their full potential in the Canadian context. In order to use strategies to stay on track, a Sikh youth perceived the significance of needing to be clear about what the track was and what behaviours could result in his moving off track. In aspiring to be my best while striving to be set, adolescent Sikh males reported that they tried to actively stay out of trouble, choose friends with similar values, keep up with friends and older siblings, and have faith in themselves. The interplay of all of these elements functioned to keep a young Sikh man feeling strong enough to stay on track. Feeling strong enough was influenced by positive feedback from peers, family, and ethnic community members. Staying out of

trouble increased the likelihood of positive feedback, thereby increasing a young Sikh man's sense of self-esteem. Having faith in himself increased self confidence in being able to aspire to be his best while striving to be set. Faltering or moving off track was also experienced by some adolescent Sikh males. Faltering was perceived to result in confusion, discouragement, and losing sight of the track and not being sure whether they wanted to get back on the track, or had the energy to get back on track. Getting back on track was assisted by recognizing that they were off track and making efforts to get back on track.

Reconstructing the Track

Incorporating the Dominant Culture Script

The third script that influenced the track of an adolescent Sikh male was the perceived dominant culture script. The dominant cultural norms in Western Canada are largely individualist (Triandis, 1985). The sources of knowledge about dominant community culture in Canada, varied for adolescent Sikh males dependent upon whether their parents had a social network that comprised dominant community members or only ethnic community members. Parental understanding of the norms of the dominant Canadian culture (e.g., values, attitudes, behaviours, and customs) could occur through business or work-related interactions with non-Sikhs. This first hand information influenced parents and children in terms of their attitudes and ideas about dominant community culture. Moreover, the youth were also informed through direct interactions with dominant community teachers and peers in the school setting.

In contrast, dominant community ideology was largely deduced or inferred by immigrant parents and adolescents who had little direct interaction with dominant group

members. This occurred more often if adolescent Sikh males were living in a largely Panjabi ethnic community or if they were attending a school that had a large Panjabi ethnic population. Their impressions of dominant community culture were gained through mainstream media in the form of television/movies and music, as well as interactions with dominant group peers in the school environment.

Adolescent Sikh males perceived that in comparison to Panjabi parents and to the Panjabi ethnic culture, in the dominant community (a) parents were not as interested in the success of their children; (b) parents were more likely to expect their children to be on their own after high school and be more self sufficient; and (c) parents' success was not as closely tied to the success of their children. The adolescent Sikh males' perception of the dominant community script, like the Panjabi ethnic script and Sikh spiritual/religious script, also provided them a set of norms, behaviours, attitudes, customs, and expectations about normative adolescent development. Thus, within this third script, adolescent Sikh males became increasingly aware that what was considered on-track and off-track behaviour was not the same as what was considered on-track and off-track behaviour in the other two scripts.

Thus, the perceived Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant community script were continually evaluated and variably integrated as the young Sikh man developed and was exposed to different developmental issues related to becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set. But as he moved through childhood into adolescence and adulthood, aspects of the largely ethnic/religious track were also further explored and understood as he came into contact with differing dominant community values, attitudes, and behaviours within the nonethnic social

contexts. During childhood and adolescence, these contexts consisted largely of the peer group at school, dominant group teachers, recreational activities, as well as any work-related experiences. The young Sikh men felt pressured to assess which aspects of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural and Sikh religious/spiritual script to keep and which ones to modify, alter, or discard, when they came into contact with disparate dominant community values. How a young Sikh man managed and negotiated this process directly influenced his developing sense of who he was and who he was becoming and his subsequent reconstruction of the track. This negotiation of differing elements was embedded in the life context of these youth with respect to the micro level (family and school), meso level (ethnic and religious community), and the macro level (larger Canadian society). A number of subprocesses were involved in negotiating inconsistencies to reconstruct the initial track. These included being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility. How a young Sikh man managed these processes affected his ability to be strong enough to stay on track while reconstructing the track. Regardless of the degree to which a young Sikh man's assimilated track incorporated the religious/spiritual script, all of these subprocesses were implicated in his construction of a sense of who he was and who he was becoming.

Being Guided Versus Doing It Alone

Being guided was an important subprocess of reconstructing the track because guidance provided insight into the meaning and significance of the various dimensions of the track and how the integrity of the track could be maintained while negotiating inconsistencies in the life scripts. The process of being guided was reflected in the dialectic of being guided versus doing it alone. For second generation adolescent Sikh

males, the major influence in their negotiation of inconsistencies in life scripts and construction and reconstruction of a life track was seen to be the familial context. Peers were increasingly important in adolescence and began to play a bigger part in their lives, but Sikh youth reported that guidance provided by parents played a significant role in setting the foundation for the track, as well as maintenance of on-track behaviour. Parental guidance was supplemented by older siblings, ethnic role models, and peers. The degree to which an adolescent Sikh male felt sufficiently guided by parents, siblings, role models, and peers, influenced how much he felt guided versus doing it alone.

The most significant area of guidance was related to aspects of the ethnic sociocultural/religious track that varied dramatically with dominant Western cultural norms and practices in Canada. If sufficient guidance on what the critical elements of the initial track were and how one was to reconstruct the track while maintaining a sense of continuity and sameness in different life contexts was lacking, a young Sikh man often felt alone and confused about this process. This resulted in a young Sikh man feeling uncertain about who he was and who he was becoming, thereby increasing his likelihood of becoming off track.

Being Guided by Parents

Guidance from parents was considered essential by these young Sikh men in their ability to negotiate discrepancies between the three life scripts to successfully reconstruct the track. Jaspreet (16), a young Sikh man with a dastar, spoke about when he first started thinking about who he was and the role that his parents have played in this process.

I, I thought I started doing that when I was at a young age right? "Umm, Why am I doing this?" But it wasn't actually huge questions because I never needed to. My parents always told me the answers before I asked the question. Right. Sort of like

Jeopardy. [laughs]. They always told me the answer before I asked the question, so I never really needed to.

Sikh adolescents reported that a number of dimensions of parenting by immigrant parents, such as time, knowledge, interest, communicativeness, and modelling influenced the guidance process (Table 1).

Table 1

Being Guided by Parents

Dimensions of Parenting	Typology of Parent Types
Time	Available versus Preoccupied
Knowledge	Informed versus Uninformed
Interest	Involved versus Indifferent
Communicativeness	Shared versus Segregated language
Modelling	Being strong enough versus Weak

In order to understand and detail parental guidance, each of these dimensions were further subdivided into dichotomies of parental types. Thus, a parenting style could be characterized by a set of attributes including one aspect of the dichotomy associated with each dimension. In assessing the parenting style and its influence on negotiating discrepancies in life scripts, a Sikh male's perspective on which of these qualities best described his parents was significant.

Parental time: Available versus preoccupied parents. The amount of time that parents spent with their sons was perceived to be a significant factor in guidance. Adolescent Sikh males who had parents who made the time to guide their children felt they had more knowledge about the dimensions of the life scripts. Young Sikh men believed that these parents were able to monitor the activities of their children and adolescents and were able to be vigilant about noticing when their children were going off track or not feeling strong enough to stay on track.

Those parents who were perceived to be preoccupied, were not seen to provide guidance. Adolescent Sikh males reported that some of their immigrant parents were so busy working in order to survive financially in Canada that they had little time left over to spend with their son or take an interest in his activities. Sukh (17), a grade 12 student and a talented athlete, tried to make sense as to why his parents did not come to his sports games.

I'm pretty confused about it, though. If they are just typical or they just don't have the time. My mom and dad go to work actually. He drives a taxi. He does 12 hour shifts. He works from 4 [pm] to 4 in the morning. And then he comes home, sleeps. And he'll pretty much wake up and has to go to work again. And with him, he's just, he's got maybe Sundays and Mondays off. And that's not really much time to do any kind of talking or anything. And my mom goes to work from 4 to 12. My dad's been doing it for about 3 or 4 years. And my mom probably about, since the starting of

grade 11. Before that it was a little less, she'd come back a little earlier in the night. But still it would be like maybe an hour or two max and then pretty much have to go to sleep for school.

Due to extended family involvement, some adolescent Sikh males had grandparents to take care of physical nurturance needs when parents were too busy working. Although immigrant grandparents were interested in spending time with their grandchildren, they were often not able to provide other aspects critical to parental guidance for being strong enough to stay on track, such as knowledge, communicativeness, and modelling.

Parental knowledge: Informed versus uninformed parents. The degree of knowledge that parents had influenced whether they were perceived as informed or uninformed parents when it came to guiding their son to be strong enough to stay on track. There were two aspects of knowledge that were significant, one related to the significance and meaning of Panjabi cultural and Sikh religious traditions, customs, values, etc., and the other related to the daily issues their children faced in making sense of disparate aspects of the ethnic/religious versus the dominant culture script. Adolescent Sikh males believed that if their parents were not clear about the significance and meaning of certain ethnic and religious traditions, they had difficulty providing a rationale to their children about particular behaviours, especially if that custom or tradition was quite different from customs and traditions in the dominant culture. Conversely, parents who were perceived as knowledgeable were able to convey to their children the aspects of being on track and the significance of the elements of the ethnic and religious life scripts, how these may be disparate from Canadian dominant culture, and how to negotiate these discrepancies while using the markers on the track as general guidelines to stay on track.

Parental knowledge was seen to be largely gained through efforts made by parents to inform themselves of issues that could arise for their adolescent son staying on track while growing up in Canada. Knowledge of these issues enhanced the parents' empathy to the day to day experiences of their children. Sikh youth believed that this empathy was very supportive when the young Sikh man encountered difficulties or value conflicts, and gave him a forum for exploring his daily negative and positive experiences as he progressed on the track, and assessed who he was and who he was becoming. For example, with respect to inconsistencies in the three scripts regarding intergender friendships, Jaspal (16) spoke about how he was able to talk to his mom about rumours she might have heard about him from community members.

Like, I can talk to my mom more, she understands more. I can talk to her about what happens at school. They [community members] say something and I know it's not true and my mom hears it and I go, "I didn't do it, you know how it is mom. They say stuff about all people."

Immigrant parents with little experience in the dominant community generally lacked knowledge of problems encountered by their children in their daily lives as they interacted with the mainstream context in school. These parents were perceived as neither reliable nor credible by adolescent Sikh males. For example, Parm (18) commented about his father's lack of knowledge about Parm's social context.

My mom understands more. My dad, all he knows is what he sees on t.v. Cause ever since he came here [to Canada], he's worked, that's it. He hasn't any idea, like no idea, what it's like to be a kid here.

Parental interest: Involved versus indifferent parents. Another dimension of parental guidance that influenced a young Sikh man's ability to be strong enough to stay on track and reconstruct the track, was the degree of perceived parental interest. Parents who

showed interest in their son's pursuits and accomplishments, such as athletics, provided him with encouragement, increased self-esteem, and a sense of pride. Jag (17) spoke about how he believed his parents were very interested in him and his activities.

Well my dad, he usually like, likes watching my, old basketball games we've got recorded. So, like, he comes home later like 12, 1 o'clock sometimes, at night. And he'll just, he'll just like, watches those, he can watch those for like hours.

Active interest by parents in sharing these athletic experiences with their sons lead to opportunities for conversations about personal interests and values, and thereby increasing quality of guidance that parents provided. It also provided a context in which the young Sikh man felt he could display his sense of competence and achievement to his parents. Having parents who were proud and took interest in his activities (e.g., attending sports games and competitions) contributed to a greater sense of self worth and increased the likelihood that the youth would confide in his parents when he was trying to make sense of what it meant to be a second generation adolescent Sikh male growing up in Canada.

Parental communicativeness: Shared versus segregated language. A shared language was helpful for children and parents to be able to express themselves to each other and to feel heard. Most adolescent Sikh males were bilingual to varying degrees. In circumstances where parents and children were both fluent in English or Panjabi, Sikh males believed that articulation of emotional experiences was easier and open discussions more likely. These open discussions provided adolescents with a sense of support in dealing with hassles that arose in their daily lives. The discussions also made it possible for parents to guide their sons in making daily choices related to interactions outside the home environment. In situations where parents were more fluent in Panjabi and children more fluent in English, communication barriers often resulted.

My parents. They don't speak English much. Well, my dad speaks a little, but my mom, she, uh, doesn't speak any. I'm not sure. Like, I don't think I could really like, talk about, feelings or something. I just uh, don't, like, say much to them. I suppose. Yeah, if they could speak English like me, like, I could like, talk to them more.

(Satnam, 16)

Parental modelling: Being strong enough versus weak. Parents who positively modelled how they expected their son to negotiate inconsistencies and construct a life track illustrated that it was possible to integrate elements of the three scripts and stay on track in the Canadian context. For example, for adolescent Sikh males who wore a dastar, a father who wore a dastar could directly affect the likelihood of his son continuing to wear a dastar through adolescence and into adulthood. Jaspreet (16) kept his hair unshorn and wore a dastar. He articulated what would happen if his father did not keep his own hair unshorn and wore a dastar.

Then I think that I wouldn't. Unless there was an outside influence, where it was brought upon me that maybe I should do this and that. Umm, but it would have to be pretty major. Umm, yeah, it would have to be 'cause you have to go along with what your family does. That's umm. That's usually what happens.

If a father did not wear a dastar it was less likely that an adolescent Sikh male would keep his hair unshorn and tied in a knot on his head, and eventually covered with a dastar.

In those circumstances where a father cut his hair, and a son kept his hair, either out of pressure from his mother or from an internal desire to do so, the integrity of the guidance provided by the father was jeopardized. It was confusing to these young Sikh men why the father did not believe it important to wear a dastar or did not feel strong enough to wear a dastar, when the young Sikh man himself wore one. Thus, parents' behaviour also played a significant role in how much the young Sikh man felt motivated to be on a track that incorporated more elements of the ethnic/religious scripts. As another

example, for those sons who were expected to not consume alcohol, an alcoholic father's credibility was lost with respect to his ability to provide guidance. Thus, elements of parenting had a direct influence on the negotiation of disparate elements of the three life scripts and subsequent reconstruction of the track. In the narratives of the adolescent Sikh males, two other aspects of parenting, mothering and fathering, were also considered important in feeling guided.

Mothering and Fathering: Support and Nurturance versus Gender Identification and Empathy

In being strong enough to stay on track, adolescent Sikh males reported that the role of mothers and fathers in the lives of adolescent Sikh males was largely integrated and complementary. An adolescent Sikh male could still feel strong enough to be on track if he only had sufficient guidance from one parent but the degree of strength that he felt in trying to be strong enough to stay on track could be affected if one role was lacking. There were aspects that were quite distinct and thereby unique to the role of each parent in the lives of these adolescent Sikh males.

Mothering: Support and nurturance. For adolescent Sikh males, the primary source of support and nurturance for the emotional aspects of staying on track was provided by the mother. Many adolescent Sikh males felt more comfortable confiding in their mothers with respect to issues of relationships with their peers and other aspects of their daily life. For example, Parm (18) spoke about how he had confided in his mom about his tattoos. "Actually. Like I have tattoos. My dad doesn't know I have tattoos. My mom does. My mom was shocked. But then she's hiding it from my dad."

Mothers were perceived by adolescent Sikh males as generally more sympathetic and often more involved in their day to day lives. In discussing why he confided more in mom than dad, Parm spoke about different styles of parenting as well as attitudes about gender roles.

Cause ladies. She's a woman. She's different. Just like I said before. Women are different from men. Guys are more like harsh, more like put the foot down type of thing. You know what I mean. Either they do. On certain things they always will. On certain things they just don't care. Depends what kind of a father you are though. Everyone's different. Cause my mom, she's just more sensitive. My mom, she thinks of a sex difference too. She thinks of women different. She thinks of men different. Right. She knows, she understands that too. (Parm 18)

In Parm's case, the fact that his mother had similar ideas about distinct gender roles between boys and girls and men and women also increased his comfort about talking to her. For Parm, the valuing of gender differences by his mother made him feel more privileged and special for being a male, and a son. Although most of the adolescent Sikh males spoke about being able to speak to their mothers more easily than their fathers, not all mothers were reported to value gender differences to the same degree as Parm's mother.

For an adolescent Sikh male who had the spiritual/religious script incorporated into his initial track, often it was the mother who had played a significant role in initiating him onto this track. As reported by many of the young Sikh men, mothers were more likely to be practising aspects of religion through meditation and prayer, then fathers, in those families where both parents were not religious. Therefore, in clarifying the track and helping them maintain the track, mothers were more likely to have guided their sons, as children, to instill values and behaviours that were associated with spirituality and religion, and then supporting and encouraging this behaviour.

For example, a mother who believed it important for her son be religious, may have kept his hair unshorn as a toddler and then helped him tie it up in a knot on top of his head during childhood. Due to the time and skill required in shampooing, combing, and then tying up the hair, if a mother was not committed to it, most likely she would not continue with this practice. Additionally, in helping the young child learn his prayers and learn to meditate, the mother often played a significant role. Thus, getting a young Sikh man onto the spiritual track and moving towards becoming spiritually set was perceived to largely have been a role played by the mother through childhood. Less often, a young Sikh man might have incorporated the spiritual track during adolescence, but again the role of the mother in helping him with the basics of keeping his hair unshorn and tied up in a knot had been critical. Amrit (16) spoke about how his mother helped him with his hair.

When I was little, my mom used to. My mom used to help me comb my hair. It was, it was so long, it still is. It's so long that I can't do it by myself all the time. So she helps me comb it. And then, and then tie it up, up in a joora. I'm better at it now. But sometimes, like, I still get my mom to help me. Especially, like, if I, if I have to go to a soccer practice or something. Cause, I, I don't want my joora to get like, undone. That wouldn't be good. That would be embarrassing.

For adolescent Sikh males who did not have a mother or other mothering figure, such as a grandmother, to provide this groundwork, there was less likelihood of incorporating the spiritual script into the initial track and then maintaining it through childhood.

Fathering: Gender identification and empathy. For adolescent Sikh males, what was particular to the role of fathers was being able to provide them a source of gender identification and empathy for their unique experiences as males who were trying to stay on track while reconstructing the track. These included experiences that they felt their mothers just could not understand because they were female, or the young men were too

embarrassed to speak about with their mothers. Hardip (17), a young Sikh man who had a very involved, knowledgeable, and available mother clarified the important role of a father in adolescent Sikh males' lives.

I can talk with her right. But, I don't think that there's like, that replacement of a father figure. [He provides] just uh, like, a male outlet. I mean, there's a difference between talking with mom and talking with father. It's just, I mean, through the eyes of a male. There's some things that she doesn't know what it feels like to be a male.

For adolescent Sikh males who were striving to become spiritually set, and had been keeping their hair unshorn during childhood, the fathering role generally became more important than the mothering role with respect to particular aspects of being strong enough to stay on track. During adolescence, young Sikh men who had been wearing their hair in a knot on top of their head through childhood, made a transition to the adult form of wearing a dastar on top of their unshorn hair. The father who tied a dastar himself, played a significant role in teaching his son how to tie a dastar as well as how to be strong enough to wear a dastar and be visible as a Sikh in the Canadian context.

I used to just tie a Patka [see Figure 1] um. I thought by the end of grade 8 that, I thought I would like, look a lot better, uh, better with a turban. I asked my dad to teach me. And he was proud by that fact, that I asked him. Cause he still knows like 20 year olds and 30 year olds who still tie a Patka and um. He said that they look ridiculous like that and he's proud that I asked him to teach me. The first time [I tried tying it], it looked kind of ugly but [laughs]. The first time it looked a little messy. Yeah, first time, but it's been 2 years, so it's getting cleaner and nicer. (Jaspreet, 16)

Mandeep (16) further articulated the importance of having a father to help a young Sikh man learn how to tie a dastar.

Yeah. It makes a difference if your dad has a Pug [turban] or not. Cause there's someone to teach you. Someone to do your Pooni [fold the turban] with you every morning or whatever right. Someone to like fix your Lut [end of the turban] from the back when you're like walking off whatever right. But after, after you get used to it, doesn't make much of a difference at all I think.

For adolescent Sikh males who did not have a dastar-wearing male who could play the fathering role, making the transition to wearing a dastar on top of their unshorn hair was more difficult because they feared that wearing a dastar might hinder their ability to achieve aspirations in career, athletics, or relationships. They felt that fathers who wore dastars were better able to understand their unique experiences as dastar-wearing males in Canada, and thereby more effectively empathize and guide them in being strong enough to stay on track.

Receiving Guidance from Others

Other sources of guidance for adolescent Sikh males were older siblings, nonfamily role models, or peers. In order to assist a young Sikh man to successfully negotiate discrepant elements of the three life scripts and stay on track, siblings, nonfamily role models, and friends needed to be able to impart to the young Sikh man knowledge, behaviours, and attitudes associated with being strong enough to stay on track. These sources of guidance were either supplementing parental guidance, or, in cases where parental guidance was insufficient or minimal, older siblings, peers and nonparental adults were the only sources of guidance for adolescent Sikh males.

Jaspreet (16), spoke about how his older brother supplemented the guidance and support his parents provide him by being a role model.

Um, he's my brother, he's my older brother. He's the one that I have to model myself after, right. So, he's. I should be the reflection of him basically because he, he, yeah he's my brother and he's male and he's older. And he should, he should present an impression of what I should be, towards me.

In addition to older siblings, peers and nonfamily role models who were on track could provide a young Sikh man further support, validation, and thereby guidance on how to

reconstruct the life track. Nonfamily adult role models for some adolescent Sikh males were Panjabi ethnic teachers, or for those youth who were active on school or community sports teams, the role model was the coach. Amandeep (16) discussed how he had been positively affected by Panjabi ethnic teachers who had become role models for him.

Certain teachers, mostly East Indian teachers. Like, I had quite a few at junior high, like three, four. But I only talked to a couple, two of them. And, we always used to talk about stuff like that, like what do you want to be, become, right. Do you drink and all that kind of stuff. Like I noticed that like, uh, some of them didn't do that [drink].

Role models in general played an important part in the process of young Sikh men coming to know who they were. In using role models for guidance, Hardip (17) spoke of "molding into what you see as a good person" as well as "taking on qualities respected in others." Hardip, articulated how role models are not necessarily perfect individuals, but they have qualities that a young Sikh man respects.

I mean, it's hard for someone to say, they're [a role model is] perfect. But like, you, like you, take abundant things into consideration, whether it's religion, or certain guidelines that are presented to you. I mean, some are like, some of them are like good and you respect them and you try to integrate them into your character. You see how other people have like, made themselves into who they are by like portraying certain attitudes. And if you, like, see that person as like, being an icon or role model, you also try to implement those into your character.

A model could also be someone with a career in which a young Sikh man was interested in, and could attempt to "gain a similar degree of respect" as this person. Or it could be someone who had incorporated values that were significant to a young Sikh man.

In supplementing parental guidance, older siblings, peers, and role models, provided opportunities to talk about concerns or issues that might be too sensitive for discussion with parents. These other individuals were also helpful in providing support, knowledge and feedback about areas that parents sometimes knew less about in the Canadian context,

such as career opportunities. Young Sikh men who felt effectively guided by their parents and also had other sources of guidance, felt more confident and able to negotiate discrepancies in the Panjabi ethnic, Sikh religious, and dominant culture script, as they reconstructed the track.

Doing it Alone

A young Sikh man who did not feel he had sufficient guidance in staying on track and reconstructing the life track often reported feeling as if he was doing it alone. How alone he felt depended on which sources of guidance were available and to what degree. Intra-family guidance from parents or older siblings was most critical in influencing whether a young Sikh man felt guided or alone in the process of figuring out who he was and who he was becoming. For example, although Sukh had close friends and an adult role model, he still believed that guidance from his parents was most critical in this process. Sukh (17), described how he came to rely on his friends for guidance.

I have never really taken the time out. Never really taken the time out with them [parents]. Talking, just about everyday stuff, personal stuff. I guess, it just never happened when I was little. So, after that, I just never really asked about it or came to them with any problems that I have had.

If his parents had been involved with guiding him when he was little, then Sukh believed that he would have been able to rely on his parents more now, when he was feeling confused about who he was and where he was going in life, instead of searching for answers on his own.

I wouldn't have to go around like maybe, go around searching for answers on my own. Maybe I have to ask family or maybe have to go to a counsellor or something like that. [It would] make it easier knowing that there is somebody at home whenever you come home from school that is there for you. Sometimes it bothers me, but now I'm just so used to going to my friends for any help, if I have a problem anyway. So,

its kind of, it doesn't matter. It's never been there, right. So I have never had to worry about that. I usually just end up asking my friends.

Although Sukh had friends and a role model he could talk to, he believed they did not have the experience, knowledge, or resources, to effectively guide him.

Many other boys who did not have sufficient parental guidance in the form of support and encouragement, spoke about feeling alone at times. Satnam, a grade 11 student, reported feeling quite unsure about who he was. He was a good student, but not an athlete, and therefore was not a member of any sports teams, although many of his friends were athletes. Satnam (16) often felt alone and spent much of his time at home by himself, watching television.

Well, it's, I, I really don't see them much. Because, it's like. I'm usually downstairs, watching t.v. And, uh...my older brother, he's usually out. And, uh..mom, and dad when he's home, are upstairs. I, I, really have nothing to say to them. So, I, I, just stay downstairs, by myself, and watch t.v.

Satnam had some ideas about wanting to pursue post-secondary education and becoming a lawyer. Yet, he was feeling alone in making these decisions because his parents seemed to have neither the interest nor knowledge to assist him. He wished he had more guidance from his parents. Adolescent Sikh males who did not perceive sufficient guidance from parents reporting relying on older siblings, friends, or role models if they were available.

For adolescent Sikh males, who did not have sufficient guidance from parents, family, friends, or role models, the world felt like a very lonely place. Confusion regarding how to not only negotiate discrepancies in life scripts, such as whether to date or not, but also decisions regarding what careers to pursue, whether to go for post-secondary education, or whether to pursue athletics and which colleges to attend, all seemed overwhelming.

Summary

Being guided versus doing it alone was a dialectical process that was seen to influence an adolescent Sikh male's ability to reconstruct the track by negotiating discrepant elements of the Panjabi sociocultural script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and Canadian dominant sociocultural script. Having guidance from parents in the form of parental time, interest, knowledge, shared language, modelling, mothering, and fathering promoted a young Sikh man's ability to go through the process of reconstructing the track. Although parental guidance could be supplemented by older siblings, nonfamily role models, and peers, young Sikh men who lacked sufficient parental guidance often felt more alone in reconstructing the track and knowing how to stay on track. Feeling alone resulted in discouragement, confusion, and lack of direction in reconstructing the life track. This process paralleled a young Sikh man's ongoing clarity and construction of who he was and who he was becoming.

Guidance also influenced how an adolescent Sikh male dealt with two other inter related subprocesses that were implicated in reconstructing the track. These were belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility.

Belonging While Avoiding Exclusion

For adolescent Sikh males, belonging while avoiding exclusion was a subprocess that also influenced how discrepant elements of the three life scripts were negotiated while reconstructing the track. Belonging refers to the desire of each young Sikh man to feel that he belonged to and was connected in a social network or context that included family, peers, and significant others. Avoiding exclusion refers to the conscious efforts to avoid being isolated from any significant social group. For adolescent Sikh males, belonging

while avoiding exclusion was played out in all aspects of their social life; family, ethnic and nonethnic peers, the ethnic group, the religious/spiritual group, and the dominant society. Having a sense of belonging in all significant groups was not easy, however, because different groups often required opposing norms, behaviours, attitudes, or values for group membership.

Negotiating the desire to belong in all social groups that were considered important was complicated. Those adolescent Sikh males who were able to have a sense of belonging in significant groups without feeling excluded in other significant groups were able to feel more genuine in their social interactions, and maintain a sense of continuity in who they were, from context to context. In figuring out which groups were important to belong to, adolescent Sikh males were motivated to (a) make parents proud, (b) stick together, (c) avoid Whitewash, and (d) be a normal teenager. Each of these strategies was influenced by the desire to belong and not be excluded from a particular social context. Making parents proud was a desire to belong in the familial context. Sticking together was associated with the desire to belong in the ethnic context or religious context, including ethnic and religious peers. Avoiding whitewash was a drive to not lose one's sense of belonging to the ethnic group. It was an effort to prevent oneself from becoming assimilated. Being a normal teenager was a drive to be part of the dominant context, including acceptance by mainstream peers. Dependent upon which of these drives were more important to an adolescent Sikh male, this ultimately influenced how he negotiated discrepant elements of the three life scripts.

Making Parents Proud

With respect to having a sense of belonging in the family, being a good son was important for most adolescent Sikh males. The aim of being a good son was to make parents happy or proud. Jaspal (16) spoke about how his parents approval was a motivating factor for him wanting to stay on a track.

I'm just trying to go day by day. I ain't trying to...I am just trying to get good grades and stuff like that. Trying to make my parents happy. Yeah, some people go, "Yeah, my son is doing this, my son's doing that," and I don't want my parents to say, "Yeah, my son's doing this and doing bad stuff like that." I want to get good grades, show 'em. In grade 8, I was getting good grades. They [parents] used to go, "Yeah, get good grades, get good grades." And, I finally got good grades. I go, "Here you go, I got 'A's' and 'B's' for the last two...like the last four report cards now." And, I just show them. "Yeah, I got this good grade, right?" And they've been happy. Yeah, they [siblings] do yeah. They want to make my parents happy too right. Cause most people [ethnic community parents] are, "Yeah, my son's doing this." So my dad wants to go, "Yeah, my son's doing this too." He wants to be proud.

In making parents proud, a young Sikh male was positively reinforced for his accomplishments, and subsequently for who he was and who he was becoming. Having a sense of validation increased feelings of self-worth and belonging as a member of the family.

The wish to make parents proud also implicated a sense of obligation to the family as well as a desire to uphold the family's reputation. In having a sense of obligation to the family, a young Sikh man could feel that he owed it to his parents to make them proud. For example, Surinder, an only son, with older female siblings, spoke about how his sense of obligation as a son to his parents was associated with compliance with their demands about his behaviour, even though he might wish to behave differently. This sense of obligation was highly influenced by his older female siblings' rebellion against his parents.

He described how he negotiated his personal desires with his sense of obligation to his parents.

I am more laid back [than older siblings], right. I can take it when my parents say, "ya know you can't do that," but whatever, it makes no big difference to me. But to them [older siblings], they wanted to go out and so they would right, and they kind of rebelled, I guess you could say. To me I'll just call [my friends] and say, "Sorry guys I can't come out", right, and they pretty much know I am not allowed to come out and stuff like that right. And so, it, I don't know. It. I guess it's a little bit of both ya know. I am making a decision to stay and there is also, is a part that I probably couldn't go out. If I wanted to, my parents are saying, "You have to stay [home]." And that's pretty much why I am staying. (Surinder, 18)

In the process of negotiating disparate elements of the three life scripts, having a sense of belonging in the family typically involved choosing elements of the ethnic sociocultural and religious/spiritual script that were important to the family. In making parents proud, a young Sikh man placed emphasis on complying with his parents' wishes about his attitudes and behaviours as a teenager. The degree of dissonance between what the parents were expecting of him and what he would rather be doing had the potential to lead to varying degrees of conflictual feelings, if a young Sikh man did not feel rewarded and valued for his actions.

The types of behaviours that parents wished their son to display in being a good son, were influenced by the ethnic and religious scripts. These behaviours included valuing and practising religion and spirituality, working towards becoming financially set through good academic performance, having an assisted marriage, and living with parents after marriage. In being proud, parents were able to hold their heads up high in the ethnic community and be proud of the accomplishments of their sons, and themselves in being good parents. But, a sense of belonging while avoiding exclusion was not only influenced by an

adolescent Sikh male's desire to make parents proud, it was also influenced by other subprocesses of sticking together, avoiding Whitewash and being a normal teenager.

Sticking Together

The notion of sticking together was perceived to be significant in both the family context as well as the ethnic peer context. This concept was based on the concern that if we don't stick together, I (e.g., each young Sikh man) might become isolated and alone. Sticking together was an unconscious and conscious process. Jaspal (16) lived in a rural community and commented on his observations of how the Panjabi ethnic students in each grade tended to hang out with each other, although he did not consider this a conscious effort on their parts.

Yeah, all East Indians hang around with like. Grade tenners, all the East Indians hang around with each other. Grade niners, all East Indians hang around each other. I don't know, we just stick together.

Adolescent Sikh males in rural settings as well as urban settings were attracted to each other in order to feel a sense of belonging and genuineness in their social interactions. In sticking together, they felt supported for their ideas and values and felt more empowered to deal with racism and discrimination, and thereby increased feelings of worthiness in finding normalized patterns of behaviour that were similar to their own. Sticking together also involved a sense of trust and confidence in peers to accept a young Sikh man the way he was. In those settings, such as schools where a young Sikh man was either the only brown face in the school or was the only turbaned male in the school, feeling alone, peculiar, and unusual resulted in confusion and isolation. Finding normalized patterns of behaviour were sometimes considered difficult in groups of peers who came from Western backgrounds, especially around issues of religiosity and behaviours and

values particular to the ethnic sociocultural script. In describing what kind of interests he and his friends had that differed from young adolescent Sikh males of other minority ethnic groups and the dominant Western culture, Banti (17) noted:

Like sports, see a movie, music. Um, like hobbies, stuff like that. We [my ethnic friends] all like stuff that's more physical, not like curling or stuff like that, without much athleticism. In movies, we like action-packed movies, we don't like drama or like sensitive issues like, always stuff more like to a point of a movie. Music, we all like hip-hop, nothing slow. They [dominant community peers and peers of other ethnic groups] like, like hard stuff, like rock-n-roll. Movies, like, more comedy movies, and some of them like physical sports, but like a small minority.

Conscious efforts towards sticking together were more likely in situations where there was a low ethnic population and the adolescent Sikh males were in a significant minority in their school setting. In these settings, feeling abnormal, or deviant was more likely with respect to trying to stay on track because many of the on-track behaviours of the initial track were disparate from dominant culture on-track behaviours for adolescents (e.g., not dating during adolescence, covering one's head with a turban, not drinking socially).

Thus, the importance of group membership was more critical at times, and achieving the common goal was also considered significant. In the ethnic context, sticking together could also mean protecting younger Panjabi children from racial harassment. Jaspal (16) spoke about how he would never get involved in a fight if someone was being racist to him, but he would if he saw someone picking on younger kids.

He was picking on the younger kids. They were a year younger and yeah, either in grade 9. It just happened a couple of months ago. I go, 'Don't push them around', and he goes, 'What are you going to do about it?' I go, "No, I ain't gonna do nothing about it but," then he goes, "Just get outta here," I go, "Ok, fine I'll do something about it", I go, "Just leave these guys alone...you think your tough picking on little kids right? Come pick on me, try me on," then he goes...then he got scared a little bit, then he goes, "I don't need to prove nothing I can beat up a Hindu anytime," and I

go, "Ok then prove it". I took off my jacket and I go, "Come on hit me," and then he goes. He was about to hit me right and one guy goes, "Don't do it, don't do it," then I go, "I shouldn't do this right, it's not right. "Why are you trying to pick on little kids?" "Cause they're mouthy." I go, "Ok fine, then I'll tell these guys not to be mouthy right. Just leave them alone." I told this guy, "Don't say nothing," and then the teacher came.

In sticking together, young Sikh men tended to be reinforced for a sense of belonging to the ethnic group. Feeling reinforced and validated for who one was in the ethnic peer and home context, provided a sense of continuity between these different contexts. It gave adolescent Sikh males the opportunity to have shared understandings with their friends, without having to explain themselves or justify the ethnic elements of who they were. In negotiating discrepancies and reconstructing the track, a greater sense of coherence was possible for adolescent Sikh males, because the process of sticking together gave them opportunities to have transactions with peers who were undergoing a similar developmental process.

Avoiding Whitewash

An active effort to avoid whitewash was also part of the process of belonging while avoiding exclusion. Becoming whitewashed was a term used by adolescent Sikh males to refer to the process of losing the ethnic aspects of their behaviour and values and thereby reconstructing the track to become more similar to the track of the dominant community. It referred to loss of fluency in Panjabi and lack of knowledge and interest in that which signified Panjabi culture and Sikh religion. Banti (17) described guys who he thought were whitewashed.

Um...they are sort of like us. But they're like, more like, other people that like rock-n-roll stuff. Like, like, they like. More so they choose to hang around with other people like stuff like them. Like, I mostly speak Panjabi at home. I know like a bit more about my culture like they only know a few words and like their parents like [have]

been here for awhile. And their parents don't even talk Panjabi at home, and they're like forgetting their culture. Like their parents have adapted to the Canadian culture and they are adapting more Canadian than East Indian.

The desire to not become whitewashed, could be influenced by an adolescent Sikh male's aspiration to retain significant elements of the ethnic and religious scripts. Thus, belonging within the ethnic or religious community may be more significant to him. Because integration into the larger society was a necessary component in interactions with school teachers, administrators, and dominant group peers in their current lives, negotiation of how to not become whitewashed and lose a sense of belonging in the ethnic and religious group, was an ongoing process.

Being a Normal Teenager

Using the terminology of adolescent Sikh males, a young Sikh man who was driven by a desire to be a normal teenager could become whitewashed. For some adolescent Sikh males being a normal teenager was an important consideration in belonging while avoiding exclusion. Like sticking together, being a normal teenager also alluded to the desire to feel like one was normal and typical in social contexts. Unlike sticking together, which signified a sense of belonging in the ethnic context, being a normal teenager was driven by wanting to feel normal within the dominant culture context, and among dominant culture peers. Behaviours, values, and attitudes that differed dramatically between the dominant culture script and the Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious script, could be negotiated so that an adolescent Sikh male chose elements that were more similar to the dominant culture. For example, the desire to be a normal teenager might result in a young Sikh man who wanted to practice Sikhism, to not become more religious because he felt that wearing a turban would be odd and atypical in the Canadian context. Thus,

although he wanted to be religious, he chose not to be due to his desire to be a normal teenager in the Canadian context. Dating was also another dominant culture norm that some young Sikh men felt was more normal due to exposure to the dominant cultural script, therefore, they were more likely to experiment with dating. Maintaining Panjabi language and traditions could also become less important to a young Sikh man who wanted to be a normal teenager.

Summary

Belonging while avoiding exclusion was an important subprocess that was implicated in how a young Sikh man negotiated inconsistent elements of the three life scripts in order to reconstruct the track. This dialectic was perceived to involve four strategies: making parents proud, sticking together, avoiding whitewash, and being a normal teenager. Each of these motivations resulted in a sense of belonging within different levels of the life context, while reconstructing the life track. Making parents proud was connected to choosing parentally approved elements of the Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious/spiritual script. Sticking together provided a sense of connectedness and reinforcement for elements of the ethnic script, but not necessarily those that were approved by parents. Avoiding whitewash was also an attempt to maintain a sense of connection to the ethnic group and resulted in selecting ethnic values, attitudes, and behaviours over elements of the dominant culture. Being a normal teenager was a desire to fit in and have a sense of belonging within the Canadian dominant culture context.

The interplay between these four goals and the strategies used to achieve them functioned to vary how a young Sikh man reconstructed the life track and negotiated discrepant elements of the three life scripts. The choosing of particular elements over

others ultimately influenced his developing sense of who he was and who he was becoming. But the process of reconstructing the track was not only influenced by being guided versus doing it alone and belonging while avoiding exclusion, a third subprocess, managing visibility, was also important.

Managing Visibility

Being physically visible in the Canadian social context influenced an adolescent Sikh male's development of a sense of who he was and how he negotiated inconsistent elements of the life scripts. In managing visibility, a young Sikh man dealt with the dialectic of developing a sense of pride versus experiencing shame. Developing pride referred to a young Sikh man's pride in the significance of his visibility, which was associated with a sense of uniqueness and belonging within the ethnic group or religious group. Struggling with discrimination or racism associated with being perceived as visibly different and abnormal by others (e.g., peers, dominant community members) resulted in experience of shame, which comprised embarrassment, humiliation, or disempowerment. How a young Sikh man managed his visibility in the Canadian context influenced the process of reconstruction of the track and especially his ability to stay on track.

In determining whether pride or shame would be associated with an adolescent Sikh male's experience of visibility, several dimensions of visibility were relevant. Whether a young Sikh man chose to be visible, his meaning making of his visibility, and others reactions to his visibility. These issues were captured in dimensionalizing visibility and developing pride versus shame

Dimensionalizing Visibility

Passive versus active visibility. This dialectical process refers to the degree of control that an adolescent Sikh male had over his visibility. The expression of who each young Sikh man was, occurred in passive and active form. Passive elements were those that a young Sikh man did not necessarily consciously control in their expression. This included his gender, as well as physical features and his identification with the Panjabi ethnic or Sikh religious group. Active elements were dimensions of the private self that were made publicly visible, by choice. This might include, behaving differently around different people, and being polite around family friends versus being blunt around peers. For young Sikh men who were striving to be spiritually set, this involved choosing to publicly display elements of their spirituality and religiosity, such as keeping their head and facial hair uncut and wearing a turban. In order to understand the role of passive and active visibility in affecting the experience of shame or pride, it is important to consider how the public versus private aspects of self were rooted in the experiences of these adolescent Sikh males. Some aspects of self were perceived by second generation adolescent Sikh males as public, whereas others were perceived as private. Public aspects included those elements of an adolescent's self that were visible or observable by others, whereas private aspects were those that were not visible to others unless the young Sikh man chose to disclose them. Public aspects included wearing a turban, particular behaviours, language ability, and athletic and academic performance.

Private aspects, in contrast, encompassed thoughts, beliefs, and ideas, and behaviours that were not readily observable by all others. In the expression of self, these private aspects were shared selectively by second generation adolescent Sikh males. Some were

shared with friends, some with parents, and some with siblings, and yet others were not disclosed to anyone. Jaspreet (16) explained how he showed different aspects of himself to different people in his life.

I can be a different person to different people that's true. To my friends I can be a different person. To my teachers I can be a different person. To my parents I can be a different person. To my family probably the same person to my parents, but I could be, but a lot of the times they overlap to my parents. Like, a lot of times it could be professional and everything with my teachers. I could be also, sometimes I goof off right. Um my friends, I can be totally casual, that 'doesn't care' attitude. Um, to my parents, it's total respectful and polite, that kind of attitude. So it's different degrees, but basically I am the same person just different sides of me, I'm not three-faced or two-faced or whatever, I'm just different. I am adapting to the surroundings.

The private issues that a young Sikh man was willing to make public depended on the social context. Issues of dating, because they contrasted with the notion of assisted marriages, were often not shared with parents, especially if the young Sikh man knew his parents would not approve of dating. As well, a young Sikh man with parents who valued religiosity might not speak to them about any discrepant feelings he had regarding maintenance of religiosity. Certain issues around anxieties and fears were often not disclosed to friends. Adolescent Sikh males spoke about not wanting to tell their friends such things as their fear of the dark, choosing to sleep with dad once in a while, and emotions of anger and hurt. Harjit (17) also spoke about how he would not share information related to intra-family conflict with his friends.

I don't, I wouldn't talk to, like, my uh, friends, about, about, financial problems my family might be having. Or, if we were, uh, having fights at home. I don't, don't want them, like, my friends, to, like feel bad for me, or something.

Some aspects of private self were not shared with family or friends. For example, a young Sikh man sometimes chose to keep private views or behaviours that might not be

approved by his family, or those that might affect his own or his families reputation in the ethnic or religious community.

Degrees of visibility. Some adolescent Sikh males were more visible than others as either members of the Panjabi ethnic group, or members of the Sikh religion. With respect to physical features, adolescent Sikh males varied in their skin tone and facial characteristics as to how clearly they could be assigned as belonging to the Panjabi ethnic group. Adolescent Sikh males who were aspiring to be spiritually set, were generally more visible than those who were only aspiring to be financially and socially set, because of varying degrees of religiosity. The more religious and spiritual a young Sikh man was, the more likely that he was keeping his head hair tied up in a knot on his head and then covered with either a ramaal, patka, or dastar (see Figure 1). Thus, young Sikh men who kept their head hair and covered their head were more visible than those who were less religious.

Social contexts of visibility. The social contexts within which a young Sikh man was visible influenced the degree to which his experience of visibility resulted in feelings of pride or shame. These social contexts comprised of his immediate and extended family, the ethnic community and religious community (including peers and community members), the dominant community (including peers and community members) and rural or urban setting. Who the young Sikh man was visible to was an important aspect of the negative and positive experiences associated with visibility, and subsequently being strong enough to stay on track.

Within the social context of the family system, an adolescent Sikh male's status as an only son or older brother could result in particular social expectations of him from his

parents. Within immigrant Sikh families, the concept of family encompassed members of the extended family as well. Thus, for some adolescent Sikh males, how they compared to the other boys in the extended family was additionally significant. They could stand out in the family with respect to personality characteristics, skills, achievements, temperament, and degree of respect for parents. Whether a particular young Sikh man had more virtues or deficits compared with other males positively or negatively affected his sense of self-worth. For example, a young Sikh man who wore a turban might stand out from other adolescent males in the extended family, if they did not wear a turban. Wearing a turban could be experienced as positive or negative. Immigrant Sikh parents often had high regard for a young man who wore a turban in the Canadian context, even if their own sons did not do so. This appreciation came from their recognition of how difficult it was for most adolescent Sikh youth to wear a turban in this context.

This was especially true for Surinder, an only son with female siblings. Being a turbaned male in a nonturbaned extended family of cousins and uncles, meant that others perceived him to be what he termed the 'golden child' and increased his sense of self-worth and self confidence, subsequently influencing his desire to maintain his religiosity.

They [uncles and aunts] think I'm special. Good 'Put....Chunga Munda Ai' [good son, good boy] and stuff like that right. Like some of my uncles that I don't know very much, they think I'm something special. I talk to their kids and ya know, they [cousins] say my parents are like, "Wow why can't you be more like me, can't you be more like Surinder," right. Cause they say, this is what they say their parents think. I'm like, the golden child or something, like that. And, I don't mind. I think its cool that they think of me like that. But I don't think I'm a typical [Punjabi] kid. Cause I don't go out, and I listen to my parents. And, I don't think most kids do that ya know. They'll be like, "I'm going out with my friends, whatever right." I keep my religion, have my hair, have my turban right. But because of that I don't think I'm typical right.

(Surinder, 18)

But being an only turbaned male in a nonturbaned family group brought mixed messages and experiences. For example, Amrit was also an only son with female siblings, and he also experienced others, especially uncles and aunts, as perceiving him to be a good child for wearing a turban. Yet, terms such as 'Giani' were also commonly used by his nonturbaned uncles to refer to him. In Panjabi, Giani is a term for a priest. In this instance, the term was used in a derogatory sense, and often resulted in conflicting feelings about whether to maintain his religiosity or not.

Oh, they [uncles] just say, uh...like they'll say "Oh giani, ahja." [Hey priest come here] Well, I guess it doesn't like, feel too good. But, I don't let it, uh, bother me. Who cares. I am a Sikh, cause I want to be. But I guess, if I really think about it, I guess, I really don't like it. I'm not sure why they do it. They think they're, like, I guess, like they think they're funny. Cause they laugh. But, I don't laugh.

(Amrit, 16)

A young Sikh man's experience of visibility in his development of a sense of who he was, was also affected by how visible he was among his peers. The peer environment consisted of intra ethnic, other ethnic, mainstream, as well as same gender and opposite gender peers. Attributes such as physical size, appearance, physical attractiveness, athletic ability, and wearing a turban, set a young Sikh man apart from other adolescent Sikh males in his peer group. Whether his distinctiveness produced positive or negative reactions from others affected how his visibility influenced his development of self-esteem, self confidence, and pride and shame in who he was.

With respect to physical visibility within the ethnic peer group or community, whether a young Sikh man was turbaned or nonturbaned, influenced the ethnic subgroup that either accepted him or rejected him. Being one or the other influenced his experiences with others as well as the expectations and stereotypes turbaned and nonturbaned peers had of

him. Often, young turbaned males were in a minority even in their ethnic context. Within the school environment, these adolescent Sikh males experienced discrimination from other same ethnic peers through disparaging remarks. Sunny (17), a nonturbaned Sikh adolescent, observed how young turbaned males in his school were picked on by their ethnic peers.

Yeah umm.. Ummm... there's a person in our school, he's from India too. But he wears a pug [turban]. And they [ethnic peers who don't wear a turban] always call him "giani this" and stuff like that. And it bothers him a lot, so he just doesn't come around no more. He won't talk to us or anything like that. [He gets called these names by] Like, I guess the people who call themselves, consider themselves cool. I don't know how they become cool, but they consider themselves cool, and other people think they're cool.

The difference in experience as a turbaned and nonturbaned male influenced acceptance and rejection by peers. For example, Jas, who used to wear a turban before he recently cut his hair, experienced a marked shift in how others related to him. When he used to wear a turban, Jas felt that he belonged more with other adolescent Sikh males who kept their hair, and was generally shunned by ethnic peers who cut their hair. After he cut his hair, his turbaned friends started looking at him quite suspiciously and he experienced a certain sense of rejection from them. In contrast, ethnic peers with cut hair who had previously shunned him, now invited him to join their groups. He recalls the reaction he got from others the day after his haircut.

The way people treat me, I guess. Treat me like different. I guess, I don't know. The day I walked into school the other day [after getting my hair cut], people like started treating me differently. Like, you know, like I don't know. Just the way they acted. Like, some people would like make fun of you or something [before]. Or just like the moment I walked in, it's like "What happened to you?" Like, even the teacher treated me kind of differently. She just said, "Oh." I guess it's their, just their initial shock of like what happened. I don't know. Like some in a negative, some of my friends see me in a negative way. Cause they're like, "Oh, you got your hair cut, you're kind of different now." They tie turbans, so. The White people, I guess, they just kind of

treated me the same, or a little better. Cause, like I was just like the normal White kid now.
(Jas, 17)

Within the context of mainstream society, physical appearance, such as skin colour and facial features, behaviours, language, customs, and attitudes, also were markers that differed a young Sikh man from his dominant group peers. With respect to physical appearance, both nonturbaned and turbaned adolescent Sikh males experienced themselves as visibly different from mainstream society, but the degree of visibility differed dependent upon whether they wore a turban or not.

Whether a young Sikh man lived in a rural or urban community also affected his visibility and subsequently his experience of discrimination and racism.

I think, I think, a guy living in, in say, Surrey [urban center with large Panjabi ethnic community]. He's definitely not as visible as, as a guy who, say he lives in Langley [rural community with very small Panjabi ethnic community] or you know in another place with less Apnays [Panjabi ethnic group members]. And, yeah, a guy with a pug compared to a mona [haircut]. I think the mona is less visible. Doesn't matter if he's here in Surrey or in some small community with less Apnay. Yeah. The guy with the turban, he'll like. He will, will get picked on more. Doesn't matter where he is.
(Harjit, 17)

One's degree of visibility, regardless of whether a young Sikh man wore a dastar or not, was influenced by the ethnic make-up of the community. In an urban setting with a large Sikh population, adolescent Sikh males who did not wear a dastar did not see themselves as very visible, because they compared their degree of visibility as visible disparity between themselves and their peers. Having lots of same-ethnic group peers in school resulted in seeing oneself as part of the norm. In contrast, the same young Sikh man with no dastar, might perceive himself as quite visible if he resided in a rural setting where the same-ethnic peers were in a minority in his school and his community. In this instance, his physical appearance as a brown-skinned male with different features, his values, and his

mannerisms were not reflected in the norm and therefore he perceived himself as unlike his peers. Adolescent Sikh males with dastars were quite aware of their visibility as different because they were often in the minority within their own ethnic group as well, and therefore became aware of their visibleness regardless of the size of the same-ethnic group population in Canada.

Because, especially in Canada, how many people wear a dastar? Can't always have others like you in high school. But when I graduated, cause I was the only dastar person in the whole school. Mostly cause I was there, I was the only one. And it's a thousand students to one ratio. (Jasbir, 19)

The physical visibility of an adolescent Sikh male also affected the timing of his awareness of discrepancies in the Panjabi sociocultural script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and Canadian dominant culture script. The greater the visibility of a young Sikh man in his social context, the earlier he became aware of his visibility. For example, a young Sikh man who wore a joora (head hair tied up in a knot), began to recognize differences and similarities between himself and others in early childhood. Some of the adolescent Sikh males who had always kept their hair, spoke about becoming aware of this positive and negative reaction from others, as soon as they began formal schooling. Positive reactions often occurred very early within the family environment because a Sikh man who wore a joora from early life was reinforced by parents through their encouragement and support. Negative reactions usually consisted of exclusionary behaviour by peers and others who invalidated the wearing of a joora.

Additionally, for young Sikh male children who tied their hair on top of their heads, being recognized as a male was an important aspect of having a sense of who he was. Because the dominant community norm for males was to have short hair, and it was more

typical for females to have long hair and in a bun, young Sikh male children sometimes experienced gender confusion by those who were not aware of the knot on top of the head as a significant marker of identity as a male.

When I was little. Like 5 or something, in school. I remember like, some kids in my class. Like they thought I was a girl cause I had a bun on my head.

(Jagtir Singh, 16)

Considering an adolescent Sikh male's degree of visibility, degree of perceived choice in being visible, and his contexts of visibility, a young Sikh man could develop pride or shame. This ultimately affected his developing sense of who he was and who he was becoming, and subsequently how he negotiated discrepant elements of the three life scripts to reconstruct a life track.

Developing Pride versus Shame

A young Sikh man's visibility as a minority group member belonging to either the Panjabi ethnic group or to the Sikh religious community could negatively or positively influence his being strong enough to stay on track. Negative experiences (e.g., discrimination, negative stereotypes about the ethnic or religious community) lead to a sense of exclusion and shame, whereas positive experiences lead to a sense of belonging and pride (e.g., positive stereotypes about the ethnic or religious group, positive personal experiences within various social contexts). How a young Sikh man appraised his experience with visibility ultimately influenced how he negotiated disparate elements of the perceived Panjabi ethnic sociocultural, the Sikh religious/spiritual, and the dominant culture scripts.

In developing a sense of pride versus shame, actual experience of stereotypes, discrimination, and racism as well as fears of experiencing it, were salient. Adolescent

Sikh males agreed that a young Sikh man with a turban was more likely to be discriminated against than an adolescent Sikh male who did not wear a turban. For adolescent Sikh males who did not wear a turban and keep their hair uncut, but would like to be practising Sikh religiosity, they perceived the possibility of experiencing more racism if they wore a turban and kept their hair uncut, and this influenced their decision to postpone religiosity until they had become financially and socially set.

Being strong enough was a key process in the externalization of spirituality in the Canadian context. Due to perceived and real negative repercussions of being a visible minority, developing enough internal strength to be able to externalize a visible religious identity (i.e., Sikhism) was sometimes an unsettling and confusing process for second generation adolescent Sikh males. Hardip (17), a nonturbaned adolescent, articulated how he was torn between his desire to be religious and his desire to fit into the Canadian context.

Like I do my part to be a Samaritan cause, like I know whether I can judge right from wrong. And, like, I have a feeling like that He's [God is] looking down on us. And so, uh, yeah. I try to like. It influences me to a, to a high degree I'd say, uh, when I like think of the Sikh religion. Like I'd don't like, keep my hair, keep my beard. Certain aspects, like just being in Canada. Like I don't know. It's just like, to feel, like uh, in to, to be integrated into the [Canadian] lifestyle that we're [adolescent Sikh males are] in, that we have to take this, like this, physical persona [haircut and clean shaven look]. Whereas, at the same time I wanna like feel accepted [in the dominant community], but I wanna be somewhat religious.

Adolescent Sikh males who were striving to be spiritually set were generally more visible than those adolescents who were only striving to be financially and socially set. Thus, the experience of visibility in influencing one's ability to stay on track and reconstruct the track had greater potential in negatively and positively influencing religiosity and spirituality among second generation adolescent Sikh males. Jaspreet (16), a turbaned

youth, spoke about a young Sikh man who felt that his visibility as a Sikh, in wearing a turban and keeping his beard untrimmed, was a disadvantage in achieving his goal to be a successful basketball player.

That's what I've heard, like I've talked about this to a lot of people ummm. What they said, "O.k. Yeah, I want to [keep my hair]." One person said, "I'll eventually keep [my hair]," he was a very good basketball player. He said "Eventually, I want to go to uh, college basketball maybe. You never, never know what it could be like, Canadian Basketball Association, or something like that." "Ummm," I said. But at that time he was just trimming his dhari [beard], but uhh, well nothing too extreme. Ummm...I said "Why would you be trimming your dhari? Like, why would it prevent you from achieving your goals?" He said "Because I want to be treated like everybody else." Well, he easily thinks that he's at a disadvantage by looking different.

(Jaspreet, 16)

How visibility was managed was influenced by whether a young Sikh man believed he had choice in his visibility, how visible he was, and his personal experience of discrimination. Adolescent Sikh males who did not receive sufficient positive reinforcement in wearing a turban and keeping their hair untrimmed, could develop a sense of shame in their religiosity. The consequences of this shame depended on the degree of personal control a young Sikh man perceived he had in his practice of religiosity. Control was determined in part by whether his parents encouraged and expected him to keep his religiosity as well as whether he felt spiritually motivated to keep his religiosity. For young Sikh men who were only keeping religiosity to please parents, experiences of shame resulted in confusion and discontent about wearing a turban and keeping hair uncut. How a young Sikh man handled this inner turmoil was influenced by his sense of who he was, and the development of self-esteem and self confidence. In his experience of confusion, a young Sikh man was torn between elements of the Sikh religious and dominant community

scripts. By choosing to cut his hair, he made a choice to incorporate elements of the dominant community script over the religious/spiritual script.

In contrast, an adolescent Sikh male who was aspiring to be spiritually set could also experience the same negative and positive reactions from others, but due to his greater desire to become spiritually set, he continued to keep his hair uncut and covered with a turban. Thus, he chose elements of the Sikh religious/spiritual script over dominant community script. In managing visibility and developing a sense of pride in his ethnicity or religiosity, adolescent Sikh males used the strategies of learning who you are and justifying it to others, and balancing the negatives and positives.

Learning who you are and justifying it to others. For a second generation adolescent Sikh male who was visible either due to his physical features, language, or through choosing to be on the spiritual/religious track by keeping his hair unshorn, an important aspect of being able to manage his visibility was learning about who he was and being able to justify this to others. Questions and comments from others about an adolescent Sikh male's ethnicity or religiosity may arise out of sincere ignorance or fear. Being able to deal with all these interactions affected pride and shame. Jaspreet, a turbaned male, described the importance of learning who you are and justifying it to others.

It's significant. It's [Sikhism] one of the few religions in the world that you can actually pick them out from a crowd and it's significant you should know what to do and how to act. There are certain things, you have to take pride in your religion. You have to take pride in the fact that you wear a turban. You have to know who you are and what you are all about. Um, when I say knowing how to act, it basically means like uh. Deal with questions like um, questions come about more, I noticed, when I started tying a patka. Then, when I had a dastar, the questions were more complex, but there are simple ones too right, "How long is your hair?" People did ask me that before but it wasn't as much as before. Um, and uh, things like uh, "How long does it take you to tie it in the morning? Do you tie it every morning? Do you go to sleep wearing it?" You got to, you have to. They're ignorant, and well they

want to know. And you have to be, and you have to. I find it important that if they want to know, they should know. You can teach them, you can help them learn about the religion. It's good. Not that you are, what's the word, forcing them to like your religion, just to uh, teach them about it. (Jaspreet, 16)

In using the strategy of learning who you are and justifying it to others, a young Sikh man was able to have greater clarity about who he was. When he had greater clarity about who he was, he was able to convey this to individuals who might not understand the Panjabi ethnic culture or the Sikh religion. Adolescent Sikh males believed that the justification for a Sikh male keeping his hair long was not well understood by dominant community members, and therefore a practising Sikh male learned early that he had to justify his position, not only to his peers, but also to those in authority (e.g., teachers). Teja, a 16 year old, spoke about how a young Sikh male who lacked knowledge about why he kept his hair long, or was not able to articulate his knowledge to others, could feel isolated within the educational environment.

At school, you have to be able to explain to other people, like. Like why we keep our hair. Like, why we pray everyday. And, uh, why we believe in our religion. Like if you don't, if you don't know much about your own religion. You can't really tell other people. Then they won't understand you, and will make fun of you. Like more. That's why, I, I try to read as much as I can about Sikhi [Sikhism]. (Teja, 16)

Being able to justify one's behaviour influenced the development of a sense of pride in who one was ethnically and religiously.

Balancing negatives and positives. How a young Sikh man appraised his visibility ultimately affected how he negotiated disparate elements of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant Canadian cultural script. Balancing negatives and positives in this process was important. Jagtir Singh (16),

a baptized Sikh who wore a turban spoke about his experience of discrimination and how he dealt with it. He pointed out the importance of needing to be strong enough.

Like if you're walking down the street, what you see is what you get right. Stuff like that. Like you know, you have to be strong enough to walk down the street with your pug [turban] right. Two or three times I've had beer cans thrown at my feet, pushed around. This was just like one or two years ago, right. You just gotta face it, you know, that's the way where you live, the society [dominant community] is, right. Everybody's trying to bring you down with them. (Jagtir Singh, 16)

Being strong enough, allowed Jagtir Singh to manage negative feedback from society in retaining elements of the spiritual path in reconstructing the track. Being strong enough was associated with recognizing that discrimination could be an expected aspect of being visibly different in the Canadian context, yet still wanting to become spiritually set.

Jaspreet (16) further articulated how he balanced the negatives and positives in being a turbaned male in Canada.

Um, one side you are proud that you are original, unique, um, and I take pride in that, ok. I have something special and I'm proud of it and the other side is the negative part. Negative it's people think you are different, you shouldn't be with us, I'm not good enough in a sense, so that's the negative part. You take it all in stride, it doesn't matter. Positive or negative you just know what you feel about it, and that's the way it goes. (Jaspreet, 16)

Pride assisted in dealing with the negative repercussions of being more visibly different from the norm. Being strong enough to stay on the spiritual track, for those adolescent Sikh males to whom spirituality was introduced before adolescence, also increased their capacity to deal with negative feedback in society. Being strong enough then was important in both internalization and consolidation of a sense of self as both a Sikh and a Canadian, but ultimately in externalizing one's sense of self in a visible Sikh identity.

Adolescent Sikh males used the strategies of knowing who you are and justifying it to others, and balancing negatives and positives to develop a sense of pride in their ethnicity as well as their religiosity. The ability to learn and use these strategies resulted in developing pride in being an Apna and developing pride in being a Sikh.

Developing pride in being an Apna; Becoming financially and socially set. For those adolescent Sikh males who had not actively incorporated spirituality into their cultural script, perceiving self as belonging to Sikh heritage was significant but the development of a sense of pride or shame was associated more with their ethnicity and their sense of belonging to the Panjabi ethnic culture. Although these young Sikh men considered themselves Sikh by heritage, their sense of identity was more closely associated with their ethnic group. In describing who they were, these young Sikh men chose terms such as Indo-Canadian, East Indian, or Panjabi. Often the term Apna was used by these young Sikh men as an inclusive term for others of their ethnic group. Directly translated, the term Apna in Panjabi, means ours, or our people. For adolescent Sikh males who were aspiring to become financially and socially set only, development of a sense of pride was more relevant in reference to developing a sense of pride as an Apna.

Adolescent Sikh males who wanted to be more religious but did not feel they could be so in the Canadian context, due to fears of discrimination, applied the term Sikh to themselves, with reservations. They realized that although they wanted to be more religious, in defining themselves as a Sikh, they needed to be practising the religion. For example, Hardip (17) responded to the question of "Who are you?" with, "I'd say I'm a Sikh. But, for me to say that, I'd have to grasp a greater understanding of my religion."

Developing pride in being a Sikh: Becoming financially, socially and spiritually set.

Adolescent Sikh males who were aspiring to be financially, socially and spiritually set, often defined themselves according to religiosity as well as ethnicity. In answering the question, Who are you?, Jasbir (19) responded:

The answer to that question would be more like, ummm, what aspect of who I am. It would be more than one thing. So religiously, spiritually, umm, in society, or in community, what am I? I'm a male student. Umm. Ethnically I'm Panjabi. Religiously and spiritually Sikh. Not that it's important to define myself. But those are defining things about me. Those would be the more concrete things that tell who you are, your character, what you think are different.

Adolescent Sikh males who were striving to be spiritually set perceived their identity as a Sikh as much more significant than their status as an Apna. These young men were more likely to use the term Sikh in their perception and identification of self, rather than terms of East Indian, Indo-Canadian, or Panjabi.

There was an association between internalization of Sikhism and feeling strong enough to stay on track. Those with higher levels of internalization reported feeling stronger psychologically in dealing with racism and negative feedback for being visibly different in the Canadian context. In turn, higher degrees of internalization were also associated with greater externalization of a young Sikh man's identity as a Sikh. Thus, for those who were on the spiritual path, greater internalization was connected to feeling psychologically stronger and a greater sense of pride about being visible as a Sikh.

I started tying a full turban in the beginning of grade 9. So, it's been two years and um, its important to me. I take pride in making it look nice and stuff. And it's just that it signifies who I am, um, like what culture I come from, what religion I come from. And like in Sikhism, it's like, you can pick out a Sikh anywhere by his turban and I think that is important. And um, just the other day in socials class my teacher just mentioned it. He said that I am very open about my religion. During the class he said um, we were talking about religion and different countries um, and he said that I'm very open about my religion by wearing my turban and having the courage to do

it. I said "It's not about having the courage, it's that I want to." And um, ya know, I don't mind doing it, it's not a question of well my father makes me do it, or my parents make me do it, it's the religion asks for it, I do it and, and it's my pleasure.
(Jaspreet, 16)

In positively influencing the development of pride, the visibility of a young Sikh male with a dastar resulted in a sense of brotherhood among others who wore a dastar. This brotherhood extended to all who wore a dastar regardless of whether they were acquainted or not. This aspect of male bonding provided positive feedback in an environment that might otherwise not be conducive to wearing a dastar and being visibly different from the Canadian norm for males.

Well, things like meeting someone on the street and saying. I love it whenever I take a bus I see a Sardar [man with a turban] bus driver. [laughs]. It makes you feel good. I say Sat Sri Akal [English equivalent to a greeting such as hello: Literally translated to 'Truth is God'] to them and everything, and people are like, "Oh they know each other." I'm like, "No, we don't know each other." [laughs]...That guy would still be a stranger to me but he is a Sardar and I liked having that as a bus driver right, and it's, it's pretty interesting. And he was a good driver too. [laughs]-
(Jaspreet, 16)

Summary

In managing visibility, elements of visibility such as public versus private aspects of self, passive versus active expression of self, and degree of visibility, affected the sense of control that a young Sikh man perceived over his experience of visibility. This experience was further influenced by social contexts such as extended family, ethnic and nonethnic peers, larger ethnic and religious community, and the dominant Canadian society, as well as rural or urban status. These contexts became significant in how visible a young Sikh man was and whether he experienced positive or negative feedback based on his visibility. The wearing of the turban increased a young Sikh man's degree of visibility as a member of the Sikh community.

Developing pride versus shame was influenced by an adolescent Sikh male's visibility within his social contexts, his desire to be actively visible, as well as the experience of negative and positive feedback associated with his visibility. The degree of pride and shame he experienced influenced which elements of the Panjabi sociocultural script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and dominant culture script were integrated into the constructed the track. Those adolescent Sikh males who felt a sense of pride in their visibility and were able to continue working toward becoming financially, socially, and/or spiritually set without feeling that their visibility was a hindrance, had a clearer sense of who they were and felt more comfortable with who they were externally and internally. Those who were ashamed of their visibility, tended to be much more confused about who they were externally and internally as they might see their visibility as a hindrance in life. Shame and pride influenced how these young Sikh men negotiated discrepancies in the three life scripts to construct and reconstruct the track.

Summary of Findings

The key process in how second generation adolescent Sikh males constructed a sense of who they were and who they were becoming was being strong enough to stay on track. The construction of a sense of self paralleled the process of constructing a life track and recursively negotiating elements of the three scripts that were incorporated into this life track. The initial life track was seen to be shaped through parental layering of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script with the Sikh religious/spiritual script and overlaid with the perceived dominant culture script as young males were introduced to the dominant culture through interactions within the school system. Efforts could be made to stay on track through the subprocess of aspiring to be my best while striving to be set. Experiencing a

state of disequilibrium or faltering, when the young Sikh man felt that he had lost touch with certain elements of the track, was seen as part of the process of being strong enough to stay on track. In getting back on track, informants increased their sense of clarity of the track as well as clarity about who they were as Sikh men, and who they were becoming. However, staying on the initial track on which parents had placed them was affected by their developing cognitive abilities (e.g., abstract reasoning) and awareness of discrepancies in the three scripts. Thus, reconstruction of the track was a normal part of constructing a sense of self by these young Sikh men.

Reconstruction of the track was affected by three subprocesses as the adolescent Sikh male dealt with issues of being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility. How a young Sikh man negotiated inconsistencies in the life scripts while dealing with these issues influenced how he reconstructed his track and his ongoing construction of a sense of self. The process of reconstruction of the track was a recursive process because as the young Sikh man gained cognitive abilities and had increasing awareness and knowledge of discrepancies in the three significant life scripts, he continually reconstructed the track to further clarify and gain coherence of a sense of self and identity. The process of constructing a sense of self and identity is lifelong and embedded within life contexts of second generation Sikh males and the shifting parent/son relationship from dependence toward interdependence.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this chapter is to discuss the contributions of this investigation in light of current knowledge and literature relevant to the process of self and identity construction of second generation adolescent Sikh males. There is a paucity of theory and research that specifically examines the process of self and identity construction by second generation Canadian adolescent Sikh males in particular, or more broadly, South Asian adolescent males. Two theoretical frameworks that have been generalized to all adolescents include theories on ego-identity (e.g., Erikson, 1968) and self and self-concept (Harter, 1996). In addressing the contributions of the findings of the present study, I reexamine the literature and consider theory and research on ethnic identity, family context, possible selves, interdependent self, acculturation, and religion because these issues were revealed as significant to the construction of self and identity by second generation adolescent Sikh males.

Identity

Erikson and Marcia: Ego-identity

As noted in the literature review, theory on adolescent identity development has been largely driven by a Western perspective that focuses on adolescent individuation, or psychological separation from parents as the aim of healthy development (e.g., Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968). Within Erikson's (1968, p. 91) conceptualization, identity is a psychosocial process that is not assumed to develop fully before middle to late adolescence because "not until adolescence does the individual develop the pre-requisites in psychological growth, mental maturation, and social responsibility to experience and pass through the crisis of identity." A sense of sameness and continuity, role

experimentation during a period of psychological moratorium, and fidelity to vocational, avocational, social, marital, and ideological values and ethics are perceived to be critical to the synthesis of identity (Erikson, 1968).

Within this paradigm, most of the research on identity development has been carried out using Marcia's operationalization of elements of Erikson's notions of identity with participants who are largely Euro-American college students (Blasi & Glodis, 1995; Goosens, 1995). Due to the controversy that Marcia's operationalization does not accurately capture Erikson's theory of identity (Côté & Levine, 1988; but see Waterman, 1988, for a contradictory view), I first present the findings of the present study in light of Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) conceptualization of identity, and then with respect to Marcia's operationalization and the corresponding research.

The reader is reminded that Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) recognized that cultural, historical, and ethnic variation likely exists with respect to identity processes. The present findings elucidate how second generation adolescent Sikh males' identity construction process is similar to and different from Erikson's description of identity formation by North American youth.

Erikson's (1968) proposal that identity is a lifelong psychosocial process that involves an evolving sense of sameness and continuity is supported by the results of the present study. The results indicate that identity construction is a dynamic and complex process that is perceived by adolescent Sikh males to begin before the age of 16 years and is projected to continue well past the age of 19, into adulthood. Adolescent Sikh males in this study speak about having a sense of self with respect to physical, emotional, relational, spiritual, and personality characteristics, as well as particular values. They also report that

who they are will become further refined and articulated as they move towards becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set. Thus, in some ways these young men believe that they are the same persons they were as children and will be the same persons in the future, yet in other ways they will be different individuals. As reported by adolescent Sikh males, identity construction is a psychosocial process that integrates psychological as well as social elements in the form of family, ethnic group, peers, and the larger Canadian society.

These young men's stories also concur with Erikson's (1968) notion of an increasing synthesis and integration of identity because Sikh males report that they have a much clearer sense of who they are now, then they did as children. Erikson's theory is also supported by the present findings in that an increasing sense of identity by adolescent Sikh males is perceived to involve some degree of searching, self selection, and integration of values and roles in their life contexts. The present findings illustrate that this process is perceived to be nested within their ethnic, religious, and dominant community contexts, and adolescent Sikh males also expect further development of a sense of identity with respect to ethnicity, religiosity, vocational and avocational ideology, marriage, and generativity.

From a neoEriksonian perspective, Côté (1994, p. 153) follows up on Erikson's notions of psychosocial moratorium and suggests that institutionalized psychosocial moratorium requisites "some form of structure or guidance given the young person (hence the term *institutionalized*). Together with a freedom to experiment with various roles (hence the term *moratorium*), young people can explore themselves and their world without being expected to carry permanent responsibilities and commitments." Côté notes that there are four social conditions that are required for an effective institutionalized

moratorium so that the adolescent experiences minimal difficulties in moving from childhood to adulthood. These include social organization, role induction, social control, and some way to deal with deviant behaviour. Social organization requisites a continuity between the various institutional settings that an adolescent functions in. The present study illustrates a lack of continuity between the value systems of the ethnic and dominant cultural contexts that adolescent Sikh males are exposed to, which subsequently contributes to psychological confusion. Sikh males specifically spoke about changing culture and shifting norms as a normative aspect of their life context, and subsequently their identity construction process.

With respect to role induction, social control, and means of dealing with deviant behaviour, it seems that guidance from adults and social institutions would be instrumental in facilitating the identity formation process. In the present study, young men who did not perceive sufficient guidance from parents, expressed a greater sense of confusion than those young men who experienced guidance from parents. For some young men this confusion resulted in: (a) feeling discouraged and despondent about life, (b) lack of motivation in school, (c) the use of recreational drugs and alcohol, (d) driving recklessly, or (e) dating behind their parents' back. These young men were less likely to feel strong enough to stay on track, and experienced greater sense of faltering.

Adolescent Sikh males in this study described themselves as maturing into adulthood and becoming financially and socially set, and desiring and projecting moving toward interdependence with their parents. This interdependence entails a reciprocal relationship with strong emotional bonds through parental input on choice of marriage partner, living with parents after marriage, taking care of elderly parents, and continued guidance from

parents on matters such as buying a house. Although adolescent Sikh males individuate, their identity development is a continuous journey toward development of a sense of self within significant relationships that encompass family, ethnic group, and religion.

This focus on relationship and interdependence resonates more with Erikson's (1968) description of Western females' identity formation. Erikson points out that females may resolve their intimacy issues before they have resolved their identity issues. The present findings indicate that second generation adolescent Sikh males may also encounter and resolve intimacy issues before they have established a sense of identity. The importance of considering relationship and connectedness in the development of males as well as females has also been proposed by previous investigations that have examined family processes among adolescents and adolescent/parental attachment (Allen & Stoltenberg, 1995; Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992; Blustein et al., 1991; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Lopez, 1993; Lopez & Gover, 1993; Quintana & Kerr, 1993). The present findings provide support that relationship and connectedness is perceived to be significant in the identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Thus, Erikson's notions of male identity development with respect to the identity and intimacy stages may not hold for this male population. Due to the focus on interdependence by second generation adolescent Sikh males, the present findings suggest that identity may not precede intimacy for this male population. For these young men, issues of intimacy and isolation may be nested in the subprocess of belonging while avoiding exclusion, because relationship with parents and family is a significant element of this subprocess and is given primary consideration in dealing with this dialectic. Thus, the distinction between the stages of identity and intimacy is not as clear for these young men.

The role experimentation and crisis that are hallmarks of the period of psychosocial moratorium within Erikson's (1968) framework on identity development also need to be considered. The present findings suggest that role experimentation is limited for some adolescent Sikh males due to the perceived social expectations placed upon them by their familial and ethnic contexts. Individual choice and subsequent experimentation in social, vocational, and ideological roles is not perceived to be encouraged because loyalty and obligation to family requires consideration of how a young Sikh male's choices influence the reputation and wellbeing of his family. For example, adolescent Sikh males who are striving to be spiritually set, or have parents who encourage religiosity, may not feel they have a personal choice in wearing or not wearing a turban.

The role experimentation and identity crisis for adolescent Sikh males may vary depending on their degree of religiosity, perceived guidance, desire to belong and become set in the Canadian context, and experiences of racism and discrimination. Some adolescent Sikh males who are wanting to become spiritually set but are not practising religiosity, expressed concern that being more visible in the dominant Canadian context may hinder their ability to become financially and socially set. Perceived fear of prejudice, discrimination, or racism attributed to less flexibility and choice in experimentation with religiosity for some Sikh males. The present findings support the contention that choice and options, which influence subsequent role experimentation, may not be necessary or viable for identity establishment by all adolescents (Durkin, 1995; Kroger, 1996). Contextual factors such as culture, socioeconomic status, minority group status, or political or religious ideology have been proposed to be significant in limiting an

adolescent's choices and options in identity development (Spencer et al., 1990; Triandis, 1995).

Racism and discrimination, minority group status, and conflicting values between the ethnic/familial and dominant group may exacerbate the identity crisis for some Sikh males in Canada, as they construct a sense of who they are and who they are becoming. Erikson (1968) noted that adolescence is normally a time of crisis of identity. Maintaining a sense of self sameness across different contexts, especially ethnic or religious context and dominant community context can be especially complicated for adolescent Sikh males. For example, being accepted within the dominant and nonreligious ethnic peer context as well as being accepted by the familial context became especially difficult for one young turbaned male in the study. In an attempt to resolve his dilemma, he fabricated a story about how he was physically assaulted by a number of youth and how they cut off his long unshorn hair. Later, when the truth was revealed due to the inconsistencies in his story the young man felt embarrassed and ashamed of his actions, and made a public apology through writing a letter in the editorial sections of the local newspapers. This was certainly the most extreme case of crisis amongst the participants, yet many spoke of experiencing some psychological distress associated with wanting a sense of continuity and consistency among their familial, ethnic, religious, peer, and mainstream environments, yet feeling helpless and lost as to how to accomplish this in light of differing values and ethics.

In a recent publication, Paranjpe (1998) considered Erikson's contribution in light of its applicability to self and identity development in India. He concluded that Erikson's

conceptualization may be limited in its ability to explain identity processes for Indian youth because Indian and North American society differ.

There is no distinct state of adolescence in the Indian society; Indian youth are under greater pressure than Western youth to subordinate individual interests and opinions to those of family and social authorities; and the role of parents in raising children is different than in the West owing to greater influence of uncles and aunts and grandparents, which alters the significance of the Oedipal conflict for character formation" (Paranjpe, p. 151).

The latter two hypotheses are supported by the findings of this investigation on Canadian-born adolescent males with parents who have migrated from India.

Paranjpe (1998) contrasted Indian youth growing up in India with Euro-American youth growing up in North America. Although there may be no distinct state of adolescence in Indian society, as per Paranjpe's assertion, second generation Sikh adolescent males growing up in Canada do experience a state of adolescence between childhood and adulthood. Yet, having parents who have migrated from India may account for second generation Sikh adolescent males' perceived greater sense of pressure to make adult commitments in marriage and career by their early to mid 20s, that subsequently influence identity establishment.

In support of Paranjpe's (1998) second claim, adolescent Sikh males in the present study indicate that when making personal choices with regard to values, religiosity, career, and marriage, the opinions of family and sometimes the ethnic group plays a more significant role than their personal desires. Adolescent males growing up in rural communities are more likely to speak about the pressure to conform to ethnic community and family views in order to protect the family reputation. Adolescent youth growing up in urban settings, on the other hand, are less concerned about ethnic community views but

are as concerned about familial expectations. Although most of the young men in the study are living in nuclear family situations, extended family members such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins are involved in the lives of many adolescent Sikh males. In some circumstances, these other individuals continue to play a significant role in raising the young men, especially in circumstances where both parents are working. Thus, the oedipal conflict that Erikson (1968) argues is significant in laying the groundwork for later identity establishment may not be experienced in the same way it would be for adolescent males who are only growing up without multiple caretakers.

As discussed in the literature review, most of the research generated by Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) theory on identity has been carried out using Marcia's (1966) identity status measure. Marcia specifically focused on exploration and commitment as important variables in identity formation. Although Marcia's identification of the terminology and elements considered significant to identity formation do not fully, or as some would suggest accurately, capture Erikson's notions of identity (e.g., Côté & Levine, 1987), it is important to examine the research carried out within Marcia's paradigm to determine how the current findings modify, challenge, or extend it. For a more thorough discussion of Marcia's paradigm and the controversy, the reader is referred back to the literature review. In summary, Marcia's identity status measure distinguishes four methods of resolving the identity crisis, which he referred to as identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement, and focuses on three general domains of identity (i.e., occupation, political and religious ideology, and sex role commitments).

Second generation adolescent Sikh males are highly influenced by a combination of the perceived Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious/spiritual scripts, through the creation of the

initial track and subsequent adherence to this track. The findings reveal that the initial track is further modified and remodified through a process of negotiation and renegotiation. Although the choices that the adolescent Sikh males are making may seem to be similar to childhood identifications in that they appear to be conforming to ideals of external figures, the process of choosing to conform is an ongoing dynamic process for these young Sikh men. Thus, it may not be as important to consider the actual commitment and its similarity to the childhood identifications, but rather to the exploration of available choices in making these commitments.

The present findings reveal that there are variations of commitment with respect to the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and the Sikh spiritual/religious script. This commitment is revisited through moving off track and getting back on track. The present findings illustrate how adolescent Sikh males interpret this movement into and out of commitment to elements of the three scripts. The variations of commitment were illustrated to occur along a continuum with respect to externalization and internalization of the Sikh spiritual script, but a continuum was not identified with respect to the Panjabi ethnic script. The present findings confirm Erikson's (1968) and Marcia's (1966) notions that youth do make commitments to available roles within their cultural contexts. This needs to be further examined using Marcia's Identity Status Interview (1966) or the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Grotevant & Adams, 1986).

The findings of this investigation clearly indicate that the process of identity construction for second generation adolescent Sikh males is rooted in a context that considers family, ethnic group, and dominant society in Canada, and the interactions among these various contexts. Marcia's model (1966) focuses on the individual's role in

the formation of identity without regard to the social context of the individual (Côté & Levine, 1988). Thus, the identity status model may not fully capture the construction of self and identity of second generation adolescent Sikh males.

Although 16- to 19-year-old adolescent Sikh males have not made commitments to career, political values, sexual, or gender roles (Marcia, 1966, 1980), they have already begun to make some commitments to aspects of their ethnic and religious identity. With respect to future shifts in exploration and commitment, it is clear from the articulation of the ethnic sociocultural and religious script, that adolescent Sikh males expect to explore and commit to particular social roles as they develop into their 20s and even their 30s. Having a sense of choice in life roles and values is important to adolescent Sikh males, but many of them spoke about considering the effect of these choices on their relationship with their parents and their spirituality, and the perceived limitations within the dominant community context.

In summary, Erikson's (1968) theory of identity development and Marcia's (1966, 1980) paradigm are refined by the present findings. As compared with Euro-American adolescent males in previous identity studies (Marcia, 1993), Sikh males are developing a sense of identity within a familial and ethnic context that does not promote as much exploration of options in various domains of identity. Adolescent Sikh males report that within their cultural context, this form of commitment is considered healthy. More importantly, the interplay between belonging and avoiding exclusion in the family, peers, ethnic, and dominant community contexts is perceived to limit exploration and choice for some Sikh males, especially those who would like to be practising religiosity. These

elements have not been explored in previous studies using Marcia's ideas about identity formation.

Ethnic Identity

As noted in the literature review, although Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) suggested that culture and ethnicity were significant influences in identity formation, most of the research using Marcia's (1966, 1980) notion of identity development has been limited to the domains of vocational choice, religious beliefs, political ideology, and sex-role attitudes (Adams & Archer, 1994; Adams & Gullotta, 1989; Blustein & Noumair, 1996). Some research has indicated that micro (e.g., family context) and macro (e.g., ethnic and cultural contexts) environments are also influential in the development of identity (Durkin, 1995; Papini, 1994; Phinney, 1989; Rosenthal, 1987; Spencer et al., 1990). The findings from the present study on adolescent Sikh males extends this research, as the development of identity for these youth is nested in their familial, peer, ethnic, religious, and dominant community environments, as well as interactions among these domains.

Recent researchers (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1989, 1993; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992) have attempted to integrate ethnic identity research into developmental psychology. As discussed in the literature review, Phinney (1989) reviewed the models of ethnic identity within the cross-cultural literature and then applied Marcia's (1980) model of identity statuses to the development of ethnic identity among American minority group students of Asian-American, Black, Hispanic, and White backgrounds. Phinney (1993) has refined her model by identifying three types of young people, those who are unexamined (have not explored ethnicity),

searchers (are beginning to explore ethnicity), and identity-achieved (have reached a state of clarity and understanding about the meaning of their ethnicity). Among those adolescents who are unexamined, Phinney identifies two subgroups; diffuse (have no interest in ethnicity) and foreclosed (views dominated by opinions of others). Her findings have shown that North American minority ethnic adolescents from various groups range across all three alternatives.

The present findings reveal that in a sample of 16 to 19 year old second generation adolescent Sikh males, young men who are more religiously inclined have explored ethnicity and have committed to elements of their ethnic identity to a greater degree than young men who are not religiously oriented. The construction of the initial track is akin to Phinney's (1993) first stage (unexamined) and the reiterative reconstruction of various elements of the track as adolescent Sikh males move in and out of commitments is similar to what she identifies as searchers, or identity achieved adolescents. The present findings suggest that there may be less utility in categorizing adolescents as identity-achieved with respect to ethnic identity. Adolescent Sikh males discussed how they expected to re-assess commitments at different developmental phases as they move toward becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set.

The findings of the present investigation support previous studies in that ethnic identity development is a central aspect of overall identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Sikh males who are more visible in Western Canada have explored aspects of ethnicity in childhood so that by adolescence, they have greater insight and clarity into what ethnicity means to them. For many, ethnic identification provides a sense of continuity and rootedness in an historical context with connection to a

particular people. On the other hand, Sikh youth between ages 16 and 19 years, who are striving to be spiritually set and are more visible (e.g., either turbaned or nonturbaned living in a rural community or turbaned living in an urban community), have already explored and differentiated notions of ethnicity and religiosity to some degree. As reported by the participants in this investigation, a Sikh male's increasing cognitive abilities, awareness of social expectations, and discrepancies between ethnic and dominant community values, or sociopolitical events influence a young Sikh man's sense of ethnic identity.

The interplay between the familial, ethnic, and dominant contexts, as well as the issues or subprocesses that affect ethnic identity development are explicated in the present study. The adolescent Sikh males in this study clearly articulate that there are discrepant elements of the ethnic and dominant scripts that still need to be negotiated as they become financially set and socially set, suggesting that ethnic identity development is a dynamic process that is not completed in adolescence. Thus, qualitative shifts in ethnic identity are still expected beyond adolescence. The results of the present study indicate that the connection between ethnicity, ethnic identity, and identity development is important and ethnic identity development is a central feature of the overall identity development process of second generation adolescent Sikh males. The present study extends previous ethnic identity studies on minority youth by developing a model of the process of construction of a sense of ethnic identity as a subprocess of the overall identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males.

Family Environment

Research in support of the role of the family in identity development is accumulating (Adams et al., 1992; Papini, 1994; Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994). As noted in the literature review, previous research (Collins, 1990; Steinberg, 1990) has substantiated that the family environment undergoes intrapsychic and extrapsychic restructuring as family relations are "redefined, renegotiated and realigned" (Papini, 1994, p. 47) and various models of adolescent psychosocial development in the family have been proposed (Adams et al., 1992; Feldman & Elliott, 1990). These models concur that the affective qualities of the familial environment influence the ability of the adolescent in engaging in identity formation (Kroger, 1996).

The importance of the familial environment in the reiterative process of constructing a track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track, is well illustrated in the findings of the present study. Guidance from parents and significant others was perceived by Sikh males to be essential to this process. The findings illustrate elements of the familial environment that may affect the identity development process of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Many of these issues are related to the status of parents as immigrants in the Canadian context with little personal childhood experiences in common with their children. The availability of parents emotionally and behaviourally, having parents who are informed about the issues their adolescents are experiencing in negotiating discrepant elements of the three life scripts, having a shared language, and parental modelling are perceived as significant in self and identity construction by second generation adolescent Sikh males. Additionally, the role of the parents, with respect to mothering and fathering is considered important. For adolescent Sikh males who feel they

are not receiving sufficient guidance from parents, guidance is supplemented by older siblings, friends, or nonparent adult role models if they are available. But in order to promote on-track behaviour, siblings, role models, and friends need to be able to transfer knowledge, behaviours, and attitudes associated with being strong enough to stay on track. Those adolescent Sikh males who do not experience sufficient guidance often report feeling alone in this process of constructing a sense of who they are and thus, find it more difficult to stay on track. These issues have not been identified in previous identity and family models.

The present findings highlight the perceived interplay between the subprocesses of being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility. Sikh males express a need to belong in the family, ethnic, peer, and dominant community contexts. Because these various environments are perceived to require different attitudes, values, and behaviours in order to accept a Sikh male, belonging while avoiding exclusion may be a complicated process. In order to become financially and socially set, young Sikh men believe it is important to have some sense of belonging in the dominant community context within the school and larger society setting. Yet, they also desire to have a sense of connectedness to family and ethnicity. Additionally, whether young Sikh men develop a sense of pride or experience shame in their visibility as either Panjabi ethnic group members or Sikh religious group members is also significant. Thus, although parental guidance is considered an important element of being strong enough to stay on track, a Sikh male's desire to belong and how he manages his visibility could further influence whether he stays on track or moves off track. The present findings extend previous understanding of the role of the parental environment in adolescent

identity formation by illustrating the interplay between being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility in the lives of second generation adolescent Sikh males.

The articulation of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script by adolescent Sikh males in this study describes how the normative family life cycle for families of these youth is dissimilar to models proposed by traditional family therapies (e.g., Haley, 1973) but rather involves transactions between at least three generations of family members (e.g., Bowen, 1978). Within the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the family unit evolves from (a) a family with grandparents, parents, and young children, (b) a family with grandparents, parents, and older children, (c) a family with grandparents, parents, and married sons and their wives, (d) a family with great grandparents, grandparents, parents, and young children, to (e) a family with grandparents, parents, and older children. This cycle is reiterative in that even if the grandparents are not living in the same household as the parents in the Canadian context, grandparents may still be quite involved in their own childrens' or grandchildrens' lives. The elements of this framework are supported by previous studies that have examined family processes among South Asians in Britain and North America (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1996, 1997; Siddique, 1979; Steiner & Bansil, 1989; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1989). Unlike the mainstream models of family development (Duvall & Miller, 1985), the empty nest, or middle-aged parents on their own is not the normative developmental pattern for these families. The present study provides support for the importance of the family environment in influencing the formation of identity and extends previous research and theory by articulating this relationship within the overall identity construction process of adolescent Sikh males.

The findings suggest that adolescent Sikh males expect themselves to move towards psychological and social interdependence with their parents, not independence of their parents. For these adolescents, healthy identity development is not perceived to involve “shedding family ties” and “dependencies” (e.g., Blos, 1967, p. 163), but rather to maintain a sense of connectedness with parents and family. For example, many of the adolescent Sikh males ($n=18$) indicated that instead of moving out of their parents’ home after marriage, they would likely stay with their parents for a little while until they become financially stable. The continuing significance of parents in the lives of youth is also supported in previous studies on adolescent females (Gilligan, 1982) and late adolescents in college/university (Quintana & Kerr, 1993).

Self and Self-concept

Another area in which identity has been studied is self and self-concept theory and research. As reviewed in Chapter 2, the self as a psychological structure and determinant of emotional health and wellbeing has been clearly established within the literature (Stein & Markus, 1994). I touch here only on relevant aspects of literature on the self. According to Harter (1996), James (1890, 1892) was instrumental in our current understanding of self by differentiating between the self as subject I, and the self as object Me. The self as subject I is the knower, and is the active agent that organizes and interprets one’s experiences to construct the Me, the aggregate of things known about the self. This latter objective self is what has been labelled the self-concept and has received the most attention in self psychology. Although theoretically, the distinction between the I self and Me self is still considered important, some authors have suggested that more research emphasis is needed on the I self, or the self as subject, process, or active agent

(Gergen, 1991; Hattie & Marsh, 1996). In contrast to earlier views in which the self was defined as a unitary and stable structure, newer views of the self describe it as complex and multidimensional (Cross & Markus, 1991), and a determinant of behaviour (Cantor, 1991) that is contextualized in time, place, and role (McAdams, 1996).

The role of other's in the construction of the self was first suggested by Cooley's (1964, p. 183) conception of the looking glass self. The notion of the looking glass self implied that adolescents imagine the reactions of others to their behaviour and personality, and this subsequently influenced their conception of who they were. Accumulating research indicates that the parental and peer environments are significant contexts for the development of self (Harter, 1990; Oosterwegel, 1995). The present study adds support to the role of others within the parental, peer, ethnic, religious, and dominant culture contexts in influencing the self construction of second generation adolescent Sikh males. Sikh males articulated that their construction of a sense of who they are is influenced by the positive and negative reactions of others in their ethnic and non-ethnic environments. Often a balancing act between appraisal of positive and negative feedback was considered necessary in order to maintain some sense of self esteem.

The notions of self and identity were thoroughly discussed in the literature review. The reader is reminded that in differentiating between self and identity and self-concept, Bosma (1995, p. 8) notes that "when identity refers to a person's generalized, cumulative theory of self, it appears to be identical to how the term self-concept is usually used." In this sense, identity may be the expression of the Me-self in various domains in relation to society. Identity as a set of self-identifications with a particular group of people in a particular context "can be represented in memory as generalized self images" that are part

of the self-concept (Bosma, 1995, p. 8). Of the various notions of self discussed in the literature review, theory on the working self-concept has relevance for the findings of the present investigation and therefore I specifically focus on this.

Possible Selves

The findings of this study provide support for the importance of the working self-concept in the formation of a sense of identity. In contrast to the self-concept that is often considered a unitary and generalized view of the self, the working self-concept specifically refers to a set of self-conceptions that are active in an individual's current thought and memory (Markus & Nurius, 1986). This perspective presupposes that the self-concept is made up of various views of the self or self-conceptions that can be accessed and activated to varying degrees. These self-conceptions can comprise good selves, bad selves, hoped-for-selves, feared selves, ideal selves, and ought selves. Among these, possible selves are one aspect of the self system that exist and function in relation to others. They are self-conceptions about what an individual hopes to become and what an individual fears becoming. Possible selves are affectively laden motivational elements that provide a connection between the current self and future selves. In this way, "they function as guiding images that help regulate the individual's life paths, and contribute to the construction of the personal identity" (Peck, 1999, p. 1).

As reviewed in Chapter 2, research on possible selves provides support that possible selves are meaningful in an individual's current affective and motivational states, that possible selves influence interpretation and evaluation of the current self (Markus & Nurius, 1986), and that a balance between hoped for and feared selves is most motivational in achieving hoped for selves (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). Possible selves

are especially considered salient in development due to the adolescent's "newly acquired cognitive ability to hypothesize" (Harter, 1990, p. 360). Research on possible selves has considered such issues as delinquency (Oyserman & Markus, 1990) and teen pregnancy (Abrahamse, Morrison, & Waite, 1988). Research on adolescent delinquency has concluded that those youth who have more positive possible selves were less likely to self report delinquent behaviour (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). Gender differences in one investigation indicated that in grade 11, boys are more concerned with athletic possible selves and becoming rich bachelors, whereas girls are more concerned with interpersonal possible selves and becoming married and having children (Malanchuk, Jodl, & Michael, 1999). Few studies of possible selves have examined diverse populations (Malanchuk et al., 1999).

The findings of the present study provide support for the importance of possible selves in the understanding of the process of identity construction of adolescent Sikh males. The perceived Panjabi ethnic script and Sikh religious script provide guidelines for the parameters of possible selves for these youth, which are further influenced by the perceived possibilities provided by the dominant culture script. Keeping a strong sense of ethnic or religious identity may preclude selection of certain possible selves and may create certain feared selves. Thus, the significant ethnic and religious/spiritual scripts as well as the cultural contexts of adolescent Sikh males, influence the types of possible selves that can be hypothesized, as well as the plausibility of these possible selves, in that they function to constrain and support, as well as regulate, the range and quality of possible selves. As well, although the three perceived scripts that guide these adolescent Sikh males may provide different opportunities for hypothesizing possible selves, affective

motivations may also affect this process. Thus, the concept of possible selves is applicable to the identity development experiences and process of second generation adolescent Sikh males, although they have not been sampled in previous research.

The perceived clarity of the track may influence the clarity and range of possible selves that are available to each adolescent Sikh male. In general, adolescent Sikh males in this study consider possible selves that are more aligned with the ethnic and religious scripts, with modification of these possible selves through integration of the dominant culture script. Hoped for selves are situated within relationships between an adolescent Sikh male and his family, peers, ethnic culture, religiosity and spirituality, as well as the dominant culture. A sense of connectedness to others, or interdependence, is a significant element of hoped for selves for adolescent Sikh males. This is in contrast to Melanchuk et al.'s (1999) research among Euro-American youth that found that adolescent males generally desire to become rich bachelors. Instead of hoping to become rich bachelors, the present findings illustrate that Sikh males desire to become rich, married, and have children. Although elements of an athletic identity are important in their current lives, only one of the Sikh males in the present study expressed a possible athletic career self.

In articulating their hoped for selves, adolescent Sikh males speak about making parents happy and being a good son, and being part of a social network. Feared selves for these youth, include images of not being able to balance parental desires with elements of personal choice in marriage, career, and lifestyle. Additionally, fears of discrimination and racism also influenced religious possible selves. Not being able to be strong enough to stay on track, by continually reconstructing and clarifying the track, is another element of the feared self that is influenced by issues of managing visibility, belonging while avoiding

exclusion, and being guided versus doing it alone. Guidance through parental figures, older siblings, peers, or role models is important in that it may influence the possible selves that an adolescent Sikh male construes as achievable.

The present study extends previous research by providing support for the importance of possible selves in the identity construction process of adolescent Sikh males. It further supports the role of sociocultural contexts in influencing the pool of possible selves that are available to an adolescent, and therefore, the extent to which the construction of self is socially determined and constrained.

Other Elements of Self

As discussed in the literature review, the notion of false self, or being phoney in particular situations has also been suggested as relevant to the self experiences of adolescents (Broughton, 1981; Harter et al., 1996). The present study provides some support of false self behaviour among adolescent Sikh males who are caught between the disparate expectations of the Panjabi ethnic script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the Dominant culture script. For example, young Sikh men who are high on externalization of religiosity and low on internalization of spirituality, may feel a certain amount of distress in that the support they receive from significant others (e.g., family) may be conditional and therefore they must act in a false self manner to gain this support, resulting in suppression of true self and feelings of hopelessness.

Although previous research on Euro-American adolescents indicates that parental support and peer support equally influences adolescents (Harter, 1990), the findings of the present study suggest that for many adolescent Sikh males, perceived parental support through guidance may continue to be more significant throughout a young Sikh man's life.

Gender differences in self research findings suggest that men value an "individuation process in which personal, distinguishing achievements are emphasized" in contrast to women's sense of self that is distinguished as "a process in which connections and attachments are emphasized" (Oyserman & Markus, 1993, p. 198). These findings from Euro-American populations are challenged by the results of the present study in that adolescent Sikh males consider it important to maintain a sense of connection and attachment to family throughout their adolescence and adulthood.

The processes through which differing self conceptions are organized and integrated are not well understood (Harter, 1996; Oyserman & Markus, 1993). The present study extends this research by articulating that being strong enough to stay on track is perceived to be a key process through which second generation adolescent Sikh males construct and reconstruct a sense of who they are and who they are becoming. This process is influenced by subprocesses of constructing an initial track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track, and is nested in the life contexts of adolescent Sikh males.

Culture and Ethnicity

Culture and ethnicity were both thoroughly discussed in the literature review. To summarize, according to Triandis (1985), culture consists of norms, roles, belief systems, laws, and values that form meaningful wholes and which are inter-related in functional ways. Culture is believed to reflect the attitudes, sense of causality, lifestyles, commitments, relationships, and expected resources that shape individual behaviour. Ethnicity is defined by Shibutani and Kwan (1965) as the identification of an individual with a larger social group based on common ancestry, religion, race, language, or national origin.

Although religion is often included in the definition of ethnicity, the present findings illustrate the differential influence of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and the Sikh spiritual/religious script in the construction of self and identity by second generation adolescent Sikh males. According to Sikh males in this study, Panjabi ethnicity and Sikh religiosity both minimized the degree of identity search due to emphasis on group identity, familial identity, and religious identity, but in different ways. The influence of each of these scripts was perceived to be dependent upon the degree of integration of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and Sikh spiritual/religious script into the initial track. The present findings illustrate that the construct of ethnicity may need to be reconsidered with respect to whether religion should be included in it.

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous literature has suggested that culture and ethnicity may both influence identity development of adolescents in collectivist cultures such as India and Japan (Roland, 1988; Yeh & Huang, 1996). The present findings of second generation Canadian adolescent Sikh males with parents from India, exemplify that collectivist values are still influential in the identity development of these youth, even though they are growing up in a larger society that is much more individualist in nature. Previous literature has also suggested that although children of immigrants in North America may be much more acculturated than their parents and identify little with their ethnic group, physical markers of race may still implicate the significance of ethnicity in the construction of identity (Ibrahim et al., 1997). The results of the present study illustrate how managing visibility was significant to second generation Sikh youth, regardless of how much they identified with the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script.

As I noted in the literature review, ethnicity has not been traditionally included in mainstream identity literature as cultural variation has not been generally attended to in sampling or data analysis. When researchers have included minority groups in identity research, often members from different ethnic groups, socioeconomic levels, ages, and gender have been clumped into the same category without consideration of heterogeneity within these groups (Yeh & Huang, 1996). For example, in a recent study on Asian-Americans, Yeh and Huang examined ethnic identity in late adolescence (college-age) and grouped Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Indian, and mixed Asian youth into one category without considering possible heterogeneity among these groups.

Ethnic identity has more thoroughly been examined within cross-cultural psychology. Within this literature, Blacks (Parham & Helms, 1985) and Chicanos (Arce, 1981) have most often been studied, with some recent focus on Asian-Americans (Atkinson et al., 1983, 1993; Kim, 1993). Ethnic identity models within this literature hypothesize how minority individuals in North America develop in a majority context, but do not address how minority individuals see themselves, how adolescent identity develops beyond the ethnic subdomain, how contextual and environmental factors influence identity development for minority youth, or how individual change occurs with respect to the process of exploration and decision-making related to ethnicity (Ibrahim et al., 1997; Yeh & Huang, 1996). These ethnic identity models are typically stage theories (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990), which imply that ethnic identity is a final and fixed outcome resulting from unidirectional progression through the various stages. Often these models are generalized to all minority ethnic populations in North America.

Hutnik (1991) suggests that ethnic identification may not be a linear process as suggested by previous models. Thus, an individual can identify both with the dominant culture and the ethnic culture. The present findings illustrate how second generation adolescent Sikh males identified with elements of the dominant group, ethnic group, and religious group through variable integration of the three scripts. For these young men, self-identification as an Apna and/or a Sikh seemed most salient and was associated with development of a sense of pride or shame. Those who experienced a sense of pride reported being better able to cope with discrimination and prejudice within the Canadian context.

The current findings on second generation adolescent Sikh males also concur with Hutnik's (1991) conclusion that minority ethnic individuals compare themselves socially with the ethnic group and dominant group in establishing a sense of ethnic identity. The present investigation extends this work further by revealing that the ethnic group and religious group may comprise of two separate social comparison groups which, in addition to the dominant group, influence identity construction of second generation adolescent Sikh males.

The present findings support Yeh and Huang's (1996) contention that family dynamics, sociocultural and geographic context, as well as psychological proximity to ethnic political movements influences adolescent identity construction. The life context of Sikh youth, with respect to the micro, meso, and macro level were all considered salient in the construction of a sense of self and identity, beyond the ethnic domain. The present findings also illustrate how specific religious and ethnic group dimensions might differentially influence the construction of identity. For example, the experience of

visibility by adolescent Sikh males who wore a turban was quite different than the experience of visibility by adolescent Sikh males who did not wear a turban. Thus, heterogeneity among cultural and ethnic groups may need to be considered in future studies on ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity studies among second generation adolescents in the Canadian context are rare. One study by Stalikas and Gavaki (1995) found a positive relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and academic achievement among second-generation Canadian Greek adolescents. Ability to speak Greek, visiting Greece, attending Greek churches, having Greek friends, planning to marry a Greek, and wanting to pass on Greek values and culture to their children were key elements of ethnic identity among these adolescents. The authors concluded that having a strong sense of ethnic identity does not lead to social or cultural isolation, but rather to integration within the larger Canadian context. The results of the present investigation on second generation adolescent Sikh males concurs that these elements are also central to the ethnic identity of these youth. Additionally, instead of becoming socially or culturally isolated, adolescent Sikh males in this study are moving toward integrating elements of the ethnic, religious, and dominant community values and scripts.

The Interdependent Self

The development of a sense of self for second generation adolescent Sikh males is intricately situated within a social context. The notion of the interdependent self was reviewed in Chapter 2, and suggests that in some cultures an individual's connectedness to the collective is encouraged, and the focus on the individual remains secondary to the construction of a sense of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1997; Stein & Markus, 1994).

The findings of this study suggest that for second generation adolescent Sikh males, parental and ethnic socialization toward interdependence, as well as personal striving toward interdependence is a central aspect of the development of self. Thus, in order to understand the motives, aspects, and elements of self development, connection to the collective, vis a vis a sense of loyalty and obligation to role fulfilment and meeting other's needs, may be important to the identity development process. Thus, although second generation adolescent Sikh males are living within the dominant community context, for some, their conception of self is still largely affected by their connection to family, ethnic group, and religious affiliation.

Markus and Kitayama (1997, p. 407) note that "the cultural ideals and moral imperatives of a given cultural group are given life by a diverse set of customs, norms, scripts, practices, and institutions that carry out the transformation of the collective reality into the largely personal or psychological reality." The articulation of a perceived Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script that explicitly speaks about becoming socially set as an important developmental marker is indicative of the ingrained interdependent nature of the proposed normalized ethnically ascribed path of development for these adolescent Sikh males. Although Sikh youth consider this script salient as a backdrop to the development of their sense of who they are and who they are becoming, their desire to have some choice in career, marriage, and religious beliefs, alludes to the negotiation of elements of the Canadian dominant culture script that has been described as highly individualistic (Markus & Kitayama, 1997) and the Panjabi ethnic script that focuses on development of these adolescent Sikh males in connection to significant collectives, including family, ethnic, and religious group. The present study supports Markus' and Kitayama's (1994,

1997) contention that the individualist model of the self is too narrow to describe all human development. Thus, these models fail to take into account important aspects of the psychological realities of second generation adolescent Sikh males' construction of a sense of who they are. In some cultural contexts, depending upon social reinforcement from significant others, it may be healthy to consider obligations, duty, or morality in the negotiation of identity and voluntary or intentional development may not be as essential.

The construal of the self as either separate or collectivist has also been linked to the types of emotions experienced by individuals within a group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Cultures that emphasize the separate self are more likely to emphasize the emotions of anger, frustration towards others, and pride in self, whereas cultures that emphasize the collectivist self are more likely to emphasize guilt and indebtedness. Adolescent Sikh males in the present study expressed feelings of pride in their identity as ethnic and religious group members and articulated how guilt, indebtedness, and shame were connected to not fulfilling their roles as sons or family members. This is more indicative of emotions associated with collectivist cultures (Stipek, 1998).

Markus and Kitayama's (1997) conceptualization of the significance of the interdependent self in some cultures is supported by the findings of this investigation, which provides evidence for normal adolescent development that does not end in individuation, but rather moves toward some degree of individuation with a greater emphasis on the development of identity within the context of relationships. Within the literature on the independent self, construction of self by second generation adolescents who are exposed to a collectivist and individualist culture has not been examined. The present study extends this literature by providing support for the complexity of

psychosocial negotiation between elements of independence and interdependence that is necessary in the identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males living in Western Canada.

Other Relevant Literature

I now examine relevant theory and research outside of the self and identity domain to extend, support, and challenge it through the findings from the present investigation on identity construction processes of adolescent Sikh males. I particularly consider religiosity and acculturation.

Religiosity

Religion and spirituality are important aspects of many second generation adolescent Sikh males lives. The influence of religious institutions in minority communities has been substantiated in other findings (Spencer et al., 1990). For some adolescent Sikh males, seeing the self as a Sikh is an important element of self at the social level and provides a sense of history and connectedness to a particular group of people, despite the fact that they may not espouse physical behaviours or attributes that identify them as Sikh. For others who are more religious, physical visibility as a Sikh is central to their self-concept because who they are as a person is intricately linked to the values, traditions, and beliefs of Sikh religion.

Identity theory and research that explores how a person's sense of a religious identity influences the process of overall identity development of adolescents is lacking. Although religiosity is one of the domains explored in the ego-identity status interviews (Marcia, 1993), the process of how religiosity develops as an element of overall identity formation has not been explored. The assumption of Marcia's model is that identity achievement in

the domain of religiosity, as in other domains, occurs through exploration and commitment. Thus, this research based on Marcia's model is generally aimed at identifying the degree of exploration and commitment of an individual's religious identity. The significance, meaning, and attributes of religiosity and subsequently, spirituality, are not explored.

Thomas and Carver (1990) reviewed the literature on adolescent development and concluded that empirical literature on religion and adolescent social competence has generally investigated suicide (Breault, 1986; Lester, 1987; Martin, 1984; Stack, 1985), delinquency (Albrecht, Chadwick, & Alcorn, 1977; Elifson, Peterson, & Hadaway, 1983; Jensen & Erickson, 1979; Peek, Currey, & Chalfant, 1985; Rohrbaugh & Jessor, 1976), substance abuse (Burkett, 1987; Wolfe, Welch, Lennox, & Cutler, 1985) and sexual activity (Hadaway, Elifson, & Petersen, 1984; Studer & Thornton, 1987; Werebe, 1983). Within these studies, religious adolescents were found to be less likely to participate in anti-social behaviour compared with nonreligious adolescents, and religiosity was connected to greater social functioning in religious, as well as academic contexts. In the present study, adolescent Sikh males who were stronger on the internalization aspects of spirituality, indicated a greater sense of wellbeing, confidence, altruistic attitudes toward others, and optimism about life.

Elements of the parental environment that facilitate the transmission of religious values between children and parents have also been identified. Clark and Worthington (1990) reviewed the literature and concluded that parent-adolescent conflict, marital interaction, similarity of parental beliefs, family intimacy, and parenting styles were all influential in this process. These studies have been conducted with adolescents with

religious affiliation to Judeo-Christian origins and religiosity within other faiths has not been examined. The present study extends this literature by providing support for the significance of parental environment in the transmission of religiosity among second generation adolescent Sikh males.

Within the literature on the psychology of religious experience, Fowler (1991) proposes that religious development begins in infancy and is motivated by the goal of discovering meaning in life. Fowler presents six life stages of religious development of which the synthetic-conventional stage and the individuating reflexive stage are proposed as relevant to the lives of 16- to 19-year-old youth. In the synthetic-conventional stage young people are likely to conform to religious beliefs of others. Individuating-reflexive, individuals are capable of taking full responsibility for their religious beliefs and more in-depthly explore their values and religious beliefs.

The results of the present research support Fowler's (1991) assertion that adolescents will vary between those who are conforming to religious beliefs of others and those who are exploring their own values and religious beliefs. In this study, those adolescent Sikh males who consider religion as an important aspect of their lives described themselves as initially conforming to beliefs of others, due to religious socialization by parents, but were also trying to make sense of what it meant to be a second generation adolescent Sikh male in Canada. One young Sikh man was conforming out of obligation and had no personal desire to be religious, whereas six adolescents, were actively exploring what religion meant to them. The findings of the present study provide support of some of the general stages proposed in Fowler's theory, but extend this theory further by articulating the complexity of religious development within sociocultural contexts. The present findings

support the interplay between ethnic group context and the dominant cultural context, and the dynamic role of discrimination and racism in the development of a religious identity that comprises internalization of spirituality and externalization of religiosity. These issues are not considered in previous studies or theory on adolescent religiosity. Perceived and real discrimination at the personal and group level is significant in the lives of many Canadian minority group individuals (Dion & Kawakami, 1996).

The results of the present study indicate that the degree of externalization of religion and internalization of spirituality is connected to identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males. A young person with high religious externalization and high spiritual internalization is more likely to have a sense of purpose and coherence in self and identity development. Confusion and lack of clarity, on the other hand, is more likely when a person's externalization of religion is high, but spiritual internalization is low. Knowledge and desire, in addition to exploration, and commitment were found to be key elements of an increasing sense of spiritual internalization. Knowledge and desire have not been considered as key elements in Fowler's (1991) theory.

Additionally, Fowler (1991) does not address issues of externalization of religion, which is an important aspect of the spiritual development of religious Sikh youth. Externalization of religion as well as internalization of religion are affected by increasing exploration and commitment to a religious identity. For example, wearing a turban by adolescent Sikh males who are religious is a social commitment to their religious identity in that it allows them to be recognized as belonging to a particular religious group. Fowler's theory, largely based on Christian theology, does not address this issue. The

present study extends previous research and theory on religiosity and adolescent development by articulating the complexity of this process.

Acculturation

One other theory that may provide insight into the process of identity construction of second generation adolescent Sikh males is theory and research on acculturation (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bukaki, 1989; Berry & Kostovick, 1990; Berry & Laponce, 1994). Acculturation is the process of continuous culture change that occurs at the individual and group level when two or more cultural groups come into contact. This process is particularly relevant for migrant populations in Canada. With respect to understanding the process of identity development of second generation adolescent Sikh males, it is likely that acculturation at the level of the individual, family, and ethnic group will influence to what degree the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and the Sikh religious script are considered cultural norms for second generation adolescents. Thus, individual differences in the process of being strong enough to stay on track are likely affected by acculturation of parents and the adolescent.

Acculturation theory proposes that acculturating individuals can have four modes of acculturation based on whether an individual believes it is desirable to have contact with the majority community and whether it is desirable to maintain ethnic values. The four proposed modes of acculturation include assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration.

The results of the present study concur with previous studies on South Asian adolescents in that second generation adolescent Sikh males are choosing a mode of integration that maintains elements of their ethnic heritage as well as contact and exposure

to the dominant community through the school and community setting (Ghuman, 1997, 1995, 1991; Gibson, 1988, 1998). Gibson (1988) carried out an extensive study on home/school linkages and forces that promote or impede school success for immigrant Sikh adolescents in a small farming community in California. She concluded that the adaptation pattern of these youth could be described as "accommodation without assimilation" in that these youth conformed "publicly to requirements of the larger society in order to avoid or reduce conflict between themselves and other groups" (p. 24). The present findings suggest that this accommodation is less likely to occur in dimensions of ethnicity and religiosity that are considered more salient by a young man. For example, keeping the turban and facial hair was not considered a negotiable element of the track by adolescents who were high on externalization of religiosity and internalization of spirituality. Yet, eating non-ethnic food and wearing non-ethnic clothes in the dominant cultural context was easily incorporated into their lives. Religion and language have been previously identified as salient elements of ethnicity for South Asian adolescents (Ghuman, 1998).

Contrary to assumptions of the acculturation model about individual choice in mode of acculturation, adolescent Sikh males do not have much choice as they must be able to function efficiently in both their ethnic home context and their dominant community school context, especially if they aspire to have a good education and career in order to become financially set. This aspiration is an expectation placed upon them by their immigrant parents. This finding concurs with previous research that indicates that this focus on upward mobility through valuing of education, saving money, and having a better life may

be a phenomenon that is generalizable to other immigrant parents in their expectations of their children (Powell, 1983).

Additionally, with respect to describing the acculturation experiences of minority individuals, the acculturation model does not account for the attitudes of the host culture or larger society (Ghuman, 1998). Dealing with visibility, and subsequently racism and discrimination, significantly influences the reconstruction of the track by second generation adolescent Sikh males. Being strong enough to stay on track extends the understanding of acculturation experiences of these youth by detailing the processes and subprocesses involved in integrating elements of the ethnic, religious, and dominant scripts. It elucidates the tug of war between the ethnic, religious, and dominant scripts as a young Sikh man constructs a sense of self and identity.

Previous studies indicate that for South Asian second generation adolescents, the discrepancies between the peer culture and the home culture in terms of values, expectations, and norms, are probably the greatest source of distress (Kurian, 1991; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983, 1986; Sandhu, 1980; Wakil et al., 1981). The present findings concur that perceived discrepancies between home and nonethnic peer culture may be difficult to reconcile. The results further illustrate how managing visibility and belonging while avoiding exclusion are also important considerations in how these discrepancies are negotiated. Additionally, for adolescent Sikh males the religious and ethnic elements of the home culture also need to be examined separately as each of these scripts has different dimensions that influence a young man's construction of a sense of self and identity. Second generation adolescent Sikh males in this investigation reported some distress in feeling alone in reconstructing elements of the track, dealing with discrimination and

racism, and acquiring a sense of belonging in all the social contexts that were significant to them. They used various strategies to deal with this distress, such as (a) meditation; (b) finding supportive peers, older siblings, a role model, a parent, or a school counsellor; (c) participating in organized athletic teams or playing recreationally (i.e., shooting hoops); (d) balancing own needs versus obligation and loyalty to family; and (e) using conflict resolution strategies.

Peers

The role of peers in the development of a sense of self and identity, is also supported by the findings of this study. Previous research indicates that "there are multiple peer cultures, which encompass and encourage the diversity that truly characterizes young people's value systems and behavior patterns" (Brown, 1990, p. 171). In the lives of second generation adolescent Sikh males, ethnic and nonethnic peers, as well as male and female peers, were perceived to influence how young men construct a sense of who they are and who they are becoming. Relationships with ethnic and nonethnic peers were often affected by issues of (a) feared prejudice, discrimination, and racism; (b) having a sense of belonging; and (c) demographics such as school ethnic make-up. These issues have been found to be significant in previous studies of minority youth (Spencer et al., 1990). The current study extends this previous research by detailing how all of these elements are related in the maintenance of a sense of ethnic and religious identity while functioning in the dominant cultural context of the school system and larger society.

Previous research on American minority adolescents of African-American and Chinese ethnicities indicates that these youth often experience cultural devaluation of the symbols and heroes of their groups (Spencer et al., 1990). For adolescent Sikh males who

were trying to stay on track according to the Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious script, friends with similar values were most often same ethnic peers. These same ethnic peers provided encouragement, support, and a sense of normalcy through common experiences and common language, as Sikh males attempted to maintain Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious values in negotiating discrepant elements of the three scripts. Many young Sikh men in the study also spoke about gaining a sense of continuity between home and school environment with their Panjabi ethnic peers. Although, many adolescent Sikh males had non-Panjabi friends as well, they reported less connectedness and genuineness in these relationships as many of these friends were really only school or athletic team acquaintances. This arm's length relationship seemed to be maintained due to real or perceived fears of prejudice, discrimination, and invalidation of personal and family values.

Although adolescent Sikh males reported that guidance from parents was a significant element of reconstructing the track and staying on track, their stories illustrate that peers also play a role in their self and identity construction. For some Sikh adolescents, belonging within the peer context was considered equally or more important compared with belonging within the family environment. Often, the degree of significance of a particular life context with respect to issues of belonging influence a young man's attitudes, values, and behaviours, which ultimately affect how he reconstructs the track and whether he feels strong enough to stay on track. In order to assist a young man in staying on track, modelling of on-track behaviour by peers is considered significant. A young man whose peers are not on track will more likely lead him off track. The interplay of being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility, influence the significance of a young man's peer culture as he constructs a sense

of self and identity. Issues of interdependence further influence the role of the ethnic peer group in the lives of adolescent Sikh males.

Conclusions

The results of the present study contribute to the paucity of literature on the process of self and identity construction by second generation adolescent Sikh males in Western Canada. The purpose of the study was to develop a midrange explanatory model of the process of how second generation adolescent Sikh males in Canada develop a sense of who they are through the use of grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). The findings reveal that construction of a sense of self and identity by these youth is complex because it parallels their ongoing integration of three perceived scripts that are embedded in the Panjabi ethnic, Sikh spiritual/religious, and dominant community contexts.

Theoretical frameworks that have previously been applied to minority adolescents in North America include theories on psychosocial or ego-identity (e.g., Erikson, 1968), and ethnic identity models (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1983, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990). Each area has been developed separately without consideration of significant findings from the other. Research has only recently begun to consider issues of ethnic identity in identity formation of minority adolescents, and cultural psychology has limited itself to focusing on ethnic identity without consideration of how ethnic identity development is related to overall identity formation of minority youth. The current findings illustrate that neither one of these frameworks, alone, is able to fully capture the process of self and identity formation by second generation adolescent Sikh males growing up in Western Canada.

The results of the present study provide support for the necessity of examining the contextualized lives of adolescents rather than assuming that Western theories are applicable regardless of cultural context (Gergen et al., 1996). Research in anthropology and cultural psychology has established that world cultures vary in degree of emphasis on individuation and connectedness in human development (Triandis, 1985), yet, this has not been taken into consideration in the development of theories of adolescent identity formation. Critique of Western developmental theories has become more concerted with continuing psychological discourse on feminist theories and social constructionism (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Chodorow, 1978; Gergen, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Jordan & Surrey, 1986). The findings of this investigation provide support that what is considered a healthy self within contemporary psychology may need to be reconsidered (Stein & Markus, 1994).

Popular conceptualizations of adolescent identity development (e.g., Erikson, 1968) are not directly applicable to the lives of second generation adolescent Sikh males in Western Canada, with parents who have migrated from India. The present findings generally provide support for Erikson's (1968) notions about identity formation in adolescence and further extend and refine Erikson's work with respect to specific content. For these young Sikh men, the sense of self and identity in adolescence is perceived to have a relational component and is strongly influenced by their family and social context. Additionally, issues of religiosity, visibility, guidance, belonging, and ethnicity, and how these affect the negotiation of perceived discrepant elements of the three scripts also need to be considered. All these issues are implicated in the identity development processes of second generation adolescent Sikh males. During adolescence, youth become more aware

of different aspects of themselves and have increased awareness of prejudices, discrimination, and social inequality that may significantly influence identity development. Family, peers, role models, and supportive dominant community attitudes are considered significant in identity construction and promote the ability of these adolescents to construct a track and stay on track.

The present findings highlight the relevance of literature on ethnic identity, family processes, possible selves, interdependent self, religiosity, and acculturation in understanding elements of identity construction by adolescent Sikh males. Yet, it also points out how previous models are not able to fully capture the complexity of intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics involved in this process. Thus, being strong enough to stay on track is a significant theoretical contribution to the understanding of how second generation adolescent Sikh males construct a sense of who they are and who they are becoming. The articulation of the perceived Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and the Sikh religious/spiritual script advances current psychological knowledge by providing support for the central role of ethnicity and religiosity in these adolescent Sikh males' identity construction processes. The further elucidation of the subprocesses involved in staying on track and reconstructing the track, as these young Sikh men are exposed to the dominant culture and acquire perceptions about the dominant culture script, provides insight into the process of identity construction for second generation adolescent Sikh males.

CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

Theories about adolescent development are important in that they help us understand normative developmental patterns, as well as to develop appropriate and effective means of intervening with young people who may be experiencing a lack of wellbeing in bridging childhood and adulthood. Identity formation has been proposed as a key developmental task of adolescence (Erikson, 1968) and much research has attempted to substantiate this hypothesis (Marcia, 1966, 1980, 1994; Meeus, 1994). However, developmental theories about adolescent identity formation have been largely driven by a Euro-American perspective, and have been tested in research with Euro-American adolescents. Although some elements of these theories are applicable to the lives of adolescents in general, in the present study cultural and ethnic variability was identified among Sikh adolescent males.

As the multicultural landscape in Canada becomes more diverse, it is essential to have theories that accurately portray the identity development processes of adolescents belonging to non-Euro-American populations in order to effectively meet the mental health needs of all Canadians. South Asians are a significant minority group in Canada and Sikhs are the largest subgroup among Canadian South Asians (Naidoo, 1994). In this study, I attempted to develop a midrange explanatory model of the the process of identity formation of second generation Canadian Sikh youth undergoing this process. Because of the possibility of gender differences in the process of identity construction (Gilligan, 1982), this study specifically investigated the identity development of adolescent Sikh males aged 16 to 19 years of age.

The findings revealed that the core process in constructing a sense of self and identity is being strong enough to stay on track (see Figure 2). This process occurs within a sociocultural context consisting of family, peers, ethnic, and religious group, and dominant community. Constructing a sense of self and identity is a process that parallels each young Sikh man's ongoing clarity and construction of a projected path of development, or track, which integrates three scripts to which he is exposed: the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant Canadian sociocultural script (see Figure 4, Figure 6). The three subprocesses of this core process are constructing an initial track, staying on track, and reconstructing the track.

The initial track is constructed through guidance and socialization by the familial context, particularly by parents who selectively socialize their sons to specific values, attitudes, behaviours, customs, languages, and traditions, which integrate elements of the perceived Panjabi ethnic and the Sikh religious/spiritual scripts. This socialization imparts to the youth a sense of what is expected as normal development. The basic structure of the initial track is largely based on the Panjabi ethnic-sociocultural script, and thus general phases, timing, and sequence of phases is similar for second generation adolescent Sikh males. Variation occurs through the family's modification of dimensions of each these phases. A young Sikh man's relationship with his parents is projected by Sikh males to shift from one of dependence to interdependence as he progresses on the track (see Figure 5).

Staying on track is multifaceted, dynamic, and future projected. It is grounded in each young Sikh man's construction and clarity of a track and his ability to be strong enough to stay on track while dealing with his present life context in Canada. The

elements, sub-processes, and meanings of being strong enough to stay on track are an interplay between current and future oriented intrapersonal and interpersonal concerns about getting an education, having a career, becoming married, having children, incorporating religiosity, and achieving prosperity in the Canadian context, while maintaining a sense of connectedness and belonging in the social domain and spiritual domain. The track provides each young Sikh man a sense of continuity of past, present, and future aspects of who he is and who he is becoming within a social context. Points of being set on the track function as indicators of achievement and continued progress on the track. Staying on track is influenced by the subprocess of aspiring to be my best while striving to be set. In order to try to be their best while also attempting to become financially set, socially set, and spiritually set, adolescent Sikh males use a number of strategies to stay on track. These include: staying out of trouble, choosing friends with similar values, keeping up with friends and siblings, and having faith in myself. The interplay of these smaller intrapersonal and interpersonal processes functions to maintain a young Sikh man on track.

The perceived Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant culture script are continually evaluated and integrated as the young Sikh man develops and is exposed to different developmental issues related to becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set. As he moves from childhood into adolescence, social influences from peers and media, as well as the broader society, function to increase the young Sikh man's awareness of discrepant elements of the three scripts. Assessing which elements of the initial track to keep and which to discard or modify to align more with the perceived dominant culture script occurs through the process of intrapersonal and

interpersonal negotiation. Negotiation of discrepant elements and reconstruction of the track is a recursive process and is influenced by being guided versus doing it alone, belonging while avoiding exclusion, and managing visibility. As a young Sikh man negotiates inconsistencies between the three scripts and progresses on the track, his sense of who he is and who he is becoming becomes further clarified.

Conclusions

The findings reveal 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 nested within the life context of these young men in Western Canada. A Panjabi 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 perceived 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 discrepant 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.

Limitations of Study

The results of this study may be limited by a number of issues. Because I recruited and screened for Sikh adolescent males in my advertisements for this study, only second generation adolescent males who labelled themselves as Sikh volunteered for this study. The experiences of second generation adolescent males who were of Sikh heritage but

were more assimilated into the dominant cultural context were not represented in the findings. The young Sikh men in the study seemed to have a strong sense of Panjabi ethnic identity and were generally interested in exploring aspects of their connection to their ethnicity and the Sikh religion.

Few of the adolescent Sikh males in this study described themselves as being entirely off track. All were attempting to be on track in their own way, although they did not claim to be entirely on track. It is possible that adolescent Sikh males who are off track might not volunteer for the study due to fears of being judged by me. Thus, this theory may be applicable to only adolescent Sikh males who are attempting to be on a track that is largely influenced by the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script and Sikh religious/spiritual script.

A number of demographic characteristics may also be important. Most of the participants were from working class families ($n=18$), and only two were from more influential middle class families. Of the 20 young men in the study, only one was living with a single parent and step parents were not represented. The rest were in two parent families. The study participants were all from Western Canada and therefore this theory may not be applicable to adolescent Sikh males residing in other parts of Canada. This is particularly influenced by the sociopolitical events that occurred within the Panjabi-Sikh community in British Columbia during the course of the investigation, and the subsequent reaction of the mainstream and ethnic media to these events.

Because I was selecting 16- to 19-year-old participants, those under 19 years needed parental permission to participate in this study. Parents who did not want their sons to participate for fears of disclosing negative information about the family, may not have given their sons permission to participate. Additionally, adolescents who did not believe

their parents would give them permission to participate may not have volunteered for the study. Adolescents who were not successfully negotiating discrepant elements of the three life scripts may not have been comfortable disclosing this to a stranger, and may not have chosen to volunteer.

All participants in this study were provided with the opportunity to win a prize, which may have influenced their motivation to participate in the study. Names of all adolescent Sikh males who completed the study were placed in a draw for five prizes approximating \$20 to \$30 value per prize. The draw was made once all interviews were completed. It is possible that I might have had a different sample if no incentive had been offered.

Issues of gender-centricity related to my being a woman studying and interviewing young adolescent Sikh males may have limited the identity experiences that these adolescent Sikh males shared with me. Current dilemmas related to issues of sexuality were not discussed in detail by all the adolescent Sikh males, yet, this is likely a significant issue because the dominant culture notions about premarital sexuality opposes the Panjabi ethnic and Sikh religious morals around sexuality. Some of the young Sikh men did express that they were not sexually active and they would like to wait till they are married. But this was not information they had shared or were wanting to share with their friends as they feared that friends may consider them "weird".

It is possible that my membership within the Panjabi-Sikh community, and especially my being a baptised Sikh woman, may have affected what the adolescent Sikh males in the study were willing to share with me. Participants spoke about protecting family honour and preventing disgrace as important influences in their lives. It is possible that participants may not have disclosed aspects in the interview that might reveal that they were going off track. Even though I assured them, complied with confidentiality, and used

a nonjudgemental attitude, participants may have feared being judged or questioned confidentiality. All participants spoke about the interviews in this study as having been the first time they have spoken about issues of self and identity with a nonfamily adult, and a stranger. Their lack of experience with the research process may have caused some concerns about judgement and confidentiality and social desirability may have been a factor in what was revealed in the interviews. Yet, their willingness to share with me whether they were dating or had dated, their ideas about maintaining or not maintaining other elements of the Panjabi and Sikh culture, and how some of them were ashamed of their fathers' drinking patterns, suggest that they did confide in me.

Although there may have been limitations to being a member of the same ethnic community as the participants, there are also many advantages to having been a Panjabi-Sikh researcher in what participants shared with me. First, my ability to speak Panjabi created the possibility for adolescent Sikh males in this study to express their self and identity construction experiences in English and Panjabi. All participants chose to use Panjabi terminology in the interviews (see Appendix H), which created a greater degree of rapport and understanding between myself and the participants. Second, previous research has found that Chinese and Panjabi-Sikh participants are less likely to disclose discrimination and racism to majority group researchers than to minority group interviewers (Beynon & Toohey, 1995). The participants in the present study clearly articulated their experiences of discrimination associated with being visible as a minority in the Canadian context. Adolescent Sikh males had only been requested to stay for a 1 ½ hour interview, yet many chose to stay between 2 to 2 ½ hours. This demonstrates their motivation and engagement in this process as this must have been a very important topic for them to stay this long.

Implications

The aims of this study were not to develop a theory of grand proportions, but rather a mid-range explanatory model that may modify, extend, or refine the dominant theories and provide some direction for intervention with adolescents and young adults and their families, as well as to provide guidance for future researchers and perhaps even policy makers. Although the mid-range theory generated in this study has been developed among second generation adolescent Sikh males in Western Canada, it may have utility beyond this population.

Theory and Research

The findings of this investigation indicate that the process of identity development by second generation adolescent Sikh males is a dynamic psychosocial process that is nested within each young Sikh man's sociocultural context. Popular theories on identity development of youth (e.g., Erikson, 1968) are unable to fully capture this process. Culture, ethnicity, and religion, which have often been neglected in previous identity studies, are central concerns to the identity development of adolescent Sikh males. Many contemporary researchers, especially cross-cultural psychologists and social constructionists, have recognized the significance of culture in the development of human psychological processes. Yet, the debate still continues regarding the centrality of culture, and therefore importance of cultural relativism versus psychological universalism (Misra & Gergen, 1993a; 1993b; Poortinga, 1993; Triandis, 1993). The present study provides support that cultural variation may be essential in understanding the meaning, attributes, and dimensions of the process of self and identity construction for second generation adolescent Sikh males. For example, the meaning and significance of becoming financially, socially, and spiritually set, in the development of what is considered healthy

identity for these youth can not be separated from the process of identity construction for these youth. Gender, culture and religion, may be inseparable in this process. Yet, these same issues may not be equally significant, if at all, to other non-Sikh male youth.

Future research can build upon the findings of the present study by examining how second generation adolescent Sikh males negotiate their own personal desires with ethnic and religious social expectations, both psychologically and interpersonally, to maintain a sense of continuity and sameness across contexts, and over time. In order to more accurately capture this process, the period of becoming financially and socially set may be better studied by investigating adolescent Sikh males ranging from 16 years to the point of becoming socially set, which for some may be well into their late 20s.

It is likely that for adolescent Sikh males, psychological wellbeing is more negatively influenced at the expected points of movement between acquiring a good education, acquiring a prosperous career, becoming married, and having children. These may be important transitions to examine in future investigations. Future research needs to examine the stress and coping process of those adolescent Sikh males who are unable to successfully negotiate discrepant elements of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, the Sikh spiritual/religious script, and the dominant culture script in Canada. Moreover, the role of parents, teachers, and other significant others in the lives of these adolescent Sikh males could also be examined to further understand the influence of guidance in the identity development process of these youth.

This study also illustrates that the normative developmental pattern for Sikh families with second generation adolescent males is quite different from mainstream models of family development. Because adolescents are developing toward a point of

interdependence and not independence, further investigations could be carried out to detail the actual stages of family development that have been proposed in this study.

This study also supports the importance of accessing second generation minority ethnic adolescents' construction of self and identity in both the dominant community language (e.g., English) and the minority ethnic language (e.g., Panjabi). The ability of the interviewer to access participants' conception of themselves in both languages created greater opportunities for adolescent Sikh males to use both languages in the interviews, and greater theoretical sensitivity on the part of the researcher during the process of data analysis. Future studies on second generation youth can benefit from researchers who speak the dominant language as well as the minority ethnic language of participants.

Future studies could also examine the process of identity construction by other South Asian males and South Asian females, including Sikh females, to see what processes or subprocesses may be similar and different. Adolescent Sikh males in this study alluded to how power differences between the dominant culture and Panjabi culture influenced their development of identity. Some also spoke about how they believed gender differences influenced what was considered off track and on track behaviour. Previous research on South Asian females has suggested that power differences situated within culture, as well as the larger society, influence the lives of females in many ways (Guzder, 1992; Naidoo, 1992). A comparison of this model to a model developed with Sikh females could further elucidate the role of gender in the process of identity construction. Subsequently, examining other South Asian subgroups could help future researchers understand whether elements of this model are applicable to other South Asian second generation adolescents.

As a counsellor in a university setting, I have found utility of this new cognitive map in application to nonSikhs and nonmales. The constructs of staying on track, meeting

developmental markers, moving off track, and faltering were especially useful in describing the experiences of some of my late adolescent and young adult clients who were presenting identity-related issues in counselling. These clients were males and females of diverse backgrounds including Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, South American, and Southern European origins. They varied in status from recent immigrants to second and third generation Canadians. Thus, although this mid-range explanatory theory of the process of self and identity construction has been generated by studying second generation adolescent Sikh males in Western Canada, elements of it may be applicable beyond this population.

Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 23) note that

if the data upon which it [a theory] is based are comprehensive and the interpretations conceptual and broad, then the theory should be abstract enough and include sufficient variation to make it applicable to a variety of contexts related to that phenomenon.

Further research is required to support the utility of the theory developed in this study to other populations.

Interventions

The aim of providing individual or social intervention is generally guided by the idea that intervention may lead to a smoother or more optimal journey as the young person moves from childhood to adulthood (Archer, 1994; Kroger, 1989, 1996). Identity intervention at the individual level requires the ability to identify young people needing intervention and knowledge and skills regarding optimal methods of intervention. The model developed in the present study identifies the key process and subprocesses involved in identity construction by second generation adolescent Sikh males and highlights the role of guidance. Supportive parents, mentors, teachers, and counsellors are important members of the social environment who may be able to assist in this process.

For counsellors working with immigrant youth as well as successive generations, knowledge about specific developmental processes, such as identity formation and how it may vary from the counsellor's own ethnocentric perspective becomes instrumental in providing effective services. How counsellors perceive the organization of the self is reflected in the approaches they take when engaging with clients (Hoskins & Leseho, 1996). These personal conceptions of the self tend to guide therapeutic practice, even though the counsellor may not be able to articulate her conceptualization of self. When there is lack of theoretical or empirical knowledge about social and psychological processes among particular cultural groups, the counsellor is left to extrapolate from more general empirical knowledge. Thus, providing training to school and agency counsellors on how the process of identity construction for some second generation adolescent Sikh males may differ from that of individuals within the dominant culture, could lead to more appropriate and effective interventions that consider issues particular to the lives of these young Sikh men.

Effective social interventions require assessment of the options, structures, and institutions that support and hinder optimal development through the process of self and identity formation (Kroger, 1989, 1996). The findings of this investigation with respect to the role of guidance in assisting adolescent Sikh males in being strong enough to stay on track point to the possibility of developing interventions in both the familial and educational setting to assist these adolescent Sikh males to clarify the track, negotiate elements of the track, and stay on track. At the familial level, the results of this study could be used to structure parenting programs in either English or Panjabi to help immigrant parents understand the role of guidance in assisting their children in staying on track. Additionally, other parental characteristics identified in this investigation can also

be processed and discussed with parents. Ideally, these workshops would be useful for newly migrated married immigrants who plan to have children.

Interventions could also be aimed at family counselling for immigrant Sikh families. The present study supports previous research that indicates that family interventions to deal with adolescent identity formation need to assist families in establishing cohesion, to become flexible and adaptive, and to develop open patterns of communication (Papini, 1994). More specifically, family therapy interventions aimed at families with second generation adolescent Sikh males could help increase communication so that adolescents could share with their parents the type of issues they experience in negotiating the three life scripts, and parents and children can explore what it means to have to negotiate discrepant elements of these scripts. In this way, parents could provide the guidance that second generation adolescent Sikh males in this study indicated was an essential aspect of their identity construction process.

From the stories of adolescent Sikh males, it is clear that visibility and discrimination play an important role in the process of construction of who they are. In order to make this process of construction of self smoother, it is important that schools take a greater role in implementing programs that help identify overt and covert racism and discrimination, and then find methods of strategically dealing with it without putting undue attention on the victims, or making them feel ashamed. This requires creation of a safe environment where students feel comfortable speaking about these issues (Beynon & Toohey, 1995).

School climate plays an important part in how a sense of who they are is constructed by adolescent Sikh males and whether they feel supported and encouraged to be strong enough to stay on track. Increased partnerships between parents and schools may be

helpful as guidance from parents and nonfamily role models is an important aspect of staying on track. Teachers need to be made aware that Panjabi parental aspirations for their adolescents involve acquiring a good education and a successful career. Parents and schools need to recognize that their goals are aligned and then work together to encourage and support adolescent Sikh males to stay on track.

Last, teacher training institutions need to look at training teachers to be sensitive to the issues faced by Panjabi-Sikh adolescent males in constructing a sense of who they are, and then actively take a part in dealing with issues of racism and discrimination.

Government policy can further influence school environments by supporting programs that provide positive experiences in schools, such as mentorship and internships that assist in career selection. Collaboration with community based organizations and youth groups, may be helpful.

In order to meet the mental health needs of second generation adolescent Sikh males in the Canadian context, it is necessary to understand their concerns and process of how they construct a sense of who they are and who they are becoming. Adolescent Sikh males are negotiating discrepant elements of the Panjabi ethnic sociocultural script, Sikh religious/spiritual script, and the dominant culture script, and trying to be strong enough to stay on track. They are attempting to maintain a sense of belonging and avoid exclusion in all significant micro, meso, and macro contexts by retaining elements of their cultural and religious heritage while striving to be constructive and active members of Canadian society. Issues of being guided versus doing it alone, and managing visibility, are particularly salient for optimal and effective intervention in the ongoing construction and reconstruction of the track as these youth figure out who they are. They have voiced

themselves through the stories they told in this investigation. It is our responsibility to listen.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Participant Demographics of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males

Characteristic	Number of participants (Total 20)
Age (years)	
16	7
17	8
18	3
19	2
Siblings	
Total	
0	1
1	7
2	8
3	1
4	3
Brothers	
0	6
1	13
2	0
3	1
Sisters	
0	6
1	9
2	2
3	3
Birth Order	
Only child	1
1st	8
2nd	5
3rd	3
4th	2
5th	1
Grade (enrolled in)	
10	4
11	7
12	6
1st year university	1
Not attending school	2
Attendance at (current, or previous for those out of school)	
Public school	17
Private school	3

Appendix A (Continued): Participant Demographics of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males

Characteristic	Number of participants (Total 20)
Status	
Part time student	0
Full time student	18
Employed part time	
Weekends only	1
During school year	1
Employed full time	
Summer job	4
Unemployed	18
If employed part time or full time	
Number of hours per week	
5	1
10	1
40	1
Length of period - since employed	
2 months	1
7 months	1
1 year	1
Title of position	
Library Assistant	1
Photographer	1
Shop maintenance	1
Those attending postsecondary institutions	1
Title of program	B.Sc. Biology
Credentials after completion of program	B.Sc.
Institution attending	University of British Columbia
Length of program	4 years
Parents involved in choosing program	
Yes	1 (Encouraged Sciences)
No	

Appendix A (Continued): Participant Demographics of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males

Characteristic	Number of participants (Total 20)
----------------	--------------------------------------

Degree of financial dependence on parents

100%	15
90%	1
80%	
70%	2
60%	1
50%	1
40%	
30%	
20%	
10%	
0%	

Urban/rural status

Urban	18
Rural	2

Physical appearance

Turban	7
No turban (cut hair)	13

Religiosity

Baptized (taken Amrit)	4
Nonbaptized	16

Living situation

Parents home	20
--------------	----

Living with

Nuclear family only	12
Nuclear family plus	
uncle(s)/aunt(s)	2
grandparent(s)	5
cousin	1

Parents' Marital Status

Married	19
Divorced	1

Appendix A (Continued): Participant Demographics of Second Generation Sikh Adolescent Males

Characteristic	Number of participants (Total 20)
Parents' Length of time in Canada	
Mom	
15-20 years	8
20-25 years	9
25-30 years	3
Dad	
15-20 years	5
20-25 years	8
25-30 years	7

Appendix B: Informal Interviews carried out during the course of the investigation

Informal Interviews				
NAME	Age	Description	Generation Status	Theory aspects revealed, confirmed or disputed?
A - Male	22	Turban wearing university students	Recent immigrants	Comparison of India to Canada - context for young men - Their impressions of young men here - issues for them in developing a sense of self and identity. Similar or different from their own.
B - Male	23	- quite articulate		
C - School Counsellor - European descent - Male		School counsellor in multi-culturally diverse school		His impressions of context for second generation South Asian adolescent males in his school. Issues facing them in developing a sense of self and identity.
D - Male	37	High school Teacher in Multi-culturally diverse school Wears turban	Migrated at age 10	Confirmed aspects of emerging theory - e.g., Being strong enough to stay on track - cultural and spiritual scripts
E - Male	25	Corporal in Canadian Army Wears turban	Migrated at age 6	Confirmed aspects of being strong enough to stay on track - issues of visibility - how impacted by internal and external spirituality and being strong enough.
F - Female	41	Mother of participant 16	Immigrant	Group discussion about self and identity development of second generation adolescent males - gender significance - context of self and identity construction
G - Female	19	Sister of participant 16	2nd generation	
H - Female	21	Sister of participant 16	2nd generation	
I - Male	43	Parent of second generation son	Immigrant	Group discussion - context for self and identity construction. Guidance and being strong enough to stay on track.
J - Female	36	Parent of second generation son	Immigrant	

Appendix C1: Sample Advertisement in flyers and written media**Advertisement**

I am looking for 16 - 19 year old Canadian-born Sikh males to participate in a study investigating self development. To qualify, you must have parents who are born in India. I would like to interview you for about 1 ½ hours to ask about your development of a sense of self. Your participation in this study will be kept **confidential**.

Please contact

Kamaljit K. Sidhu at ***.****
or Dr. Bonita C. Long at the
Department of Counselling Psychology,
2125 Main Mall, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1Z4,
.*

Appendix C2: Sample Advertisement on e-mail

These e-mails were sent to university students at both the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University and they were asked to pass the information on to anyone they thought might be interested in participating in the study. I also e-mailed Sikh community members who I thought might have contact with individuals who may fit the criteria for the study.

To: *****

From: Kamaljit Sidhu <e-mail address>

Subject: Research on second generation adolescent Sikh males

Cc:

Bcc:

Attached:

Hello _____:

I am a 4th year Ph.D. student in the Department of Counselling Psychology at U.B.C. I am currently working on my dissertation. I have interviewed 14 young men and am looking for some more participants.

I am looking for (self - defined) Sikh
16 - 19 year old
Canadian-born (parents born in India)
males

for a short (about 1 1/2 hour long) interview. I will come to anywhere that is convenient for them.

I am interested in finding out how they are developing a sense of who they are.....

1. If they feel uncomfortable with any particular questions, they are welcome to say they don't want to answer it.
2. All information gathered is confidential. No one...NO ONE... has access to this information except for myself and my supervisor, a professor at U.B.C. At the beginning of the interview, I ask participants to choose a pseudonym (fake name) for themselves and this is the only name I use in referring to them throughout the interview and on any notes I make.
3. I am also quite clear about letting participants know that I am not interested in "judging them" in any way. I am interested in finding out what this process of "figuring out who they are" is all about.

I would appreciate it if you could inform any individuals you think might qualify for this study. They are welcome to e-mail me (at *****), or they can contact me at (***.*****) or (***.****).

Thanks for your help.

Kamaljit

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form

(Actual consent form on University Letterhead)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Purpose of study:

The aim of this research is to understand how second generation Sikh youth develop a sense of who they are. This study is being conducted as a doctoral dissertation by Kamaljit K. Sidhu, under the supervision of Dr. Bonita C. Long, in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia.

Methodology:

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to meet for a personal audio-taped interview with the researcher, lasting about 1 1/2 hours, at a location convenient for you. During the interview, you are free to not answer any questions that you are uncomfortable responding to. These audio-tapes will be later transcribed for analysis. Your participation in this project, as well as all audio-taped and transcribed information gathered on you will be kept completely confidential. You will be assigned a participant pseudonym and your name will not appear on any data. The audio tapes and master list of pseudonym and names will only be accessible to the researcher.

In some circumstances, a participant may be invited to give me feedback on my analysis of the interviews or elaborate on the first discussion. This may require a second meeting with me. This second meeting will take approximately 1 hour of your time, and will take place at a location convenient for you.

Once the study is completed, a summary of results will be sent to all participants who request it. Quotes from participants' interviews may be used in the presentation of the results of this study. I will ask your permission before using a quote from one of your interviews.

You may withdraw from participation in this study, at any time, with no jeopardization of your participation in any future studies conducted within the Department of Counseling Psychology or the University of British Columbia. If you have any further questions about the study please contact either Kamaljit K. Sidhu (***) or Dr. Bonita C. Long at the Department of Counselling Psychology (***). If you have any concerns about your treatment as a research participant you may contact the Director of the U.B.C. Office of Research Services Dr. Richard Spratley at ***.

I, _____ agree to participate in this study. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions I have about my involvement in this study and have received a copy of the consent form.

Participant's signature

Date signed

Appendix E: Parent Consent Form

(Actual consent form on University Letterhead)

PARENT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Purpose of study:

The aim of this research is to understand how second generation Sikh youth develop a sense of self and form their personal identity. This study is being conducted as a doctoral dissertation by Kamaljit K. Sidhu, under the supervision of Dr. Bonita C. Long, in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia.

Methodology

I understand that as a participant in this study, my son will be asked to meet for a personal audio-taped interview with the researcher, lasting about 1 ½ hours at a location convenient to my son. During the interview, my son will not be asked to talk about anything that he is uncomfortable sharing. The audio-tapes of the interview will be later transcribed for analysis. My son's participation in this project as well as all audio-tapes and transcribed information gathered on him will be kept completely confidential. My son will be assigned a pseudonym and his name will not appear on any data. The audio tapes and master list of pseudonyms and names will be kept in a locked filing cabinet only accessible to the researcher.

I am aware that in some circumstances, participants may be invited to give the researcher feedback on her analysis of their interview. There will be no expectation that my son will be involved in this second aspect of the study. Once the study is completed, my son and I will be provided a summary of the research results, if we want it.

I understand that my son's participation in this study is completely voluntary and he may withdraw from participation at any time, with no jeopardization of his participation in any future studies conducted within the Department of Counselling Psychology or the University of British Columbia. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions I have about my son's involvement in this study and have received a copy of the consent form. If I have any further questions, I may contact either Kamaljit K. Sidhu (***-****) or Dr. Bonita C. Long at the Department of Counselling Psychology (***-****). If I have any concerns about my son's treatment as a research participant I contact the Director of the U.B.C. Office of Research Services Dr. Richard Spratley at ***-****.

_____ Yes, my son has my permission to participate.

_____ No, my son does NOT have permission to participate.

Parent's signature _____

Son's name _____

Date _____

Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

Second generation immigrant youth

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. These questions will provide some background information on the participants in this study. The information provided by you on this questionnaire is strictly confidential and you are not required to put your name on this form. **If you require any clarification, please ask the interviewer.**

Date:

1. Please circle the appropriate response?

- a) Age: 16 17 18 19
- b) How many brothers do you have? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more
- c) How many sisters do you have? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more
- d) What is YOUR birth order in the family? 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th
7th or lower

2. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

- a) Grade 10
- b) Grade 11
- c) Grade 12
- d) First year college/university or other post high school training

3. Are you currently? (You may circle more than one option)

- a) a part-time student
- b) a full-time student
- c) employed part-time
- d) employed full-time
- e) unemployed

4. If you are employed part time or full time please answer the following

- a) number of hours per week
- b) How many months or years have you been working? _____
- c) What is the title of your position? _____

5. For those attending postsecondary institutions:

a) What is the title of the program you are enrolled in?

b) What credentials will you have after completion of this program?

c) What institution are you taking this course work from?

d) How long (in months or years) is this program?

e) Did your parents play any role in your choosing this program? No ___ Yes ___
Please explain: _____

6. To what degree are you currently financially DEPENDANT on your parents?

Please circle the appropriate response

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

7. Where do you live?

a) Parents' home

b) Grandparents' home

c) Uncle/Aunt's home

d) On my own

e) Other (please explain)

8. How long have your parents been in Canada?

a) Mother _____ Age at migration: _____

b) Father _____

9. What is the marital status of your parents?

Married Separated Divorced Other

10. Who do you live with? (Circle more than one) Mom Dad Uncle(s) Aunt(s) Cousin(s)

Grandma(s) Grandpa(s) Other _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this demographic questionnaire. Your time is much appreciated.

Note: This questionnaire was completed by the interviewer with the help of the participant, at the beginning of the interview.

Appendix G1: First Interview Protocol

Introductory paragraph:

The aim of this research is to better understand how second generation Sikh adolescents develop a sense of who they are. Today you will be interviewed for about 1 ½ hours. I will use some general questions that I hope will help us explore together how you see your self and what contributes to that. You are not obligated to answer any questions or delve into any areas that are uncomfortable for you and I would appreciate it if you would let me know if you feel uncomfortable at any point. During the interview, I will be using an audio-tape recorder from which I will be transcribing our interview. I will ensure that your name or any identifying information does not appear anywhere on the transcript. If at any point you want me to stop and erase a part of what you just said, we can do that.

I appreciate your participation in this study. I hope that the process of being interviewed will help you better understand yourself. The information I gather from interviews of young men like yourself will be compared and contrasted to put together some ideas on how second generation Sikh males are developing a sense of who they are. The results can be useful to researchers, teachers, school counsellors, family counsellors, and policy makers among others to further understand the issues for Sikh youth.

Again I'd like to point out that the information you give me will be completely confidential which means I will not discuss your responses with anyone except my supervisor and my research committee. Also, I will not judge you because of what you tell me about yourself. I realize this is easy for me to say but I guarantee you that my professional ethics as a counsellor help me understand that I must not judge others.

Questions:

1. Can you tell me who is in your household? (Who do you live with?)
2. Can you describe a typical day for you? What do you enjoy doing? What do you feel good doing? When do you feel confident? Who do you spend your time with?
3. How would you describe yourself? How would you describe yourself when you are with your parents or other family members? Mom? Dad? Grandparents? Peers? If I asked you a week from today, would you still describe yourself in the same way? (If state different in different situations, Does it concern you that you are different with different people?)
4. How would your parents describe you? Your peers? Guys? Girls? Teachers? Grandparents? Community members?
5. How important is religion to you? To your parents or other family members?
6. What do you plan to do after high school? Short term plans? Long term plans?
7. What or who has had an influence on how you view yourself or feel about yourself right now?
8. How have you changed over the last few years?
9. As you look back at your life, what recent or past events stick out in your mind?
10. What kind of pressures do you have in your life? (Interpersonal or other) How do you deal with them?
11. If you had the power to change certain aspects of your life, what would you change?
12. What would a perfect life for you be like?
13. Tell me something good you like about growing up in Canada.
14. Tell me something you do not like about growing up in Canada.
15. How would you answer the question "Who am I?"
16. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me that I might have missed?

Concluding comments:

Thank you very much for taking the time to let me interview you. You have given me some very valuable information which will be helpful in increasing my understanding of how young Sikh males in Canada develop a sense of who they are.

Note: These questions were directed by the research question and were aimed at eliciting the context of identity development and the emergence of relevant concepts. These questions were modified as necessary based upon emerging constructs and relationships between constructs in the developing theory.

Appendix G2: Later Interview Protocol

This protocol was developed based on the concepts that were relevant in previous interviews.

Interview Questions C. Updated for interview with participant 10 July 28, 1998

Introductory paragraph:

The aim of this research is to better understand how second generation Sikh adolescents develop a sense of who they are. Today you will be interviewed for about 1 ½ hours. I will use some general questions that I hope will help us explore together how you see your self and what contributes to that. You are not obligated to answer any questions or delve into any areas that are uncomfortable for you and I would appreciate it if you would let me know if you feel uncomfortable at any point. During the interview, I will be using an audio-tape recorder from which I will be transcribing our interview. I will ensure that your name or any identifying information does not appear anywhere on the transcript. If at any point you want me to stop and erase a part of what you just said, we can do that.

I appreciate your participation in this study. I hope that the process of being interviewed will help you better understand yourself. The information I gather from interviews of young men like yourself will be compared and contrasted to put together some ideas on how second generation Sikh males are developing a sense of who they are. The results can be useful to researchers, teachers, school counsellors, family counsellors, and policy makers among others to further understand the issues for Sikh youth.

Again I'd like to point out that the information you give me will be completely confidential which means I will not discuss your responses with anyone except my supervisor and my research committee. Also, I will not judge you because of what you tell me about yourself. I realize this is easy for me to say but I guarantee you that my professional ethics as a counsellor help me understand that I must not judge others.

Questions

1. Can you describe a typical day for you?
 - a) What do you enjoy doing?
 - b) What do you feel good doing?
 - c) Who do you spend your time with?
2. How would you describe yourself?
 - a) How would you describe yourself when you are with your parents or other family members? Mom? Dad? Grandparents? Peers?
 - b) If I asked you a week from today, would you still describe yourself in the same way? (If state different in different situations.)
 - c) Does it concern you that you are different with different people?
3. How would your parents describe you?
 - a) Your peers? Guys? Girls? Teachers? Grandparents? Community members?
4. How important is religion to you?
 - a) To your parents or other family members?

- b) Have you always worn a turban? When did you switch from a kerchief to a turban? How did you decide to start wearing a turban? (If wear turban)
 - c) Do you drink? Do Path? Vegetarian/non?
 - d) Are you able to communicate in Panjabi? How is this significant?
- 5. What do you plan to do after high school? Short term plans? Long term plans?
- 6. Family
 - a) Does your position in the family have any thing to do with how you see yourself?
 - b) Does having a sister influence how you see yourself in any way?
 - c) Does having a brother influence how you see yourself in any way?
 - d) How has involvement by dad in your life, influenced how you see yourself?
 - e) Does communication with parents influence your self development in any way?
 - f) Is presence of extended family important?
- 7. School and friends
 - Are you involved in extra-curricular activities?
 - Is presence of a positive peer group important?
 - Are your friends ethnically diverse? How does this influence how you see yourself?
 - Does ethnic diversity of your school play any part in how you see yourself?
- 8. How do you make important decisions?
- 9. Do you see yourself as having a particular role in life?
- 10. What or who has had an influence on how you view yourself or feel about yourself right now?
- 11. How have you changed over the last few years?
 - Many participants indicated that there has been a change in them from junior to senior high....is this significant?
 - Have there been any significant events that have influenced how you see yourself?
- 12. What kind of pressures do you have in your life? (Interpersonal or other) How do you deal with them?
 - How does experiencing discrimination influence your sense of self?
- 13. Do you have any role models? How does this influence you?
 - if so....male or female? ethnicity? Personal attributes? How is this significant?
- 14. How do you see yourself right now? How is this compared to how you saw yourself when you were in junior high? Elementary school?
 - Will you be the same person in a week? Month? Year? 10 years from now?
- 15. Do you feel typical?
- 16. Marriage
 - Where does marriage fit into your life?
- 17. What does being a Sikh male mean to you?

18. Beliefs about own culture, other ethnic cultures, majority culture
 - where do they fit in?
 - is gender important?
 - is ethnicity important?
 - a) Group interdependence versus competition? What are your thoughts on it?
 - b) Often talk about Panjabi girls living two lives, one at home, one outside....is this the case with young men?
19. If you had the power to change certain aspects of your life, what would you change?
 - What would a perfect life for you be like?
20. Tell me something good you like about growing up in Canada.
21. Tell me something you don't like about growing up in Canada.
22. How would you answer the question "Who am I?"
23. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me that I might have missed?

Concluding comments:

Thank you very much for taking the time to let me interview you. You have given me some very valuable information which will be helpful in increasing my understanding of how young Sikh males in Canada develop a sense of who they are. I will now take this audio tape and then type out our interview. I will bring a summarized copy of our interview back to you so you can check to see if it is accurate. I will phone you as soon as I am ready with the summary. At that time it would be helpful if we could spend about an hour to go over the summary. Is that O.k. with you ?

Interview questions (Combination of original questions with questions from May 31 and then further updated through analysis of first 9 interviews) :

Appendix H: List of Panjabi Terminology Used by Participants

(Sample of terminology used)

Ahja	- come here
Amrit	- "baptism" into the Sikh religion
Amritdhari	- an individual who has taken Amrit.
Apna (plural Apnay)	- individuals belonging to one's own ethnic group, typically used to refer to those of Indian, Panjabi, or Sikh descent.
Cheena (plural Cheenay)	- individuals of Chinese ancestry, recognized by physical features.
Chunga Munda	- good boy
Dastar	- the religious name for a 5 to 6 foot piece of cloth tied around the head. Term often used by those who are Amritdhari. Called turban in English. See Figure 1.
Dhari	- beard
Giani	- literally "priest." Term described as used in a derogatory way to refer to an adolescent Sikh male who wore a joora, patka, or turban.
Gora (plural Goray)	- individuals of European descent, recognized by physical features
Gurdwara	- literally "house of the true Guru." The Sikh place of worship. It houses the Sikh scriptures, the Guru Granth Sahib. Commonly called temple in English.
Joorā	- the wrapping of long unshorn hair into a knot on top of the head, and then either covered with a ramaal (kerchief), patka, or dastar/pug. See Figure
Kalay	- individuals belonging to Black ancestry, recognized by physical features
Kohi Nahi Munda Hai	- that's o.k. he's a boy.
Lut	- the end piece of turban fabric

Mona	- a boy/man with cut hair
Munda	- boy
Paath	- a set of 7 daily prayers, 5 in the morning, one in the evening and 1 at bedtime that are recited by practising Sikhs as a form of meditation. NonAmritdhari Individuals might recite a few hymns from the first morning set as part of their daily routine.
Patka	- covering of one's head hair and joora with a square or rectangular cloth. See Figure 1.
Pooni	- the process of folding the fabric of a turban so that it can be wrapped around the head.
Pug	- the sociocultural name for a 5 to 6 foot piece of cloth tied around the head. Term used by those who are not Amritdhari. Called turban in English. See Figure 1.
Put	- son
Sardar	- a male who wears a pug or dastar and has a beard and moustache, if he's old enough to have one.
Sat Sri Akaal	- equivalent to "hello" in English. Literally means "truth is God."
Sikh	- broader definition (a person who self defines as a Sikh which may mean of Sikh heritage, to being a practising Amritdhari Sikh)
Sikhi	- Panjabi term to refer to Sikhism (noun)
Sohna lagda	- looks good (physically appealing)
Ukal	- common sense

Appendix I: Self - An Historical Perspective

Self: An Historical Perspective

James (1890, 1892) perceived the Me-self as multidimensional and hierarchical. He posited three aspects of self; material self, social self, and spiritual self. The material self, consisted of the bodily aspects of self as well as anything else that is considered mine, and is the basis for all other selves. Those characteristics of self that were recognizable by others were subsumed under the social self. The spiritual self is a broader aspect that is comprised of one's thoughts, dispositions, moral judgements, etc., which James considered to be the most enduring aspects of the self (Harter, 1996). James posited that these three aspects of self were hierarchically organized 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.

In recognizing the multiplicity of the self in different social contexts, James (1890, 1892) also articulated the possibility of tension and harmony between the various aspects of the self. He postulated that all aspects of the self could not possibly be expressed at once and therefore an individual had to choose which aspects were most salient (Harter, 1996). The conflict of the different Me's, for James, could also be observed in the disparity within the multiplicity of roles, or identities, that a person might want to adopt in adulthood. Thus, "the seeker of his truest, strongest, deepest self must review the list carefully, and pick out the one on which to stake his salvation" (James, 1890, p. 174).

Symbolic interactionists Cooley (1902) and Mead (1925, 1934) considered the self to be basically a social construction developed through one's linguistic transactions (symbolic interactions) with others. Cooley's (1964, p. 183) conception of the looking

glass self postulated that significant others constituted a social mirror into which an individual looks for opinions of others toward one's self, which are then internalized and incorporated into one's sense of self. This self-idea (Cooley, 1902) had three aspects: (a) imagination of one's appearance to the other person, (b) imagination of that other's judgement of that appearance, and (c) affect (e.g., pride or shame). In Cooley's formulation, the mature individual is less affected by these imagined feelings of others toward the self than is an immature individual. Mead (1925) further elaborated Cooley's formulations by articulating two subphases, the play and the game, of how a child incorporates other's views toward one's self. The child's imitation of adult roles during play are replaced by the game as the child adopts rules about how this play must be conducted. This game requires perspective taking of each role in the game. According to Harter (1996), Mead and Cooley provided the beginnings of our current thought on the role of others in affecting our self-concept through social interactions, and conceptualize how feedback from others and development of general perceptions of self are interrelated.

Some theorists have postulated that the Me-self can be considered to be a theory about the self (Epstein, 1991) as it contains all the basic characteristics of a theoretical model. Epstein postulates that extension of this metaphor of the Me-self as a self-theory would then suggest that like any other empirico-deductive theory, this self-theory of the Me-self could be evaluated according to its "extensiveness, parsimony, empirical validity, internal consistency, testability, and usefulness" (Harter, 1996, p. 7). To extend this concept to the process of construction of identity, it would seem that the construction of a cohesive and rigorous self-theory during adolescence likely lays the foundations for the emergence of identity. Identity, then, may be the expression of the Me-self in various domains in relationship to society.

If one is to agree that the Me-self is in fact a theory about the self and is constructed by the I-self, then it appears logical and important that an investigation of the process of identity construction would attempt to not only understand and access this Me-self but also the process by which the I-self constructs the Me-self. Although, my primary aim is to investigate the construction of identity, the grounded theory method is especially amenable to looking at processes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994, 1998) and should allow for some examination of aspects of both the I-self and Me-self.

Appendix J: Blos and Separation-Individuation

Blos (1967) and Separation individuation

Blos's (1967, 1979) formulation of identity, termed character formation, is derived from Margaret Mahler's (Mahler, 1968; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) clinically based conceptualization of the infant's separation individuation process from the primary caregivers. Although Mahler (1968) envisioned the task of separation individuation during infancy as the young child's ability to internalize an image of the primary caretaker, Blos (1967, 1979) suggests that it is this very image that must be relinquished for identity achievement to occur during adolescence, which Blos terms the second individuation. In Blos's (1967, 1979) view, healthy adolescent development progresses from a state of psychological dependence on parents to a state of psychological independence of parents.

Like Erikson's (1963, 1968) concept of ego development, character formation was conceived as beginning in infancy and becoming integrated and stabilized at the end of adolescence. Character formation involves progressively higher levels of differentiation and independence from parents and the environment. Subjectively, character formation is one's sense of self. In Blos's conceptualization, "Individuation implies that the growing person takes increasing responsibility for what he does and what he is, rather than depositing this responsibility onto the shoulders of those under whose influence and tutelage he has grown up" (Blos, 1967, p. 168). Blos also detailed phases that precede and follow adolescence. Pre-adolescence is marked by an increase in both sexual and aggressive drives and decrease in ego control. Early adolescence is distinguished by pubertal maturation as well as the individual's initial separation from parental ties. During adolescence proper, the adolescent turns towards heterosexual love, the consolidation of which is encompassed by a genuine interest in the identity of another person. Late

adolescence is marked by a continued interest in heterosexual love and the young person begins to stabilize a sexual identity into an irreversible pattern. Post-adolescence is a time of further consolidation of character through identification of social outlets for expression of sexual drive and life tasks. Blos (1967, 1979) did not elaborate on the phases and subphases of the second individuation.

Kroger (1995) has begun to conduct some longitudinal studies with adolescents to differentiate possible subphases of separation individuation within the university context, but it must be remembered that university students may be quite dissimilar to the general population. Kroger (1996) indicates that empirical work with Marcia's (1966) identity status paradigm may provide support for the intrapsychic reorganization that occurs during adolescent separation individuation. For example, greater individuation has been associated with identity achievement (Josselson, 1982; Kroger, 1989). Adolescents in moratorium are differentiating from internalized parental representations and appear to have some parallels to infants undergoing separation individuation (Josselson, 1982; Kroger, 1989). Adolescents in foreclosure seem to have little differentiation between self and internalized parental representations (Kroger, 1985; Papini, Micka, & Barnett, 1989). Adolescents in diffusion appear to not have internalized parents and seem to have difficulty defining a cohesive sense of self (Josselson, 1987). In a recent longitudinal study, Kroger (1995) was able to differentiate two subtypes of foreclosure, firm and developmental. Adolescents in firm foreclosure did not change identity statuses over time and remained in the foreclosure status. On the other hand, temporal changes in identity status from foreclosure to other statuses were found among adolescents in developmental foreclosure.

Measurement of separation individuation has been a problem because internal reorganization does not appear to be as easy to assess, compared with external observable cues (Kroger, 1996). Because the second separation individuation is marked by intrapsychic and interpersonal change, measures of separation individuation are generally self-report questionnaires developed to assess internal and external aspects of the relationship between late adolescents and their parents and peers. The few studies that have been conducted from this developmental perspective are quite recent, and have attempted to use these questionnaires to study depression (Quintana & Kerr, 1993), family cohesion, college adjustment (Rice et al., 1995), and eating disorders among women (Smolak & Levine, 1993). Economic independence, personal control, separate residence, and emotional dissociation have all been found to be indicators of increased intrapsychic separation from parents. Again, similar to the studies carried out on Erikson's formulations, these investigations have also invariably been conducted with Euro-American adolescents.

Theoretical Critique

Blos's (1967) theory has been criticized for providing insufficient detail about the phases or stages of character development, and for lacking an underlying organizing principle that can account for development during adolescence (Kroger, 1996). Gilligan (1982) asserts that female development does not progress through a phase of shedding of family ties and dependancies in order to become a member of society at large. This brings into question the ability of this framework to capture the process of identity development for males from non-Western cultures that focus more on interdependence as compared to independence as the aim of healthy development.

The generalizability of Blos's (1967, 1979) conceptualization of separation individuation to the experiences of males from non-Western cultures, and second generation South Asian male adolescents specifically, is limited in a number of ways. First, with respect to the goal of healthy development, the argument against Blos's (1967) hypotheses is similar to the critique of Erikson's (1968) formulation in that both of these theorists are contextualized in a EuroAmerican cultural framework and this, in addition to their historical context, tends to influence their theoretical construction of the process of identity formation. Triandis's (1995) studies on cultural differences in collectivism and individualism have clearly shown that individuals in non-Western cultures do not value separation from parental, familial, or group members as a healthy and normalized mode of development. In fact, such adolescents would more likely be perceived as abnormal in a context that valued interdependence within the social group. Thus, the aim of healthy normative development for these male adolescents may not be separation individuation from parents, as postulated by Blos. On the contrary, in traditional patriarchal South Asian societies for example, males are generally expected to stay with their parents. Upon marriage, instead of forming a nuclear unit and separating from parents as in Western cultures, traditionally the bride moves into the groom's parents' home, and they both stay there for the rest of their lives (Ingoldsby, 1995). Moreover, support for the importance of maintaining a relationship with parents during the process of separation individuation is provided by recent investigations on late adolescence and adjustment to college/university (Quintana & Kerr, 1993).

Blos (1967, 1979) accepts Mahler's (1968) postulation that the young infant's ability to internalize an image of the primary caretaker is essential in early development. If

relinquishing of an image or images is important in self and identity formation by youth, narratives of adolescents aged 16 to 19 years may highlight aspects of this.

The phases of character formation as outlined by Blos (1967, 1979) may also be culturally specific, especially with respect to the phase of adolescence proper. In some collectivist cultures, marriages are still arranged by parents or significant others and the adolescent has limited opportunities to explore heterosexual love before marriage (Ibrahim et al., 1997). Although Blos's formulation of identity development does attend to the importance of the changing parent child bond during late adolescence and the role this may play in the formation of identity, it may not be entirely applicable to the identity development process of second generation South Asian male adolescents.

Critique of Research on Blos's Theory

Research on Blos's conceptualization of identity formation in adolescence is limited (Kroger, 1996). Thus, criticism has been aimed at the limited clinical data and empirical foundation upon which Blos's formulations are based. Another critique has been directed at the methodology used to investigate Blos's (1967) theory that generally has utilized pencil and paper type instruments that attempt to access the separation individuation process (Quintana & Kerr, 1993). Validity and reliability issues are apparent as these instruments are standardized on EuroAmerican youth, and do not access the specific contextual variables that may influence the development of adolescents from a collectivist culture. These instruments are limited in their cultural sensitivity for adolescents from collectivist cultures. For example, these scales only ask about the adolescent's relationship with parents but do not consider the influence of extended family and other significant community members.

Summary

The literature review revealed a lack of investigations that consider separation individuation among adolescent males from collectivist cultures. It is clear from this review of Blos's (1967) conceptualization of separation individuation that this model is not applicable to the experiences of second generation South Asian adolescent males due to issues of cross-cultural limitations. A Western bias is noticeable in Blos's (1967) formulations. However, Blos's (1967) focus on the changing relationship between the parent and growing adolescent is important, considering that some studies on South Asian family processes in North America indicate that the parent-child relationship in adolescence is a key source of stress for youth (Kurian, 1991). Although research on Blos's conceptualization of identity is limited, other investigations on the changing parent-child bond during adolescence provide additional insight into the connection between the familial context and identity development.

Family and Identity

Research on adolescent/parental attachment has also provided support for psychological separation during adolescence and has produced consistent results. The importance of both attachment and independence in the changing parent-child bond during adolescence (Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992; Blustein, Wallbridge, Friedlander, & Palladino, 1991) provides support for the notion that individuality and connectedness are both important factors in adolescent development (Cooper & Grotevant, 1987; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). The results of research on adolescent/parental attachment suggest that relationship must not only be considered in the development of female adolescents, but for males as well. This further solidifies the argument that current popular theoretical conceptualizations such as Erikson's (1968) and Blos's (1967) may not accurately portray

the development of healthy identity formation for males or females from non-Western cultures.

Moreover, Kroger (1996) indicates that an important future direction for research on adolescent development is the changing meaning of these dimensions over the course of intrapsychic restructuring. This is especially relevant with respect to understanding this process for non-Western males because their cultural context may directly influence if and how the balancing of psychological separation and continued attachment to parental and other significant social figures is played out.

Some researchers have carried out investigations on the relationship between family environment and the adolescent's development of identity, and have substantiated that the family environment undergoes intrapsychic and extrapsychic restructuring as family relations are redefined, renegotiated, and realigned during this period (Collins, 1990; Steinberg, 1990). Subsequent models of adolescent psychosocial development in the family have been proposed (Adams, Gullotta, & Montemayor, 1992; Feldman & Elliott, 1990). Although each of these theoretical models has a slightly different conceptualization of adolescent development in the family context, they do share common features. They agree that the affective quality of the family context is an influential aspect of the child's ability to engage in the formation of an identity. Each model also emphasizes the family's need to adapt to the changing biopsychosocial needs of family members. These theories suggest that identity formation is not exclusively an individual endeavour but, in fact, is moderated by family context variables. Thus, the optimal development of adolescent identity is postulated to depend on each family member's ability to be sensitive, supportive, and flexible in their reactions to the adolescent's identity exploration and commitment activities (Kroger, 1996).

Gender and Identity

Although early feminist theorists argued that gender differences across cultures were more significant than differences between cultures, more recent writers such as Patricia Hill Collins (1990) have indicated that culture and gender are both significant factors in understanding the social construction of human phenomenon. Support for this notion has been growing (Hattie & Marsh, 1996). One cross-cultural study of adolescent self-concept in India and the United States (Dhawan, Roseman, Naidu, Thapa, & Rettek, 1995) found that differences between cultures were more significant than differences among males and females in their American and Indian university samples. Thus, both culture and gender must be considered in the formulation of theories on human development. The gender specific framework of feminist models of identity formation, such as self-in-relation theory (Surrey, 1991), can be extended to the experiences of males from non-Western cultures, in that, relationship must not only be considered in the normative development of females but also males who are embedded in cultures that value collectivism (Triandis, 1995).

Appendix K: Context: Sikh Adolescent Males

Context: Sikh Adolescent Males

In order to further examine the context of identity construction for second generation Sikh adolescent males, I examine specific domains in order to highlight how identity formation of South Asian youth in general, and second generation Sikh adolescent males in particular, may be unique from the experiences of adolescents from Western roots. I specifically address issues of religion, marriage, and sex roles, politics, and occupational aspirations.

Religion and Identity

Sikhs are a visible minority in the Canadian mosaic. Orthodox Sikh values of kes (not cutting any body hair) and wearing religious symbols such as the kirpan (religious dagger), kurra (steel bracelet), kunga (wooden comb), and keshaira (boxer style shorts) by males and females may influence the identity formation process. Typically, baptized males and females cover their heads as a form of respect toward God. A young boy has his hair tied into a bun on the top of his head. This bun is covered by a small kerchief during childhood which is replaced by a turban during mid to late adolescence. The timing of this transition will depend on the family but it is considered an oddity if a boy in high-school is still wearing a kerchief.

Baptized, or Amritdhari, adolescent and adult Sikh males are generally more visible than baptized females as the wearing of the turban and long flowing uncut beard and moustache uniquely identify baptized Sikh males from all other males (Helweg, 1979) in the Canadian mosaic. Even nonbaptized Sikhs who endorse Sikh religious values, termed Kesadhari Sikhs, may maintain unshorn hair and wear a turban, although some may trim

their beards and moustaches. This group of males then, is also highly visible in Canadian society.

Comparatively, baptized women may choose to cover their heads with a scarf or wear a turban. Thus there is choice for women as to how physically distinguishable they want to be to others. Although, baptized or Amritdhari women may be quite obviously identifiable, Kesadhari women (i.e., those who are not baptized but endorse Sikh religious values) do not differ from other non-Sikh women who choose to have long hair.

My personal experience and observations would indicate that this greater visibility of young males as Sikh and their disparity from the dominant ideology may be related to increased stress for some Sikh adolescent males. Commenting on Sikhs in Britain, Helweg (1979, p. 3) notes that "Sikh boys with their braids or topknots often experience humiliation in British schools, for long hair does not have the same connotation of manliness or sainthood in the west as it does in the East." This distress may be even greater for those male children and adolescents who do not personally identify with keeping unshorn hair, but are pressured to do so by their families. Among more orthodox Sikh families, the keeping of this unshorn hair by the next generation is considered prestigious and the cutting of the hair by an adolescent or young adult is considered a tragedy and may negatively effect the prestige of the family within the larger Sikh community. It is not unknown for adolescent males and young men who have been pressured to keep their hair uncut to one day spontaneously cut their hair, or even consider drastic measures such as running away or suicide because they can not manage the distress associated with the differing expectations of their families and their peers.

The opposite scenario is also possible where an adolescent's parents may not value Sikh religious principles but the adolescent is more spiritually inclined and wants to

become baptized. This may also lead to distress as the adolescent may not feel valued by the family, partake in false self behaviour and then be agonized by the discrepancy in the expression of these varying aspects of his self in different contexts. During adolescence, new cognitive abilities not only allow youth to be aware of different aspects of themselves but also increase perception of prejudices, discrimination, and social inequality that may significantly influence socioemotional development. The looking-glass self (Cooley, 1902) in which adolescents imagine the reactions of others to their behaviour and personality, likely affects the development of the Sikh adolescent's identity (Spencer et al., 1990).

Marriage and Identity

Within South Asian, and specifically Indian culture, the marriage ceremony marks a developmental point in the commitment of social roles and responsibilities for the emerging adult. Marriage was and still is considered to be a union among families, not just of individuals (Ballard & Ballard, 1977). Traditionally, in Indian culture, marriages were arranged by elders and potential partners rarely saw each other until the wedding day. As all social customs and practices change over time, the tradition of arranged marriages has also changed, not only in the acculturation of Indian families outside of India, but within India itself.

Today, marriages may be arranged or assisted to varying degrees and young adults may go through the courtship process in a couple of ways. It is rare for any marriage to be completely arranged. More commonly, marriages are assisted whereby parents and elders screen potential partners for their child based on economic, social, educational, and religious criteria that is generally established in collaboration with the young person. The young couple is given an opportunity to meet in the presence of family members and then provided some time to sit alone and talk. Families will vary in how many times they

condone their young adult meeting with a potential partner before a firm commitment to pursue this relationship toward the goal of marriage is expected. In other families, it may be acceptable for a young adult to suggest a possible marriage partner, usually some one they know, and then have the parents screen the person and his or her family. Once screened, and commitment is given by both young people, the parents would be actively involved in collaborating with the potential in-laws to bring the two young people together in marriage. A limited percentage of families, generally those who are very acculturated into mainstream society, will elect to allow their young adults to undergo a courtship process similar to mainstream society, and find a marriage partner of their own choosing.

Gender differences in the marriage process are quite demarcated. Due to the valuing of extended family and kinship, traditionally, at the time of marriage the young man brings his new bride into his parents' home (Das & Kemp, 1997) where they would live for the rest of their lives. Thus Sikh males, like other South Asian males, are traditionally never expected to leave their family of origin, which is highly disparate from the experience of young males in Western societies. Unlike Western cultures, moving out of the house before marriage was considered shameful for the family (Duryea & Grundison, 1993).

Today, in Canada, this tradition may still be valued by some families although there appears to be a trend toward young couples forming nuclear units and moving into their own homes but usually still with strong ties to his parents. These ties influence decision making as decisions regarding significant issues (e.g., buying or selling a house, assisting marriages of grandchildren, and inter-relationships among extended family members), still involve discussion with the parents. In situations where the couple do form their own nuclear family and move into their own house, the husband's parents generally become

transitory occupants in their sons' homes. For parents who have more than one son, they have the opportunity to move between their sons, usually at their discretion. For parents with only one son, neither they nor their son may see any option other than to live with the son, unless the parents are economically, physically, and cognitively able to manage an independent life and choose to live on their own.

Couples with no sons, may reluctantly, and possibly with resignation, feel compelled to live with one of their daughters as living alone, as a couple, in old age is not preferred. Elderly parents expect their sons to take care of them in old age and foresee themselves as burdens on their daughter(s) if they do not have any sons. Thus, boys are socialized very early to be caretakers in their parents' old age.

For young people who choose to pursue college or university training, marriage is generally postponed till after the completion of this training. For those who do not choose to attend college or university, they are generally expected to seek employment, become established, and then consider marriage. Although possible, it is highly unlikely that a young person would be married directly after completion of high-school.

Occupation and Identity

Due to the prevalence of collectivist features (Triandis, 1995) within South Asian cultures, occupational choices were not traditionally left up to the individual. Children were, and to some degree, still are expected to pursue educational training in areas that were endorsed by the family. This is clearly linked to a reciprocal relationship in which the family generally takes on most of the financial burden of the young adult's training. Thus, role experimentation and fidelity with respect to vocational choices may not be similar to Erikson's (1968) description of identity development. Instead, certain occupations hold higher value in terms of prestige, power, and financial security and all may be considered

important in the selection of an occupation. For example, medicine and law are valued professions and many children of immigrant parents are socialized to pursue careers in these areas.

This process is changing to some degree as immigrant parents become more established in Canadian societies, such that adolescents and young adults may be given freedom to pursue their own career aspirations. My observations of an increase in the number of South Asian, and specifically Sikh, university students enrolled in the social sciences and arts, in the lower mainland of British Columbia, Canada, over the last decade, would suggest that parental expectations are changing. Unlike parents in mainstream society, Sikh parents still have a stake in their sons' career success as these young men will eventually serve as the social security of their immigrant parents in old age.

Political Values and Identity

Like the other three domains previously discussed, it is apparent that South Asian youth may vary in the timing of and amount of role experimentation that is involved in this process. Political choices, in traditional South Asian cultures, are to some degree, made by the elderly males in the immediate or extended family network, and the rest of the family concurs. The obedience and loyalty to family and elders that is common in collectivist cultures (Triandis, 1995), as well as the consideration of the social world outside the home as the domain of the males, are likely strong factors in this process. Today, some Canadian-born South Asian youth may challenge this notion of endorsing the political views of the elderly male, but others still subscribe to it. The process of constructing an identity in this domain may be quite unique in South Asian males, compared to their Western counterparts.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to support some of the criticisms of common theoretical models of identity formation in their inability to describe this process for all adolescents, regardless of culture or gender. In the next section, I review the literature on South Asian adolescents in general, and Sikhs when available, to further provide empirical support to substantiate the uniqueness of the issues and context in which second generation Sikh adolescent males in Canada must construct a sense of self and identity.

Research on Sikh and South Asian Adolescents

Research that provides insight into the identity formation process of South Asian second generation adolescent males, and Sikhs in particular, is rare (see, e.g., Shergill, 1992; Sidhu, 1990). Although there has been an increase in the amount of research in the social sciences with ethnic minorities, interest in South Asians is relatively recent (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Most of the earlier studies on immigrant South Asians were conducted by sociologists and anthropologists and have focused on changing sociocultural patterns at the familial and group level (Ballard, 1979; Friesen, 1994; Helweg, 1979; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983) with more recent investigations aimed at studying the experiences of South Asian females (Anderson & Lynam, 1987; Dyal et al., 1988; Ghosh, 1981; Guzder, 1992; Lalonde et al., 1988; Naidoo, 1984, 1992, 1994; Szeleky, 1990).

Much of this interest in studying females has been generated by the hypothesis that females in South Asian patriarchal cultures are disempowered and subservient, and thereby susceptible to physical, emotional, and cognitive stress in adjustment to the Canadian context. In a recent review of the literature on South Asian women, Naidoo (1994) compiled over 200 abstracts of published articles, unpublished studies, and papers presented at conferences. Of those published articles cited by Naidoo, few appear in the more distinguished journals in the social sciences and thus access by other investigators

may be limited. This largely ethnographic documentation of the social experiences and adjustment of South Asian immigrant women is of interest but limited. Gender and age imbalance in the literature on South Asians is apparent. A review of the literature indicates that second generation immigrant children and especially adolescent males and their self and identity construction processes have yet to be examined in depth.

Some ethnographic studies that have been carried out on South Asians support the notion that children and adolescents do experience difficulties in bi-cultural negotiation (Duriyea & Grundison, 1993; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Sandhu, 1980; Wakil et al., 1981). Basu (1989) cogently presents examples of immigrant youth who have experienced this cultural conflict. Basu (1989) speaks of the ABCD (American Born Confused Desis) phenomenon that seems to have become a major issue among the South Asian or Indian (from the Indian subcontinent) communities in Canada and the United States. The author suggests that

many Indian children brought up in the U.S. confront the familiar dilemma of being torn between two cultures. Trying to adapt socially but looking foreign, burdened by the contradictory expectations of their Indian parents and American peers, uncertain of which heritage to claim as their own and without a sense of belonging, they seem destined to be misfits in both cultures. For them, youth is often a time of crises. (Basu, 1989, p. 98).

Berry's (1997) notion of acculturation and stress may provide some insight into this phenomenon. Berry (1970, 1997) indicates that the process of acculturation that occurs when two or more distinct cultural groups come into contact in diverse societies such as Canada, may sometimes lead to stress. The effects of acculturative stress are hypothesized to be more pronounced within families belonging to a minority ethnic group that is highly disparate from mainstream society (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). There is much disparity between the dominant cultures in North America and South Asian cultures in

general, and Sikh culture specifically. This disparity may result in a high level of parent-child conflict as youth attempt to develop an identity that integrates aspects of their ethnic heritage and mainstream society. Sandhu (1997, p. 17) notes that South Asian values such as "filial piety, expressing deference to the elders, and making personal sacrifices for family members, although considered crucial by the immigrant parents, become meaningless for their children (Sodowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995)."

This widening generation gap between parents and children can be distressing for all involved, resulting in feelings of isolation as children begin to identify more with their peers (Sandhu, 1997). Connecting this back to self and identity development in adolescence, the increased cognitive abilities of adolescents make them more sensitive to this expression of multiple selves in parental and peer contexts, which may result in increased distress. Only in late adolescence would these youth be expected to integrate these disparate aspects of self into higher order abstract formulations of self and identity (Harter, 1990). Harter notes that the potential risk for those adolescents who are not able to integrate multiple selves is the possibility of a self that is pathologically fragmented. For these individuals, the conflict caused by the awareness of multiple selves may not decrease, instead it may result in continued distress that can influence later functioning as an adult.

This has led to a few empirical studies on acculturative stress of second generation Sikh adolescents between 14 and 21 years of age (Shergill, 1992; Sidhu, 1990). These studies indicate that adolescents report high degrees of distress on measures of acculturative stress. Sidhu examined the relationship between acculturative stress, self-esteem, and ethnic identity among second generation male and female Sikh adolescents by administering the Coopersmith Self Esteem Measure (Coopersmith, 1981), the Cawte

Acculturative Stress Scale (Cawte, 1972), and the Minority Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1989) to 114, 13-to 16-year-old adolescents (41 males and 73 females) in four multiculturally diverse junior high schools in a large metropolitan centre in British Columbia, Canada. Shergill (1992) assessed acculturation, acculturative stress, and psychological androgyny among 114 (56 male and 58 female) Sikh adolescents aged 14 to 21 using standardized measures for each of these variables.

Gender differences in stress exhibited by Sikh adolescents were inconsistent as Sidhu (1990) found that males had higher levels of acculturative stress than females ($t=2.74$; $p<.05$), whereas Shergill's (1992) results revealed no statistical mean differences. In Sidhu's (1990) study, gender differences in social self-esteem were statistically significant with males reporting lower social self-esteem ($t=2.22$; $p<.05$) and lower scores on the affirmation/belonging subscale ($t=-2.06$; $p<.05$) of the Minority Ethnic Identity Measure. Thus, Sikh adolescent males may experience greater stress in constructing a sense of self and identity and may be more prone to negative self construals based on their social interactions with their peers from their own and other cultures.