Maintaining the Panjabi Language and Culture: Auckland's Sikh Gurdwaras and the Home Domain

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly acknowledged in the reference list), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Acknowledgements

The accomplishment of this thesis on the auspicious occasion of Vaisakhi – a sacred festival which marks the birth of the Khalsa Panth, makes this study more valued for what it is intended for. Thank you, Waheguru, for giving me the opportunity of this sewa to work for my community.

To the Guru Panth and Maa boli Panjabi, may this sewa serve to inspire you in the search for knowledge.

Abstract

New Zealand is home to approximately twenty thousand Sikhs, a cultural community with its first arrival in 1890, which has grown significantly since 2001, particularly in the Auckland region. This Auckland case study considers the acquisition and maintenance of community's heritage language, Panjabi, and Sikh cultural identity among young Sikh migrants, within the Sikh religious institutions (gurdwaras) and the home environment. The research also considers indications of any language shift or attrition.

This ethnographic qualitative study used mixed methods in the form of surveys, interviews and field observations to obtain data. Participants included Sikh adults who had children in the age group 8-16 and had migrated to New Zealand, and children of the aforementioned age group who were either born in New Zealand to migrant parents or were born overseas and migrated later. Survey data was collected in-person and online and was supplemented by interviews with ten different families. Observations from field visits to gurdwaras and visits to participants' homes provided background information on the community.

The findings relating to gurdwaras showed that they are ideal places to continue the teaching and maintenance of Panjabi and cultural identity development among young Sikhs living in Auckland. The fact that the Sikh community greatly values its language is evident from the extensive range of cultural events and classes held within gurdwaras. The study also found that these religious institutions are not homogenous, with the type of institution determining the importance placed on religious transmission events and their content and style.

Participants' interviews confirmed similarities with existing literature on language maintenance/shift and the effectiveness of community domain in maintaining the heritage language fails without preservation in the home domain (Fishman, 1991). The interview phase showed that communication with extended family members, knowledge and use of heritage language and religion were the core cultural values of the community. These were major influences within families to pass the language onto the next generation and pointed to home as the core of heritage language maintenance.

The findings identify that there are many challenges to be addressed if language shift and attrition are to be avoided in Auckland. The easy access to the availability of translations

of Guru Granth Sahib (the Sikh Holy Scriptures) in the dominant language (English), means that children focus less on gaining literacy skills in Panjabi. The findings suggest community members' awareness of the advantages that bilingualism could offer so that they can make more efforts to maintain Panjabi among their children. The support available in gurdwaras means that language transmission may be successful for future generations depending upon parental perceptions.

This research will add to the existing body of knowledge on heritage language maintenance in New Zealand and will act as a tool for the Sikh community, allowing them to assess better the state of Panjabi while also providing information on potential challenges that might impede their language maintenance efforts.

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A note on words from the Panjabi language

This thesis includes many words from the Panjabi language. These have been italicised on each occurrence in the text, unless, like 'gurdwara', 'Guru Granth Sahib', and names of the guru and sants that are widely current. The word 'Panjabi' denotes the language and 'Punjabi' is employed for the word in its other usages such as people belonging or associating to the Punjab region of India.

Abbreviations and Glossary

Akhand Path	continuous forty-eight hour reading of Guru Granth Sahib.
Akhand Kirtani Jatha	as defined by Nesbitt (2000) is lit. 'continuous hymn singing' group, non-political organisation emphasising allegiance to Khalsa code/Sikh Rehat Maryada (p. 273)
Amrit	holy water (used for initiation in Sikhism)
Amritdhari	one who has been initiated with amrit
Ardas	formal Sikh congregational prayer
Bhangra	Punjabi folk dance
Bhog	conclusion of Akhand Path
Damdami Taksal	a non-political Sikh educational organisation in India emphasising allegiance to Khalsa code/Sikh Rehat Maryada. It claims to be 300 years old and Guru Gobind Singh (Sikhs' tenth Guru) as its founder
Dholki	large wooden drum, held horizontally and beaten at both ends
Dastar	turban
EV	Ethnolinguistic vitality
Five K's	five external signs of Sikh allegiance that Guru Gobind Singh Ji commanded Khalsa Sikhs to wear all the times after initiation by amrit
Gatka	Indian martial arts associated with the Sikhs of the Punjab region, and is a style of stick fighting, with wooden sticks intended to simulate swords. It can be practised either as a sport or a ritual.
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
Gora	a white person
Granthi	reader of Guru Granth Sahib
Guru	a Guru in Sikhism is a spiritual guide, teacher and an enlightener
Gurbani	'Guru's utterance', hymns of Guru Granth Sahib
Gurdwara	the correct transliteration of the Sikh place of worship

Gurmat	the Guru's teachings or Sikhism teachings
Gursikh	a gursikh is an amritdhari Sikh who obeys Sikh Rehat Maryada and five k's. Conversely, non-gursikhs or sehajdharis are Sikhs who are not amritdharis and have not taken vow of amrit. A sehajdhari sikh may or may not follow Sikh Rehat Maryada
Guru Granth Sahib	the principal sacred text of Sikhism contains hymns and poetry as well as the teachings of the first five gurus written in Gurmukhi script
HL	Heritage language
HLM	Heritage language maintenance
Hukamnama	edict i.e. random reading from scriptures for guidance
Jathebandi	Sikh community which may be linked by a common area, or a common leader
Japji Sahib	Guru Nanak's composition, opening passage of Guru Granth Sahib
Kara	iron bangle worn by Sikhs as one of the five K's
Kabaddi	a contact team sport of the Indian subcontinent and other surrounding Asian countries
Kathakaar	the preacher of Sikh histories and stories mostly sits cross-legged on the floor, or in tabyaa of the Guru Granth Sahib
Kavishri	it was started by the 10th Guru – Guru Gobind Singh Ji. It is a style of folk music entailing very energetic and dynamic style of singing where the singer's gusto compensates for the lack of music
LL	Liturgical Language, here, Gurmukhi
LS	Language shift
LEP	Limited English proficiency
Langar	corporate meal in the gurdwara, the kitchen where it is cooked and the place where it is eaten
Mool mantar	it is the first composition in Guru Granth Sahib and taken as a fundamental prayer in Sikhism

Nanaksar	Nanaksar is a town in Punjab, India. Nanaksar sampradaya or movement was founded by Baba Nand Singh who had visions of some of the Gurus of the Sikh religion
Nagar kirtan	town hymn-singing or street procession during festivals, gurpurabs, and other Sikh cultural occasions
Patka	head covering for boys who have untrimmed hair
Pracharak	a person appointed to propagate Sikh religion in gurdwaras, Sikh educational institutions, etc
Prashad	blessed food
Panjab	Panjab is the correct transliteration of the region, in north western India, traditionally named for its five rivers (Panj rivers). The alternative spelling, 'Punjab' is an Indian carryover from British practice resulting from the ambiguity of vowels in the English language (Booth, 2014, p. 32)
Panjabi	the Indic language spoken by most people in Punjab – a state in the north western India
Panj pyaare	the panj pyaare is the term used for the Five beloved men who were initiated into the Khalsa under the leadership of the last tenth Guru – Guru Gobind Singh Ji
Punjabi	associated with, originating from Punjab
Roti	Chapati or Indian flat bread
Ravidas	also known as Bhagat Ravidas was an Indian mystic poet-sant of the bhakti movement during the 14th to 16th century CE. Many of his devotional hymns are present in Guru Granth Sahib under "Bani Bhagatan Ki"
Ravidasis	follower of saint Ravidas, members of his caste
SSSNZ	Supreme Sikh Society New Zealand
Sikh Rehat Maryada	Sikhs' code of conduct authorised by the Akal Takhat
Sehajdhari	used for those persons who identify themselves as Sikhs but do not adhere to the Khalsa code or five K's
Sahibjade (char sahibjade)	title for Guru Gobind Singh's four sons
Salwar- kameez	traditional outfit originating in the Indian subcontinent; kameez – long shirt and salwar – baggy trousers

Sampradaya	spiritual lineage
Sant	charismatic Sikh leader
Sangrand	the day of the new zodiac sign, is in Punjab the traditional day for a larger congregation in the gurdwaras than on other days (Nesbitt, 2000)
Sat shri Akal	Sikh greeting meaning 'True is the Timeless Lord'
Shabad	'word', any hymn from the Guru Granth Sahib Ji
Sewa	selfless service
Tabla	one of a pair of hand-beaten drums, usually refers to the pair

Chapter One: Introduction

Recent waves of migrants from Asia have contributed to New Zealand's super-diversity over the past two decades. Migrants have predominantly settled in Auckland, which according to Chen (2015) is the "most super-diverse city in New Zealand and in the world" (p. 56). According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), 50 per cent of Auckland's population is made up of Māori, Asian or Pasifika communities. This super-diversity makes the city a distinct case study for a focus on the intergenerational transmission of Panjabi language and culture to younger generations within the Sikh community – a community which is identified as unique because of its distinctive religious traditions and identity.

The Sikh community discussed in this thesis has been a part of New Zealand's social landscape for over a hundred years with its first arrival in 1890 (Leckie, 2010). Although a relatively small population constituting less than 1 per cent of New Zealand's total population in 2013, the Sikh diaspora in New Zealand has grown from a few hundred in the early twentieth century to approximately 20,000 adherents in recent times (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Sikh population saw an exponential growth occurring after 2001, and with this, there arose a need to consider the language and cultural identity acquisition processes occurring inside the community.

Punjab is the spiritual homeland of Sikhs, and it became one of the epicentres of Indian migration to New Zealand. However, it was not the only one as Sikhs have made their way to New Zealand from different states within India, and from different countries including Fiji, Australia and others. New Zealand is, therefore, a unique place to conduct this research.

The gurdwaras are the religious institutions of Sikh communities, "which house the Guru, in the form of Guru Granth Sahib" (Nesbitt, 2005, p. 39) and are found within South Asia, outside Punjab, and in many nations where Sikhs sojourn, settle and travel. This case study is framed around a central research question: What role do Auckland Sikh gurdwaras and the home domain have in the acquisition of heritage language and

culture and their maintenance in the lives of young Sikh migrants[1]? The following objectives have been identified to help answer this question:

1. An analysis of the interaction of the sociocultural and linguistic environment inside gurdwaras and how they facilitate the maintenance of heritage language and culture among young migrants;

2. Evidence of the language proficiencies and language use patterns of young people who attend cultural classes in gurdwaras;

3. An analysis of the attitudes of children and parents towards learning and maintaining Panjabi; and

4. Identification of potential factors that lead to the facilitation/shift of the heritage language and cultural identity within the domains of home and community.

With the aim of investigating the maintenance of the Panjabi language and any shifts within the Sikh community in Auckland, this thesis will also explore the processes of acquiring language and cultural identity within community. Through participants' voices, the study will also aim to define the factors that indicate whether the Panjabi language is maintained in the younger generation, and if there are any signs of its attrition.

This research will draw upon not only the perceptions of the Sikh community in Auckland, but also upon my own experience as a Sikh woman born into a devoutly religious family in Amritsar, Punjab, also known as Ramdaspur at the time when it was established by the fifth *guru* of the Sikhs – Guru Ram Das ji. It is an advantage to be born in Amritsar as it is known as the centre of Sikhism with the presence of The Golden Temple; the holiest gurdwara and the most important pilgrimage site of Sikhism. Amritsar also houses the Supreme Akal Takhat, the chief centre of religious authority of Sikhism, which acts as a symbol of political sovereignty where the spiritual and temporal concerns of the Sikh community are addressed. *Granthies* (Sikh clergy) at Akal Takhat and the SGPC (*Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee*[2]) introduced in 1945 *Sikh Rehat Maryada*, a written norm or code of conduct and protocols to foster cohesion

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[1] Migrants – I have used the term migrants for people of the Sikh community who have migrated from different parts of the world into New Zealand, which included their children who were either born in New Zealand or overseas.

[2] *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee* – also known as SGPC is an organisation in India responsible for the management of gurdwaras in three states of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

among the Sikh community by standardising the functioning of Sikh gurdwaras and religious practices. My knowledge of the *Sikh Rehat Maryada* has been particularly valuable for gaining an understanding of the internal dynamics of the gurdwaras for this study.

Gurdwaras reflect the long history of mobility that has been a prominent element of the Sikh religion, which was started by Guru Nanak, the Sikhs' first Guru. Singh's (2016) empirical study on Sikhs' migration to New Zealand argued that mobility, migration and supporting institutions (Sikh gurdwaras) had been a part of Sikh faith from its inception and were not just a response to British colonialism and migration. He asserted the importance of gurdwaras as communication networks from the early sixteenth century (at the time of Sikhs' tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh). At that time Sikhs used to congregate at their local gurdwara to listen to the stories about Guru Nanak and to share food in the langar, a community kitchen and one of the "core supportive institutions" of mobility that served food to everyone "regardless of age, creed, or social distinctions" (Singh, 2016, p. 28).

According to Singh (2014), gurdwaras were built either to mark key events in Sikh history or to serve the religious and social needs of the community during their migration. As such, all diasporic gurdwaras, including those in New Zealand, fall into the second category of serving the local community including those who visit as travellers or are new community members. However, there are further distinctions in the types of gurdwaras, and these distinctions form a part of this study.

In order to tell the story of language and cultural identity acquisition from the perspective of the community itself, an ethnographically designed approach that included thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of participants' narratives in their natural setting (Creswell, 2013) was taken. Survey tools included the broad generalisations of participants' attitudes and perceptions, and observations from the fieldwork have been applied. While the ethnographic design of the study will give voice to the community, of which I am also a part, my knowledge of the Sikh gurdwaras and their underlying ethics and conventions plays a significant role in providing the context of the study and gaining meaningful access to the community. In defining my relationship with the community, I labelled myself both as an insider and outsider who is willing to learn the cultural identity and language acquisition processes occurring in a diasporic community.

Setting the scene

This section explains the purpose of my research inquiry and reflects on why and how I was interested in the diverse voices of Sikh parents and their children in Auckland who are undergoing language and cultural identity processes in New Zealand's diverse culture.

The following information is included to place myself in the context of this study, as it demonstrates the beginning of this project.

In 2015, I went to London to pursue a master's degree in Linguistics. This was when I experienced the environment inside diasporic gurdwaras outside India for the first time. I had not intended to undertake this project until I came into contact with a professor from The University of Auckland regarding my initial proposal on code-switching in Indian classrooms. When she found out that I had the advantage of being multilingual, (I speak Hindi, Panjabi and English), she suggested that instead, I should study language maintenance in the local Sikh community of Auckland. Her interest in this project eventually led me to delve deeper into the Sikh diaspora through a number of postcolonial studies conducted around the world, including UK, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, Spain and Finland. Thus, undertaking this project was the beginning of my academic interest in Sikh studies in New Zealand.

During my readings, I came across and was surprised by the inadequate research done on the community in New Zealand, given the large number of Sikh migrations from Punjab and other parts of the world into this country and the development of gurdwaras in its cities. While many community languages have been researched in New Zealand, to the best of my knowledge Panjabi (the heritage language of Sikhs) has yet to be studied in any detail. Although the community dates back over hundred years in New Zealand, this is one of very few studies to take on its language and cultural identity acquisition processes specifically in the community domain. This study will not only address the gap in the literature at both a local and an international level but is particularly timely with the increasing numbers of Panjabi-speaking migrants entering the community.

Having experienced different environments within the community in India and UK, I wanted to show the Sikh community itself and those outside the community the bigger

picture of language and cultural identity acquisition processes underway in Sikh gurdwaras, especially those in Auckland. The findings of this thesis should be of benefit to more recent arrivals of Panjabi-speaking migrants from India and other countries who are wondering what the future holds for their language, especially for the younger generation.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis starts with a broad overview of the topic, drawing on Sikh migration to New Zealand from the early nineteenth century, thus providing a background to the study. This section also provides a glimpse into my journey to New Zealand which was important in positioning me in the context of the study.

Chapter two will identify literature that explains the key terms used in the study: heritage language and heritage language speakers, and heritage language maintenance and language shift. It also discusses different factors affecting heritage language maintenance in an ethnic minority community. The chapter will then provide an overview of studies conducted at a global level on language maintenance and shift, representing different perspectives on the phenomenon. It will then turn to the dominant models employed in the present study: Giles's (1977) objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality model, Smolicz's (1981) core value theory for maintaining ethnic differential and Fishman's seminal work on language maintenance, reversing language shift (RLS), and meaning and concept of intergenerational transmission of the ethnic mother tongue of any minority community. The chapter then discusses the functions of heritage language maintenance, summarises the literature and identifies the gaps in the studies reviewed which this study aims to address.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach selected for the study and the research methods, justifying my choice of these with reference to the literature. The chapter also presents a brief overview of the current demographic concentration of the Sikh community in the New Zealand in a historical context and places the research in this setting. The research design is detailed and includes the research instruments used in the collection of data for further analysis. Finally, I considered the ethical concerns which arose in conducting this ethnographic research.

Chapter Four presents empirical findings of the data collected by employing various research instruments from available participants in the community. It also gives an

overview of the data collected in the form of field notes from observations in various gurdwaras. Chapter Five continues the data presentation in the form of participants' narratives in private homes and reflects on participants' behaviour in the related processes and issues within the family context.

Chapter Six summarises and discusses the key findings presented in the previous chapters and relates them to the theoretical concepts set out in the literature review. This is followed by a conclusion and identification of areas that would benefit from future research. Recommendations are made on how the community could address issues arising from the research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Key Theoretical Concepts

Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the phenomenon of heritage language and its maintenance among young Sikh children aged 8-11 and 12-16 and to identify the role of community institutions in relation to heritage language maintenance. Several theories have been applied to explore the concept of language maintenance by examining variables that may have influenced the language choice of children and their parents.

The first section identifies the literature that explains the terms used in the study: heritage language (which includes liturgical language), heritage language speakers, and heritage language maintenance and language attrition/shift. It also discusses different factors affecting heritage language maintenance at individual and group levels. Studies conducted at a global level on language maintenance and shift which represent different perspectives on the phenomenon are discussed.

The second section introduces dominant models employed in the present study. Three major models identified as relevant to this study include: Giles's (1977) objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality model affected by status, demographic and institutional support factors; Smolicz's (1981) core value theory for maintaining ethnic differential; and Fishman's seminal work on language maintenance, reversing language shift (RLS) and meaning and concept of intergenerational transmission of the ethnic mother-tongue of any minority community. These three models are key to understanding the linguistic underpinnings of this study.

The third section comprises a review of the literature on various domains of language use with prominence given to the family and community domains. These are described by Fishman (1991) to be the most crucial domains in the intergenerational transmission and continuity of the heritage language and are important in language-based studies.

The fourth section discusses the functions of heritage language maintenance as described by Roberts (1999) from a wide range of perspectives which include religion, community and intergenerational continuity, as well as wider community continuity. The concluding section reviews the literature and identifies gaps.

Defining heritage language and heritage language speakers

Heritage language (HL)

Heritage language (HL), is best defined for the purposes of this study as the "language which is associated with one's cultural background, and it may or may not be spoken in the home" (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997, p. 106). Heritage language speakers are described as "individuals who are raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speak or at least understand the language, and who are to some degree bilingual in that language and in English, even if they are more proficient in one language than another" (Seals & Peyton, 2017, p. 89). According to Cho (2000), HL enhances minority group members' interaction with the other group members along with development of a greater understanding and knowledge of the cultural values, ethics, and manners of the other group.

According to Fishman (1991), language is a vehicle by which the values and cultural heritage of a particular community are transmitted, and their loss has serious implications for intergenerational socialisation as explained in stage 6 of GIDS[3] in Table 1. Studies such as those by Fishman (1991) and Wong-Fillmore (1991) have found that HLs are not maintained and are rarely developed among ethnic minority groups due to "language shift" occurring within the community. The phenomenon of language shift is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Within the context of HL, it is also important to note that the Sikh community being studied is in the "intricate position", as Jaspal and Coyle (2010) have said, of having to manage its "linguistic repertoires" which feature (1) English, the language of the mainstream culture; (2) their HL Panjabi which represents their association with their ethnic culture; (3) their liturgical language (LL) Gurmukhi, which is the "language reserved for religious purposes (primarily for worshiping and religious instruction and training)" (p. 18).

It is relevant to understand the concept of HL and LL for the purposes of this study. Since Panjabi has originated from Gurmukhi which is more of a "pure and original form of Panjabi" (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010, p. 18) and is the language of the Sikhs' holy book – Guru Granth Sahib Ji, it is sometimes referred to as Adi Granth. Panjabi, on the other

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[3] GIDS - Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman, 1991).

hand, it is the language of the wider Punjabi community which usually includes people following Sikh, Hindu and Muslim religions. In this study, the community's HL is Panjabi, and its speakers are those who speak the language but belong to the wide diasporic Sikh community of New Zealand.

Heritage language maintenance (HLM)

According to Fishman (1985), language maintenance/language shift is a field of study which draws its data from the situation which eventuates when two linguistically different populations come into contact with each other. Fishman (1985) defines HLM as "the process and pursuit of intergenerational continuity" (p. 225). In this study, heritage language maintenance (HLM) occurs when members of a minority ethnolinguistic group "continue to use their language in some or all spheres of their life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres" (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). This being the case, "language maintenance requires a continuous use of the HL in a range of functional domains in order to ensure its intergenerational transmission" (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006, p. 51).

Wilson (2017) points out that the sustainability of HL is dependent not only upon parents' motivation to transmit the language to their children from birth, but also upon the language being used daily, especially in the home and community domain as explained by Fishman (1991) in the GIDS scale. GIDS is a model designed by Fishman to assist in analysing the language positioning of any ethnic minority language which is explained in the following sections.

HLM in any minority community is affected by a variety of factors which are generally divided into two categories: factors at the individual level and factors at the group level. According to Nesteruk (2010), different factors such as "a person's age, gender, place of birth, education, marriage pattern, prior knowledge of the majority language, reason for migration, length of residency in the host country and language variety" should be considered at an individual level. However, on the group level, "the size and distribution of the minority group, the language policy of the host country and the proximity/distance of the minority language to/from the majority language are important" (p. 272). In this study, selected individual and group factors that influence HLM among young Sikh New Zealand children in a family and community context are identified. The following section reviews the literature to understand the phenomenon of language shift.

Language shift/attrition

Language shift is often discussed in the literature on HLM. Language shift as defined by Zhang (2004) is "a change from habitual use of one's minority language to that of a more dominant language under pressures of assimilation from a dominant group" (p. 34). According to Crezee (2008), language shift is a "shift from the predominant use of one language to the predominant use of another language" (p. 32), as in the case of Dutch bilinguals' shifting of Dutch to English in post-retirement age. As Clyne (1991) describes, a shift in a language can be a gradual shift by an entire community, a group within a community or an individual person. This shift may be signalled by a number of effects: reduction in proficiency by speakers of the language and a decrease in the domains where it may be spoken, in addition to a decrease in the number of speakers and their distribution (Lee, 2013).

Within the much broader concept of language shift is another concept known as language attrition which describes "the gradual erosion of linguistic skills in an individual over time" (Crezee, 2008, p. 33) as happened with the Turkish bilinguals in their first language, Turkish, in Australia (Yagmur, de Bot, & Korzilius, 1999). The study indicated that the Turkish language attrition of its bilingual speakers was due to their immersion in the English language environment of Australia, keeping in mind that their language was not intertwined with their religion. Language attrition is not the focus of the present study, but it will indicate any signs of language attrition that appear among study participants.

HL, for the purposes of the present study, is defined as the language of a migrant community, specifically Panjabi. HLM is the continued fluency in that language at the individual level and continued use of that language by members of the community in an environment where another language, in this case English, dominates in all domains. Language shift is defined as a process in which an individual or group of individuals gradually lose fluency in their HL by adopting the language of the host society as their primary form of communication. Linguistic literature offers models that assist in applying HL and HLM in the Punjabi diasporic community.

Models

Three different models in the linguistic literature have been used to investigate factors favourable to HLM in migrant communities. The three major models identified as relevant to this study include: Giles's (1977) objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality model affected by status, demographic and institutional support factors; Smolicz's (1981) core value theory for maintaining ethnic differential and Fishman's (1991) model of language maintenance and shift, designed to assist in intergenerational continuity.

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV)

Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as: "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in an intergroup situation and those who have little or no vitality would eventually cease to exist as a distinctive group" (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308). Wilson (2017), argues that the greater the vitality an ethnolinguistic group possesses, the better the chance the group will have to preserve its collective cultural and linguistic heritage in various domains of life. Therefore, the language maintenance within an ethnic group is said to be influenced by its ethnolinguistic vitality, which in turn is most likely to be influenced by three structural variables: status, demographic, and institutional support factors (Giles et al., 1977).

As acquisition and maintenance of the languages of a migrant group are directly linked to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (Crezee, 2008), Giles and colleagues' (1977) model includes a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups: those having low, high or medium vitality, and a group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains. As a collective entity, a group possesses more vitality if it can maintain its language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings. Status factors comprise the social status of a group of language speakers and the status of the language used, while demographic factors comprise the number of people who speak a particular language and their distribution across the geographical area of a country. It is expected that in a setting such as New Zealand with immigrants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the languages of minority language speaker groups showing the strongest ethnolinguistic vitality are likely to predominate.

However, Giles and his colleagues were criticised for the dimensions of "vitality" outlined in their concept by Husband and Khan (1982) who argue that the dimensions

are "conceptually ambiguous" in their specification, and include gross and inexact tools of analysis in their application (p. 194). Firstly, they criticised the theoretical background underlying the concept of vitality, and secondly, they asserted that the context of the concept is that of a detached outsider. Thirdly, they criticised the concept of group and language. In response to these criticisms, Giles and his colleagues (1983) stressed that EV will continue to investigate the social analysis of immigrant communities in crosscultural research since Husband and Khan (1982) failed to provide constructive suggestions or alternative formulations.

For the purposes of this study, EV has been found to be useful in terms of its conceptual and theoretical analyses of an ethnic group, the Sikh community in this case, in an intergroup setting in New Zealand because of its current demographic concentration, institutional support factors and status variables.

Core value theory

The next model employed to analyse the cultural identity or values of the Sikh community in this study is the core value theory. Smolicz (1999) defines core values as: "the most fundamental components of the group or heartland of a group's culture that act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership" (p. 105), and rejecting these values is equivalent to potential exclusion from the group. Any given element becomes a core value for the group when group members feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most distinct and distinguishing element of their culture (Smolicz, 1981). In this way, core values play an important role in shaping the social life of the group.

The central aspect of this model is that immigrant groups have specific cultural values fundamental to their continued viability and integrity in the host society. For some groups, language may function as a core cultural value. In relation to the nature of core values, there may be more than one core value that becomes more prominent, and it may be possible to establish a hierarchy of importance among them. Tannenbaum (2009) notes that the cultural values of a group in addition to language may include religion, food, dances, traditions, family and attachment to places of origin. Smolicz (1992) argues that these values are not equally important for members to identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic group, so some values can be given up without putting the group's vitality and integrity at risk. Italian language, for instance, constitutes a core

value in Italian culture, but the importance of family as a cultural value may transcend language as a value among Southern Italians (Smolicz, 1981).

Many ethnic groups are strongly language-centred in that their existence as distinct ethnic groups depends on the maintenance and development of their ethno-specific tongues (Smolicz, 1991). Smolicz's theory of language as a core value (1992) predicts that when language symbolises a group's identity, then there are greater chances of language maintenance. For example, this has occurred with Tongans in New Zealand who consider the Tongan language as a marker of their Tongan identity and have made considerable efforts to maintain it ('Aipolo & Holmes, 1990).

However, cultural groups differ in the extent to which they attribute significance to their HL as a marker of their cultural identity. It depends on the importance of the language to cultural groups in maintaining their specific identities. For example, the Irish language continues to act as a potent symbol of ethnic identity for Irish nationalists, even if they are either unable to speak it or even when those who have learned the language at school do not use it for everyday purposes (Smolicz, 1981).

Smolicz (1991) argues that if the specific core values of a group which constitute the group's cultural foundation are removed through external pressures, then that "would result in the edifice crumbling into pieces" (p. 109). In some cases, minority communities get assimilated into the host country's culture, and regard their ethnic language as inhibiting their progress in the host country. They shift to the dominant language of the society as fast as possible, as happened with the Dutch and Dalmatian communities in New Zealand (Crezee, 2008; Kroef, 1977; Stoffel, 1982).

Studies such as those by Gogonas (2012) and Tannenbaum (2009) noted the importance of religion and language as unified core values of a group. According to Gogonas (2012), "when language is closely intertwined with other core values such as religion, the match between attitudes of group members towards HL and actual maintenance is even higher, whereas when language is isolated from other cultural aspects, the match is lower" (p. 4). For instance, Gilhotra's (1984) study identified religion and language as the core cultural values of Australian Sikhs who maintained their language as a part of their religion. Similarly, Gogonas (2012) noted that Israeli Arabs maintained their HL (Arabic) as a part of their Islamic faith.

Critical view of Smolicz's theory

Smolicz's theory was supported by some scholars but contradicted by others. Smolicz believed language to be the most important core value in some cultures but not in others. According to him, if this is the case, then Greek is to be maintained most because the language is an ethnic core value to Greeks, and Dutch is to be maintained least because it is not an ethnic core value to the Dutch. Each of them will lose their ethnicity if they stop using the language. Clyne (1988) contradicted this view when he stated that:

> there are two aspects of the theory that need to be looked at again critically before we consider the existence or absence of an 'ethnicity'. What do we mean by 'language', and is it really 'use' that is all-important for identification? (p. 70)

Clyne (1982) demonstrated that some groups who were considered as 'language-centered' (Polish and German) exhibited a greater language shift than those groups who were considered 'non-language centered'. According to him, core values cannot be seen in isolation but must be seen as interdependent. For example, Southern Italians for whom family as a cultural value transcends language as a cultural value need to maintain the Italian language to express this core cultural value. This has helped Southern Italians to maintain their community language/regional dialect, at least while the need for family cohesion continues to exist.

Smolicz's core value theory therefore is of particular relevance to this study. Language and religion, both core cultural values of the Sikh community, may well be found to have affected the attainment and development of HL in the younger generation.

Fishman's model of language maintenance and shift

Fishman's empirical theories of language maintenance and shift examine the dynamics of contact between languages in an immigrant context. He provided an empirical "theory and practice of assistance to communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation" (1991, p. 1). He has done pioneering work on the issue of language shift, language maintenance, language endangerment, language attrition and also on domains in which they happen.

RLS is a revitalisation movement to counteract the erosion of many of the world's languages and is supported by an increasing amount of literature which developed in the

1990s (Wilson, 2017). For the study at hand, Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) has been used to assess the position of Panjabi on the scale in the New Zealand context.

Table 1. Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school, and community, but without taking on extra communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population, but they are beyond childbearing age
Stage 8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks, and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories

*Xish refers to minority languages, while dominant languages are called Yish

Fishman (1991) suggests an eight-tier scale to reverse language shift. He compared it with the Richter Scale which measures the intensity of earthquakes. As higher numbers in the scale are indicative of stronger tremors and thus more dangerous to the people living in the vicinity of the quake, a higher rating on the GIDS scale implies lower intergenerational continuity and maintenance prospects of a language network in a community (Fishman, 1991).

The stage most relevant to this study is the sixth stage which is the critical stage of RLS. This stage is concerned with the intergenerational transmission of a minority language. According to Fishman (1991), a language has a better chance of survival if it is spoken in the home, and that the home and family are at the core of HLM. The family is crucial to this stage and has "a natural boundary that serves as a bulwark against outside pressure, customs and influences" (ibid., p. 94). This means that because of the importance of the family, the community will not need to work from the policies and

resources framed by the State and other institutions for HLM (Wilson, 2017). All the language maintenance efforts by the State, local community, media, schools, and other social institutions revolve around the sixth stage of GIDS, but at this stage, according to Fishman, the family is the major influencer in relation to HLM. Fishman (1991) further asserts that the effectiveness of the other domains and stages on the GIDS scale would fail without the functionality of the family in preserving the HL, and therefore extra careful attention and full appreciation are required at this crucial stage of daily intergenerational, informal and oral interaction.

Stage 6 in the GIDS scale consists not only in the family domain, but also in neighbourhood and community domains, reinforcing intergenerational linguistic continuity. Fishman (1991) clustered families into communities to provide additional defence and scope for the family to be the core of RLS. This is the stage where community-building institutions and mother-tongue schools play a crucial role in developing informal oralcy among migrant communities. The current study will look at the maintenance of the Panjabi language by members of the Auckland Sikh community in gurdwaras by the setting up of community schools for migrant children.

The GIDS works as a "quasi-implicational scale; i.e. higher (more disrupted) scores imply all or nearly all of the lesser degrees of disruption as well" (Fishman, 1991, p. 87). By quasi-implicational "it means that the reversal of the language shift can best be achieved by a step-by-step approach whereby it is hard to reach a higher stage without first tackling the previous stage" (Darquennes, 2007, p. 63). The relevance of GIDS as described by Darquennes (2007) "is that it offers the opportunity to classify each language minority with the help of eight stages and enables a comparison with the other language minorities" (p. 63). Based on the position occupied by the language minority on the scale, GIDS offers an opportunity to work out possible strategies of language revitalisation.

For this study, it is important to note that Giles's (1977) concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, which considers the importance of demographic and institutional support factors with an emphasis on status variables, can be seen as having a potential association with Fishman's (1991) GIDS scale (Table 1). Stage 6 in the GIDS scale suggests the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy. Its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement relate to the demographic and institutional support factors in

Giles's EV concept. The relationship between these two models offers a unique model for further enquiry into language acquisition in a specific cultural community context.

Fishman's theory is highly relevant to the processes of language maintenance of Panjabi in the Sikh community as it provides an analytic framework for examining the social context in which the process of language maintenance and shift occurs.

Criticism of Fishman's GIDS scale

Fishman's model has been criticised for placing too much emphasis on language and language management, without taking into account the social and economic factors which can play a role in language shift (Spolsky, 2004). Darquennes (2007) also criticised the unquestionable positioning of stage 6 in the GIDS. They argue that the "intergenerational transmission of the endangered minority language within the family is not the only short-term mechanism needed for minority language to survive" (Darquennes, 2007, p. 64). Clyne (2001, 2003) questions the sequencing of the GIDS scale and the particular attention given to stage 6 in the GIDS. Clyne also questions socio-economic mobility as a factor that influences the lifecycle of minority languages in a migrant context.

Fishman (2001) agrees that not all languages function across the GIDS stages simultaneously and that "some stage-jump and develop a pattern that ignores a particular stage" (p. 476). Understanding the extra attention given to stage 6 in the scale, "Fishman recognises the necessity for 'intra-stage 6 sociofunctional differentiation' (ibid., p. 469) in order to highlight the heterogeneity of the family in language minority settings as well as context-dependent necessity of the interrelation of stage 6 with other GIDS stages" (Darquennes, 2007, p. 65).

Fishman's GIDS is a flexible model that provides an analytical framework that can be applied to any HLM/LS situation. For these reasons, I have used this model in conjunction with the ethnolinguistic vitality model developed by Giles et al. (1977) and Smolicz's (1980) core value theory when evaluating the current position of Panjabi language among young Punjabi-Sikh migrants living in Auckland.

Domains of language use

The concept of 'domains' was first introduced by Fishman (1972) and refers to the contexts in which a language is used. The stability of an ethnic mother-tongue or HL is largely dependent on the language being spoken in a variety of domains. According to

Fishman (1985), the key to maintaining HL across generations in a minority group is limiting the use of the outside language in internal community pursuits, which he refers to as "maintaining the intracultural boundaries" (p. 226). These domains include but are not limited to home or family, education, the neighbourhood, religion, workplace, public media and the government (Spolsky, 2007).

Among the domains aforementioned, Fishman (1991, 2001) suggests that the family and community are the most ambivalent domains in the facilitation of HLM. The following section presents a review of studies conducted on both these domains as they are identified as particularly relevant for the purposes of the present study.

Home domain

Fishman (1991) emphasised the crucial importance of families in achieving "intergenerational mother-tongue transmission" (p. 6). In public spheres where English becomes most accepted as a dominant language, the native or HL speaker is limited to the most intimate social spheres, such as the home (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Fishman, 1972). Here the use of HL and social relations within a family result in the intergenerational transmission of HL to future generations. Several researchers have pointed out that family is the key locus for transmission of home-country language (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Arriagada, 2005; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Yu, 2010; Zhang, 2004; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

There are several interacting factors that influence the language choice within families such as parental attitudes and beliefs towards a language, influence of parents' language choice on children, their ethnic backgrounds, presence of older family members and parents' duration of residency in the host country (Wilson, 2017). These factors could reveal more about the language choice among adult and young respondents in the present study.

Attitudes, beliefs, values, and parental influence

Parental perception of the prestige and value of the minority language in terms of social and economic mobility is considered a pertinent factor in family language choice among children (Liang, 2018; Wilson, 2017; Yu, 2005). In some cases, parents give more importance to the language of the dominant society for the upward socio-economic mobility of their children (Crezee, 2012; Darquennes, 2007) and discourage the usage of the HL as a home language for fears that it will affect their children's academic success at school (Seloni & Sarfati, 2013).

A study conducted by Tse (1996) explored the phenomenon of language maintenance and shift as a result of parental perceptions among five U.S. born language-minority adults. It was found that negative or at least ambivalent feelings about the HL in adults may have been influenced by their parents' own views. For example, one respondent's resistance to learning HL may have been influenced by his parents' own reluctance to speak the language, while another respondent's isolation from HL was a result of his parents' own lack of proficiency in the HL (Tse, 1996, pp. 11-12).

In contrast, a study conducted by Park and Sarkar (2007) showed that Korean bilingual parents in Montreal, who had high levels of proficiency in English, had favourable attitudes towards the maintenance of Korean among their children, particularly in order to maintain their ethnic identity as Koreans. It is likely that parents who have positive attitudes towards their ethnic language regard it as an essential component of their children's lives and make efforts to foster continued learning of the language both inside and outside homes Liang (2018), thus avoiding shifting to the dominant language.

In Lao's (2004) survey conducted in the United States, a majority of Chinese-English bilingual parents strongly supported the development of Chinese by sending their children to Chinese-English bilingual schools. The major reasons were the practical advantage of both languages (majority and minority) in obtaining employment, positive identity formation and efficient communication within their own ethnic community. However, parents' expectation of their children's competency in Chinese varied due to differences in parents' own proficiency in Chinese and the availability of Chinese resources at home.

In this study, facilitation of HLM among young respondents will largely depend upon their parents' beliefs and attitudes towards their HL and on their own language choice. Therefore, it will be interesting to explore if adult respondents' (parents') positive beliefs and value of their ethnic mother-tongue will result in their children's development of HL.

Gender

Language choice particularly by a mother or father is also considered one of the factors influencing children's language choice inside the home domain. Literature has shown that different family members affect children's language choice differently. Kim and Starks (2010) in their study identified the role of immigrant mothers as the "gatekeeper of language maintenance" (p. 286) while the father's role was also considered central in

maintaining HL within homes (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006). Mothers were shown to use less English with their children due to their lower proficiency in English compared with fathers (Yu, 2005).

The parents' survey in the present study was designed to explore if there are any differences in the language preference of mothers and fathers which eventually affects their children's choice of language in the home and community domains.

Communication and cohesion

A growing body of literature has shown that parents promote their children's HLM to facilitate communication among family members and ultimately to consolidate family relationships (Cho et al., 1997; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011), especially when communication occurs between children and their grandparents (Park & Sarkar, 2007). The "presence of non-English speakers" such as grandparents in the family is conducive to HLM among children (Pauwels, 2005, p. 125). Grandparents' or older relatives' (uncles, aunts) limited proficiency in the majority language leads to the transmission of HL among children for family cohesiveness. This is especially true of second-generation families where the parents were born in an English-speaking dominant society and no longer use the HL with each other and their children.

On the opposite side, migrants who move to English-speaking countries often bring their parents on family reunion schemes and/or to play the traditional role in the nurturing of young children as reflected by Ludher (2013) in the Sikh diaspora in Australia; and Sarma and Sarma-Debnath (2013) in the wider Indian diaspora in Canada. Jutlla (2013) explored the cultural norms of the role of grandparents in Sikh families in the UK and suggested that older people were part of the cultural norms system associated with being a Sikh, in which younger Sikhs were expected to provide intergenerational care for the older people in the family. Within this system, grandparents retain an integral role in maintaining the bond between generations by passing on Sikh cultural traditions and practices to the grandchildren (Ludher, 2013). Therefore, it will be interesting to explore if grandparents' presence/distance grandparenting is another factor in the intergenerational transmission of the language and cultural practices to the younger generation in the present study or if there are any factors impeding the process.

Limited English proficiency (LEP) among migrant parents and grandparents can be another reason for wanting their children to maintain the HL (Liang, 2018). In such a case, immigrant parents desire that communication between family members should be

in their HL instead of English, which could otherwise hamper family cohesiveness due to lack of communication (Nesteruk, 2010). It is evident from Yu's (2005) study in examining family factors in Chinese-bilinguals' language maintenance that parents' use of English is related to their level of proficiency in English which in turn affects their children's use of English at home.

Similarly, proficiency in English was considered a significant factor during surveys and interviews for this study. It explored whether parents' limited English proficiency (LEP) in turn affected their children's language preference at home and in gurdwaras or not.

Demographic factors

Duration of residency is one of the individual factors that affect HLM within minority communities at an individual level. According to Nesteruk (2010), "longer residency in the host country" is shown to increase the use of the host country's language among immigrant children (p. 283). However, parents who have spent less time in the host country have limited fluency in the dominant language, and therefore use HL more with their children. It becomes crucial for them to use HL to communicate across generations, thereby maintaining family cohesiveness (Soehl, 2016) as discussed earlier.

Apart from duration of residency, or migrants' option to return home, fostering the maintenance of HL becomes a priority. However, parents who have little intention of returning home will lack the motivation to avoid language shift. Korean bilingual parents in Liang's (2018) study expected their children to learn, speak and write Korean to assimilate into Korean society if they returned back to Korea for the sake of better employment opportunities in a time of globalisation. Therefore, it was crucial to identify in this study if adult respondents' duration of residency in the host country and place of birth facilitated HLM among their children.

Community domain

Another domain considered by Fishman (1972) which leads to the intergenerational transmission of HL among immigrant families is the community domain. While linguistic practices inside home are certainly a crucial factor in the maintenance of HL, extrafamilial influences such as community membership matter as well. Numerous contributing factors which promote the maintenance of a minority language exist within the community context. Community institutions, religion, cultural identity and

community schools all take this role. Several linguists have explored the role of community institutions inside the community context as crucial sites in the socialisation process where community members communicate in their HL (Fouvaa, 2011; Pak, 2003; Park, 2011). The following literature review illustrates the importance of community context with respect to HLM and shift within minority communities.

In a recent study examining the Samoan language situation within the community and home domain in New Zealand, Fouvaa (2011) found that the

> communication between Samoan people takes place in a number of social and cultural sites in New Zealand, but arguably with particular power and effectiveness at home between parents and the children and in Sunday school and youth activities (p. 26).

Fouvaa concludes from interviews undertaken that the community is the primary language learning development site for young migrants in New Zealand for increasing their cultural and linguistic knowledge. Soehl (2016) also observed that the community context provides opportunities and incentives to maintain the minority language but requires significant resources for its full transmission such as community schools. The following section reviews literature which discusses the relationship between HL learning and communal efforts to ensure its continuity.

A growing amount of research has documented the significant role of ethnic community institutions such as churches in the maintenance of ethnic identities and languages (Chong, 1998; Fouvaa, 2011; Min, 1992; Pak, 2003; Park, 2011; Wilson, 2017).

Religion

The religious role of ethnic institutions in the lives of immigrant families in North America was discussed by Chong (1998). He argued that community institutions played a dominant role in the group's quest for identity and sense of belonging as well as in the construction and maintenance of Korean ethnic identity among second-generation Koreans. Similarly, Singh (2006) examined the religious role of gurdwaras as community-building institutions among British Sikhs in the early twentieth century. Apart from maintaining the cultural ethnicity of British Sikhs, Singh (2006) identified that gurdwaras in Britain were functioning in order to adapt to the new intergenerational changes within the community itself.

Apart from the religious function, Min (1992) discovered several other functions that community institutions such as Korean ethnic churches in the Korean-American community (p. 1371-72) performed:

- providing fellowship for Korean immigrants;
- maintaining the Korean cultural tradition;
- providing social services for church members and the Korean community as a whole and;
- providing social status and social positions for adult immigrants

Therefore, it is interesting to find if gurdwaras have similar functions within the Sikh-New Zealand diasporic community.

Another function performed by the community institutions is their contribution to the cultural identity maintenance of the minority groups. Shin (2005) perceived the role of Korean ethnic churches in the transmission of Korean culture in the USA "through a variety of unwritten norms, rules, and codes of conduct" (p. 58). Similarly, Chong (1998) also perceives the maintenance of a high level of cultural identity among young immigrants through participation in ethnic churches. These studies suggested that participants who are more actively engaged in church activities are more likely to maintain their cultural identity than those who do not.

The sociolinguistic context for HL use present in community institutions was considered as one of the crucial factors in facilitating HL among the younger generation as found by Park (2011) in his study examining the influence of Korean churches on the maintenance of HL and culture among Korean-Canadian students. According to the immigrant students' statements during the interviews, Park (2011) found that regular interaction with senior church members, other adult members of the Korean community, recent immigrant students and international Korean students had facilitated the maintenance of HL among them.

Drury (1988) in her study of ethnicity amongst second generation Sikh girls found that gurdwaras in British-Sikh diaspora represented a channel through which Sikhism, the Panjabi language and socio-cultural traditions were transmitted and reinforced in relation to the second generation. She also found that the availability of Panjabi newspapers and magazines were other socialisation agents facilitating HL in the younger generation. Hirvi (2010), on the other hand, explored the role of gurdwaras in Finland in

transmitting religious as well as cultural traditions to Sikh youth by analysing the gurdwaras' architectural as well as organisational structures and their foodways. Field notes taken during observations in this study indicated the presence of these factors and the study sought to determine whether they also played a role in transmitting and maintaining young children's religious as well as cultural identities.

Spolsky's (2004) study claimed that religious observances in religious institutions in migrant communities helped migrants in retaining their HL after immigration as it "preserves an earlier version of the language for public ceremonies, particularly when sacred texts are maintained in the original, even when they are also available in translation" (p. 49). According to Han (2013), HLM occurs when the churches "constitute the spaces and opportunities for youth to interact in minority languages informally/or formally, with peers intra-generationally and/or with adults intergenerationally" (p. 126). This opportunity of communication with peers and first-generation HL speakers is particularly relevant for children and young people (Wilson, 2017).

Apart from developing cultural identity and social integration with the community, teaching HLs inside community institutions is considered as an integral and essential part of a larger effort to preserve ethnic values and culture. The ethnic mother-tongue, which may or may not be the personal mother-tongue, is instructed in the form of day schools or weekend schools. Several studies such as Park (2011) and Pak (2003) discuss the role of community institutions in imparting HL among migrants, and also the linguistic and sociocultural factors present inside the institutions which facilitate the maintenance of HL.

However, there have been doubts about Park and Sarkar's (2007) study. Korean-bilingual immigrant parents have expressed doubts about the effective development of their children's HL Korean in the Korean churches. Parents argued that "the high level of proficiency in the Korean language may not be achieved just through exposure to the Korean language through church activities and social interactions" (p. 230). Wilson (2017) suggests that many community institutions need to change the linguistic structures of their activities and services to facilitate HLM among immigrant children. Younger generations in Choi and Berhó (2016) study of Latino ethnic/immigrant churches in Oregon (U.S.) found that the use of Spanish in church activities was challenging and ultimately had a significant impact on church attendance. Many left the

monolingual Spanish-speaking church for bilingual or English-only churches. Eventually, Latino churches found themselves pushing towards English-speaking activities to accommodate the younger generation.

Thus, this literature review has discussed the role of institutions in the community domain in the preservation of ethnic identity and culture. It has also addressed the need to find efficient ways of harnessing the linguistic factors and socio-cultural processes within the institutions to enhance migrant students' maintenance of HL. This review is particularly relevant to examination of the importance of Sikh religious institutions (gurdwaras) in preserving the culture and ethnic language of the younger generation in the Auckland Sikh community.

Interrelationship between HL and cultural identity development

Recently, support for the maintenance of HLs as a way of preserving culture and promoting a sense of cultural identity among young immigrants has been increasing (Cho, 2000; Lee, 2002). Culture, as defined by Lee (2002), is a "complex entity, which holds a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge of norms, values, beliefs, language, art, and customs, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society" and cultural identity, is "formed by the complex configuration of one's awareness of one's own culture and a recognition of the social group to which one belongs in practice" (p. 118-19). According to Lee (2002), language acts as one of the prominent factors in the competency of a culture since it is always used within a cultural environment.

On the other hand, Jaspal and Coyle (2010) suggested that in the communities of second-generation Asians (SGAs) such as Punjabi-Sikh, cultural identities are compartmentalised by community members as ethnic or religious, depending upon the interlocuter's context of language use. As such, there are community members who ascribe Panjabi in the form of Gurmukhi as a part of their religious identity to read the holy book, and those who perceive the role of Panjabi as a part of their ethnic culture – Punjabi (Hussain, 2018). Eventually, community members' perceptions might lead to the creation of two different, yet collective identities, and language becomes a symbol of their group identification and distinctiveness (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010). Those who place their religio-linguistic identities over their ethno-linguistic identities perceive the role of language (or LL, as discussed in the beginning of the Chapter) for allowing initiation into the religious community and thus, access to the religion. For the purposes of the

present study, it would be interesting to investigate if participants place the role of language for their religio-linguistic identities above their ethno-linguistic identities.

It has been postulated that immigrants' cultural identity and HLM are interrelated. Studies such as Tse (1996) and Cho et al. (1997) emphasise the development and maintenance of language as an important part of one's identity formation which helps to retain a strong sense of identity with one's own ethnic group. In Tse's (1996) study which examined the role of language in the process of ethnic identity formation of a group of language minority adults found that more positive attitudes and interests among minority group members to their ethnic heritage identity led to more interest in learning and developing their HL. Tse's (1996) respondents' orientation towards ethnic language appeared to parallel the changes that occurred in their orientation toward ethnic culture and group membership. However, Kim's (1981) study found that language was not considered at all in the ethnic identity formation of African-Americans and Asian-Americans. This leads to the question whether language is a salient feature of ethnic identity formation or not.

The link between HL and cultural identity development is also emphasised by Cho (2000), in her study of the effects of Korean-American students' HL competence in their social interactions and relationships with co-ethnic members. She also concluded that students' competence in HL is positively related to their social interactions and relationships with the speakers of the same HL and with the Korean community. Cho (2000) argues that development of strong HL competence in migrants also develops a keen sense of their cultural values and manner because of which they have better relationships with other speakers of HL. On the other hand, those who do not have competency in their HL have difficulty interacting with other speakers of the HL, therefore excluding themselves from their own ethnic community. In Lee's (2002) study of the relationship between HLM and cultural identity development among second-generation Korean-American university students found that HLM can enhance biculturalism. According to Lee (2002), proficiency in HL may help immigrant children to develop bicultural identities by which they can define their identity more positively in multicultural and multilingual societies Biculturalism promotes children's acceptance of both the majority and their own heritage culture.

Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001), discussing the association between ethnic identity and language, argue that language is not necessary for group identity; there are

certain situations and groups where language is not an important aspect of identity. Moreover, Guitart (1977) also proposes the disassociation between language and ethnic identity and claims that language shift is not always a manifestation of ethnic self-rejection. In his study, for example, members of an ethnic group in the United States identify with certain cultural patterns of the group but have no or little proficiency in the ethnic mother-tongue. They further show little or no motivation in the study to speak their mother-tongue.

Thus, according to Soehl (2016), HL is "instrumental for the maintenance of ethnic identities and other home-country ties". However, its learning across generations is dependent on parental investment and motivations (p. 1516). Phinney et al. (2001) demonstrated the importance of parents and ethnic peers as contributors to the development of ethnic identity of adolescents in immigrant families. Parents' behaviour to promote cultural maintenance and social interaction with the peers of the same ethnic background had a significant positive effect on the development of ethnic language proficiency and its maintenance.

Given the strong interconnection between HL and ethnic identity development from the studies reviewed, it is important to investigate if respondents in the present study also link the maintenance of their minority language with their culture, and also if social interaction with peers also contributes to HL maintenance. If this is the case, the role community schools in religious institutions play could be a significant factor in this research.

Community schools

Tse (1997) defines the term ethnic language/heritage language programs "as those sponsored by public or private schools that use the language and/or promote its acquisition" (p. 707). Avni (2012) describes "community schools as those created and organised by community members – families, community leaders, religious institutions, or civic organisations – out of a community's desire to teach their language and culture" (p. 323). Programmes include various forms of bilingual education such as ethnic language supplemental schools, short-term intervention programs and travel abroad programs (Tse, 1997). Seals and Peyton (2017) while arguing for the value of HL programs in a migrant context, recognise these schools as "the only opportunities" outside the home that children have to use and develop their HL (p. 90). In "Language Loyalty in the United States", Fishman (1966) points out how ethnic patterns may not

be learned within the family, necessitating the development of ethnic schools. However, although these schools teach ethnicity; they do not provide the opportunity for living ethnically.

> Schools as well as other formal ethnic institutions, became necessary because the complete ethnic pattern was no longer functioned and automatic acculturation of the young via exposure to the daily activities of the family could no longer be counted upon to ensure ethnic continuity. But the ethnic group school taught about ethnicity, whereas ethnicity consists of living ethnically. In the school, ethnicity became self-conscious (ibid., p. 93).

Fishman and Nahirny (1964) categorise ethnic group schools as the All-Day School, the Weekday Afternoon School, and the Weekend School. According to Roberts (1999) All Day Schools and Weekday Afternoon Schools have never been common in New Zealand, but only the Weekend Schools. Fishman and Nahirny (1964) describe the weekday afternoon school, typically run by volunteers and volunteer teachers, as the most effective in terms of cultural and linguistic maintenance. According to Roberts (1999), these schools require an enormous community effort to keep operating and "their existence can depend on the hard work and initiative of a handful of dedicated people" (p. 143). Communities such as Cantonese, Gujarati, Greek, and Samoan-speakers, who are particularly committed to HLM have managed to maintain HLM schools over a period of several decades (Roberts, 1999).

In a study conducted by Punetha, Giles, and Young (1987) among many South-Asian minority groups (Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs), it was found that, as a part of integrating themselves into the mainstream host-society, they organised various community HL schools where their children were taught their mother-tongue in temples, mosques and gurdwaras. They considered "language as a vehicle for cultural and value maintenance" (ibid., p. 230). Likewise, the Sikh community in New Zealand has organised a number of community schools for the transmission and maintenance of Panjabi among the younger Sikh generation.

It is hardly surprising that mainstream schooling in any host country is one of the first domains where language shift from HL to the dominant language occurs. Yu (2005) suggests that a child has more access to the dominant culture as a higher level of school is reached, and this ultimately promotes language shift. Immigrant students are likely to use the language of the dominant culture exclusively for the sake of convenience, and without considerable support, they lose their HL (Park, 2011). Due to the effects of mainstream formal schooling in the shift of HLs to English, many minority groups have

set up HL schools to promote HLM and help teach young people more about their heritage cultures (Wilson, 2017). Bodnitsiki (2007), as cited by Wilson (2017) argues that:

> not only can community language programmes help to facilitate children's development of literacy in their home languages, but they also create an environment in which children can communicate with and make friends with students from the same ethnic background who can speak their HL (p. 34).

Tse (2001) explored the HL literacy level among US-raised Spanish, Japanese and Cantonese adults through different types of HL access. Research found that those community organisations/religious organisations that provided additional contact with HL print encouraged high levels of HL literacy compared with those who did not. Cho (2000) identified learning HL as an 'additive' form of bilingualism in the sense that HL adds to children's repertory at no cost to their English proficiency. It affects children's interactions and relationships with parents, relatives and other HL speakers, and also plays an important part in their personal, social and intellectual life.

Higgins (2017) perceives the role of HL classrooms, where migrant and second-generation children study side by side as ''vacuum-sealed versions'' of the home country. A study was conducted by Blackledge and Creese (2012) as cited by Higgins (2017) on complementary schools offering Gujrati, Turkish, Chinese, and Bengali in four different states of England. The authors described the form of instruction inside the HL classrooms as "nationalism at a distance" (p. 111). The schools were run in the weekends/and or after school, characterised by instruction about festivals, traditional rituals, and cultural artefacts. The classes were "directed at creating an identity for heritage learners that was based on a sense of loss and sentiment about the home country despite relocation" (Higgins, 2017, p. 111).

Studies such as that by Li and Wen (2015) argue that most of the minority group parents do not expect their children to write in HL but are more interested in developing oral communication and social skills. Religion may sometimes lead to a tradition of "oral maintenance of language" as with the maintenance of Greek in New Zealand (Verivaki, 1991, p. 92). While discussing about the relation to HL learning and its maintenance through community schools, an important point to consider is that, for some communities their ethnic language is their mother-tongue, but for some communities their ethnic-tongue may or may not be their personal mother-tongue. For example, in

Avni's (2012) study, the idea behind teaching of heritage language in community schools has been reconceptualised. The transmission of Hebrew is done as an unorthodox language that can be used in various contexts. According to Avni (2012), Hebrew is not taught as a 'signifier' of Judaism which marks the relationship between Jewishness as signified and Hebrew as signifier. Similarly, in this study, the Panjabi language which is taught in community schools is not a signifier of Sikh religion but of Punjabi culture. The ethnic-tongue is *Gurmukhi* in which the Sikh community's holy book is written, and the personal mother-tongue is Panjabi which is an unorthodox form of *Gurmukhi*.

Thus, it can be concluded from the above literature review that HL schools are not only crucial in the community domain for children's HL and cultural maintenance "but also as a place for ethnic social networking for children" (Li & Wen, 2015, p. 280). The literature on HL schools is particularly useful in identifying the value of these institutions as research site for this study.

Functions of language maintenance

In immigrant communities, group members maintain their HL because it is perceived to have various functional benefits of wide range for the community. Some of the most commonly perceived functional benefits of maintaining HL are in the areas outlined below.

Religion

Language and religion both play a significant role in the integration process within the host society and in the preservation of the ethnic and cultural identity of immigrants in a migration context (Caneva & Pozzi, 2014). Therefore, HLM is considered necessary in order to maintain the true religion among immigrant group members (Roberts, 1999), for example, maintenance of Hebrew/Aramaic as a religious language in the Jewish diaspora for its transmission.

Literacy in HL is often related to religion, as in the case of Chinese and Indian origin students in Australia (Smolicz, Lee, Murugalan, & Secombe, 1990). The study found that almost half of the Indian origin students used English exclusively, and that only one fifth were literate in their HL because high use of ethnic language was associated with the practice of the Hindu religion. The demand for literacy skills was limited to those

who were devout Hindus, while those who had converted to Christianity did not feel any commitment to the HL since language served an insignificant function in identifying them with Hindu traditions and customs. There were only five out of twenty-six respondents for whom language and religion appeared to be strongly linked. The Chinese respondents, on the other hand, were shown to have more literacy in their HL since they considered HL as a significant part of their religion. It is quite clear from this research that language plays an integral part in the cultural repertoire if it is linked to religion, and those whose religion is not intricately linked with the HL do not feel the need to maintain or preserve it.

In Gilhotra's (1984) research on the Punjabi-Sikh community's HL in the Woolgoolga region of Australia, the importance of Sikh religion in maintaining HL among Australian Sikhs is quite overt. He observed that Sikhs in Woolgoolga considered "religion as their core value, and many Sikh parents wanted their children to learn the Panjabi language so that they might be able to read the Holy Book" (p. 50). Gilhotra's (1984) research found the situation of the Sikh community favourable towards HLM. However, the effect of religion is not always positive (Wang, 2016). David, Naji, and Kaur (2003); and Wang (2016) imply in their studies that religion does not always facilitate the maintenance of HL. For instance, in the former study, Sikhism among the Sikh community in Malaysia has not facilitated the maintenance of the Panjabi language, and many community members have abandoned their language and shifted towards the host country's language. It has been explained that there is no strong association between the community's belief and their language. They use either English or code-mixed varieties of English, Malay and Panjabi, even in the religious domains.

Wang (2016) examines the role of religion in the Hakka catholic community in Malaysia and concluded that religion did not play a significant role in the maintenance of the Hakka dialect in Balik Pulau. In the data collected from interviews with church members and participant observation from the church, it was found that the Church in Balik Pulau had shifted from Hakka (HL) to Mandarin (majority language) for mass and other religious activities. Wang (2016) observed that different factors such as language ideology, language-identity ideology, educational influence and linguistic ecology in society had led to the language shift in the community within the religious domain. Therefore, it would be interesting to find if religion and other factors within the Sikh community have facilitated the maintenance of HL among the younger generation.

Community continuity

According to Roberts (1999), "community continuity is the extent to which the immigrant community functions and is perceived as functioning as a community in the new country" (p. 127). It promotes the maintenance of language by creating a community where language may be used and is perceived to be necessary for community continuity so that future generations born in the host-country can communicate with their elders and other community members.

The mother-tongue of an individual plays a double role in that person's life: it permits communication with family members, as well as with other relatives and grandparents in the home country, thereby facilitating transnational relationships (Caneva & Pozzi, 2014); and it is the language by which people express their emotions in the easiest way (ibid). Moreover, the mother-tongue functions as a vehicle to transmit values, rules and traditions from generation to generation by allowing immigrants to keep their own culture alive, feeling a part of an ethnic group and identifying with it.

Wider community continuity

Roberts (1999) in her study extended the meaning of community continuity to include the community in the country of origin. Gujarati and Samoan respondents in her study maintained their HLs to serve the function of wider community continuity to a considerable degree. This enabled the community members to function as members of a wider Gujarati and Samoan community across the world.

However, Roberts' (1999) study was conducted during the time when internet did not really exist, but in today's time popular social media sites on the internet such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype, WhatsApp and many more have now made it easier for the communities to connect with each other as a wider community across the world. Singh's (2014) study in examining the popularity of Sikhism online has uncovered various ways in which young British Sikhs have religiously engaged with the wider Sikh community. Through data gathered from various research methods, Singh (2014) concluded that internet as a networking tool has become "a means" of religious transmission, and not "an end" (p. 94). In this way, religious transmission by a mediated form of culture motivates the younger generation to maintain their HL.

It is important to consider that in recent times when the presence of Panjabi language was almost everywhere whether in films (religious-based or non-religious), in songs and

in other media, the younger generation has been influenced to adopt their HL, which further connects them to the wider Punjabi community.

Intergenerational continuity

Another significant sub-function of community continuity that may be fulfilled by language maintenance is that of intergenerational continuity. It enables children of the immigrant community to communicate with their elders, most usually their grandparents. Roberts' (1999) Gujarati and Samoan respondents in New Zealand had frequently mentioned this continuity as being an important reason for language maintenance by their children.

However, she further points out that unlike other reasons for language maintenance which could continue to exist indefinitely, intergenerational continuity for maintaining any language has a limited duration. She gives an example of the first host country's generation when becoming grandparents, will be able to talk with their grandchildren in the host country's language. If this reason for the maintenance of a language is not bolstered by other reasons for language maintenance, this motivation will not lead to long-term maintenance of HL.

This is in contrast to Clyne's (1988) study which describes high rates of language maintenance within communities for whom family is a core cultural value. For example, the Italian community of Australia expresses family cohesion as their core cultural value and feels the need for a language to express this core value. This seems contradictory to the notion that language maintenance can only have short-term effects in regard to intergenerational continuity as discussed by Roberts (1999).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the functions discussed above can have more positive language maintenance results over a longer period of time. This study will also identify if HL among Sikh children performs these functions and therefore necessitates its maintenance among them.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature to date on HL in relation to HLM/shift, domains and functions, and the interrelationship between language and ethnicity. Different models, with a particular focus on HL and its maintenance, were identified to represent different perspectives. The association between HLM and religious practices has also

been discussed. This leads to a question whether religious practices in Sikhism are one of the many reasons for the continuity of Panjabi among the younger generation. As such, the present study explores the link between religious practices and language maintenance.

HLM has enjoyed a growing interest among language scholars in recent years. Various factors concerning parental perspectives have been explored, including, attitudes, beliefs and values, their influence, demographic factors, presence of older family members, and duration of residency. They have been found to play a role in determining language choice among the younger generation.

Studies to determine the language choice among the Sikh community in Malaysia (David et al., 2003) and the Woolgoolga region of Australia (Gilhotra, 1984) were considered, but the role of Sikh temples (gurdwaras) in the intergenerational maintenance/shift of Panjabi language was not studied in depth. These two studies also did not appear to focus on the parental motivations in developing HL among their children and children's perceptions of learning the HL. The study reported here did attempt to focus on parental motivations in developing Panjabi language and cultural identity among young generation, while also determining factors which impede the process.

This study is an attempt to fill these gaps by focussing on Fishman's (1991) theory of language maintenance and GIDS scale to look at the intergenerational transferability of religion, language, and culture in the gurdwaras of the Sikh community in the Auckland region. It also focuses on Smolicz's studies (1980; 1981, 1991; 1990) to look at language, religion and culture as core cultural values of the Sikh community similar to Gilhotra's (1984) study which determined the mother-tongue language situation of Sikh people in the Woolgoolga region of Australia by identifying the Panjabi language, religion, and family as core values of Sikh culture which may have influenced many Sikh parents to get their children to learn Panjabi.

The vitality of the Punjabi community to survive and behave as a distinctive group entity in an intergroup context in the Auckland region does not appear to have been studied yet. Therefore, the structural variable theory of Giles et al. (1977) was adopted to examine if the Sikh community in Auckland, New Zealand behaves as a viable group in a migrant context. It also explores whether Panjabi serves as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity among Sikhs in New Zealand.

The next chapter will describe my chosen methodological approach, together with a rationale for this approach.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This study investigates the role of gurdwaras in the acquisition of heritage culture and heritage language skills by young Sikh migrants and maintaining it in their lives. Fishman (1991) termed this role as institutional reinforcement. Here the reinforcement is the maintenance of cultural heritage and the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy (Fishman, 1991) for this small minority cultural group, existing within a large diasporic setting.

The methodology chosen for this study will allow the researcher to answer the questions of how gurdwaras enable young Sikh migrants, living in a small minority community in Auckland, New Zealand to acquire heritage culture and language skills.

This chapter first outlines my selected methodological approach, and then locates the researcher in the research setting to uncover any possible biases and prejudices that I may have had during the conduct of the study. Next, it places the research in the research setting which includes the current demographic concentration of the Sikh community in the New Zealand historical context.

Next, the research design is detailed, including the research instruments used and the data analysis process. Finally, the ethical issues which arose in conducting this ethnographic research are discussed.

Research approach

This chapter outlines the selected methodological approach taken in this study, as well as my rationale for choosing this approach. Next, I will locate the role of the researcher in the research setting and will discuss any possible biases that may have affected the collection and interpretation of the data. I will also discuss the advantages and disadvantages of my role in the research environment and my engagement with the Sikh community.

The philosophical stance underpinning this study is constructionism – an epistemology that qualitative researchers tend to use (Crotty, 1998). According to Crotty (1998), epistemology is "the theory of knowledge underlying the research, which is embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology" (p.3), and social

constructionism is a belief in which meaning of the social world depends upon our engagement with the realities in the world. The research conducted under this philosophy is based upon the subjective meanings of the individuals' experiences and relies heavily on participants' views of the situation being studied. As such, the research questions are kept broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, in interactions with other persons. Apart from focussing on the interaction among people, researchers also focus on the specific contexts in which participants live and work to understand their historical and cultural settings (Creswell, 2013).

Within the constructionist paradigm, a qualitative approach has been selected and its emergent designs allow flexibility in research rather than employing a rigidly configured design in advance. Creswell (2013) defines qualitative research as "an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 3). To the contrary is quantitative approach which involves data collection procedures resulted primarily from numerical data and then analysed by statistical methods. The rationale for selecting a qualitative approach is largely based upon my own wish to reflect how participants in the study ascribe to the role gurdwaras play in the maintenance of heritage language and culture, and to the factors which facilitate them. Apart from my own perspective, the purposes of the thesis also legitimise the use of a qualitative approach in fulfilling them.

As previously mentioned, Creswell (2013) considered it necessary for a qualitative research to take place in the natural setting where participants experience the issue under study. In other words, it is the major characteristic of qualitative research to describe the phenomena as they occur in their native environments by gathering information by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context. For the purposes of this thesis, the natural setting of this research is within Auckland's Sikh community including gurdwaras, cultural festivities and participants' private homes. As well, some of the data collection took place within the researcher's home.

Another characteristic of qualitative research described by Creswell (2013) is that the researcher in the entire research process focuses on the subjective experiences of individual people and how they perceive this, not the meaning that researchers bring to the research or that writers express in the literature. Sample sizes are often very small, but the approach involves reporting multiple perspectives and identifying the many factors involved in a situation. The outcome of the research is interpreted through the

researcher's perspective; therefore, the researcher's personal experiences and values are integral to the process and openly stated as has been done in this thesis. Similarly, this study attempts to convey the subjective experiences of the Auckland Sikh community on a small scale through the researcher's perspective.

To be more specific, this research is ethnographic. According to Madden (2017), ethnographers are social scientists who undertake research and write about groups of people by observing and participating in the lives of the people they study. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) describe ethnography in qualitative research which "strives to understand the interaction of individuals not just with others, but also with the culture of the society in which they live" (p. 24). In the case of this study, my role as a researcher is to focus on understanding the inside perspective of the culture involved: in this case, that of Auckland Sikh community.

As discussed earlier, the interpretation of a qualitative research flows from the researcher's perspective, so issues of reliability and validity arise. Golafshani (2003) argues that in order to acquire valid and reliable multiple and diverse realities under the constructionist paradigm, multiple methods of gathering data are in order. The notions of reliability and validity, which are common in quantitative research, are conceptualised as trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1982), rigour and quality (Golafshani, 2003) in qualitative research. In order to eliminate bias and increase the researcher's truthfulness of a proposition about some social phenomenon, several researchers advocate the use of triangulation, i.e. using multiple methods of data collection such as observation, interviews and recordings in the construction of realities (Creswell, 2013; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

The researcher being the primary instrument for data collection and analysis has shortcomings and biases that can have an impact on the data collection, analysis and interpretation. Therefore, it is important that the researcher should be self-aware and reflexive about their own perspective and circumstances and position their role in the research to acknowledge that the interpretation flows from their personal, cultural and historical experiences (Creswell, 2013).

My position in the research setting

As discussed in Chapter One, I am of South Asian heritage and was born in Amritsar (India). My parents are both deeply religious followers of the Sikh faith, especially my

father who is an *amritdhari* (baptised) Sikh by taking a vow of *amrit*, and my mother who is not baptised follows *Sikh Rehat Maryada* at home. My family's adherence to Sikh religious life and my father's distinct identity as a baptised Sikh have always influenced my cultural and religious worldviews. Our family's continual engagement with the gurdwaras in and outside Amritsar has increased my knowledge of the principal ethics followed in *Sikh Rehat Maryada* which proved significant in understanding the internal dynamics of the gurdwaras selected for the present study.

As mentioned earlier, the opportunity to pursue my previous master's degree exposed me to the diversity of the Sikh community in a diasporic context outside India, particularly in Southall and Slough (UK). I found how gurdwaras have evolved in such communities as the U.K. to cater for the needs of the local Sikh community, and also the linguistic and socio-cultural factors inside the gurdwaras that influence community members, especially the younger ones.

I started this project in 2016 without any predetermined results to support, but with a commitment to understand better the phenomenon of language and cultural transmission in a multi-ethnic country like New Zealand. I was originally inspired by a number of postcolonial readings on the intergenerational transmission of Sikh faith among young Sikh migrants in England and other diasporic communities that I observed as part of developing the research proposal for this study. As such, I was thrilled to explore how the young Sikh generation in New Zealand is responding to the language and cultural acquisition processes in New Zealand's surroundings.

My identity as a Sikh allowed me to access the research setting as an insider and to observe the internal workings and cultural dynamics of the gurdwaras closely but also as an outsider as I was born into a devoutly religious non-diasporic family. In addition to this, my proficiency in the Panjabi language provided me with a great advantage in communicating with those gurdwara officials who were less proficient in English, and with the potential participants during the data collection phase.

However, being a Sikh does not mean that I understood everything about what being a Sikh living in a diasporic community means. While conducting this study, I visited the research sites and entered the data collection phase with the sole objective of putting aside the theories of language and cultural acquisition happening in other diasporic communities and concentrated on actually listening and observing what participants did.

I took an 'open-ended' and a reflexive approach while collecting the data for this study which means "to consider issues such as positionality and insider/outsider stances in research and try to own their effects in the process in so far as this is possible" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, pp. 64-65). Being born in a '*Gursikh*' family and an insider to the community, I had my own biases, prejudices, predispositions and assumptions such as believing that Sikhs' utmost priority in learning and maintaining the language was for religious purposes. However, I learnt from this study's journey that there were some other crucial factors apart from religion that were at play which are expanded in Chapter Five. In addition, at times it seemed impossible for me to escape the traditional image of gurdwaras every time I visited a gurdwara, but it was during the course of the study that I learnt their ever-changing role in community-building within the New Zealand Sikh community.

There were benefits of being an insider and being able to build up a sense of acceptance with the study participants and an access to the group's working through commonality in terms of identity and shared language that might otherwise be closed to outsiders (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). In this way, I was rapidly and completely accepted by the participants and this allowed me greater insight into the data collected. Yet, there were some drawbacks to this.

In the role of the researcher, the first drawback my 'insiderness' had was the recruitment of potential participants for the study as Dwyer and Buckle (2009) assumed might happen because of the commonality with the study participants. Initially, people felt reluctant to participate in the study which might have happened because they did not want an insider to know about the internal dynamics of their family such as their child's lower proficiency in Panjabi/English. Sometimes my insiderness put me into situations when the adult participants over-exaggerated their perceptions in interviews regarding HL and also about their children's proficiency in Panjabi. This encouraged me to reflect critically on parents' responses compared with those of their children.

Therefore, I adopted an ethnographically informed position and an insider status to interpret the data with a certain degree of insight based on shared cultural and religious experiences. While I share my cultural background with the Auckland Sikh community being researched in this study, I am not a complete insider of this diasporic community. I attempted to locate myself both as an insider and outsider, in order to gain the

advantages of both positions and perspectives and therefore describe the phenomenon from a certain distance.

Using multiple methods enabled me to investigate the different linguistic and cultural components at play in the gurdwaras and influenced respondents' language behaviour and identity practices.

New Zealand's Sikh community in the research setting

It is important to note the historical and cultural context of Indian migrations, especially of Sikhs in the Auckland region of New Zealand in order to set out the rationale for selecting it as a place for conducting this study. This section includes the current demographic concentration of the Sikh community in the New Zealand historical context. The gurdwaras were established in an attempt to maintain cultural heritage and intergenerational informal oralcy (Fishman, 1991) for this small minority cultural group.

Indian migrants have been arriving in New Zealand for more than a century but increasingly over the last two decades (Friesen, 2008). According to the most recent New Zealand census, which was conducted in 2013, more than 70 per cent of New Zealand's Indian population lives in Auckland and comprises 11 per cent of Auckland's total population of over 1.4 million. Recent figures obtained from the New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs by the New Zealand Herald reveal that India has been among the top source countries for most immigration visa categories in recent years (Tan, 2018). The number of recent migrants to New Zealand has quadrupled, and according to the 2013 census there were 155,178 people claiming Indian cultural identity living in the country. Out of these, 12.5 per cent or 18,951 people were Sikhs, making them the second largest group of migrants in addition to Hindus who comprised 53.6 per cent or 81,036 people (Booth, 2018).

The history of Sikh migration dates back 150 years when Sikhs were one of the early groups of Indian migrants who arrived as indentured labourers and workers as well as Hindus from Gujarat (Booth, 2014, p. 32). McLeod's (1986) empirical study, "Punjabis in New Zealand", was the first historical case-study of Punjabis beyond their homeland in New Zealand and is a primary source of information on Sikh history in New Zealand. In his study, McLeod argued the non-importance of religion to the identity of local Sikhs during that time, based upon the oral histories of his informants. Leckie (2010) and Bandyopadhyay (2010) also relied on McLeod's study for the interpretation of the Sikhs

while studying Indian migration in New Zealand. Roche and Venkateswar (2018) note that Sikhs arrived via "chain migration" to and from a comparatively small number of villages in India (p. 136), and their migration (basically from the Punjab region) saw an exponential growth after 2001 (Singh, 2016).

According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), Sikhism is currently the fourth largest non-Christian religion in New Zealand behind Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. It is a world religion with over 27 million followers worldwide, with a majority of followers residing in Punjab, India. As illustrated in Figure 1, the Sikh population in New Zealand has more than doubled from 9500 in the 2006 census to 19000 in the 2013 census. This compares with an increase of 134.8 per cent between the years 2001 and 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Bandyopadhyay and Buckingham (2018) explain that this increase was due to the relaxation of immigration rules in 2003 due to the Skilled Migrant Act which made India the largest source of skilled migrants in the twenty-first century.
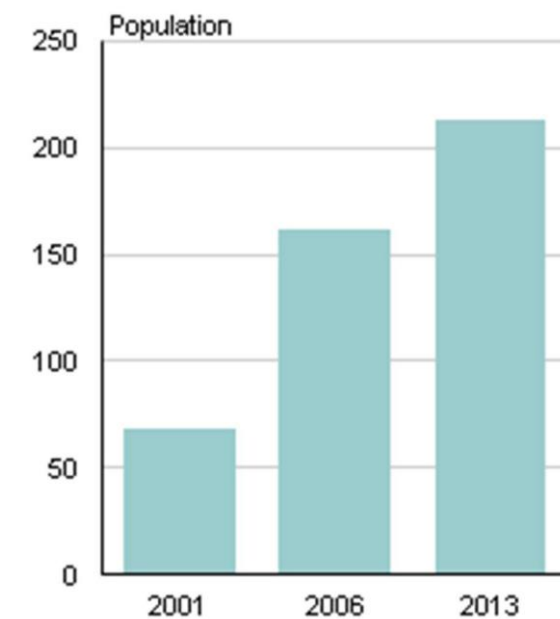
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 1. The influx of Sikh migrants into New Zealand 2001, 2006, and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

According to Booth (2018), the increase in Sikh migration in the country resulted in the increase of Panjabi speakers as illustrated in Table 2. However, the number of Panjabi speakers also included people from other religious affiliations such as Hindus, Muslims or Christians who may belong to Punjab or other regions and speak the language. It was also noted from the figures on Statistics New Zealand (2013) that the popularity of

Panjabi language (77.5 per cent) was less than that of English (83.1 per cent) within the Sikh community. This may have happened because New Zealand-born Sikhs are less likely to speak the language than those born overseas.

Table 2. Panjabi speakers in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Census year	Panjabi Speakers
2001	5,541
2006	10,713
2013	19,752

Since Auckland is New Zealand's largest city and is located near the country's primary international airport, it became the preferred destination for Indian migrants. According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), out of the total Sikh population living in the North Island, 77.8 per cent lived in Auckland and within the greater metropolitan Auckland area (Figure 2). Today, the Sikh community in Auckland is clustered mainly around the areas of Otara-Papatoetoe (33.9per cent), Howick (14.3 per cent), and Manurewa (7.1per cent).
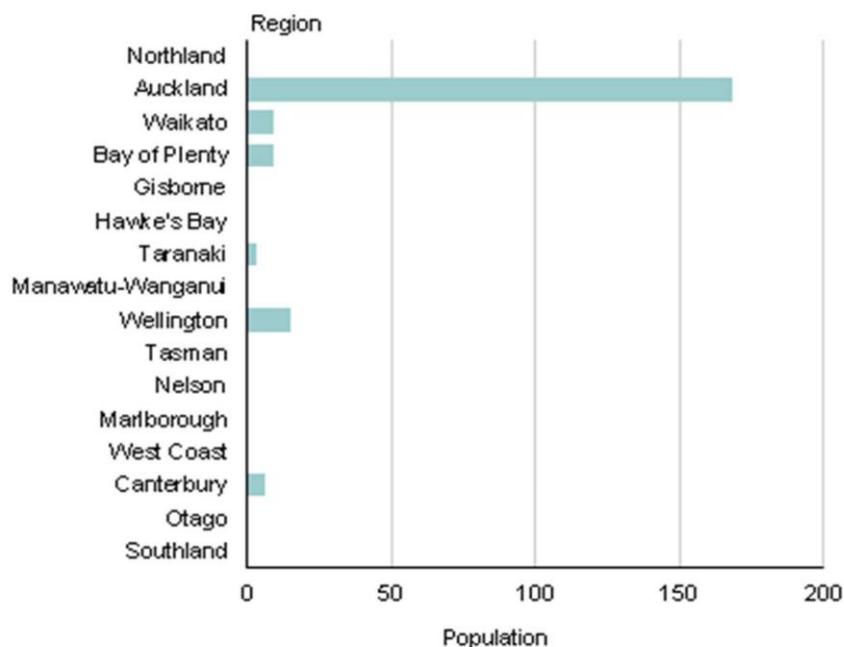
Figure 2. Concentration of Sikh population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Booth (2014) argues that the influx of new migrants into New Zealand creates a number of new community groups which "serve the needs of new migrants yearning for social

interaction with community members who share the language and customs of their home" (p. 37). Similarly, Sikhs in New Zealand have created gurdwaras in the form of community institutions that serve as community places for new migrants. This is reflected in the development and proliferation of gurdwaras in the areas with greater Sikh concentrations such as South Auckland (as illustrated in Table 3).

To summarise, this section has briefly described the history of Sikh migration to Auckland, New Zealand, and the formation of religious organisations in the areas with higher Sikh populations. This context is important in identifying the role that gurdwaras play in maintaining the language and cultural heritage of Sikhs. The following section discusses different gurdwaras present in Auckland and the ones selected for the present study.

Research setting

Gurdwaras are considered as focal points for the community where Sikhs gather, and gurdwaras' boundaries serve as a "cultural buffer" from mainstream New Zealand (Taylor, 2011, p. 95). Presently, to the best of my knowledge, there are twelve main gurdwaras located in Auckland as discussed in Table 3, out of which two gurdwaras have been selected for this study. Information on all Auckland-based gurdwaras was collected prior to deciding where to situate the study reported on here. The primary research sites were selected in terms of their wide popularity within the Sikh community in and around Auckland.

Table 3. Auckland Sikh Gurdwaras: bolded are where data were collected for this study

Name	Location	Affiliation	Establishment	Community classes
Gurdwara Sri Guru Nanak Dev Sikh Sangat Sahib	Otahuhu east, South Auckland	Supreme Sikh Society of New Zealand (SSSNZ)	First gurdwara in Auckland opened in 1986.	Classes held every Saturday with approximately 50-100 students attending

Gurdwara Sri Kalgidhar Sahib	Takanini, South Auckland	Supreme Sikh Society of New Zealand (SSSNZ), the largest Sikh body in New Zealand. It was established in 1982 and has more than 500 financial members and 2000 non-financial members and its annual turnover in 2018 was $3 million, making it the	Officially opened on 13th March 2005. Largest Sikh religious place in the Pacific area. Approximately 8000 devotees pay obeisance every weekend or on Gurpurabs.	Sikh Heritage School established to conduct community classes every Saturday and other cultural events. Approximately 350 students attend the classes every weekend.
		largest Sikh organisation in New Zealand. Sikh Supreme Society has established Youth Wing Sikh Supreme Society (YWSSS) with the aim of getting the younger generation to come towards Sikhism, so they can learn more about Sikhism and actively participate in its cultural activities.		
Gurdwara Nanaksar Thath Isher Darbar	Manurewa, South Auckland	Nanaksar Isher Darbar Trust – a Global Charitable Organisation initiated by Sant Baba Amar Singh Ji in 1972.	November 1989	Guru Nanak School established to conduct classes every Saturday. Approximately 50-100 students attend the classes.
Gurdwara Sri Dashmesh Darbar	Papatoetoe, South Auckland	Auckland Sikh Society established in 2001.	First gurdwara established in 2011 in Papatoetoe, South Auckland	Classes held every Saturday with approximately 50-100 students attending
Gurdwara Sri Guru Teg Bahadur Sahib	Papatoetoe, South Auckland	Auckland Sikh Society	In 2007	Classes held every Saturday. No information on the size of classes.
Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran Sahib	Papakura, South Auckland	Sikh societies in New Zealand	In 2018	No classes are conducted

Gurdwara Shri Guru Singh Sabha	Papatoetoe, South Auckland	Auckland Sikh Society	In 2003	Classes held every Saturday. No information on the size of classes.
Gurdwara Shri Guru Arjan Dev Ji	Avondale, West Auckland	Sikh societies in New Zealand, SGPC Amritsar (India)	First gurdwara established in West Auckland	Classes held every Saturday. No information on the size of classes.
Gurudwara Sri Guru Harkrishan Sahib	New Lynn, West Auckland	Sikh Societies in New Zealand, SGPC Amritsar (India)	Established in 2010	Classes held every Saturday. No information on the size of classes.
Gurudwara Sangat Sikh	Wiri road, South Auckland	Sikh societies in New Zealand	In 2018	Classes held every Saturday. No information on the size of classes.
Sri Guru Ravi Das Temple	Bombay, South Auckland	Sikh societies in New Zealand	In 2012	No classes are conducted
Gurudwara Begampura Sahib	Papakura, South Auckland	Sikh societies in New Zealand	No information available	No classes are conducted

Location and fieldwork design

The research took place in two major gurdwaras in South Auckland – Sri Kalgidhar Sahib, in Takanini and Sri Guru Nanak Dev, in Otahuhu. The rationale behind the selection of Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras as the primary research sites is their popularity among the local Sikh community and their affiliation with the largest Sikh society of Auckland (SSSNZ). They were the earliest gurdwaras established in Auckland, and their popularity is evident from the large number of congregations attended by community members, and the size of the community classes compared with the other gurdwaras. Access to conduct research in these gurdwaras was granted by the gurdwara officials who are members of the Sikh Supreme Society at the beginning of the project in March 2018.

Another reason behind selecting the primary research sites was their affiliation with the respective sampradayas. As I am a practising Sikh who has experienced different places outside Amritsar, I became aware that all gurdwaras are different in terms of their protocols and ideology in conducting certain religious activities. During my fieldwork,

I interacted with different people in and around gurdwaras and became aware that different gurdwaras tended to attract different segments of the Sikh community in Auckland. Segmentation was on the basis of their affiliations with various *sampradayas*, *jathebandis* or committees, class differentials and caste differentials (discussed in detail in Chapter Four). It was found that Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras' popularity in the local Sikh community was due to their affiliation with *Damdami Taksaal jathebandi* which became a reason for selecting these gurdwaras for research fieldwork for this study.

Contacts were initiated with the officials of Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras regarding this research through Manjit Singh who is an active member of the Sikh Supreme Society New Zealand (SSSNZ) and works closely in the organisation of various cultural events held at these institutions. My primary supervisor, Dr. Alison Booth, who already had a wide range of connections with the Sikh community in Auckland, put me in touch with Manjit Singh who helped me further in understanding the internal dynamics of Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras.

Data was collected in the form of surveys and interviews, with surveys being collected in the month of May and June 2018 in The Sikh Heritage School run by Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras. Detailed information on the participants has been set out in the next section. The Sikh Heritage Schools in Takanini and Otahuhu gurudwaras offer various community classes such as:

- Panjabi language and music classes
- Religious classes such as traditional Sikh martial art (*gatka*)
- The teaching of Sikh ethics and conventions, and;
- Learning *shabads*, *kirtan*

Detailed information on the organisation of these classes is provided in the next chapter. I visited the research site where these community classes are held and collected the data which is outlined in more detail in Table 6. Findings of the data collected will be discussed in the next chapter.

I used these sites as a beginning point from which I could access and delve into the Sikh community of Auckland. Due to the vast popularity of these gurudwaras among the Sikh population of Auckland, these gurdwaras represented a window through which it was possible to look at the community. As discussed earlier, being an insider of the same ethnic background, it was relatively easy for me to engage with the groups and

individuals (children, teachers and parents) present in the gurdwaras. Another reason for basing my research around community schools in Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras was that while these gurdwaras clearly could not represent the whole of the Sikh community in Auckland, they were an important part of it and constituted a key agency for transmitting the HL Panjabi and culture to younger generations.

The Research Design

Sample population

As the focus of this study is to explore the linguistic and cultural aspects of HL Panjabi in the lives of Sikh children in Auckland, I initially decided to include a large group of young respondents who attended the supplementary classes in gurdwaras and a smaller number of those who were less involved, for the purposes of comparison between them.

The young respondents labelled in this study refer to Sikh children between the ages of 816 years. According to Neisser (1984), children between the ages 8-13 are in their "critical threshold age" in terms of their first language acquisition, and may acquire a "schema" for it through which they may maintain the language after years of learning it. Therefore, children aged between 8-11 and aged between 12-16 were specifically included in this study to make comparisons in the data collected from participants in their pre-threshold age and those in their post-threshold age. This could reveal information if young participants had acquired the schema for their HL acquisition and were able to maintain/shift the language.

Adult participants in the study are Sikh parents of children belonging to the age group aforementioned. Since most of the young respondents attended gurdwaras and community classes with their parents, it was essential to identify their perceptions regarding the activities being conducted inside gurdwaras. Adult participants were also included to examine their general language abilities, and pattern of language use in different domains which could ultimately affect their children's pattern of language use.

Participants were also asked about their practices of daily prayers and their engagement in different cultural activities inside and outside gurdwaras. Information on the religious nurture of young participants was in no way central to this research, although the researcher's concerns were pertinent to the transmission of Sikh culture. Participants were approached through surveys, interviews and observations which are discussed below.

Participants' demographics

The data from survey tools were collected from 91 young respondents: 41 boys and 50 girls, and from 125 adult respondents: 39 females and 23 males. No other demographic information other than young respondents' gender and age was collected. On the other hand, interviews were conducted with ten different families which included fifteen adult respondents (n=15) and eighteen young respondents (n=18).

The age of young respondents who participated in surveys and interviews is discussed in Table 4.

Table 4. Age of young respondents (surveys and interviews)

8-10	11-13	14-16
44	49	16

As discussed in the literature review, parents' place of birth is considered to be an important factor in maintaining HL proficiency among their children. Table 5 shows that of the adult respondents who answered the question in surveys and who participated in interviews, the majority of them were born in India, specifically Punjab, while some of them were from other places such as Delhi and Mumbai.

Table 5. Adult respondents' birthplace (from surveys and interviews)

Birthplace	Number (survey)	Number (interview)	Percentage
Born in India (Punjab)	11	10	18%
Born in India (Mumbai)	1		1%
Born in India (Delhi)	1		1%
Born in India (region not specified)	46		74%
Born in India (Gujarat)		1	
Born in India (Uttar Pradesh)			
Born in India (Bihar)		3 1	
Born in U.K.	1		1%
Born in New Zealand	2		3%

Duration of residency among adult participants was also considered as an important demographic factor. Respondents could choose from the options given on the survey depending upon their duration of residency in New Zealand: less than 12 years, more than 12 years, or their whole life. Nearly half of the respondents (n=32) indicated that they had been in New Zealand for more than twelve years while 43% responded (n=27)

that they had been in New Zealand for less than twelve years. Very few respondents (n=4) indicated that they had been in New Zealand for their whole life.

The length of time since adult participants who participated in interviews arrived in New Zealand ranged from three years to twenty-five years and shared similar immigration cohort. Almost all families were permanent residents in New Zealand except two families – one of whom was a recently migrated family to New Zealand and the other one arrived ten years ago yet was still on temporary status.

Different family members were given pseudonyms to respect their confidentiality in the study. The families who were interviewed shared some basic commonality on their educational background and the place where they were based in Auckland. Firstly, almost all the interviewees were graduates from India and/or New Zealand, so they had considerable knowledge of English. None of the parent-participants were reported as having limited proficiency in English which was considered as an important factor while determining their language choice with their children. Interviews occurred at participants' homes except three, which were conducted by phone and at the researcher's place. The interviews lasted from half an hour to more than one hour.

Secondly, most of the respondents were born and brought up in Punjab (India) and had been twenty plus on arrival in New Zealand, with most arriving as single migrants except the parents of one family. All participants had married Panjabi-speaking partners.

Thirdly, all adult respondents' first language was Panjabi except for three, who had been brought up in multilingual Hindi-Panjabi-Gujarati-English and Hindi-Panjabi-English speaking environments. Hindi and Panjabi are languages closely related to each other with respect to grammar and linguistic structure. The person who can speak Panjabi can easily speak Hindi without formal learning, while Gujarati is an entirely different regional language of Gujarat. None of the adult participants was interviewed in English or Hindi whereas interviews with young participants happened mostly in English and Panjabi.

Fourthly, all participants were based in South Auckland which is an area highly populated with Sikh migrants (as discussed previously). Although it was not intended to recruit families only from this part of Auckland, families were recruited through the "snowballing" method so had their initial contacts based only in South Auckland.

One interesting point of difference between families was the family's religious identity. Out of the total number of families, only three were *gursikh* or *amritdhari*, that is they were baptised Sikhs. Adult participants of these families were also working as community teachers teaching *kirtan*, *gurbani* and Panjabi in gurdwaras – some of them on a voluntary basis while others non-voluntarily. Participants of *gursikh* families claimed to be regular attendees at gurdwaras compared with the other families. This points to a higher degree of religious observance among children and adult, and it also supports the claim that respondents from non-*gursikh* families tended to have a more secular perspective regarding Panjabi. This offered scope for examining the link between religious affiliation and respondents' language use and attitudes. However, observations also revealed that there were some families who were not baptised by the vow of *amrit* but followed S*ikh Rehat Maryada*.

There were four adult respondents from different families who were professionals working with the wider Panjabi community outside the gurdwara domain such as organising *Bhangra* and *Giddha* events, Punjabi musical concerts and organising other Punjabi cultural festivals in and around Auckland region.

Overall, the fifteen participants provided a range of different opinions reflecting their personal experiences, and in some cases, their experiences as community teachers, and wider Punjabi community.

Research instruments

Overseas research provides us with examples of ethnographic research into language-based studies which employ a variety of different research instruments. The first of these is by Park (2011) which explores the influence Korean ethnic churches on the maintenance of the Korean language and culture on Korean-Canadian students in Montreal, Canada which involved: participant observation, group discussions, interviews and a questionnaire. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) in their study of Chinese immigrant communities in the US used participant observations in local Chinese communities during movie showing, seminars, outings, cultural activities, Chinese weekend schools as a volunteer teacher, gatherings on Chinese holidays, and informal and formal interviews.

With respect to language-based studies in the New Zealand context, over the last twenty years it has been rare for researchers to take an ethnographic approach. The first

exception was Lee's (2013) empirical ethnographic study in addressing the situation of Spanish language among the Auckland-Chilean community. She provided a rich narrative of the community using qualitative interviews supplemented by informal observations and conversations, and community records to provide the background information on the Chilean community. The second exception was Fouvaa's (2011) study on Samoan language maintenance inside community and home domains which used questionnaires, interviews and observations with some ethnographic elements. While another ethnographic study by Kim and Starks (2005) used participant language diaries as the primary research instrument in studying Korean language within the Korean community, they acknowledged that diaries reported the same kinds of information as in questionnaire-based research.

Other predominantly used research instruments in assessing participants' proficiency in their ethnic language have been questionnaires which are often supplemented by qualitative interviews with a small group of participants, for example, Roberts (1999) and 'Aipolo and Holmes (1990). In some cases, the researcher was present while the questionnaires were completed in order to answer any questions which participants might have (Stoffel, 1982). Verivaki (1991) referred to this as "questionnaire-based interviews".

After consideration of the research instruments utilised in previous studies inside and outside the New Zealand context, and deciding on an ethnographic approach, the researcher selected the following instruments for collecting data:

- Surveys
- Interviews
- Fieldnotes from observations.

It has been observed that participant observations had predominated in most the ethnographic research. However, in the present study, participant observations inside gurdwaras which could have provided rich and detailed data, given that it is very time consuming, were replaced by field notes. The combination of interviews and observations from field notes provided the rich and in-depth information that I was seeking within the timeframe of the research to reflect on the findings analysed from survey tools.

Survey tools

The method of collecting qualitative data from survey tools was central to my research. Roberts (1999) described the use of surveys as a primary research instrument in identifying language preference and community involvement in three different communities of New Zealand. Likewise, survey tools in this study were employed to make broad generalisations of the data related to language use and community activities among young and adult participants which helped me in framing questions for follow-up interviews.

In order to be able to survey a large number of participants including parents and children, surveys were conducted in person inside Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras during community classes. It would not otherwise have been possible to target a large sample population, especially of young children. In addition, adult surveys were put online and ran between the months of May 2018 and July 2018 on Qualtrics. Surveys were open to anyone who identified themselves as Sikh parents having children between the ages 8-16. Before participants began the online survey, questionnaires (similar to those given in person) were created on Qualtrics and then distributed to the public by advertising anonymous links to the software on Facebook, WhatsApp, and through word of mouth. Facebook advertising which is considered as a "potentially viable recruitment method" by Forgasz, Tan, Leder, and McLeod (2018, p. 268) proved effective in targeting a large sample size and generating a wide variety of data for further analysis.

Most of the questions were kept open-ended in the survey of young respondents for the purposes of examining their language patterns and for further linguistic analysis. Closed questions in the surveys of adults and young respondents were intended to collect information on participants' specific views and beliefs about practices of Panjabi language in the home and community domains. Closed questions were also intended to gather information on young participants' participation in different cultural activities and estimates of their occurrence(s).

Surveys were administered for three different age groups; 8-11, 12-16 and adults, and questions in young respondents' surveys were kept similar for making comparisons in the data collected. However, the language of the questions was linguistically modified to that intended for the age group 8-11 on the basis of their anticipated understanding of the Panjabi and English language (Appendix G).

The design of the 8-11 age-group's survey reflected specific participant age groups as demonstrated in the UK studies (Nesbitt, 2000). I considered the level of cognition required for each age group to eliminate any frustration or difficulties that children might have had in interpreting the questions. The gist of the questions prepared for each age group was similar in nature in order to make comparisons in the responses of the participants. Only the linguistic nature of the questions was slightly modified in order to reflect the everyday English/Panjabi/Hindi language. For example, the question asking respondents their favourite language to speak differed marginally from how it was asked from the other age groups (see Appendices).

Apart from conducting surveys in person with young respondents inside gurdwaras, I also purposely collected responses from them through Panjabi-translated surveys in individual interviews to examine their receptive and productive skills. However, these responses were not included in the overall survey results as they were not anonymous and disclosed participants' identities.

Interviews

Survey tools were supplemented by semi-structured open-ended informal interviews which were tape-recorded. The participants for interviews were recruited through snowballing, with the first participant referring the researcher on to other potential participants from within their social networks in the community. The snowballing method of recruiting the participants was very beneficial in this setting as I encountered some difficulties initially in locating the families without having reference of a known person. It was after the reference of the first participant family that I was able to interview other families by visiting them in person. As previously discussed, my insider's status within the community was a potential reason for some ethical issues in recruiting the families and will be addressed in the next section.

The interviews were intended as an opportunity to ask participants about their language and cultural practices which enabled me to draw conclusions from the data collected by survey tools. According to Talmy (2010), "interviews as a research instrument are theorised as a resource for investigating truths, facts, experience, beliefs, attitudes, and/or feelings of respondents" (p. 33).

Adult participants were initially asked for some basic demographic information to provide background to their stories such as length of duration in New Zealand, family

context and birthplace, followed by questions which prompted the discussion further
including:

- Language preference by them and their children at home and in gurdwaras
- Their community engagement
- Their practice of daily prayers
- And their perception of religious institutions.

**Table 6. Representation of data collected from various research sites using mixed
methods**

Dates	Methods	Data	Location	Outcome
March-May	Immersion	Identity Auckland research setting	Otahuhu Manurewa Takanini	Locating the research in the research setting
19th May 2018 and 26th May 2018	Surveys (in-person)	Adult and young participants	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras, Personal contacts	Linguistic abilities and cultural engagement
May 2018-July 2018	Surveys (online)	Adult participants	Social media sites such as Facebook and WhatsApp.	Linguistic abilities and cultural engagement
August-October 2018 January-February 2018	Interviews Panjabi-translated surveys with young respondents (in person)	Adult and young participants	Private homes	Linguistic abilities and cultural engagement
19th May 2018 and 26th May 2018	Observation	Language and cultural classes	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras	Linguistic abilities and cultural engagement
26th May 2018 6th -7th October 2018	Observation	Cultural events: Sikh Children's Day, Kirtan darbar by young children	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras	Cultural engagement
19th May 2018	Observation	Tabla Classes	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras	Cultural engagement
May-August	Observation	Weekly Worship	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras, Papatoetoe gurudwara, Manurewa gurudwara	Cultural engagement

May-August	Observation	Linguistic and cultural environment of the gurdwaras which included using HL Panjabi in all services and activities	Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras, Papatoetoe gurdwara, Manurewa gurdwara	Cultural engagement

Apart from conducting surveys and interviews, data was also collected in the form of observations from field notes for which a separate diary was kept noting the details every time I visited gurdwaras during fieldwork. Details gained during observation of different community classes were recorded which helped in the interpretation of the data and opened doors to detailed descriptions of community events. During observations at research sites, I conducted various informal conversations with community members, teachers and children which further helped me to interpret data with insight.

Research instruments chosen for this study focussed differently for young and adult participants. Survey tools administered to children focussed more on their language skills in HL, English, Hindi and any other language they might know while the adult survey focussed more on gathering demographics and their perceptions. Data collected on language skills (receptive and productive) of young respondents in different languages at the same time through survey tools formed the basis for the linguistic analysis in the next chapter. It focused on tokens which might possibly signal respondents' competence in different languages, particularly their HL which otherwise would not have been possible through interviews. In addition to this, in order to gauge young respondents' HL proficiency, surveys were translated into Panjabi, and respondents had an option to choose surveys either in English or Panjabi.

On the other hand, semi-structured interviews were meant to focus on the elicited free speech as "this type of data would most closely resemble respondents' attempts at communication in everyday life" (Crezee, 2008, p. 87). Interviews were introduced to gauge productive skills in HL among children and to gather information on their perspective regarding engagement with certain cultural activities in gurdwaras.

Ethical issues considered in the research

A qualitative research design must address the importance of ethical considerations such as respecting the rights, needs, values, and desire(s) of the informants (Creswell, 2013). There were key ethical considerations which were considered while preparing and

employing the research instruments selected for this study. According to Dhillon and Thomas (2018), when a researcher engages with participants who are close to the researcher through personal, social or community contact, then then the delicacy of ethical and methodological issues is heightened such as that of insider/outsider dilemma. As such, ethical issues that arose were the privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the interviewees because the participants who were interviewed were members of the same personal and social networks. The confidentiality of interview participants was ensured by providing the option of choosing a pseudonym to ensure anonymity unless they had clearly stated that they wished to be quoted and have their name included in the thesis. However, my insider status was a potential drawback in recruiting participants for interviews.

While conducting interviews, I contacted several community members for their participation, but because of the small size of the community and snowball sampling technique, community members were conscious of being aware of each other's identities from the small amount of the personal information provided and might be able to work out who is likely to have said what. Therefore, community members felt reluctant to participate and were conscious of their identities being disclosed in the research even if I assured them of complete anonymity.

Informed consent was an important principle before conducting the surveys inside gurdwaras' premises which were collected through consent and assent forms. Each interview-participant was given a participant information sheet clearly stating the objectives of the study and were given an option to opt out if in case they did not wish to participate or felt uncomfortable at any stage of the interview. For conducting online and in-person surveys, a separate information sheet was made and generated prior to collecting the data. The participants in this study included children of the age-group 8-16 who were not competent to give fully informed consent. Assent forms were prepared for their parents who acted on their behalf. The versions of surveys, consent, assent and information sheets were individually translated into Panjabi (see Appendices).

The surveys were also kept anonymous so that the final report on this research does not have any indication of the people who participated in the survey except for the Panjabi translated survey which I used for observing young respondents' proficiency in Panjabi during the interviews. However, those surveys were analysed separately for the purposes of extracting more information from the young respondents' responses and to initiate

conversation with them. I did not include those surveys' responses in the overall report. It was mentioned on the survey text that by completing the surveys, participants indicated their consent to participate (Appendix B). The survey participants were also asked to identify if they wished to participate in an interview.

It was clearly mentioned on the information sheet that data collected is community based and not culturally biased. As the families who were surveyed and interviewed have a national identity, religion and belong to a particular community, the surveys and semi-structured interview questions were not biased towards any specific cultural or religious focus. The data collected for this study will be kept for future reference or conducting further research for up to six years and can only be assessed by the primary researcher. Ethics Approval from AUTEC was granted for this research on 9th May 2018 (Appendix A).

Data-analysis

The data collected through surveys, interviews and observation was organised and coded separately by various methods. Codes are the major ideas that categorise the data collected in the process of coding. Creswell (2013) defines coding as a "process of organising the data by bracketing chunks (or text or image segments) and writing a word representing a category in the margins" (p. 247). Coding was used to identify and describe frequently emerging patterns and themes, then attempting to analyse those themes. Firstly, in developing the survey I focused on questions which addressed the research aims, in order to achieve "content validity" (Vogt, 2014, p. 22). Secondly, the entire data collected from surveys was coded using a statistical software 'Qualtrics'. Qualtrics is a qualitative and data analysis software programme and creates a web-based survey tool to conduct survey research. It analyses the data which can then be viewed in the form of reports. The survey data collected from participants in person was also uploaded to Qualtrics for combined data analysis of the survey responses collected online and in person.

The responses to closed questions framed at the beginning of the surveys for participants aged 8-11, 12-16, and adults, made the data analysis process easy in a way to compare the results. Responses to the open-ended questions and interviews were hand coded later.

According to Vogt (2014), researchers can identify various recurrent themes which are allowed to emerge naturally from the data rather than a process driven theory. Thematic

analysis is a common feature of ethnographic qualitative research when interviews and observations are used as the research instruments (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) in which data is aggregated into a smaller number of themes like five or seven. Booth (2014) selected coding and thematic analysis as the approach to the data analysis in her ethnographic study of Indian cultural events in Auckland. Booth hand coded the interview transcripts and fieldwork notes to identify key themes which were then clustered together. Similarly, I coded the interview transcripts and identified the most frequently salient themes which were then categorised. Every new theme was categorised separately with all the relevant quotes from each interview.

Limitations in relation to data collection

There were some issues which I encountered in relation to data collection, firstly in terms of data collection while conducting surveys and secondly during and after interviews. Surveys with young participants were conducted in the Sikh Heritage School where students were attending different community classes. Students in Panjabi language classes were sitting in the respective groups according to their ages when surveys were administered. While answering the questions in which participants were asked to choose an option, respondents might have copied the correct answer from each other by noticing which option others had ticked. This might invalidate the results from the data collected. If the study were to be repeated, care should be taken to seat the respondents in such a way that they cannot see what responses are marked by the other respondents.

Another pitfall occurred in relation to data collection before conducting the interviews with the adult and young participants. As this research is culturally sensitive with respect to the religious aspects of Sikh culture, the researcher found difficulty in recruiting young children to be interviewed. However, in consultation with the supervisors of this research, the interview process was kept as flexible as possible for children. They were not alone for the interviews and were given the opportunity to be accompanied by a person of their choosing. Moreover, the familiarity of the location (at home or gurdwaras) gave them a sense of security. The questions of the interviews were not culturally biased and reflected the cultural sensitivity and understanding of the social issues that might have arisen. Thus, data collection issues regarding interviews were satisfactorily resolved without compromising the data collected.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of the study, the research process and the research instruments used in the data collection. It has also described key ethical considerations and the role of the researcher and where she was located in the research, having addressed the cultural biases and prejudices that she might have encountered throughout the research process. The next chapter presents my findings from survey tools, interviews, and observations followed by discussion and conclusion.

Chapter Four: Findings Relating to the Community Domain

Introduction

In this chapter I have combined the data collected from surveys, interviews and field notes and presented them as findings which will provide answers to the central question of this research concerning the role of gurdwaras in maintaining Sikh culture and language, especially among young people.

This chapter first discusses the different types of gurdwaras found in the greater Auckland area and presents the information collected during field visits by the researcher to gurdwaras and field notes taken during these visits. The chapter then focuses on the sociocultural environment of the gurdwaras and presents findings related to their role in providing cultural classes and events which transmit and maintain cultural identity. This is followed by presentation of the findings on the role of gurdwaras in transmitting and maintaining the HL in the younger generation, and how successful gurdwaras have been in this respect. Within this section, the linguistic pattern of young respondents' responses in the surveys is also examined. These responses demonstrate their Panjabi skills learnt within cultural classes. The last section summarises the overall findings and comments on the factors present inside gurdwaras that facilitate HLM and cultural identity among young participants.

Types of Gurdwaras

As discussed in Chapter One, gurdwaras in a diasporic context such as New Zealand were built to serve the religious and social needs of the local Sikh community. Before discussing their role as told through the voices of parents and children in the form of interviews and their attitudes towards language and cultural processes through surveys, I will outline the distinction in the types of gurdwaras which were found during the fieldwork for this study.

The gurdwaras in Auckland are the location of the Sikh community's religious congregational worship on daily, weekly (mostly on Saturdays and Sundays), monthly (on *Sangrands*), and on the occasions of festivals and *gurpurabs*. It was found that the type of gurdwara largely determines the size of the congregational attendance on these

days or events. The local Sikh community is segmented on the basis of affiliation, class and caste, and gurdwaras reflect these differences.

Based on my observations and field visits at different gurdwaras prior to conducting surveys and interviews, I found that there were four types of gurdwaras which Singh (2014) also noted in his study of gurdwaras in the UK context. Singh (2014), suggested four broad, but diverse categories of gurdwaras which were found in every diasporic context, including New Zealand:

- Mainstream gurdwaras – which according to Singh (2014), "were not linked to any particular person or ideology, catering for Sikhs from diverse caste and ideological backgrounds". However, it was found that mainstream gurdwaras in Auckland were linked to a *jathebandi* (usually the AKJ – *Akhand Kirtani Jatha* or *Damdami Taksaal*).

- Caste-based gurudwaras – Singh (2014) defined the management committees of such gurdwaras as belonging to a particular caste group, usually attracting members of the same caste group. It was found that there were only a few gurdwaras in Auckland that were caste-based such as Begampura and Bombay Hill gurdwaras attracting the *Ravidasis* community.

- *Sant*-led gurdwaras – on the other hand, these gurdwaras as defined by Singh (2014) were run by a *sant* or their *sampradaya* rather than a committee as happened in the mainstream gurdwaras. Congregations in these gurdwaras are not caste-specific but usually a mix of caste affiliation. It was found that the Nanaksar Thath Isher Darbar in Manurewa was the only gurdwara run by the *Nanaksar Sampradaya*. The code of conduct and religious practices in this gurdwara were conducted according to the *Nanaksar Sampradaya's* protocols which differed from other gurdwaras in the conduct of *ardas*, doing *kirtan*, and other religious ethics.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Gurdwara Sri Guru Kalgidhar Sahib Temple (known as Takanini gurdwara) and Sri Guru Nanak Dev Sikh Sangat Sahib (known as Otahuhu gurdwara) were selected as the primary research sites for conducting surveys. These were chosen because they were both mainstream gurdwaras in Auckland and were popular in the local Sikh community. These gurdwaras were neither *sant*-led nor caste-based but were linked to a particular *jathebandi* and usually followed *maryadas* (code of conduct) which differs in subtle ways from the *Sikh Rehat Maryada* – protocols issued by the Supreme Akal Takhat in Amritsar. It was found from the observations that the

congregations in these gurdwaras often followed the code of conduct of the group to which the majority of the gurdwaras' committee members belonged.

Since the difference in the codes of conduct of *jathebandis* (usually the AKJ and *Damdami Taksaal*) are different in subtle ways, it was not easy to ascertain to which *jathebandi* the mainstream gurdwaras were linked. Singh (2014) found in his study that the affiliation of most of the mainstream gurdwaras in the UK were possible to ascertain from the events which were held therein on *gurpurabs* and festivals. The same was found true for the present study. My field notes on visits to the mainstream gurdwaras on specific occasions such as *gurpurabs* and festivals found the repeated organising of events or inviting the *pracharaks* and *kathakaars* who were affiliated to specific *jathebandis* indicated gurdwaras' affiliation. However, it is also important to note here that a particular affiliation to any *jathebandi* did not clearly indicate that the gurdwara did not host events of other *jathebandi*. If any gurdwara hosted an event of another *jathebandi* this did not automatically mean that it was strongly affiliated to that *jathebandi*, but it was the repetitive organising of events which determined affiliation.

Apart from the organisation of events that were affiliated to specific *jathebandis*, gurdwaras' iconography was also found to be a distinguishing feature. Although representations of the first and last Sikh Guru in the form of portraits were common to all, only in Nanaksar Thath Isher Darbar was the picture of Guru Nanak prominent along with the pictures of Baba Nand Singh and Baba Isher Singh, the *sants* of the *Nanaksar Sampradaya*, which was not prominent in other gurdwaras. In contrast, the foyer of the Takanini gurdwara was dominated by the pictures of twentieth century "martyrs", including Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale who was once the chief-head of *Damdami Taksaal jathebandi*, thus representing affiliation with them. On the other hand, the portraits of Guru Ravidas in the Begampura and Bombay Hill gurdwaras represented their affiliation with Guru Ravidas and tended to attract the *Ravidasis'* community, the followers of *sant* Ravidas. It might be the persistence of caste consciousness in the *Ravidasis'* community led to the setting up of distinctive caste-based places of worship in New Zealand as Nesbitt (2000) explained had happened in the UK context.

I considered it important to discuss different gurdwaras' distinctiveness with respect to their affiliation with different *jathebandis* and *sampradayas* working behind gurdwaras at this stage, as the present study explores the cultural and language transmission in the younger generation, and the cultural content taught in the cultural classes may vary

according to the protocols affiliated with them. The Takanini gurdwara was the most popular of the mainstream gurudwaras due to the organisation of cultural classes and events on a wide scale.

Participants' attendance and perception of gurdwaras

In order to find out how members of the local Sikh population in South Auckland perceived the role of Gurdwaras in transmission of Sikh cultural values and HL maintenance, a sample of 125 adults and 92 children and young people participated in a survey, as outlined in Chapter Three. A total of 32 participants took part in interviews. Many of the interview participants were members of the same family, and some of the interviews took place with family members and others took place with individuals.

The study revealed that 75 per cent of the parent-respondents (n=45) who responded to the survey chose to visit their local gurdwara on a weekly basis and the remainder either on a daily or monthly basis (n=9). More than half the respondents (n=35) visited Takanini gurdwara, and 43 per cent visited other gurdwaras (n=27), most of which were in South Auckland. These respondents also placed high importance on attending gurdwaras for themselves as well as their children. Eighty per cent of parents (n=50) indicated that attending a gurdwara was very important to them and 66 per cent indicated them to be important for their children. However, more parents considered they were marginally less important for children (n=15).

This could be because the role of gurdwaras was perceived differently by participants interviewed. For example, two participants who were working as community teachers of devotional music and Panjabi language in a Sikh Heritage School regarded gurdwaras as the "only places" outside home for their children to learn and practise the Sikh culture and teachings. Two other participants, one of whom was also working as a volunteer teacher in a gurdwara and was the mother of a sixteen-year-old daughter emphasised the crucial role of gurdwaras in the lives of second-generation children. She criticised them however, for the bias and partiality of their management committees towards people who were affiliated to specific *jathebandis* and management committees. A similar view was expressed by another participant who was a college lecturer and also worked and participated voluntarily in different cultural activities in a gurdwara. This participant felt that gurdwaras were becoming more like businesses, and that the management committees had become the "territories" of members who were affiliated to the

gurdwaras. Both respondents wanted the working of the gurdwaras to be without bias towards their affiliation, so that it did not impact on children visiting them.

Some parent-participants wanted gurdwaras to put more emphasis on engaging young people aged fourteen and above. One participant for example acknowledged that gurdwaras were doing "tremendously well" in encouraging young pupils to learn Panjabi but commented that they had nothing to offer young people of his sixteen-year-old daughter's age. An important thing to note here is that the participant's daughter and his sixteen-year-old nephew who were present at the time of the interview had completed their entire Panjabi curriculum in the Panjabi school at a gurdwara and were regular attendees until they started high school. This participant therefore felt that the gurdwara was no longer engaging young people except through Panjabi classes.

Some respondents thought that gurdwaras should provide young people with real knowledge of Sikh traditions. This view was shared by young people themselves and parents. Two young participants expressed their views in their interviews that gurdwaras in New Zealand should be "more informative" about their Sikh cultural traditions and rituals, and that gurdwaras had just kept themselves to "what to wear and what not to wear" which was just "not enough" for them to understand "what they should actually do after going to a gurdwara". One respondent recalled her recent visit to a gurdwara in Singapore where she found the display of their Sikh heritage in the form of detailed information in a picture (which she shared with the researcher) and wanted gurdwaras in New Zealand to provide similar information to people like her who had inadequate knowledge. Similarly, her cousin also asserted that if gurdwaras had been informative, people who did not belong to the Sikh community would not have so many questions about "what is this and how is this done." Thus, both the cousins indicated that they were ignorant of Sikh beliefs and cultural traditions which they thought were the responsibility of the gurdwaras to address. Even though these participants had maintained some aspects of Sikh traditions like untrimmed hair and wearing a turban, they were still not sure why they were maintaining them. Similarly, their younger cousins who were also present at the time of the interview were not sure why they had untrimmed hair and wore patka when asked by the researcher.

These findings also confirm the findings of previous studies on Sikh girls and their maintenance of ethnic culture in the UK by Drury (1991) who found that most of her girl-participants, even those who did not attend a gurdwara regularly, complained that

they were "ignorant about the beliefs and prayers of Sikhism" (p. 393) as they had not received much education.

Overall, gurdwaras were considered to be a significant aspect of the Sikh community in Auckland, and to provide an excellent service in teaching Panjabi language. However, there were some shortfalls identified on the part of management committees and in the provision of real knowledge to teenagers. Several participants expressed frustration over this. Some participants felt that gurdwaras did not provide the information that young people were looking for, such as real information about the Sikh faith and its teachings and how these related to customs. They regarded the information that they were given as concerned with the more superficial skills relating to Sikh customs, such as dress. One participant commented that gurdwaras provided little to engage young people in the mid-teens age group.

There was also a view that while gurdwaras provided an excellent opportunity to practise the Sikh faith, there were some problems in gurdwaras' management, and these were caused by perceived bias in favour of or against some affiliations.

The next sections explore the sociocultural and sociolinguistic concepts as important components in the acquisition of language and Sikh cultural values in the younger generation who attend gurdwaras.

Maintaining and transmitting identity: socio-cultural environment of gurdwaras

The literature has confirmed that the socio-cultural environment of community institutions such as churches in North America has played a significant role in the transmission and maintenance of Korean cultural identity in the younger generation of the Korean community (Park, 2011). It was also found in this study that the sociocultural environment provided by Sikh temples in Auckland has facilitated the acquisition of Sikh cultural identity in the younger generation in different ways by organising religious cultural events such as Sikh Children's day, *Gurmat* (Sikh education) camps, *kirtan samagams* (devotional singing gatherings), and language and cultural classes for children. It was found from the observations and survey responses that young respondents' participation in these cultural events and community festivities in different gurdwaras provided the basis for discussion in this section.

Sikh religious cultural events

Although Sikhs are not obliged to attend gurdwaras, they are encouraged to do so in the *Sikh Rehat Maryada*. Based upon my own personal experiences and observations inside gurdwaras, cultural events are yet another aspect of Sikh religion when most of the community members gather and take the Gurus' blessings apart after attending in weekly, daily or monthly congregations. It was evident from participants' survey reports and narratives in the interviews that cultural events were a significant part of their identity.

The Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras, and other gurdwaras, organise various large-scale religious events such as *gurpurabs*, festivals, and *nagar kirtans* throughout the year as well as events specifically aimed at the younger generation such as *Gurmat* camps, Sikh Children's day, *kirtan darbars* (devotional singing), and other events. Their centrality of cultural transmission in the younger generation has been widely noted in other studies such as Nesbitt (2005). Although many of the events were common to all gurdwaras, some were specific events in specific gurdwaras in relation to their affiliation as discussed below.

Sikh Children's day was one of the most prominent annual events hosted by SSSNZ of Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras specifically aimed at young people up to eighteen years of age. According to Mohammad (2017), it was found to be attended by more than five hundred Sikh children from inside and around Auckland, and that there was a spike in the number of children who participated in different religious competitions such as *kavishri*, *gatka*, *Dastar-bandi* (turban tying), *Gurbani* singing, Sikh art and essay writing. As such, these events were purposely held to engage young Sikh people more towards gurdwaras, and Sikh history and culture.

Gurdwaras were also found to celebrate annual *gurpurabs*, the annual commemorations of the births and martyrdoms of the Sikh Gurus according to the lunar calendar except for Vaisakhi celebrations which are usually held on a specific day. During the course of my research, I attended the celebrations of some of the major *gurpurabs* such as Guru Nanak's birth anniversary (in the month of November), Vaisakhi celebrations (in April), and the installation of Sikh scriptures in 1604 (Guru Granth Sahib's *Prakash Purab*) in September. This is where my insider's status proved useful to me in understanding the conduct of events and making comparisons, if any, with *gurpurabs* celebrated in India. I found similarities in their conduct with gurdwaras in India and UK, beginning with an

Akhand Path culminating in the morning of the festival concerned or of the Sunday following it. The *bhog* (conclusion of the *Akhand path*) on *gurpurabs* drew more people than usual into the congregation than on other days when *kirtan samagams* were held, and it featured visiting *ragis* (who sing devotional music) presenting *shabads* (hymns) and stories appropriate to the occasion. Major *gurpurabs*, such as the ones I attended, were accompanied by a *nagar kirtan* (city-wide singing of hymns in a procession) in which the Holy Scripture was installed on a large decorated vehicle, with a vanguard of *panj-pyaare* (five Sikh disciples) in attendance. The procession moved slowly along the roads with singing of hymns, and people on the way arranged food and drinks for those attending the *nagar kirtan*.

In addition to celebrating *gurpurabs*, in most of the gurdwaras the practice of observing the birthdays of living spiritual leaders and the death anniversaries of deceased *sants* exists only in *sant*-led gurdwaras, distinguishing them from the mainstream gurdwaras. For example, the anniversary of the birth of Baba Nand Singh ji was celebrated annually at Nanaksar gurdwara in Manurewa but not in other gurdwaras. Similar to this, the celebration of Guru Ravidas's birthday in *Ravidasis'* places of worship such as in Begampura gurdwara also paralleled the movement and distinguished the caste-based gurdwara from other gurdwaras.

Since *nagar kirtans* accompanied all major *gurpurabs* and were organised on a large scale in major gurdwaras such as Takanini, Otahuhu, and Papatoetoe gurdwaras, celebration of the festivals of Diwali and Vaisakhi were also the highpoints of the year. Therefore, considering the centrality and importance of cultural events in the lives of Sikh people, respondents in surveys and interviews were asked about their participation in these events in order to understand their cultural engagement.

An overwhelming number of survey responses from all age groups were evident from the data presented in Figure 3. Participating in *nagar kirtans* (n=31), followed by festivals (n=29) was more prominent among 8-11 age-group people, while attending gurdwaras on festivals was more popular for 2-16-year-olds (n= 27). Only 19 participants of the age group 12-16 attended gurdwaras for *gurpurabs* which was the smallest number. Attending gurudwaras for daily prayers was popular in both the groups (n= 52).

Participation in cultural events was popular not only in the young respondents' survey but also in the adults' survey. As such, the data collected from young people coincided

with the data collected from parents, who also indicated their engagement with gurdwaras mostly on festivals (n=48), *gurpurabs* (n=41), and least on *sangrands* (n=17).
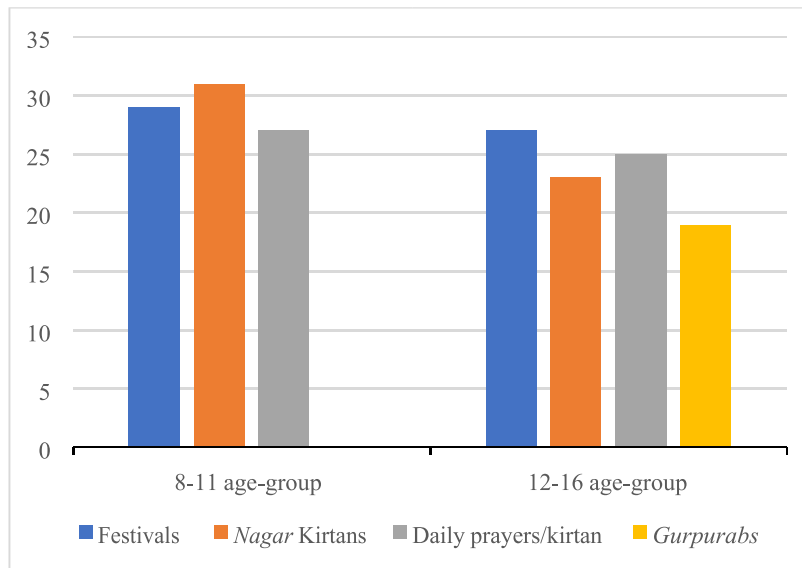
Figure 3. Preference of social gatherings by young participants inside gurdwaras

Therefore, taken together, overwhelming responses in the surveys indicated that attending gurdwaras for social gatherings and religious observances was considered significant by participants with respect to parental perception and the family's religious observances.

Data collected from the interviews revealed that children in families whose parents were regular attendees at gurdwaras and were more religiously observant were found to be more committed to attending these events. Out of the total families interviewed (n=10), only four families (n=4) reported regular attendance at gurdwaras. For example, two husband and wife participants, both *amritdhari* Sikhs and working voluntarily in organising *kirtan samagams* and *nagar kirtans* for children on a regular basis, reported that their family's regularity in participating in events on different occasions had also encouraged their children to engage with the gurdwaras. However, their role as community workers inside gurdwaras could be perceived as a reason for their regular attendance at particular gurdwaras.

Similar views were shared by another participant, an *amritdhari* Sikh, who indicated that attending gurdwaras for regular prayers and cultural events was a significant part of her family's religious observance including the children. The family expressed strong perceptions regarding their participation in gurdwaras' activities, and the mother further reported that their engagement was not confined to a particular gurdwara as gurdwaras'

management and affiliation did not concern them. Similarly, other participants also expressed their non-association with any gurdwara except for one participant who always preferred the Manurewa gurdwara not because of its affiliation but because the gurdwara's management committee was "doing well" in the way they conducted cultural classes.

Contrary to these participants' views, there were other families whose children never attended *gurpurabs* or any religious events at gurdwaras, as in the case of an 11-year-old participant, who did not know what a *gurpurab* was when asked by the researcher. This indicated a lack of knowledge due to her parents' busy working schedule. However, she recalled some instances during her interview when she visited *nagar kirtans* with her grandmother in India. Her mother further reported that their family visited the gurdwaras only on special occasions.

Apart from religious cultural events that are held at Auckland gurdwaras annually, there were other non-religious events that had gained momentum over the years such as Kabaddi tournaments. In New Zealand the first local Kabaddi (an Indian/Asian team sport) tournament was organised in 2005 with the opening of the Sri Kalgidhar Sahib gurdwara in Takanini. Since then Takanini gurdwara is taking a lead in organising Kabaddi tournaments and bringing players from Canada, Australia, America and India to participate (Mohammad, 2017). The first inaugural match at Takanini was followed by matches in other regions of Auckland such as Hamilton, Hastings, Te Puke and Papatoetoe which have been held every year from then onwards. According to Mohammad (2017), Kabaddi, being a South Asia game particularly from Punjab, is popular among local New Zealand people including children as mentioned by a twelve-year-old participant, for whom Kabaddi tournament "is the most enjoyable part in gurdwaras" besides "meeting his friends".

Gurdwaras such as Takanini and Kolmar also organise other sports tournaments such as tennis, cricket and hockey which are quite popular among local children. Most of the young participants of the age group 12-16 in interviews mentioned visiting gurdwaras on weekends to participate in various sports activities. Most of the gurdwaras in Auckland had their own sports club which manages the tournaments.

As such, gurdwaras were found not only organising religious cultural events specifically aimed at young people, but also non-religious events such as sports tournaments which had attracted a number of local young people from Sikh and other communities.

The significance of food

Observations, survey results and young participants' narratives in the study revealed that food was a "rich cultural symbol" as described by Nesbitt (2005, p. 54) in her study, which sought to play an integral role in communicating and informing about Sikh cultural traditions. The holy *parshad* (sacred food) served in the divan hall after every Sikh had bowed down before Guru Granth Sahib, and the traditional Punjabi food served as langar in the community kitchen were common to all gurdwaras. My personal observation revealed that the significance of having *prashad* and langar remained the same as it was India. For young Sikh children, both langar and parshad could be interpreted as cultural symbols, reminding them of their parents' culture.

Observations further revealed that langar formed an integral part of cultural classes, and the gurdwara management at Takanini continually made special arrangements for food every weekend to encourage children to attend classes, especially the 8-11 age group, as evident from their responses in the survey when they were asked about their "favourite thing to do in gurdwaras". Twenty-four per cent of respondents (n=19) indicated "eating prasad" while 22 per cent indicated "eating food" (n=21).

Apart from surveys and observations, nearly all young participants (n= 19) in their respective interviews indicated their "first thing to do" after they visited gurdwaras was to consume food. One young participant commented that "*kheer* [rice pudding] in the *langar*" was her favourite thing in the gurdwara.

Consequently, it could be suggested that consuming sacred *parshad* and *langar* at gurudwaras helped to maintain and transmit a sense of religious as well as cultural identity among the young Sikh generation as also described by Nesbitt (2000) and Hirvi (2010) in their respective studies examining the role of gurdwaras in the young Sikh communities of UK and Finland.

Cultural classes

The language and cultural transmission in gurdwaras in Auckland were found to be happening through the cultural classes held during afternoons every week. These classes have a central function in the "institutional reinforcement (as) the basis of intergenerational linguistic continuity" as suggested by Fishman (1991) in stage 6 of the GIDS scale. The cultural classes held at Takanini gurdwara and other gurdwaras were

generally distinguished as Panjabi language, Sikh devotional music, classes of Sikh ethics and conventions (also known as *Gurmat* classes), and martial arts.

At Takanini, where children's surveys were conducted, it was found that teaching in the Panjabi school happened in graded groups, and children were graded by their proficiency in reading and writing skills through written tests and examinations happening every six months. The formalisation of the Panjabi classes was apparent from their conduct in a typical formal way as happen in India, and most of the teaching was done through books such as "*Navin Panjabi*" – a staple resource for all classes.

However, the typical formalisation of classes was criticised by both the parents and children in their respective interviews. Some parents felt the need to include innovative techniques in the classes so that their children did not feel uninterested in learning Panjabi. Parents also felt that despite the dedicated services of the teachers in the Panjabi school, their children had been failed by the "too much religious education" as Nesbitt (2000, p. 175) had defined as "the formal nurture in their own faith". For example, according to one participant, the mother of an eleven-year-old boy, the Panjabi classes which her son used to attend in a gurdwara three years earlier had proved ineffective in engaging him with his language. Because of this he stopped attending after a few years.

While another female participant, who was also a volunteer teacher in a gurdwara, realised the value of introducing visual media and children doing role-plays such as that of Bhai Ghaniyaa ji or Mayi Bhaago ji or Bhai Taaru Singh ji (names of the Sikh martyrs) as stage-shows while teaching religious content to young children so they could attach more with their Sikh culture and would get to know more about their rich religious history.

It was found that the religious dimension was a prerequisite part of the Panjabi school in gurdwaras. Almost all Panjabi schools which I visited, whatever the venue, mediated aspects of the Sikh faith tradition. The religious content taught in the schools was a resource for the perpetuation of Sikh traditions and culture in the younger generation, which otherwise was not possible by any other means. For example, at Takanini gurdwara, children were taught about their ten *Gurus*, *chaar sahibjaade*, *panj pyaare*, and also the *janam sakhis* (life-histories) of Sikh *gurus* and warriors. This was the area where some gurdwaras had incorporated and taught religious histories of the *sants* or *babas* as per their affiliation as discussed in the beginning of this chapter. For example,

cultural classes at Manurewa gurdwara tended to focus on teaching the life-history of Bhai Nand Singh.

Young children who had not yet begun the Panjabi literacy classes were taught Sikh ethics and conventions in *gurmat* classes. The teachers emphasised the *Khalsa* code – especially the need to wear *kara*, covering the head while visiting gurdwaras, and saying *Waheguru ji ka Khalsa Waheguru ji ki fateh* while meeting the other Sikhs. Young pupils were also told to recite *mool mantar*, Waheguru and the first stanza of *Japji sahib*.

Furthermore, the dress of the teachers and pupils in the classes was also an expression of Panjabi tradition. During the fieldwork, I found that almost of the girls who attended the Panjabi school wore Punjabi suits (even the young girls who had not begun the Panjabi school yet), and most of the boys had topknots covered with a handkerchief or wore turbans. One participant, a college teacher in Auckland, reported that both her sons had always preferred to wear turbans whenever they visited gurdwaras.

Thus, at the time this research was conducted, the organised imparting of Sikh ethics and conventions occurred in Panjabi language classes and music classes that were held in different gurdwaras. However, despite the dedicated services provided by the gurdwaras' management committee for the local Auckland community, there were many signs that indicated that formal nurture of young Sikhs was less than the ideal. It was found that in some families whom I interviewed, parents stopped their children from attending the classes because of the "too much religious content" taught in the classes as happened in the case of one participant – a father of a thirteen-year-old and a nine-year-old. He reported that his children became uninterested in what was taught in classes and that they wanted to know about the wider Punjabi culture more than religious ethos. Similar views were shared by another participant who commented that children in Panjabi classes should not only be taught the religious ethos but also about their "rich" yet wider Panjabi cultural heritage which was missing in the classes.

Another interesting comment was made by a participant who, when asked about his children's engagement in cultural classes and events at gurdwaras, answered that:

> *... to be honest 50 per cent... gal fer othe hi aaundi a ke jehre sade riwayati religious workers a.. granthie singh aa..te fer ohi o puraaniya saakhiyan ..o modern tareeke nal ya bhaasha de barrier nu cross karke ohnu kite v correlate nai karde ...niyaaneya nu kai vari e lagan lag janda ke e cheeja outdated ne. oh sade*

kahe te ya sade praabhaav heth ..ohna nu lagda ke chal thik a ke dad di respect a mum di respect aa.

… to be honest 50 per cent... it again comes back to that thing that the traditional religious workers... who are the Granthie Singh… again those old historical stories… they do not correlate in a modern way or by crossing the language barrier. Children sometimes feel that these things are outdated. They go as we say and under our influence… they feel that it's okay (to visit gurdwara) it's dad's respect and it's mum's respect.

Thus, he made it clear that parents wanted *Granthie Singhs* (clergy of gurdwaras) to engage the younger generation with the Sikh culture in a modern way by crossing the language barrier from Panjabi to English so that children did not feel the content was outdated. He also felt that it was important if gurdwaras' management committees were taking regular feedback from students about the way language and culture should be maintained in the gurdwaras in future.

Not only the parent interviewees expressed concerns regarding the conduct of cultural classes inside gurdwaras, but their children also expressed different opinions as evident from one participant's comment that he would prefer to learn Panjabi from his father at home instead of at Panjabi school because Panjabi was taught in an "old-fashioned" way. Another five children, belonging to the age group 8-11, in different families considered attending Panjabi classes "to be boring and uninteresting".

Thus, the data collected from surveys and observations provided a bigger picture of the conduct of cultural classes in Auckland gurdwaras, while interview data from parents and children suggested some diversification and potential for future change in those classes so that more of the younger generation could be engaged, as also realised by Nesbitt (2000) in her study.

Maintaining and transmitting language: the linguistic environment of gurdwaras

Use of Panjabi in all services and activities in gurdwaras

This ethnographic research in selected gurdwaras has largely confirmed the previous findings regarding the sociolinguistic context for HL use provided by religious institutions in the transmission of ethnic identity and language in the younger generation such as that of Korean ethnic churches in America (Park, 2011) in the form of cultural classes and daily services.

Observations at Takanini gurdwara revealed that the linguistic environment of the gurdwaras was almost the same as that of gurdwaras in India, with all services, and related activities conducted in Panjabi or Gurmukhi which was still the dominant language used by gurdwaras' *granthies* in conducting daily services such as reciting *Hukamnama*, and by teachers in the Panjabi school. However, it was found that the scriptures from the holy books such as hymn books were available in different languages including English either as a transliteration of Gurmukhi script or translation that has an unintended effect on participants' views regarding Panjabi which will be discussed in the next chapter in detail. Apart from the religious services that are held in Panjabi, it was also found that other socialisation agents such as Panjabi-language newspapers and magazines are also available in most of the gurdwaras. These are aimed at Indian readership for the community in gurdwaras.

As discussed earlier, the Panjabi classes at Takanini and Otahuhu gurdwaras were conducted exclusively in Panjabi, so children who attended them had higher proficiency in Panjabi compared with those who did not. The survey responses from adults and young children as represented in Figure 4 reported that overwhelmingly 77 per cent of respondents (n=53) of the age-group 8-11 attended Panjabi classes compared to music classes (n=12). Similarly, 77 per cent of respondents (n=34) of the age-group 12-16 also responded their preference for Panjabi classes as compared with music or martial arts classes.
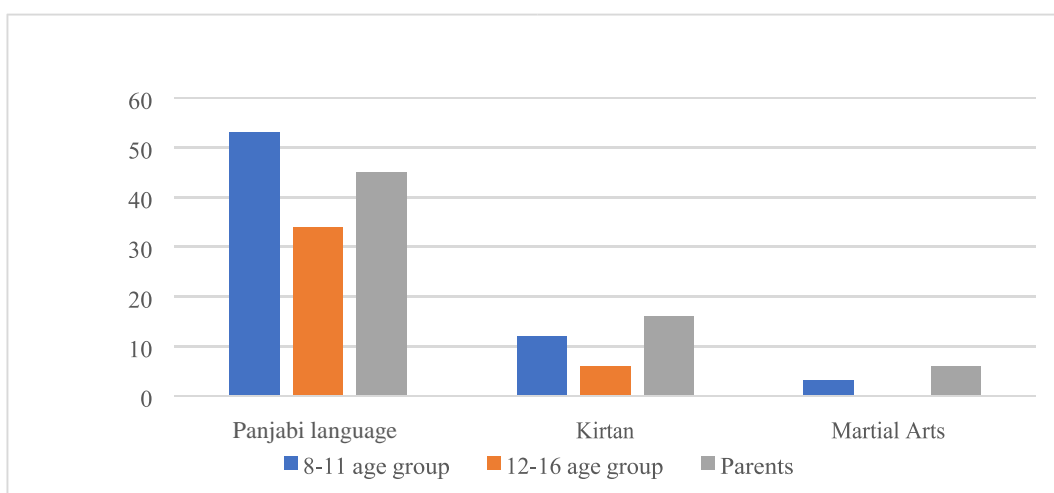
Figure 4. Preference of cultural classes by young and adult respondents

As described in Figure 4, the data obtained from surveys of young respondents corresponded with the responses of adult respondents where 67 per cent responded (n=45) that their children attended Panjabi classes. They were further asked if these

classes engaged their children with the Sikh culture or not. Among those who responded to the question, 82 per cent (n=48) indicated "yes" while only 10 per cent (n=6) indicated "no". It may have been because of parents' perception regarding the importance of Panjabi classes that an overwhelming number of children attended them.

Respondents in the age group 8-11's high attendance in Panjabi classes was also because they preferred to visit gurdwaras with their parents as indicated from their responses (n=29) in the survey, while twenty-three respondents (n=23) indicated that they visited with their friends and family both.

The following section discusses the language attitudes of respondents who attended these classes which are geared towards the prominence of Panjabi language in the respective age groups, followed by English and Hindi.

Young respondents' language pattern

As discussed in the previous section, Panjabi was the dominant language in gurdwaras and Panjabi classes used by *granthies* and teachers, and therefore, children who regularly attended them tended to have greater proficiency in the language. The general language trend among respondents of 8-11 was geared more towards Panjabi 56 per cent (n=44) than English 37 per cent (n=29). The language preference of 12-16-year-olds at home and in the community domain, is represented in the Table 7:

Table 7. Language preference by 12-16

Domains	Panjabi	English	Hindi
Inside home	32	34	6
Inside gurdwaras	25	14	2

However, the preference for using English reflected the fact that children were living in New Zealand and were already fluent in English which is the language of mainstream society. Therefore, attempts were made to investigate the evidence for children's proficiency in Panjabi in reading and writing. As discussed in Chapter Three, some of the questions were kept open-ended to generate a rich variety of data. The simple terminology of the questions yielded interesting results which are discussed below:

Receptive skills

To analyse receptive skills (reading) among both the age groups, identical questions were asked to make comparisons in the data collected. Respondents were asked to choose from multiple options to find out if they could interpret the correct word written in the Panjabi script. Four different options (all of which were written in Panjabi) were given for a picture of an orange. Of those who answered the question from both the groups, 90 per cent ticked the correct answer (n=84), while only three of them (n=3) were not able to locate the answer.

Respondents aged 12-16 were also asked to assess their receptive skills in Hindi, if they knew it. Similar to the question described above, they were asked to identify the correct word written in the Hindi script for "pomegranate", the fruit displayed in the picture. Out of a total of thirty-six respondents (n=36) only twenty-eight (n=28) attempted the question, of which twenty respondents (n=20) were able to locate the correct word and six respondents (n=6) ticked the "did not know" option which itself was written in Hindi. Here, it is interesting to note that the word pomegranate is not a very common fruit in New Zealand, and those who marked the word correctly in Hindi later told the researcher that they were able to locate the answer because they had learnt Hindi in India prior arriving in New Zealand.

Another reason behind locating the correct answer could be the similar linguistic structure of Panjabi and Hindi. Since both the languages are mutually intelligible, a person can read the Hindi script if he/she is familiar with Panjabi.

While conducting surveys with the respondents aged 8-11, the researcher one day ran out of forms to be used for the group in English, but she did have some forms intended for respondents in the 12-16 age-group translated in Panjabi. She deliberately gave out some of them. One nine-year-old girl respondent completed the survey in Panjabi without any assistance which indicated her strong receptive skills in the language.

Productive skills

In order to determine the productive skills (writing), respondents' questions were designed according to the age groups. Respondents aged 8-11 were asked to write the name of a musical instrument (tabla) as displayed on the survey, and the question was kept open-ended. Since respondents were given multiple choices to write their answers

in English, Panjabi, Hindi or any other language they might know, responses collected for this question were more than the actual number of respondents. A total of 55 respondents attempted the question and the majority of them attempted to write the answer in English (n=42) while only thirty-nine respondents (n=39) wrote the answer in Panjabi. A few respondents (n=4) attempted to answer the question in Hindi but eventually wrote in the English script. Surprisingly, none of the respondents chose the answer as "don't know".

The responses of the participants were categorised into different categories which are set out in Table 8.

Table 8. Categories of answers by respondents aged 8-11

Number of respondents	Type of answers
21	In Panjabi script (correctly)
13	In Panjabi script (incorrectly)
9	In English
5	Panjabi words in English
2	Did not attempt at all

The first category of respondents (n=21) who attempted the answer correctly in Panjabi comprised 11 girls and 9 boys. The second category of respondents (n=13) wrote in incorrect Panjabi script. This might be because respondents aged 8-11 were early beginners who had just started learning Panjabi, and errors identified during analysis of the data were related to choosing the right Panjabi consonants and vowel symbols. For example, ਤਬਲਾ was written as ਪਬਲਾ, ਤਭਲਾ, ਠਭਲਾ, and ਤਪਲਾ. The errors identified are related to the sound translation of some Panjabi consonants.

Other common errors identified related to the use of vowel symbols (*laga-matras*), and a U-like (˘) symbol which duplicates the sound of any consonant. Examples are ਤਅਬਲਾ, ਤਿਬਲਾ, ਤੱਲਕ, ਤਾਬਲਾ and ਤਬਲ. Apparently, respondents were able to locate the correct consonant but misinterpreted the vowel symbols. Some respondents wrote 'tabla' as *dhol* and *tolki* which are a kind of Panjabi drums used in marriages.

On the other hand, respondents of the 12-16 age group were asked to write their favourite game in English, Panjabi, Hindi or in any other language they might know, and the question was kept open-ended, so the responses are more than the total number of respondents. All responses are categorised in Table 9 in which respondents have answered the question:

Table 9. Categories of answers by respondents aged 12-16

Number of respondents	Type of answers
15	In Panjabi script (correctly)
12	In Panjabi script (incorrectly)
8	In English
1	Panjabi words in English (translation)
1	Did not attempt at all

The first category of respondents gave the correct Panjabi words for their favourite games as listed in Table 10. These respondents successfully wrote the transliteration of English words into Panjabi which represents their strong productive skills.

Table 10. List of favourite games written in Panjabi and English by 12-16 age group

English words	Transliteration in Panjabi
Hockey	ਹਾਕੀ
Cricket	ਕ੍ਰਿਕੇਟ
Speed ball	ਸਪੀਡ ਬਾਲ
Football	ਫੁੱਟਬਾਲ
Net ball	ਨੈਟ ਬਾਲ
Net ball	ਨੈਟ ਬੋਲ

Soccer	ਸੌਕਰ
FSX	ਅਫ ਅਸ ਅਕਸ
Tennis	ਟੈਨਿਸ
Basketball	ਬਾਸਿਕਟ ਬਾਲ
Rugby	ਰਗਬੀ

Apart from the above examples, other examples of respondents' strong literacy skills in Panjabi is evident from a 14-year-old girl who had written 'badminton' as her favourite game in English and *ਚਿੜੀ ਛਿੱਕਾ* in Panjabi. Although she was unable to locate the correct answer of "pomegranate" in Hindi, she gave the correct answer in Panjabi *(ਅਨਾਰ)*. One 13-year-old girl gave swimming as her favourite in the English option, but because she might not have known the translation of swimming, she gave *ਲੁਕਣ ਮਿਟੀ* (Hide and Seek) in Panjabi. It should be noted here that it is not common for children who are non-natives of Punjab to be able to write and spell this word in Panjabi. Another interesting example is of a 12-year-old girl respondent who had given *ਅਤਾਸਰੀ* (antakshari) as her favourite game. This is not a very popular game in New Zealand.

Also, a 15-year-old respondent had given the correct Panjabi *(ਕ੍ਰਿਕੇਟ)* and Hindi *(ਕ੍ਰਿਕੇਟ)* versions of the word 'cricket'. The boy told the researcher that his family belonged to the Hindu community and usually visited Takanini gurdwara on weekends. His proficiency in Hindi and Panjabi was the result of his schooling in India prior to arriving in New Zealand.

Another 13-year-old girl respondent had given numerous games as being her favourites such as tennis, soccer, rugby, and hockey in English and surprisingly in Panjabi which also indicated her strong command over the Panjabi language. She also located the correct Hindi word for pomegranate although she did not claim to speak Hindi at home but instead preferred Japanese and German which demonstrated her liking for languages.

Although most of the respondents of this age group who attempted the question gave the correct answers, there were respondents who correctly translated the English words in Panjabi but misspelled the words in sound translation as happened in the cases of 8-11year-olds discussed above, examples being badminton written as *ਚਿੜੀ ਸ਼ੀਕਾ, ਚਿੜੀ ਛੀਕਾਂ, ਚਿੜੀ ਚਿਖਾ*, and football as *ਫੁਤਬਾਲ*.

Apart from surveys, all child participants during interviews were deliberately given Panjabi -translated surveys to analyse their Panjabi skills and the results of these surveys were not included in the actual surveys' result discussed earlier. Table 11 illustrates the children's knowledge of language skills in Panjabi.

Table 11. Young interviewees' knowledge of Panjabi

Skill	Number
Can speak only	6
Can read/write a little	3
Can read and write well	10
Total	19

Those respondents who could "only speak" the language included children who did not attend Panjabi language classes, the reasons for which are discussed in the next chapter. Four respondents among them belonged to the age group 11-14 and were permanent residents in New Zealand. They had previously attended Panjabi classes but had later stopped. As such they had acquired some oral skills in Panjabi but preferred to speak 'only English'. Another two, one eight and one nine-year-old, were recent migrants to New Zealand and had acquired some Panjabi literacy skills prior their arrival to New Zealand. They were fully proficient in oral Panjabi although they had not yet acquired reading and writing skills. While those who could read/write a little, included children of the age group 8-11 still learning the language, most of the participants who could read and write well belonged to the age group 12-16. They were either regular attendees at Panjabi classes or had finished that Panjabi school.

On the other hand, survey respondents' limited productive skills in Panjabi could be the result of their irregular attendance at Panjabi classes as most of the language classes were held on Saturday afternoons, and perhaps respondents (especially boys) were playing

sport or involved in other activities instead. It was also reflected from some participants' interviews that they were involved in sports activities on Sundays because of which they could not attend language classes.

Overall, the respondents in surveys and interviews showed high proficiency in Panjabi. It was among the most favoured languages not only in the spoken form but also in the written form as evident from survey-respondents' productive skills besides English. However, there were some respondents who showed lower productive and receptive skills. Similarly, data from Panjabi -translated surveys in interviews suggested that those respondents who regularly attended classes showed higher reading and writing skills compared with those who did not. Some respondents' weaker reading and writing skills in Panjabi might be attributed to their limited exposure to the language in the home domain and limited access to Panjabi materials, but also possibly due to their lack of interest. Thus, the data from surveys and interviews taken together, indicated that children who did not attend classes and had lower proficiency in Panjabi indicated the beginning of a language shift process among these participants.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that Auckland gurdwaras fulfil a major role in the transmission and maintenance of heritage language skills and cultural knowledge in the lives of the younger generation of Sikhs. Language skills and cultural knowledge are not treated as separate issues in gurdwaras as language training and cultural/religious instruction often overlap, both in classroom instruction and in the activities occurring inside gurdwaras.

The findings of this chapter have also demonstrated that gurdwaras in Auckland are not homogenous, with the type of institution determining the importance placed on religious transmission events and their content and style. Gurdwaras' transmission of ideas relating to tradition and authority varies depending on the type of the institution and whether it is *sant*-led, caste-based or mainstream.

I have also shown that many gurdwaras fulfil the responsibility placed on them for the religious transmission of Sikh cultural traditions and norms. According to participants, it is clear that gurdwaras have a significant role in the transmission of heritage culture among young Sikhs. Knowledge of culture is shared through attendance at the large number of cultural festivals and *gurpurabs* taking place in gurdwaras, and these are

popular for children, young people and their parents, and are attended by families. Many are specifically aimed at children such as Children's Day, *Gurmat* and *kirtan samagams* and include competitions in skills such as turban-tying and martial arts. The importance of food in Sikh culture is also included in the learning opportunities for children who clearly appreciate the food provided by gurdwaras. Interviews confirmed however, that some families did not attend gurdwaras, and as a consequence their children did not develop the same awareness of Sikh culture and religion.

Classes in Sikh culture, traditional values and ethics take place within the gurdwaras, along with the teaching of Panjabi language (HL). The findings demonstrated that Panjabi classes are formally organised, with students being put into classes commensurate with their ability in Panjabi. Classes take place regularly, usually once a week, and students are examined, and their progress is assessed six-monthly. The classes are well supported, well attended and are very popular.

The findings have also shown that the teaching of Panjabi language in gurdwaras has been largely successful, and that children who attend language classes at gurdwaras on a regular basis have developed stronger proficiency in all skills as reflected in their responses. The testing carried out by the researcher indicated that children were developing sound receptive and productive language skills, and that they were using these skills in the gurdwara environment. Most preferred to use Panjabi in the gurdwara but used English at home. The preference for Panjabi as their favoured language was directly correlated with their ability to produce correct Panjabi script, and respondents' interest in learning Panjabi was dependent upon their language preference. There were some who indicated English as their favourite language, and these students often did not show high productive skills in Panjabi.

Although the level of support for the teaching of Panjabi was high, there were some concerns raised by both parents and students about the classes. Some parents were concerned at the overlap of religion and language teaching in Panjabi classes and would have preferred religious teaching not to be included in these classes. Other participants, both students and parents, commented on the style of teaching, and would have preferred more up to date teaching methods to be used. Several students even commented that the lessons were "boring and uninteresting". These comments may be useful in guiding gurdwaras to review their teaching methods and if necessary, upskill their teachers so that they are all aware of modern classroom management techniques. These comments

however should not be seen as detracting from the wide level of support for the teaching of Panjabi in gurdwaras.

The next chapter aims to identify other factors apart from the ones explored in this section under the home domain in the facilitation of HLM and culture.

Chapter Five: Findings Relating to the Home Domain

Introduction

It is clear from the summary of survey results in the previous chapter in relation to language proficiencies, attitudes of participants and description of sociolinguistic and socio-cultural environment inside gurdwaras that gurdwaras are robust institutions for the facilitation of HL and cultural identity among the younger Sikh generation. This chapter discusses the findings collected from interviews and observations from different case studies in order to assess any indications whether the language is maintained or if there are any signs of its attrition/shift. It also focuses on potential barriers identified by the interviewees in order to give a picture of the current state of the language within the community.

As reviewed in Chapter Two, Fishman (1991) emphasised the crucial importance of families in achieving the "intergenerational mother-tongue transmission" (p.6) outside the community domain. Similarly, the findings from interviews discussed in this chapter point towards the importance of the family domain in the facilitation of HL. The first factor identified in this respect was the fostering of communication and cohesion between family members inside/outside New Zealand. Panjabi was considered to be the core property of the Sikh identity and culture, and many parents considered maintaining Panjabi important for their children in order to maintain their religious and cultural identity, and some considered it necessary for reading their holy scripture. This chapter discusses the significance of parental strategies in encouraging the process of HLM while also focusing on challenges.

The data discussed in this section are based on interviews with 19 children and young people (n=19) and 15 adults. The adults included fourteen parents and one grandparent (n=15) from ten different families. As discussed in Chapter Three, interviews were conducted in either Panjabi or English depending upon participants' choices and in some cases specifically in Panjabi with children so the researcher could observe their Panjabi communication skills.

Maintaining the language

Parental influence, attitudes, values and beliefs

Institutional support factors (discussed in Chapter Four) were available for HLM among children of the Sikh community outside home, but as Fishman (1991) and various other global studies (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Arriagada, 2005; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Yu, 2010; Zhang, 2004) have suggested that family is the key locus for intergenerational transmission of language among children. Similarly, it was found that parents considered home to be the first place besides community institutions where children's linguistic behaviour could be limited to the use of HL.

Almost all adult participants in the interviews shared positive views of the use of Panjabi but in slightly different ways, either regarding it as important as part of their cultural identity and religion, and/or a contributing factor in family cohesion. It was found that parents who had stronger beliefs regarding their children's HL had made considerable efforts in its maintenance such as sending them to community schools, teaching them Panjabi at home and setting rules about speaking Panjabi at home.

Using Panjabi as the home language: There was a general consensus among parents that Panjabi was the language to be used at home. However, only a few parents (especially fathers) had made the effort to in ensure that their children were speaking Panjabi (n=3) and had formulated rules about speaking Panjabi at home. The following comment was typical of comments made by others:

> *[...] asi ghar da rule bnaya hoya ke ghar Panjabi hi bolni hai!*

> [...] we have made a rule that only Panjabi should be spoken at home!

One participant, who is a temporary resident in New Zealand, acknowledged that her daughter felt more comfortable in speaking English, but she always made sure that she replied her daughter in Panjabi whenever she asked anything in English. This is reflected in her comment:

> *[...] oh jado v meinu oh kuj English vich puchdi hai tan mei hamesha oda answer Panjabi vich kardi haan.*

> [...] Whenever she (her daughter) asks me anything in English, I always answer her in Panjabi.

Another participant reported during his interview that he had formulated a rule inside home to speak "only Panjabi". His wife also recalled several incidents when their children switched to Panjabi whenever they saw their father around. Thus, father's role regarding HLM coincided with the male participants in Al-Sahafi and Barkhuizen's (2006) study in New Zealand's context where the fathers' role was considered central in the maintenance of Arabic in the home domain. Another example of the father's role was one participant who taught Panjabi to his children at home rather than sending them to community schools.

The dominance of Panjabi over English in the home domain was not only reflected in parents' responses in interviews but also from survey results. Adult respondents were asked about their general language preference inside home, and it was found that out of 47 respondents who answered the question, 68 per cent preferred speaking Panjabi at home (n=32) while only 21 per cent preferred to speak English (n=10). However, in the Takanini gurdwara where the researcher conducted in-person surveys with parents, except for those who were born in New Zealand (n=2), all participants preferred to fill in the translated surveys in Panjabi instead of English, which indicated their lower proficiency in English. This could have been the reason for wanting their children to learn Panjabi in order to foster communication and cohesion in the family. This view was not expressed by the interview-participants.

As discussed in Chapter Three, all interview-respondents in this study had degrees from India and/or New Zealand and had considerable knowledge of English. In fact, not a single parent-participant was found to have lower English proficiency (LEP) so this was not a facilitating factor behind parents' encouragement of speaking only Panjabi at home. Rather, their attitudes regarding Panjabi's maintenance among children were dependent on other factors which form the basis of discussion in the rest of this chapter.

However, contrary to parents' perception of speaking Panjabi as the sole language inside homes and their language preference in the surveys, it was found through interviews that the most common reported language use by children inside home was a mixture of Panjabi and English. Children reported being comfortable in speaking both languages depending upon their audience, although some children preferred only English and Panjabi was their lowest preference.

This difference between parents' and their children's language preference inside homes indicated a changing trend in language usage across generations.

Cultural participation and Panjabi weekend schools: In addition to speaking Panjabi at home, many parents also made conscious attempts to immerse their children in Panjabi-speaking environments. More commonly, parents who had stronger values and beliefs regarding their HL encouraged their children to participate in cultural activities inside gurdwaras and local weekend Panjabi schools to receive formal instruction in the HL.

Among the total children interviewed (n=19), less than half (n=7) attended Panjabi classes at Takanini gurdwara on regular basis whereas some of them had already completed the Panjabi school (n=3). On the other hand, there were children who had attended it earlier but later stopped due to their lack of interest in learning Panjabi (n=4). There were only two children who did not attend Panjabi school at all.

Data from interviews further confirmed that parental attitudes and behaviour constituted the most significant factor in children's HLM. Parents' positive beliefs towards the mother-tongue were directly correlated with children's HLM. This mirrors the findings of other studies such as Park and Sarkar (2007), Tse (1996), Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) and Nesteruk (2010) in which migrant children were able to maintain their HLs because their parents had strong beliefs in the maintenance of HL.

Thus, children's HLM was largely dependent on parents' influence and efforts taken inhouse and outside. However, parental efforts were dependent upon several other factors such as awareness of issues regarding severance of communication and family ties between children and their grandparents and extended family members living in India and/or New Zealand, religious affiliations and part of their cultural identity.

Communication and cohesion

Almost every parent-interviewee commented on the importance for their children of learning and maintaining Panjabi in order to foster communication and consolidate ties with their extended families in India and/or New Zealand including grandparents, who may have limited English proficiency.

As reviewed in the literature, grandparents in Panjabi culture play a traditional role in the nurturing of young children by teaching them the Panjabi language and Sikh cultural values. These are two of the many roles that they play in diasporic communities as identified by Ludher (2013). This was found true for many families in the present study in which grandparents were living in the same house as their grandchildren. For example, one participant commented on the role his parents played in his children's nurturing and

credited that "70 per cent of the Panjabi" his children knew was the result of his parents' presence at home. This father was fully proficient in English, but his mother's limited proficiency in English might have been a reason behind his earnest efforts in maintaining Panjabi at home. It was also interesting to note when both the parents were asked the reasons for the maintenance of their children's Panjabi, the mother's spontaneous response was to foster communication with her parents who lived in a rural area in Punjab as the father's parents were already living with them and had acquired "some level of English".

Another participant also shared similar views regarding the importance HLM for fostering communication with his parents and relatives in India. His parents were in a shared-cared relationship with him and his brother who also lived in Auckland. Learning Panjabi for his children was "extremely important" to him in order to foster communication not only with grandparents but with the people who arrive from India, especially from Punjab, as reflected from his following comment:

> *Meinu lagda ke Panjabi bahut jaada jaruri haigi kyunki oda pehla kaaran eh hai ki saade culture de naal je jurhna hove te te sab to pehla communication gap jehre log India to aande ne ya Punjab to aane ohna nal communication karna mere bacheya layi jaruri hoega tan hi o apne culture apne community naal jurh sakange.*

> I feel Panjabi is really very important because the first reason is that if anyone has to connect to our culture and the first and foremost thing will be to cover the communication gap with the people who come from India or from Punjab and to communicate with them. It will be important for my children, and only then they will be able to connect with our community.

Another father not only considered Panjabi to be an essential component for connecting his children with the Panjabi community, but also saw it as the only medium to consolidate family cohesion by involving grandparents in the conversations at home:

> *Meinu lagda hai ke Panjabi hi ik tareeka hai jis de naal bacheya de grandparents communication vich involve ho sakde ne… agar asi Panjabi vich na boliye tan o kuj v samaj nai paange!*

> I think Panjabi is the only medium through which children's grandparents can be involved in the communication. and if we are not speaking Panjabi at home then they (grandparents) will not be able to understand anything!

However, contrary to his perception, his children revealed a different story. His younger daughter said that her grandparents often asked her to speak English with them, so they could develop their English skills in the host country. Although the grandparents had limited proficiency in English, the grandmother had acquired English proficiency at level 4 in IELTS[4] from India in order to apply for permanent residence.

In other families where grandparents were living in India, parents had expressed positive attitudes towards HL maintenance because it allowed their children to communicate with others whose English ability was limited. One mother who came from a rural background in India thought that her daughter's communication with her grandparents was the foremost reason for her to maintain Panjabi. She commented that:

> *Kyunki meri family de vich sare lok eda de v haini vi ke jina nu poori English aandi aa te ohna di [meri beti di grandmother ne] ya ode nana nani aa ohna nu eni English nai aundi je matlab ke ohnu Panjabi na sikhayi gyi te matlab ke o apne grandparents nal communicate hi nai kar sakegi.*

> Because my family doesn't include those persons who don't know much English and my daughter's paternal grandmother, or her maternal grandparents don't know much English and if she is not taught Panjabi then she will not be able to communicate with her them.

However, parental motivation was limited to grandparents' LEP. For example, one participant, who worked as a health care assistant and was a recent immigrant to New Zealand, did not believe that her eight-year-old son should maintain Panjabi for communicating with grandparents living in India. However, the participant's family did not come from a rural background in India. The grandparents and other family members in India were educated professionals and had considerable knowledge of English. As such, communication with the grandparents was not a reason for children's ability to use HLM in the family. Roberts's (1999) claim that intergenerational continuity through HL had a limited duration when grandparents were able to communicate in the host country's language was applicable to this case.

Roberts's (1999) statement also applied to other cases. Another two families stated that familial cohesion took place through the common language of English instead of Panjabi. According to one family, the grandfather, who was away in India at the time of

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[4] IELTS – International English Language Testing System.

the interview, was highly educated and proficient in English and was once awarded the highest possible accolade by the New Zealand government for his services to New Zealand. The family had a long and rich migration history in New Zealand, being among the early migrants to New Zealand when the family's great-grandfather migrated to New Zealand in 1920 as an indentured labourer. According to the father, it was their family's tradition to give birth and raise children in Punjab except for his children who were the first in their family to be born in New Zealand. Since every new generation was born and raised to a certain age in India, everybody was proficient in Panjabi, except the participant's children. Children were not found to be maintaining Panjabi in order to communicate with grandparents. In fact, it was only the grandmother in the whole family whose English skills were limited. Therefore, the children used "broken Panjabi" with her, but this fact did not encourage children to maintain Panjabi because their grandmother was able to understand English.

Similar to this was the case of the second family where the presence of grandparents at home who were proficient in English did not motivate their grandson to speak Panjabi. Although the grandfather reported that he used to take his grandson for Panjabi classes at a gurdwara, he stopped later after he became "uninterested in learning Panjabi". It might have happened since the grandparents in the family and extended family members in India were proficient in English, so it did not motivate the grandson to speak or learn Panjabi at home.

It was also found that the role of grandparents was a conducive factor not only for maintaining Panjabi among the younger generation in the family but also in maintaining cultural identity. It was evident in one family where according to the mother, the children had untrimmed hair and wore *patka* because their grandmother, who lived in the same house, wished so. Since both parents were non-*gursikh* and the father had trimmed hair, the grandparents' role in the nurturing of Sikh cultural values in children was quite apparent.

Apart from participants' narratives, my observations at Takanini gurdwara also showed that grandparents' presence in the facilitation of Panjabi was not only confined to the home domain but was also evident in gurdwaras' community kitchens in the form of a "common group" (especially grandmothers). Various informal conversations with the grandparents revealed that they acted according to their traditional role in the nurturing of young children and acting as guardians while parents were out at work. According to

Ludher (2013) "grandparents are expected to impart and cement the culture and religious practices to the younger generation" (p. 95). Therefore, the presence of a large number of grandparents in gurdwaras was evidence of this role. In such a case, the role gurdwaras play was of utmost importance in providing a common meeting area for those who brought their grandchildren for Panjabi classes to gather and interact.

Thus, grandparents' role in Panjabi's maintenance was an important aspect that this study has been able to explore in the family and community domains. Grandparents were found to be playing a "silent" role in maintaining Sikh cultural traditions and language in the middle generation. Their presence as "non-English speakers" in the family was found to be a conducive factor in their children's HLM (Pauwels, 2005, p. 125), which in turn was dependent upon their proficiency of English. The findings in this respect were in line with other global studies such as Nesteruk (2010) and Park and Sarkar (2007) who have conducted similar explorations of the role of grandparents. As a distinct community in Auckland gurdwaras, this is another area which is as yet relatively unexplored.

Language religion and identity

Another key theme that this study was able to identify was the link between language, religion and cultural identity among the Sikh community as considered by parents and their children. The themes that emerged were those of language as a "gateway to an understanding of religion, culture, or heritage" (Roberts, 2005, p. 252). According to the literature reviewed, HL is preserved as a way to preserve the culture and promote a sense of cultural identity among young immigrants (Cho, 2000; Lee, 2002). However, cultural identity can be perceived either as ethno-linguistic or ethno-religious (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010) depending on people's religious observances and perceptions.

Every parent participant in the interview, including those who did not make much effort to preserve their children's HL, reported that Panjabi was important to their own identity and their children's wider Panjabi cultural identity. For example, one participant, although believing that it was through Panjabi that her son could get attached to Panjabi culture, did not make any efforts for its maintenance. According to her, Panjabi is important:

> *kyonki o apne culture nal jurhe rehnde ne... kuj cheeja tanu attach kardiyan ne*
> *culture naal ke asi gore nai a te sada v culture haiga. Par hun gore vang v hona*

chande ne…o confused rehnde ne ke jayiye te kithe jayiye kyunki bahar ohna nu goreya da mahol milda hai.

Because they feel connected with their culture… there are some things which attach you to your culture and you don't feel you are 'gore' (whites) and we have our own culture. But they (children) should have to be like 'whites' also, so they are confused about which way should we go because outside they get the "environment of white people".

Even though she found that learning Panjabi could be significant for her son to feel connected with his culture, she did not want him to be confined within its boundaries as reflected in her comment:

Asi e v nahi chonde ke oh poora apne culture nal hi jurheya rave…ehnu hor cheeja da v pta lage ke ki chal reha te ki ki ho reha sare world vich- kive de food ne kive da pehrawa hai [..]

We also don't want that him (her son) only to be connected with his own culture…he should also know what is happening around the world – what kind of foods are, clothing is […]

Throughout her interview, she perceived the ethno-linguistic significance of Panjabi as the language of Punjab and did not consider its religious affiliation with the holy book which could be because of the family's identity as non-*gursikhs*. Their religious identity as non-*gursikhs* could be another reason why their son did not follow the Sikh code of conduct and had become "uninterested in learning Panjabi" after a certain age. It might have happened because he himself was not aware of Panjabi's importance in reading the holy book.

On the other hand, there were parents who not only considered Panjabi to be the medium by which their children could explore their rich Punjabi-Sikh cultural heritage but also made efforts in its maintenance. One participant strongly believed that any community's cultural and religious history could be understood only through their HL, which is reflected in his comment:

Kise v kaum da jehra oda itihaas aa ya jehra uss da heritage aa o bhaasha jaane bgair nai jaaneya jaa sakda hai. Hun mei agge maori bhaasha Sikh reha a te je mei ohna de sabhyachar nu jaanna te mei ohna di bhasha Sikh reha te eda hi o meri sikhde ne...ohna da v ehi manna aa meinu v ohna ne swal kita c jado mei

ohna di bhasha sikhan gya c ke tu turbaned Sikh aa te tu maori bhasha matlab ke kive ... te meinu e lagda ke mei tuhade native New Zealandars baare ohni der tak jan hi nai paunga jinni der tak mei bhasha da barrier cross ni karda. So meinu lagda ke dharmic pakh to v te sabhyacharik pakh to v [...]

History and the heritage of any community cannot be understood without their language. I am now learning the Maori language, and if I want to understand their culture that is why I'm learning their language and the same way they can also learn mine – they also think the same way and they also questioned me when I started to learn their language - you are a turbaned Sikh and Maori language means how!? And I feel that I cannot understand about you native New Zealanders until and unless I cross your language barrier. So, I think from a religious point of view and from a cultural point of view also […]

His strong motivation for maintaining Panjabi as a cultural core value in his children was evident from his children's proficiency in Panjabi when asked to fill the Panjabi-translated survey during the interview. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, parents who had shared strong views regarding HL also made earnest efforts in its maintenance, this particular participant being an example of this. Even after his children had completed the Panjabi school at a gurdwara, he continued its development by setting a rule to speak only Panjabi at home and to practise Panjabi by writing an essay at least once a week. Even though the parents' identity was of non-*gursikhs*, the father was a *sehaj-dhari* Sikh wearing a turban, which in turn influenced his son to wear a turban too. The children were, however, not regular attendees at the gurdwara because of their busy schedule.

There was only one participant who perceived the importance of Panjabi as ethnolinguistic over religio-linguistic. According to him, Sikh religion was just a part of the wider Panjabi cultural heritage, so he wanted his children to learn the language as a part of their wider ethnic culture. He stated:

Panjabi nu sikhan e do mudhle kaaarn ne- ik tan you know ess de naal jehra connection jehra khas karke ena di jo heritage haigi a jo pichokar a ode nal baneya rehnda te o connection o jubaan de rahi bahut adaan pradaan communication nal hunda – tuhade jehre khaskarke Punjab de reeti riwaz to leke jehra v tuc medium dekho khas karke language de rahi ohnu tuhi pahunchnde aa

so sadi koshish aahi rehndi ake har saal de end te asi ehna nu India leke jande a sade lagatar jande a- sada jadhi pind a ghar a jehra

Learning Panjabi is for two main reasons – one thing is that you know by this the connection particularly to heritage which is their background is maintained and that connection is communicated through their language. Particularly your Panjabi customs, traditions and rituals and whatever medium you think can be reached through the language, so our effort is to take them to India at the end of every year and continually go – we have our ancestral home in Pind over there.

Here, the comment reflects language as the link to their home in Punjab, where they visited their homeland (ancestral village) at the end of every year.

Unlike other non-*gursikh* parents who were interviewed in this study, this participant who himself was a non-*gursikh*, took a more secular view in maintaining his children's Panjabi. He tended to give less importance to religion being a core value of the Panjabi language without denying the association between Panjabi and the Holy Scriptures. He believed Panjabi schools in gurdwaras were too religious and that they did not inculcate the cultural view, which was as important as religion, as reflected from his following comment:

gurudwareya vich v jehri Panjabi de rahi information diti jandi a o purely dharmik aa ..hun je mei ise v school vich kise bache nu sawaal puch leo ke tu punjab da koi v shayar dasde ..Panjabi da koi likhari dasdo . o nai das sakega .. sirf ohna nu char sahibjaadeya de o jida dharmik ta sara das rahe a .. ghumde firde agar aapa dekhiye tan sirf dharmik pakh hi sadi zingadi da hissa nai bannda te ode nal jehre point nu tuhi touch kita ke bacha Panjabi nu sirf Sikh hi dekhda fir ode layi hindu Panjabi ode layi Panjabi nai haiga te muslim Panjabi te bilkul Panjabi nahi haiga so oss de layi aap hatred da eerkha da point aapa create kar rahe dinde a unwillingly.

In gurdwaras, the information which is given through Panjabi is purely religious. If I ask a question of a child in the Panjabi school to name a popular Panjabi poet from Punjab or any popular Panjabi writer – he will not be able to tell you. They are telling about panj pyaaras that are religious. After travelling here and there, we see that the religious side does not complete our life and if you only touch this side that the child will see a Panjabi only as a Sikh then for the child, a Hindu Panjabi is not a Panjabi and a Muslim is definitely not a Panjabi. So, for the child we are unwillingly creating a point of hatred and jealousy among them.

The above excerpt reflects his view that he wanted his children to learn and embrace the wider Panjabi cultural heritage through Panjabi and not just the religious base. When asked whether his family reads the scripture at home or at gurdwara, he replied that his family and also his parents did not read the scripture but rather preferred to teach the historical aspects of the wider Panjabi culture which includes Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus. However, this might be the reason for the family's lesser observances at the gurdwaras and daily practice of prayers at home which had ultimately led to his children's lesser observance of the gurdwaras as well.

In addition to this, he regarded the Gurmukhi script of the Holy Scriptures as "difficult to learn and comprehend". For him, most of the Sikhs who knew Panjabi were not able to understand the holy book. This might be the reason behind his children's lack of interest in learning Panjabi.

This participant's mother further expanded on the links of "place/language/culture" (Roberts, 2005, p. 252). She wanted her grandsons to speak Panjabi because the family still owned farmlands and other properties in India. According to her, her grandsons would need to speak Panjabi in order to deal responsibly with the duties connected with the land and communicate with people on it. It is clear from her following comment:

> *Ese karke kahida ke Punjab jaana… babe ne ehna kuj othe kita aa… tuahde layi karda aa… te fer ohnu jive tuc follow karna aa te ya tanu sometimes ohnu sambhalna v pave… look after karni pave te fer other tada Panjabiyan nal hi vaah paina… all the time talking to the Panjabi.*

> that is why we tell you to learn Panjabi because you will visit Punjab… your baba (grandfather) has done a lot for you there and he doing for you… and if you have to follow that or if you have to go and take care of them [property]… have to look after then you will be meeting only Punjabis… all the time talking to the Punjabis.

The children were also aware of the fact that they saw no advantage in learning Panjabi except "taking care of their property". When asked about the advantages of learning and speaking Panjabi, he replied:

> *In New Zealand, No! but in India if I were coz I know I do think there is an advantage… in my case it will that my papa's gonna hand over all our properties and schools in India and then if I don't know how to speak in Panjabi I won't be able to communicate with the people around.*

This view was not apparent in other families and mirrors the findings by Roberts (2005) in her study regarding the maintenance of Gujarati in Wellington (New Zealand). Interestingly, one of her respondents also explained that he wanted his sons to be able to speak Gujarati because the family owned farmland in Gujarat, and he wanted his sons to speak Gujarati to manage them.

Contrary to these cultural-oriented views, there were participants who emphasised the religious importance of language and took a more religious view of maintaining HL among children. One, *gursikh* mother participant, strongly asserted the central role of language in the Sikh religion. According to her:

> *it depends upon the parents ke o kina k chahwaan haige aa apne bacheya nu apni sabhyaata nal jorhna apne culture nal apne gurudwara nal gurbani nal jorhna. Sab to vaddi gal aa hai ke gurbani parhni a jaave bas…gurbani…gurbani mere vaaste te sab kuj hai.. gurbani parhni auni chahidi hai baaki meinu hor kise nal koi nai jive letter likhna ya apne daade par-daade nu khush karna ohna nu nai…Panjabi gurbani parhni hai mere vaaste. Meri first priority ehi hai.*

> it depends upon parents how much they want their children to feel connected with their tradition, with their culture, with their gurdwaras, and with *gurbani*. The biggest thing is that they (her children) should be able to read *gurbani* only…*gurbani*…*gurbani* is everything to me. They should be able to read *gurbani* – the rest I don't care for example to write letter or to make your grandparents great-grandparents happy…not for them. Panjabi is reading *gurbani* for me. This is my first priority.

Her strong assertion of learning Panjabi for reading the holy scripture is evident from her comment. Her views were reflected in her daughter's proficiency in Panjabi when filling the Panjabi-translated survey during the interview. Moreover, her daughter was also working voluntarily in the gurdwara, teaching *gurbani* to the younger kids. However, among her children, it was only her 24-year-old son who had lost interest in speaking Panjabi due to the host society's attitudes.

Another participant also expressed a similar expectation of her children to learn and maintain Panjabi. Both parents were born in the Kanpur city (north-eastern city in India where Hindi is the official language). Both parents, being *gursikhs*, learnt Panjabi at a later stage in their lives because of their families' strong religious affiliation and desire to recite *gurbani*. As such, the parents made greater efforts in inculcating Sikh cultural

values into their children – two of whom were visually impaired. The mother recalled that it was not easy for her to make her children learn reading and writing skills in Panjabi. To ensure that her visually impaired twin boys could learn Panjabi, she had mastered Braille in Panjabi herself before she could teach them. Because the family was not aware of the availability of Braille in Panjabi, a *Bhai sahib* from the Golden temple in India visited and introduced them to Braille. It was after that that the children started learning Panjabi in Braille and attended Panjabi school in a gurdwara regularly. She wanted that her:

> *meinu eh c ke bacche apni baani v parh sakan apna Guru Granth Sahib v parh sakan. Ehna nu hun padhan vich koi probolem nai hundi – ehna kol Sukhmani sahib da gutka sahib v hai jo ke braile vich hai.*

> children should recite our prayers, should be able to read our Guru Granth Sahib. Now they have no problem in reading scriptures – they have Sukhmani Sahib (a scripture from the holy book) which is written in Braille.

Her children's proficiency in Panjabi was evident from the fact that the twin boys recited an essay on Bhai Gurdas Ji written in Braille Panjabi, while her younger eleven-year-old son filled the Panjabi-translated survey without any difficulty. Not just the language, her children had also maintained their cultural identity as *gursikhs* and were regular attendees at gurdwara.

Other parents also had a similar outlook towards the importance of learning Panjabi in order to recite *gurbani*. One mother participant was born in Gujarat and had only acquired conversational skills in Panjabi when her elder son started his Panjabi classes at a gurdwara. Her receptive skills in Panjabi which she learnt at the age of fourteen, had gradually eroded with time. Eventually, she herself learnt Panjabi literacy skills and *gurbani* before teaching her sons.

Another participant not only shared the religious importance of Panjabi but also its core cultural value in terms of their identification. She commented that Panjabi:

> *e sadi pehchaan hai sadi identity hai matlab asi koshish e karde haa ke asi ena nu apne roots ne naal jorhe rakhiye kyunki ena di pehchaan hai te boys hon karke matlab ke ena ne baal rakhe aa...poore gurshikh ne.*

> […] is our identification, this is our identity means. We try to keep them (their children) attached to their roots because this is their identity and because they are boys means that they have kept untrimmed hair… They are complete *gursikh*.

The parents were non-*gursikhs*, but they followed Sikh Rehat Maryada at home, which was reflected in their children's *gursikh* identity through having untrimmed hair and wearing turbans.

Thus, the difference in the viewpoints of parents and their cultural identity as *gursikhs* and non-*gursikhs* has led to differences in their children's learning of HL. The views expressed by different participants indicate that Sikhism plays a central role in the maintenance of Panjabi language in those families who consider the ethno-religio importance of Panjabi in maintaining the cultural identity and reading Holy Scriptures. As such, they tended to view religion as a prime motive for learning Panjabi. It was clear from their statements that parents who considered the importance of reciting *gurbani* as a part of their cultural identity also influenced their children and vice versa. On the other hand, participants who took a more secular view downplayed the role of Sikhism as a motive for learning Panjabi, and instead stressed reasons relating to cultural identity.

Challenges to language maintenance

While Panjabi's maintenance is an admirable goal in some families and requires significant effort on the part of parents inside and outside the family domain, there are challenges involved in the process of HLM maintenance in a diasporic community. When these challenges are overcome, the HL is maintained or language shift to the dominant language takes place. These challenges can then seem insurmountable.

Lack of effort

It was clear from the participants' narratives in the interviews that HLM among the younger generation required considerable effort and willpower on the part of parents. Every parent who participated in the interviews believed that their child would maintain Panjabi and that maintaining Panjabi would be a valuable resource for their child, yet parents did not put extra efforts into helping their children practise Panjabi on a daily basis. As such, parents' positive belief regarding HL alone was not enough for their children to learn it, as evidenced in Yu's (2010) study of examining Chinese immigrants' language beliefs and their actual language behaviour in which parents' perceptions regarding Chinese maintenance did not match their efforts.

As discussed by Lao (2004), strong parental commitments to their children's HLM is driven by the need for their children to have the practical advantages of both languages such as better employment opportunities, positive self-identity, and efficient communication with the other ethnic community members. Conversely, only two parent-participants in this study considered employment regarding benefits of learning Panjabi such as the role of interpreters in hospitals, or advantages for their children's intellectual benefits, also found by Nesteruk (2010). One of the participants was a female who was multilingual in Panjabi, Hindi, Gujarati, and English, and therefore, considered the importance of being a multilingual in a globalised world. Park and Sarkar (2007) also asserted that adult participants in their study promoted their children's development of Korean for their better future economic opportunities, which, however, was not considered by any of the parents in this study. This could be the reason behind some parents' lack of efforts in sending their children to Panjabi schools, and this was found as the first challenge to Panjabi's maintenance in the community.

However, it was only in the case of two young respondents aged sixteen years that believed in the importance of learning Panjabi for employment opportunities in New Zealand such as benefits in gaining more jobs and conversing with customers who are not proficient in English.

It was also noted that parents with two or three children were more successful in transmitting Panjabi to their first child and less successful with subsequent children. For example, one participant admitted that her elder son used to attend Panjabi classes at gurdwaras, and she did not feel the need to send her younger son as he was already learning conversational skills within the home environment. This finding was consistent with existing literature such as Nesteruk (2010) who found that immigrant parents were less successful in HLM with the second child.

Moreover, parents were found to place more importance on children's education in order to get them quickly assimilated into the dominant English society, so they did not fall behind (Nesteruk, 2010, p. 281). This is especially true with two families interviewed who were temporary migrants in New Zealand and placed more importance on their children's English language development. As their children were also recent migrants, the parents believed that their children had already developed foundational skills in the HL prior arriving in New Zealand and "will never forget". It is true as reflected from one participant's comment:

Panjabi tan ohnu aandi hai already te hun aapa ethe nave aaye aa te ethe da environment new aa te ethe thoda English te hi jor payida te chal thoda ho jave eda level ban jaave ik vari.

He (her son) already knows Panjabi and now we are new here and this environment is also new, so we emphasise English more here so he can develop some level of English just one time.

She was further asked if her son needed to attend Panjabi classes as he was just eight years old, to which she replied:

Nai nai nai.. oss cheej di lorh nai paindi. Already Panjabi 6 saal 7 saal othe hi parh ke aaya Punjab reh ke aaya hai.. oda born brought up othe da ik tra da. Te ess karke lor nai pendi.

No no no, he does not require this thing (Panjabi classes). He has already studied Panjabi for six or seven years… lived in Punjab. He is kind of born and brought up in Punjab.

A similar view was shared by the second parent when she was asked if her daughter, who was nine years old, was attending any Panjabi school in Auckland. Although the mother had expressed strong commitment to her daughter's maintenance of Panjabi in order to foster her communication with the extended family in India (as discussed earlier in this chapter), she made no efforts in continuing its maintenance. She also believed that her daughter had received some exposure to Panjabi prior her arrival in New Zealand, and she needed to develop more literacy skills in English compared with Panjabi. As a result of this mother's consistent efforts in developing her daughter's English skills, the daughter eventually felt more comfortable in speaking English than Panjabi. According to her:

O Panjabi nal touch rehndi a par ethe school v oda da bachhe v oda de te ehna ne English vich hi bolna. Hun ohnu meinu eda lagda rehnda aa ke ohnu jehra English bolni jyada comfortable te saukhi lagdi hai as compared to Panjabi.

she is in touch with Panjabi, but here the schools are same, and the children are same, and they all speak in English. Now I have realised that she feels speaking English is easier and more comfortable compared with Panjabi.

Both mothers' statements confirmed that parents' unwillingness to force children to learn Panjabi but to place more emphasis on English in order to speed assimilation into New

Zealand's environment had led to intergenerational differences in the language use pattern between parents and children. On the other hand, children's repeated use of English during interviews further confirmed that they were slowly shifting away from Panjabi on their way to assimilation into New Zealand's mainstream society. Here, it was also interesting to note that children in both these families had not gained any reading and writing skills in Panjabi, and mothers reported that they wanted their children to learn these skills after they were fully proficient in English. One mother also felt contented that her daughter had developed good proficiency in English in a very short time since she had arrived in New Zealand. Thus, this study adds to the literature which focuses on migrants' duration of residency as being directly correlated to their desire to get their children assimilated into the host society, slowly leading to HL attrition.

Conversational skills versus language and literacy development

Parental perceptions during the interviews highlighted the fact that outside the community domain (gurdwaras) Panjabi was largely limited to the development of conversational skills in children. It was evident from interviews and survey responses of Panjabi-translated surveys with young participants that those who did not attend or had stopped attending Panjabi classes at gurdwaras had not developed literacy skills.

One reason that might be attributed to parents' lack of interest is the availability of Sikh scriptures in English inside and outside gurdwaras. This did not encourage parents and their children to learn receptive skills in Panjabi. As the scriptures are available in English and children can easily access them, some parents felt that their children did not need to learn Panjabi, as reflected in this comment:

> *Vaise dekhya jaave te writing asi te ene saal ho gye kadi kiti nahi… agge path vagera sab kuj tan available hai English vich… ena interest nai show karde c sikhan vich matlab ke ena nu eda nai c ke likhni sikhiye*

> If we look, we have also never written Panjabi from so many years…already Sikh scriptures and all are available in English… they [children] did not show interest while learning means they were not like that we should learn writing Panjabi.

Apart from participants' viewpoints, field notes from different gurdwaras also confirmed the availability of scriptures in different languages including English. Figure 5 displays the 'Sikh prayer before eating' in the English translation/transliteration as displayed in

the community kitchen of a gurdwara. Observations also noted that in some gurdwaras, regular prayers in the morning and evening along with kirtan were displayed on plasma screens for people in congregations with English subtitles.

Figure 5. Translation and transliteration of 'Sikh prayer before eating' displayed at Papatoetoe gurdwara

Availability of scriptures in English translation or transliteration is not a new thing in New Zealand's gurdwaras. In fact, my personal experiences and extant literature (Singh, 2006; Singh, 2014, 2018) on UK gurdwaras and online media regarding Sikh scriptures suggest that many Sikh religious institutions in UK and other countries, and online Sikh websites have developed translation of Sikh scriptures for people around the world.

Thus, parents who did not perceive the value of learning to read and write Panjabi in the New Zealand context did not encourage their children's reading and writing skills development. Only those who considered that scripture should be read in its original form emphasised the learning of such skills.

Embarrassment

The issue of embarrassment was another theme that emerged during the conversation with one recently migrated participant. According to the mother, her daughter at the age of four used to hesitate speaking Panjabi in front of her peers and friends which is reflected in the following comment:

> *Mumma please hauli bolo te English vich bolo… ethe saare gore ne te o mind karange agar asi Panjabi vich bolde haan. O uss time te sadhe k chaar saal di c. Te saada khana v kiwiya de khaane nal alag aa te ik mei note kita ke jado v koi*

gora bhave bacha ya koi vada ode kolo di langda c te o apne khane nu hide karan di koshish kardi c. kise bache ne usnu school vich keh ditta c ke e yuck food a fer o meinu kehan lag gyi ke mumma meinu e khana na deya karo school li.

Mumma please speak slow and talk in English…everyone here is 'gore' [white people] and they will mind if we speak in Panjabi. She was four and a half years old at that time. And also, even our food is also different from the Kiwi food like we make rotis [chapatis] at home and I noticed one day that when any '*gora*' either children or adult when used to pass along her she always wanted to hide her food. Some children had told her at school that this was a yuck food then used to tell me that mumma, don't give me *rotis* [chapati] to school.

The participant not only recalled her daughter's incident but many of her Panjabi friends in New Zealand felt shy and scared of being bullied by their peers in school while speaking Panjabi. She also told that one of her acquaintance used to warn her child against speaking Panjabi and wearing Panjabi *salwar kameez* in front of her daughter's peers at school.

Similar examples when children avoided the use of community language because of embarrassment and fear of being looked upon as 'different' in front of their peers were found in Lee's (2013) study in exploring the situation of Spanish language in the New Zealand context. She reported that most of her adult respondents' children refused to speak Spanish inside the home domain and tried their best to assimilate into the dominant society after being teased and bullied at schools for sounding different. Crezee (2008) also found that some of her older Dutch respondents shifted to speak the dominant language at home with their children to avoid their children being bullied at school for sounding different from English speaking New Zealand children.

Another reason behind children's indifference towards their HL may have resulted from not attending HL classes or their perception that speaking Panjabi would make them inferior in front of others. Hall (2002) reported similar instances with Sikh youth in England who described speaking Panjabi as "marking them as inferior in front of their English friends and as a way of prompting teasing from them" (p. 83).

Perhaps, the issue of embarrassment was not common in other families, except the case of this mother who was a recent migrant to New Zealand.

English as a language of social prestige

Another emergent theme which was noted in participants' narratives as a potential barrier to Panjabi's maintenance was participants' perception of English as a language of social prestige. Immigrants' parents' desire for their children to attain a high level of proficiency in English in an English-dominant society often leads to failure of learning and maintaining their HL (Burn, Crezee, Hastwell, Brugh, & Harison, 2014).

It was noted by one participant who works as an ECE teacher in a kindergarten, that several other Panjabi-speaking parents who came for the enrolment of their children requested her to make sure that their child doesn't speak Panjabi during their time at kindergarten. The participant even recalled some incidents when parents, who themselves had LEP, did not enrol their children because she had addressed them *Sat Shri Akal* in Panjabi, thereby, making her sound "less proficient in English". This incident coincided with my own personal experience when I met a parent who had LEP and wanted his children to speak only English. Thus, it can be concluded from these instances that some Panjabi-speaking parents and who had LEP believed that speaking English would make them superior to others, and that learning Panjabi would not give them social prestige in the society to which they belonged.

This finding contrasted with the parents whom I surveyed in gurdwaras, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Those parents also had LEP, but unlike the parents who did not want their children to speak their mother-tongue, they made efforts to send their children to Panjabi classes.

Thus, parents' perception of English as a language of social prestige is another challenge faced by the community in Panjabi's maintenance. Parent participants' continual encouragement to focus on their children's literacy skills in English and their children's shift to English or gradual erosion of their Panjabi skills are evidence of their perception of valuing English more than Panjabi which suggests that further research is needed in this area.

Summary

To summarise, this chapter has provided a 'detailed description' (Geertz, 1973) of participants' voices through their personal narratives. Interviewees (both parents and children) tended, as in the surveys, to express positive attitudes to Panjabi, some highlighting its religious value, and some highlighting its communicative value to foster

family cohesion, for example, with extended family members and/or grandparents living in India or New Zealand. Most of the adult participants described the importance of HL for their children as bearers of their cultural identity.

It is clear that many Panjabi-speaking parents want to transmit the language to their children in order to ensure that their children can have ongoing relationships with their Panjabi-Sikh culture and their extended families. Some parents placed more emphasis on the ethno-linguistic aspect of the language which links to their Panjabi identity while some emphasised more the ethno-religio aspect of the language as part of their Sikh identity. The findings discussed in this chapter confirmed that Panjabi language maintenance was solely dependent upon parents' perception and their strong motivational efforts in this move. While many parents wanted their children to learn Panjabi, none of them were aware of the benefits of bilingualism in longer term.

The grandparents' presence in the home domain and inside the community context was one of the major findings of this study that came across from participants' narratives and observations inside gurdwaras. Parents see the presence of older family members as a contributing factor in their children's HL maintenance.

However, despite the institutional support that Panjabi language has gained in the form of community schools in gurdwaras as discussed in Chapter Four, there were potential barriers determined from participants' narratives that could impede the facilitation of Panjabi and its culture in the young generation in future.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

This case study demonstrates the role Auckland's gurdwaras play in the continuing maintenance of Panjabi and cultural identity development among young Sikhs living in Auckland. The fact that the Sikh community greatly values its language is evident from the extensive range of cultural events and classes held within gurdwaras. The process of enquiry investigating the sociocultural and linguistic environment in Auckland's gurdwaras, identifies potential factors that lead to the facilitation/shift of the language and culture within home and community domains. The study also identified that these religious institutions are not homogenous, with the type of institution determining the importance placed on religious transmission events and their content and style.

The significance of this study lies in its discovery of the language and cultural acquisition processes occurring at the community level in the form of cultural events and community schools within gurdwaras, and also at the familial level in the form of parental efforts. If the findings suggest that gurdwaras and parental motivations play a vital role that is linked with the HL and cultural identity maintenance in the young generation, then the study will be beneficial to more recent arrivals of Panjabi-speaking migrants from India and other countries who are wondering what the future holds for their children's HL. The study will also be beneficial in identifying the role of gurdwaras in the maintenance of the Panjabi language (HL) how HL maintenance can be sustained, how successful programmes in gurdwaras for the maintenance of HL have been, and how programmes for HL maintenance can be improved. The study has not only focussed on the language and cultural identity processes inside the community domain but also explored the role of the family in the language maintenance/shift

This chapter draws together the key findings of the study that include language proficiencies and attitudes of participants towards HL and its maintenance, language as a cultural value, and the role of Gurdwaras and home domain in the maintenance of the language. It will go on to discuss the limitations of the study and directions for future research. Finally, this chapter contains recommendations on how gurudwara management committees could address the issues arising from the research based upon participants' perceptions.

Key findings

Language proficiencies and attitudes of young respondents

The study has uncovered a similar pattern of language maintenance/shift in the young generation as found in other ethnic minorities in New Zealand ('Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Crezee, 2008; Fouvaa, 2011; Kim & Starks, 2005; Kim & Starks, 2010; Lee, 2013; Roberts, 1999; Stoffel, 1982; Wilson, 2017; Yu, 2005). To be specific, the younger generation of the Panjabi-speaking Sikh community in Auckland is clearly bilingual or multilingual in some cases in the sense of using two languages – English and Panjabi besides Hindi, although their relative proficiency and the extent to which they communicated in each of the languages varied. Children predominantly used English with siblings and peers, and a mixture of Panjabi and English with parents, depending upon their audience.

Data obtained from surveys provided substantial evidence that young respondents' proficiency in Panjabi was quite high, depending upon their attendance at Panjabi school and parental efforts. This meant that children who regularly attended Panjabi school showed higher receptive and productive skills in Panjabi than those who did not. Their attendance at Panjabi schools was also to a lesser degree linked to higher oral proficiency in Panjabi.

While the majority of young respondents demonstrated excellent Panjabi skills in surveys, they were not always enthusiastic about learning it in community schools or at home and expressed mixed responses towards it. This finding coincides with Korean-American children who also expressed mixed attitudes towards learning their HL in Korean churches in Montreal, Canada (Park, 2011).

Some children and young people in the present study, especially of the age group 8-11, were not sure about the advantage of learning Panjabi and disliked attending classes. A few even said that they thought Panjabi was boring and a difficult language to learn. On the other hand, children of the age group 12-16 reported that they had stopped attending classes due to inconvenient class scheduling. Such unfavourable perspectives on learning Panjabi, as expressed by some of the young respondents, cannot be viewed as encouraging for the possibilities of its maintenance. This implies further research could be conducted in this area to address the issues. This view expressed by some participants points to a question of the value of learning Panjabi, and also if HL is to be maintained, to a need for real incentives to encourage young people to study the language.

The findings from surveys and interviews with respect to some young participants' literacy skills in Panjabi point to an ongoing language shift or language attrition in some cases, due to the dominance of English in the home domain. Some children reported sure signs of language shift such as shifting to the dominant language, while there were signs of HL-attrition in the oral proficiency of respondents who had not yet acquired reading and writing skills in Panjabi. This happened in the case of respondents who were born in India and had acquired Panjabi skills prior their arrival in New Zealand. This was indeed dependent upon their parents' attitudes towards their mother-tongue because it happened in the families who were recent migrants to New Zealand, and their parents were more encouraged to develop their English skills than their Panjabi skills. As such, English was slowly gaining dominance as the language preference of children in these families, even though they were not New Zealand-born.

In addition, language shift/attrition tended to happen in the case of young respondents who were not highly enthusiastic about learning Panjabi. There were several reasons for this. Some families' language practices were based on their belief that it was more important to learn English than Panjabi. While many parents believed in the importance of Panjabi for reading holy scriptures, these are now widely available in English, and English versions of the holy book are available in most gurdwaras. Some families placed more emphasis on conversational rather than reading and writing skills, as they regarded learning Panjabi primarily as a means of communicating with members of the extended family including grandparents. Some young people were embarrassed to use Panjabi in public, and last but not the least, English was seen to have greater social prestige than Panjabi.

As such, if the challenges to Panjabi language maintenance are not addressed inside the community then the differences found across language use patterns and attitudes among young participants point to a shift in the younger generation in the foreseeable years. These challenges partly overlap with Gilhotra's (1984) findings in which a shift had taken place in his young respondents from Panjabi to English-dominant bilingualism in the Woolgoolga region of Australia. The role of gurdwaras in preventing language shift and attrition is vital if Panjabi is to be kept alive for future generations in New Zealand.

Language, religion and culture as core values of the Sikh community

A major aspect of the study involved the effect of religion and culture in the attainment and development of cultural identity and language among the younger generation of the

Sikh community. The core value theory of language claimed that language was maintained in some communities as it was a core cultural value, that is, that language was central to the group's distinctive identity. Similarly, the findings of the study confirmed that the major reasons for learning Panjabi among the younger generation were religion and culture, and language was found to be a core cultural value (Smolicz, 1980; Smolicz, 1981, 1991).

The findings of this study were found to be similar to studies conducted by Gogonas (2012) and Tannenbaum (2009) which noted the importance of religion and language as unified core values of a migrant group as happened in the case of Israeli Arabs in the former study who maintained Arabic as a part of their Islamic faith. Similarly, it was found that some of the parents in the present study, who believed Sikhism and Panjabi to be closely intertwined with each other, wanted their children to maintain Panjabi in order to read the holy scripture which reiterates Gogonas (2012) claim that migrants' attitudes towards HL and its actual maintenance is even higher in the case when language and religion are interwoven with each other.

However, the findings also pointed to the distinction between communicative and symbolic dimensions of the language as discussed by Jaspal and Coyle (2010). For some families, Panjabi was significant as the language of Sikhism for reading the Holy Scripture. It might well be the case that language was a core value for those participants who wanted their children to read the Holy Scripture. As such, these parents encouraged their children to learn Panjabi in order to read *gurbani* as the language of Guru Granth. On the other hand, there were parents who did not consider the importance of language for reading scripture due to the availability of English translations online and inside gurdwaras. Studies conducted by Singh (2006); Singh (2014, 2018) found that the availability of English translations of Sikh scriptures inside and outside gurdwaras on different websites and social media pages is an innovative approach to engage the younger generation more towards Sikh religion and its teachings. However, it was found in the present study to be a powerful disincentive for the young generation towards learning Panjabi, and this disincentive may impede the process of language maintenance in the future.

On the other hand, there were some parent-respondents who wanted their children to maintain Panjabi as a marker of their ethnic cultural identity as Punjabi and in turn made considerable efforts in its maintenance. As such, these findings correlate with the

findings of the studies such as Tse (1996), Cho et al. (1997) and Lee (2002) which emphasise the interrelationship between HL and cultural identity among ethnic immigrant groups. However, as pointed out by Smolicz's (1981), it was dependent upon individuals and the extent to which they attribute significance to their HL in maintaining their cultural identities. Thus, there were some respondents in the present study for whom the Panjabi language continued to act as a potent symbol of their ethnic identity as Punjabis even though their children did not use the language for everyday purposes.

As such, there were not only differences in adults' perception of the importance of language to religion and culture as cultural core values, but also in their children's perception (Gilhotra, 1984). Most of the children's perception regarding Panjabi was largely based on their parents' efforts inside and outside home. Children belonging to *gursikh* families or families who followed *Sikh Rehat Maryada* tended to consider Sikhism to be an important factor in learning Panjabi as Gurmukhi, while others tended to consider their wider Punjabi cultural identity.

In fact, not only language, but parents' cultural identity as *gursikhs* or those who were non-*gursikhs* but followed the Sikh code of conduct was also directly linked with their children's cultural identity. Children in such families were found to maintain some of their cultural identity traits, the most common being untrimmed hair, wearing turban, reciting *gurbani* and attending gurdwaras. As discussed in the previous chapter, there were some families in which grandparents instead played this role in facilitating their grandchildren's cultural identity as Sikhs.

As gleaned from the analysis of qualitative data of this study on the patterns of language use, the maintenance of Panjabi in the Auckland-Sikh community appears to be related to its extensive use in two major domains (Fishman, 1972); home and community.

Language maintenance/shift inside the home domain

Substantial evidence from the language use patterns of young respondents and parents' attitudes in interviews suggested that extensive use of a community language in home is crucial for its maintenance and is also a prerequisite for a successful intergenerational transmission of the language (Fishman, 1991; Pauwels, 2005). It was found that the dominant language in the home was mainly Panjabi, although perhaps young participants' pattern of language use was different with different interlocutors depending upon their audience.

Almost all parent-respondents demonstrated a highly positive attitude towards Panjabi to be the core to their identities even though it was not evident in some families' language practices. My insider's status might have caused parents to express "only positive" aspects of the language as they did not want to feel awkward in front of me. This might have been a cause behind their over-exaggeration of their children's Panjabi skills as well. Hence, their positive attitudes towards HL and Sikh culture were directly or indirectly correlated with their children's maintenance of Panjabi and cultural identity. The major reason behind parents' positive attitude was the facilitation of cohesion within their extended family members in India and/or New Zealand. The presence of extended family members, especially grandparents in the home in New Zealand and overseas required the ability to communicate in HL with respect to their proficiency in English. Apart from fostering family cohesion, parents' highly positive attitudes were based on for example, religious reasons as discussed earlier, and for practical reasons (home visit, communication with extended family, managing farmlands, and connecting with the wider diaspora).

The most commonly used language by adult respondents was Panjabi whereas it was mainly English and Panjabi by the younger generation. This indicates a cross-generational pattern of language use within families. It was further noticed that parents did not force their children to speak HL inside home, rather letting them speak whatever language they wanted, which was mostly English since most of the parents acknowledged their children to be more comfortable in English. However, this was not the case with some parents, especially fathers in some families, who reported having an explicit family language policy in order to ensure a secure place for Panjabi use in the home.

As discussed earlier, parents who had shared strong positive beliefs regarding their HL tended to have more influence on their children in maintaining their mother-tongue. The analysis of these factors in Chapter Five reflected more about the language choice among families. It was quite clear from the interview findings that family and home were at the core of HLM, and that a language has a better chance of survival if spoken in the home (Fishman, 1991). Since family is the major influencer in relation to HLM, therefore, the effectiveness of the other domains such community would fail without the functionality in preserving the HL (Fishman, 1991).

Language and cultural identity maintenance in the community domain

By triangulating the findings of surveys and interviews, this study found that gurdwaras were considered as significant places for HLM and cultural identity among the younger generation besides the home domain. Thus, the institutional reinforcement of Panjabi in Auckland gurdwaras is aligned with stage 6 in Fishman's GIDS (1991) and Giles's (1977) structural variable theory which proposes that any language has better prospects of its maintenance when institutionalised. According to Fishman (1991), this is the stage in which community institutions reinforce the intergenerational continuity of HL outside the home domain, which is found true for the present study in which gurdwaras have become the ideal place to provide the younger generation with an environment to develop their Panjabi literacy skills and cultural identity through gurdwara-related activities.

It was found that religious observances in the HL (Spolsky, 2004), the teaching of HL and culture through community schools (Pak, 2003), foodways (Hirvi, 2010), availability of other socialisation agents such as newspapers and magazines in the HL (Drury, 1988), and the opportunity to communicate with first-generation HL speakers and peers (Han, 2013), comprise the sociocultural and linguistic environment of the gurdwaras (Park, 2011) which facilitate the development of Panjabi among the young generation.

However, participants expressed mixed views towards gurdwaras' importance in the maintenance of cultural identity and conducting community schools. Some of the adult participants believed that gurdwaras need to incorporate innovative ways of teaching Panjabi to the younger generation and that gurudwara officials who are predominantly Panjabi-speaking should be crossing the language barrier to engage the younger generation with the gurdwaras' services. This is in line with Wilson's (2017) study which suggests that community institutions need to change the linguistic structures of their activities and services in order to facilitate HLM among the younger generation. In addition to parents' perception regarding gurdwaras, some of the young respondents also commented that gurdwaras should be more informative with regards to informing insiders and outsiders overtly about Sikh traditions and codes of conduct.

Apart from being religious institutions, the conduct of community schools in gurdwaras also suggests that imparting HL and cultural values in gurdwaras is considered as an integral and essential part of a larger effort to preserve ethnics, values and culture of the

Sikh community. In the words of an adult participant and a study conducted by Seals and Peyton (2017), these schools are "the only opportunities" outside the home domain where children can use and develop their HL effectively. In this way, the community schools which can also be termed as The Weekend-Schools (Fishman & Nahirny, 1964) in gurdwaras performed similar functions as identified by Park (2011) and Pak (2003) in their study of Korean churches in the maintenance of HL among Korean immigrant children in North America. Field notes by observation suggest that these schools were not only characterised by the teaching of HL, but also by instruction about festivals, traditional rituals, cultural artefacts (Higgins, 2017), often combined with oral recitations of Holy Scriptures. Perhaps, the oral recitation of scriptures by the young pupils in the classes sometimes led to the oral maintenance of Panjabi among them as discussed by Verivaki (1991) as happened in the case of Greeks in New Zealand.

As well as HL, religious transmission inside gurdwaras, as discussed in Chapter Four, was also evident through the religious content taught in HL classes. This content firmly embodies Sikhism in the Panjabi language curriculum where language is seen as the carrier of the Sikh identity. However, the religious content varied according to gurdwaras' affiliation and there was considerable dissatisfaction among some participants towards inclusion of religion in Panjabi classes.

Overall, the data collected from various research instruments suggest that gurdwaras in the Auckland-Sikh community perform several functions which are in line with the functions discovered by Min (1992) and Shin (2005) in Korean ethnic churches in the Korean-American community, which are:

- maintaining the HL Panjabi and Sikh cultural traditions
- contribution to the cultural identity maintenance of the younger generation by gurdwara-related activities
- providing social services for gurudwara members and Sikh community as a whole
- providing fellowship for Sikh immigrants (both young and adults).

The high attendance of young migrants at community schools shows that there is some enthusiasm within the Sikh community for passing the Panjabi language onto the next generation. Thus, the work involved in the intergenerational language transmission and the institutional support available in gurdwaras means that this may be successful for future generations depending upon parental perceptions.

The current intergenerational language transmission and the institutional support, available in gurdwaras, indicates that the gurdwaras may have adequate resources to facilitate language maintenance for future generations. However, this is dependent on Sikh community placing value on cultural and religious heritage.

Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

This thesis provides data on the current state of the Panjabi language to the Sikh community in order to provide information on the language and cultural acquisition processes occurring community level. Therefore, I have highlighted the limitations that this study might have, which could be a starting point for future research.

As a master's thesis, this has been a relatively small-scale study and is limited to participation of two out of twelve gurdwaras in Auckland which are the mainstream gurdwaras. Although the researcher visited and gathered information on all gurdwaras in Auckland, the research was based on two major gurdwaras where data was collected through surveys and informal observations. Thus, the language and cultural acquisition processes occurring in other gurdwaras such as *sant*-led and caste-based (as described in Chapter Four) were not studied in much detail. This suggests that further investigation into and analysis of such processes and how they differ from mainstream gurdwaras would be useful.

Unlike many migrant communities' languages, there is institutional support, although not from outside but from within the community, available for the Panjabi language, and the wider Punjabi community appears to be aware of community-based initiatives such as those run by Auckland gurdwaras. However, there are number of recommendations for community schools run in these gurdwaras based on both suggestions made by the participants themselves and my own assessment of the community's needs. It is suggested that gurdwaras could:

- Include innovative ways to teach Panjabi in community schools, and adopt modern teaching methods
- Provide information that portrays a deeper philosophical understanding of Sikhism intended for those inside and for those outside of the Sikh cultural community
- Work more to engage mid teen young people to visit gurdwaras by providing activities which are relevant to them
- Provide information to community members to outline the benefits of bilingualism.

As is true for most case studies, the findings of this case study have limited generalisability to people beyond the present research participants as the majority of them have migrated from Punjab and other parts of India. The Sikh community in Auckland comprises people who have migrated from a variety of countries and represents a wide spectrum of Panjabi speakers. Thus, the findings of this thesis may not have wider implications for those community members who do not have a direct migration history from India. Further research could explore the experiences of Sikhs in New Zealand who have migrated from Fiji, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, UK, Canada and other destinations which have large Punjabi Sikh populations.

The Sikh community is a very small and close-knit community with migrants recently arrived in New Zealand (discussed in Chapter Three) compared with other countries, and this may affect the ways language and culture are transmitted to the younger generation. Further research in the field would be of great benefit to the Sikhs, wider Panjabi-speaking communities, and also to other communities. It would be useful to undertake a larger comparative study which compares the attitudes of the Sikh community in Auckland with those living in other neighbouring countries such as Fiji or Australia in order to see whether community institutions are working in a similar way, and if community members show similar attitudes towards language and cultural acquisition processes.

Thus, the additional research will not only add to the overall picture of the Panjabi language and cultural identity acquisition processes undergoing New Zealand Sikh community but other countries as well. The findings of this study would help in identifying challenges and areas for future development and support.

Concluding remarks

The present study is the first of its kind to study Panjabi language maintenance as a core value to Sikh communities based in Auckland. It adds to the previous research on heritage language maintenance and cultural identity in ethnic minority communities in several ways. Firstly, the study was done in the multicultural context of Auckland where there are several other communities present with their own specific mother-tongues and cultural values. Secondly, this study broadens the scope of the field from family level to an ethnic community institutional level while also considering participants' perceptions related to language and cultural identity processes.

The overall findings of the study suggest that the Sikh community in Auckland behaves as a distinct and active collective entity possessing greater vitality in terms of its status, demographic and institutional support factors (Giles et al., 1977). The statistics discussed in Chapter Three indicate that the community's status and demographic variables are well recognised in Auckland's multilingual context, after its considerable growth since 2001. The conduct of community classes inside gurdwaras discussed in Chapter Four well defines the 'institutional support factors' available to the Sikh community as suggested by Fishman (1991) and Giles et al. (1977) to be significant for a community's language acquisition in a specific cultural community context, in this case Auckland.

It is also clear that most Sikh migrants and their children who were interviewed as a part of this study considered language to be core to their identities either ethnic or religious. Interestingly, this included those migrants who did not feel strongly about passing the language on to the next generation. Given that minority languages are more likely to be maintained if they are considered core to a person's cultural identity (Smolicz, 1980; Smolicz, 1981), this finding is encouraging. Like many other international and local studies, some parents implement a HL-only policy in their homes as a part of language maintenance efforts or send their children to community language schools. Most of the parents in the present study adopted similar ways.

In recent times, when New Zealand, especially the Auckland region, is already a multicultural and multilingual society where bilingualism is its distinctive feature, many Sikh parents did not appear to be aware of the risk of language shift and the advantages that bilingualism can bring in their children's lives. Peddie (2005), in an analysis of the current situation of languages policy in New Zealand, argues the importance of bilingualism in recently migrated communities to enhance students' academic abilities and language cognition, and to help them in acquiring intercultural skills, essential in the globalised world in which we live now. While none of the parent-participants showed an awareness of the advantages of speaking more than one language other than identifying Panjabi as a core value to their ethnic and religious identities, most of the child participants were found to have developed 'bicultural' identities (Lee, 2002). In other words, Panjabi's maintenance in the younger generation of the Panjabi-Sikh community has sought to develop their bicultural identities which can define their identity more positively in multicultural and multilingual societies such as Auckland. Except for a few respondents, most children's acceptance of both the majority culture

and their own ethnic culture was evident through their high proficiency in both the languages and their maintenance of Sikh identities in a multi-ethnic and multicultural environment.

Thus, the completion of this study is timely given the large number of Punjabi-Sikh migrants arriving in New Zealand and the setting up of gurdwaras to meet their cultural and social needs. A recent example was the opening of a new gurdwara for the Sikh community residing in the Northern part of Auckland (Team, 9 April, 2019). While considerable research has taken place on some language communities, the Panjabi-Sikh community has largely been neglected. This means that the thesis has addressed a significant gap in language maintenance research in New Zealand. By investigating Panjabi inside the community and home domains, this research is the first of its kind to provide information on the linguistic and cultural identity issues occurring in the community at a time when the community is experiencing considerable growth.

While many of the research findings correlate with the findings of existing New Zealand literature, the role of gurdwaras in promoting the HL and cultural identity of the younger Sikh generation provides a fresh perspective on language maintenance. The influence of community schools, organisation of cultural events at a wider scale and the sociocultural and sociolinguistic environment inside all gurdwaras are increasing the exposure of the younger generation – either born or migrated to New Zealand at an early age, to the language and culture of the community.

In Chapter Four, I argued that the gurdwara is for many Sikh immigrants living in Auckland much more than only a place of worship. The religious institutions which are, however, distinguished on the basis of class, caste and affiliation, offer the second generation a place similar to the home they had in Punjab or elsewhere and a cultural environment that is significant for their heritage language and culture acquisition. They represent a channel through which Sikhism, the Panjabi language and socio-cultural traditions are transmitted and reinforced in relation to the second generation (Drury, 1988).

Lastly, this study examined various factors which affect the maintenance of the HL and culture. Different interactions with parents revealed that parental motivations for HLM at family level are as important as the role of community institutions. The Sikh community greatly values its language, and in particular, would like to see it passed on to generations for the maintenance of religion (Caneva & Pozzi, 2014; Roberts, 1999)

and intergenerational continuity (Roberts, 1999). While this study provides hopes that the community will succeed in avoiding language shift in the coming generations, there is an enormous challenge on the part of parents who want to pass their ethnic language onto their children.

It is hoped that this research will add to the body of knowledge on heritage language maintenance in New Zealand and will be a useful resource for the Auckland Sikh community in their efforts to maintain the heritage language and culture among the young generation.

I would like to finish this thesis with the words of one of my young respondents, according to whom Panjabi is not just a language but is a language of their culture, of their ancient history:

We should learn our mother-tongue, we should learn our culture, our history and
who we are, who are our ancestors. I feel proud to be a Sikh.

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Overview of Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval letter

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet – respondents

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet for surveys on Facebook

Appendix D: Consent Forms (adults)

Appendix E: Consent Forms (parents/ Guardians)

Appendix F: Assent Form (children)

Appendix G: Surveys (English version)

Appendix H: Surveys (Panjabi version)

Appendix I: Indicative interview questions (adults and children)

Appendix A: Ethics Approval Letter

30 April 2018

Alison Booth

Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Alison

Ethics Application: 18/143 Intergenerational language and cultural transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. I am pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 23 April 2018, subject to the following conditions:

1. The committee notes that in an anonymous survey it is inappropriate to ask respondents to write their mother's or father's name;

2. Clarify recruitment, specifically explaining where the recruitment advertisement will be posted (which Facebook page?)

   3. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:

a. Please ensure that the language used is appropriate to the intended audience (especially younger children);

   b. Include advice of the potential for academic publications and/or conference presentations;

   c. Include a privacy section (important to the interview component);

d. Include advice that the interview will be audio-taped, and whether or not transcripts will be offered for member checking.

Please provide me with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely

Kate O'Connor

Executive Manager

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: grprtkaur119@gmail.com; Ineke Crezee

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet (Adult Respondents)

Participant Information Sheet

ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਬਣਨ ਲਈ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੱਤਰ

Date Information Sheet Produced:

ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਦੇ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਣ ਦੀ ਮਿਤੀ:

19/03/2018

Project Title

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ

Intergenerational Cultural and Language Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras.

ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੁਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ-ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਚਾਰ

An Invitation

ਇਕ ਸੱਦਾ

Hello

ਸਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ

I am Gurpreet Kaur. I am a Master of Philosophy student at Auckland University of Technology in the School of Hospitality and Tourism's Department of Tourism and Events. I would like to invite you to participate in the 'Intergenerational Language and Cultural Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras' research project which will help in completing my MPhil degree and may be used in completing PhD study in future. I will be conducting this study under the supervision of Dr. Alison Booth (primary supervisor) and Associate Professor Ineke Crezee (secondary supervisor). I am interested to find out how Sikh temples influence the maintenance of heritage language (Panjabi) and culture in young Sikh children and how children and their parents feel about this.

ਮੈਂ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ ਹਾਂ। ਮੈਂ ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੋਜੀ ਦੇ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ ਡਿਪਾਰਟਮੈਂਟ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਸਟਰ ਓਫ ਫਿਲੋਸੋਫੀ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥਣ ਹਾਂ। ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਰਿਸਰਚ (ਖੋਜ) ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਸੱਦਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ, ਜੋ ਕਿ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਫਿਲ (MPhil) ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਵਿਚ PhD ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਮੈਂ ਇੱਹ ਰਿਸਰਚ, ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ (ਮੁੱਖ ਸੁਪਰਵਾਇਜ਼ਰ) ਅਤੇ ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਨਿਗਰਾਨੀ ਹੇਠ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹਾਂ। ਮੈਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਨਾਲ ਇੱਹ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਕਿਸ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਜਵਾਨ ਸਿੱਖ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਇੱਹ ਵੀ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਓਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ।

What is the purpose of this research?

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਦਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ?

I am particularly interested to find out how language and socio-cultural factors present within the Gurudwaras play a major role in the lives of Punjabi-Sikh immigrants. It will also see if these factors help in maintaining their Panjabi language and culture and also look into how young children and their parents feel about this through surveys and questionnaires.

ਮੈਂ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਇੱਹ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ-ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਵਰਗੇ ਕਾਰਣ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ-ਸਿੱਖ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਰੋਲ ਅੱਦਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਕਿ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਇੱਹ ਕਾਰਣ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਮੱਦਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਤੋ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ।

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਲੱਭਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰ ਕਿਉਂ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ?

I am inviting you because you are a member of Sikh Community living in Auckland participating in local Gurudwaras.

I am hoping to find 150 willing participants to contribute to my research.

ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਭਾਇਚਾਰੇ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਹੋ ਅਤੇ ਇਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ।

ਮੈਂ ਉਮੀਦ ਰੱਖਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਤਕਰੀਬਨ 150 ਦੇ ਕਰੀਬ ਇਛੁੱਕ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰਾ ਨੂੰ ਲਭ ਸਕਾ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਬਣਨਗੇ।

How do I agree to participate in this research?

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰ ਬਣਨ ਲਈ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਹਾਮੀ ਭਰਦੇ ਹੋ ?

Survey: I would like you to participate by filling out a 10-minute anonymous questionnaire and returning it in person or by email to my details provided below. Your personal information provided will not be identified in any way in this research.

Follow up Interview: you will also have the opportunity to participate in a follow-up interview. In appreciation of an hour of your time you will receive a supermarket voucher for you and your family to enjoy. Please let the researcher know that you are interested and provide your contact details. You can contact me Gurpreet Kaur, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com, 0226505818 to arrange a convenient location and time.

ਸਰਵੇਖਣ- ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸੱਦਾ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਕ ਦਸ ਮਿੰਟਾਂ ਦੀ ਗੁਪਤ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਵਲੀ ਭਰੋਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਈ-ਮੇਲ ਯਾ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਉਪਰ ਵਾਪਿਸ ਭੇਜ ਦੇਵੋਗੇ। ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਨਿਜੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਵੀ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੱਗਣ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।

ਅੱਗੋ ਵਾਲੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ- ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਕ ਅੱਗੋ ਵਾਲੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਭਾਗ ਲੈ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ। ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਕੀਮਤੀ ਸਮੇਂ ਬਦਲੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਸੁਪਰ ਮਾਰਕੀਟ ਦਾ ਗਿਫ਼ ਵੱਚਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਪੱਤੇ ਉਪਰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ।

ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com, 0226505818 ਨੂੰ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਦੀ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਕਾਰਨ ਲਈ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰੋ।

What will happen in this research?

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਚ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ?

Participation in surveys and follow-up interviews is voluntary and you are able to withdraw from the study at any time.

The data collected will be used to obtain the degree of Master of Philosophy and may also be used for future research for the completion of a PhD at AUT to follow on from this qualification.

ਸਰਵੇਖਣਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊਜ਼ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਦੋ ਚਾਹੋ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਤੋਂ ਮੰਨਾਹ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ। ਜੋ ਅੰਕੜੇ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਤੋਂ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਉਹ ਮਫਿਲ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅੱਗੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੋਣਗੇ।

What are the benefits?

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਕੀ ਫਾਇਦੇ ਹਨ?

This research will assist me in obtaining the degree of Master of Philosophy and also in the future research.

As young Sikh children attend Gurudwaras with their parents, so it becomes important to look how children and their parents think about the role of Gurudwaras in maintaining the Panjabi language and culture.

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਨਾਲ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਫਿਲ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।

ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ਇਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਨ ਹੋ ਰਹੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਬੱਚੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਮੱਥਾ ਟੇਕਣ ਲਈ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਬਹੁਤ ਜਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਕਿ ਇਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਓਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ-ਪਿਤਾ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਰੋਲ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ, ਇਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਨ।

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਕੋਲ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਹਨ?

If I have not heard from you within three weeks, I will send you a reminder to see if you are still interested in taking part in this study.

ਅਗਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤੋਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਹਫਤਿਆਂ ਤਕ ਕੋਈ ਜਵਾਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਵਾਰੀ ਫੇਰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਇਹ ਦੇਖਣ ਲਈ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਇੱਛੁਕ ਹੋ ਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ।

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਪੂਰੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ?

You will be able to read the summary of research findings on my Academia.edu account or I will send it you by mail or email if you wish to.

ਜੀ ਹਾਂ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਨਤੀਜਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਮੇਰੇ Academia.edu ਅਕਾਉਂਟ ਉਪਰ ਦੇਖ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ਯਾ ਫੇਰ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਪੱਤੇ ਉਪਰ ਯਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਈ-ਮੇਲ ਐਡਰੈੱਸ ਉਪਰ ਵੀ ਭੇਜ ਸਕਦੀ ਹਾਂ।

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੀ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ਅਗਰ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੋਈ ਤਸ਼ਵੀਸ਼ ਯਾ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੈ?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisors- Dr. Alison Booth, alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550; Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 6825 and the Primary Researcher, Gurpreet Kaur, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com ,022 6505818.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

ਅਗਰ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਪਰੇਸ਼ਾਨੀ ਯਾ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਮੁਖ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ, alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550 ਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਡਾਕਟਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz,09 921 9999 ext 6825 ਨੂੰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ।

ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਐਗਜ਼ਿਕਿਉਟਿਵ ਸੇਕ੍ਰੇਟਰੀ ਕਾਟੇ ਓ ਕੰਨੇਰ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਦਸ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ।

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਬਾਰੇ ਹੋਰ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਹੋਰ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

ਖੋਜ ਕਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ:

Gurpreet Kaur, Auckland University of Technology, School of Hospitality and Tourism, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com ,022 6505818.

ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੋਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com , 022 6505818.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਸੁਪਰਵਾਇਜ਼ਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ:

Dr. Alison Booth, alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550 Auckland University of Technology, School of Hospitality and Tourism (B36), Private bag 92006, Auckland 1142, New Zealand.

ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ, [alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550,](alison.booth@aut.ac.nz) ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੋਲੋਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ (ਬ 36), ਪ੍ਰਾਇਵੇਟ ਬੈਗ 92006, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ 1142, ਨੀਊ ਜ਼ੀਲੈਂਡ।

Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 6825 Auckland University of Technology, School of Languages and culture, Private bag 92006, Auckland 1142, New Zealand.

ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ , [ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz,](ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz) 09 921 9999 ext 6825 ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੋਲੋਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ (ਬ 36), ਪ੍ਰਾਇਵੇਟ ਬੈਗ 92006, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ 1142, ਨੀਊ ਜ਼ੀਲੈਂਡ।

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 9/May/2018 AUTEC Reference number 18/143

Thank you!

ਧੰਨਵਾਦ।

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet for Surveys on Facebook

Please participate in my survey!

ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਬਣੋ!

Hello

ਸਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ।

My name is Gurpreet Kaur, and I am a Master of Philosophy student at Auckland University of Technology.

Please participate in my research project on 'Intergenerational Language and Cultural Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras'. Your participation will help me to complete my MPhil degree and findings may be used for future research.

I am interested to find out the role of Gurudwaras in the lives of Punjabi-Sikh immigrants especially the young ones. I will look into how language and socio-cultural factors present inside Gurudwaras help in maintaining their Panjabi language and culture, and how young children and their parents feel about this through surveys and interviews.

I would like you to participate by completing this anonymous survey either online or by filling out and returning it in-person or by post in the sealed envelopes provided. Completing this survey will take about 10 minutes of your time. Your contact details will not be kept in any way.

By completing this survey, you agree to participate in this research. The results may be used for upcoming academic publications and presentations.

ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਮ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੋਜੀ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥਣ ਹਾਂ।

ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਰਿਸਰਚ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ 'ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਅੱਤਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਚਾਰ' ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਬਣੋ। ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰੀ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਫਿਲ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਅਤੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ ਅੱਗੇ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਹੋਵੇ।

ਮੈਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਵਾਰੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ-ਸਿੱਖ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ, ਖਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਛੋਟੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਭੁਮਿਕਾ ਅਦਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਗੀ ਕੇ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਗੁਰੁਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ-ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਵਰਗੇ ਕਾਰਣ, ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ-ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ-ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਸੋਚ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਇਸ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਨੂੰ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਦਸ ਮਿੰਟਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਲਗੇਗਾ। ਮੈਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਗੀ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਇਸ ਅਗਿਆਤ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਵਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਔਨਲਾਈਨ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਬਣੋ ਯਾ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਭਰਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਬੰਦ ਲਿਫਾਫੇ ਵਿਚ ਵਾਪਿਸ ਫੜਾ ਕੇ ਯਾ ਡਾਕ ਰਾਂਹੀ ਬਣੋ। ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।

ਇਸ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਬਣਨ ਦੀ ਹਾਮੀ ਭਰਦੇ ਹੋ।

Researcher Contact Details:

ਖੋਜ ਕਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ:

Gurpreet Kaur, Auckland University of Technology, School of Hospitality and Tourism, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com ,022 6505818.

ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੇਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ, dfm0589@aut.ac.nz/grprtkaur119@gmail.com , 022 6505818.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਸੁਪਰਵਾਇਜ਼ਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ:

Dr. Alison Booth, alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550 Auckland University of Technology, School of Hospitality and Tourism (B36), Private bag 92006, Auckland 1142, New Zealand.

ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੁਥ, alison.booth@aut.ac.nz, 09 921-9999 ext 6550, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੇਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ (ਬ 36), ਪ੍ਰਾਇਵੇਟ ਬੈਗ 92006, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ 1142, ਨੀਊ ਜ਼ੀਲੈਂਡ।

Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 6825 Auckland University of Technology, School of Languages and culture, Private bag 92006, Auckland 1142, New Zealand.

ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ , ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 6825 ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਓਫ ਟੈਕਨੇਲੇਜੀ, ਸਕੂਲ ਓਫ ਹਾਸਪੀਟੈਲਿਟੀ ਐਂਡ ਟੂਰਿਜ਼ਮ (ਬ 36), ਪ੍ਰਾਇਵੇਟ ਬੈਗ 92006, ਆਕਲੈਂਡ 1142, ਨੀਊ ਜ਼ੀਲੈਂਡ।

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 9/May/2018 AUTEC Reference number 18/143

Thank you!

ਧੰਨਵਾਦ।

Appendix D: Consent Form

Consent Form

ਹਾਮੀ-ਪੱਤਰ

Project title: Intergenerational Language and Cultural Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ: ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ-ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਚਾਰ

Project Supervisor: Dr. Alison Booth and Dr. Ineke Crezee

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ: ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ ਅਤੇ ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ

Researcher: Gurpreet Kaur

ਖੋਜੀ: ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ

o   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19/04/2018.

o   ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਝ ਚੁਕਾ/ਚੁਕੀ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੇ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਮਿਤੀ 19/04/2018 ਵਿਚ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ।

o   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

o   ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਵਾਲ ਪੁੱਛਣ ਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਲੈਣ ਦਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।

o   I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

o   ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਮਝ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਨੇਟਸ ਲਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਓਹਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਕਰਕੇ ਟ੍ਰਾਂਸਕ੍ਰਾਇਬ (ਉਤਾਰਾ) ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

o   I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

o   ਮੈਂ ਸਮਝਦਾ/ਸਮਝਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਜਦੇ ਵੀ ਚਾਵਾਂ ਬਿਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਏ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਸਕਦਾ/ਸਕਦੀ ਹਾਂ।

o   I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used.

o   ਮੈਂ ਸਮਝਦਾ/ਸਮਝਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਅਗਰ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਉਗਾ ਕੇ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਸੰਪਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਯਾ ਤਾਂ ਹਟਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਯਾ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਇਜ਼ਾਜਤ ਦੇ ਸਕਦਾ/ਸਕਦੀ ਹਾਂ। ਹਾਲਾਂਕਿ, ਇੱਕ ਵਰੀ ਅਗਰ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਲਏ ਗਏ ਤਾਂ, ਡਾਟੇ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾਉਣਾ ਨਾ-ਮੁਮਕਿਨ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।

o   However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

o   I understand that information produced may be used in the future research for a PhD study at AUT.

o   ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਬਣਨ ਦੀ ਹਾਮੀ ਭਰਦਾ/ਭਰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਸਮਝਦਾ/ਸਮਝਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ ਅੱਗੇ ਖੋਜ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ।

o   I agree to take part in this research.

o   I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○   No○

o   ਮੈਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ/ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਸਾਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ: ਹਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ

Participant's signature : ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੇ ਦਸਤਖਤ

Participant's name: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):
ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ (ਅਗਰ ਉਚਿਤ):

Date: ਮਿਤੀ:

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.
ਨੋਟ: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਇਸ ਫਾਰਮ ਦੀ ਕਾਪੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੋਲ ਰੱਖਣ।

Appendix E: Consent Form (Parent/Guardian)

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

ਮਾਤਾ-ਪਿਤਾ/ਸਰਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਹਾਮੀ-ਪੱਤਰ (Parent/Guardian Consent form)

Project title: Intergenerational Language and Cultural Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ: ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੁਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ-ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਚਾਰ

Project Supervisor: Dr. Alison Booth and Dr. Ineke Crezee

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ: ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ ਅਤੇ ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜੀ

Researcher: Gurpreet Kaur

ਖੋਜੀ: ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ

o I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19/04/2018.

o ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਝ ਚੁਕਾ/ਚੁਕੀ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੇ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਮਿਤੀ 19/04/2018 ਵਿਚ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ।

o I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

o ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਵਾਲ ਪੁੱਛਣ ਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਲੈਣ ਦਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।

o I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

o ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਮਝ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਨੇਟਸ ਲਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਓਹਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਕਰਕੇ ਟ੍ਰਾਂਸਕ੍ਰਾਯਬ (ਉਤਾਰਾ) ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਉਗਾ।

o I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw my child/children and/or myself from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

o ਮੈ ਸਮਜਦਾ/ਸਮਜਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਅਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਜਦੋ ਵੀ ਚਾਹੁਣ ਬਿਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਏ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਾਂ।

o I understand that if I withdraw my child/children and/or myself from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to my child/children and/or myself removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of our data may not be possible.

o ਮੈਂ ਸਮਜਦਾ/ਸਮਜਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਅਗਰ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਕੇ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਯਾ ਤਾਂ ਹਟਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਯਾ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਸਟੇਮਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਇਜ਼ਾਜਤ ਦੇ ਸਕਦਾ/ਸਕਦੀ ਹਾਂ। ਹਾਲਾਂਕਿ, ਇੱਕ ਵਰੀ ਅਗਰ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਲਏ ਗਏ ਤਾਂ, ਡਾਟੇ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾਉਣਾ ਨਾ-ਮੁਮਕਿਨ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।

o I understand that information produced may be used in the future research for a PhD study at AUT.

o ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਬਚਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਬਣਨ ਦੀ ਹਾਮੀ ਭਰਦਾ/ਭਰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਸਮਜਦਾ/ਸਮਜਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ ਅੱਗੇ ਖੋਜ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ।

o I agree to my child/children taking part in this research.
o I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○   No○

o ਮੈਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ/ਚਹੁੰਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਸਾਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ: ਹਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ

Child/children's name/s :

Parent/Guardian's signature: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੇ ਦਸਤਖਤ:

Parent/Guardian's name: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ:

Parent/Guardian's Contact Details (if appropriate): ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ (ਅਗਰ ਉਚਿਤ):

Date: ਮਿਤੀ

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

ਨੇਟ: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਇਸ ਫਾਰਮ ਦੀ ਕਾਪੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੋਲ ਰੱਖਣ।

Appendix F: Assent Form

Assent Form

ਸਹਿਮਤੀ-ਪੱਤਰ

Project title: Intergenerational Language and Cultural Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurudwaras

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ: ਆਕਲੈਂਡ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ-ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਸਭਿਆਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਚਾਰ

Project Supervisor: Dr. Alison Booth and Dr. Ineke Crezee

ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ: ਡਾਕਟਰ ਐਲੀਸਨ ਬੂਥ ਅਤੇ ਐਸੋਸੀਏਟ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਇਨੇਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੇਜੀ

Researcher: Gurpreet Kaur

ਖੋਜੀ: ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੌਰ

o   I have read and understood the sheet telling me what will happen in this study and why it is important.

o   ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਝ ਚੁਕਾ/ਚੁਕੀ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੇ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਮਿਤੀ 19/04/2018 ਵਿਚ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ।

o   I have been able to ask questions and to have them answered.

o   ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਵਾਲ ਪੁੱਛਣ ਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਲੈਣ ਦਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।

o   I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

o   ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਮਝ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਨੋਟਸ ਲਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਓਹਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਕਰਕੇ ਟ੍ਰਾਂਸਕ੍ਰਾਯਬ (ਉਤਾਰਾ) ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਉਗਾ।

o   I understand that I can stop being part of this study whenever I want and that it is perfectly ok for me to do this.

o   ਮੈਂ ਸਮਜਦਾ/ਸਮਜਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਜਦੋਂ ਵੀ ਚਾਵਾਂ ਬਿਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਏ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ।

o   If I stop being part of the study, I understand that then I will be offered the choice between having any information that other people can know is about me removed or letting the researcher keep using it. I also understand that sometimes, if the results of the research have been written, some information about me may not be able to be removed.

o   ਮੈਂ ਸਮਜਦਾ/ਸਮਜਦੀ ਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਅਗਰ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੌਕਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਕੇ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਸੰਪਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਯਾ ਤਾਂ ਹਟਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਯਾ ਖੋਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਇਜ਼ਾਜਤ ਦੇ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ। ਹਾਲਾਂਕਿ, ਇੱਕ ਵਰੀ ਅਗਰ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਲਏ ਗਏ ਤਾਂ, ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾਉਣਾ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਿਲ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।

o   I agree to take part in this research.

o   ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਬਣਨ ਦੀ ਹਾਮੀ ਭਰਦਾ/ਭਰਦੀ ਹਾਂ।

Participant's signature :   ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੇ ਦਸਤਖਤ :

Participant's name : ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ :

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate): ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ (ਅਗਰ ਉਚਿਤ):

Date: ਮਿਤੀ:

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

ਨੋਟ: ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰ ਇਸ ਫਾਰਮ ਦੀ ਕਾਪੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੋਲ ਰੱਖਣ।

Appendix G: Surveys (English Version)

8-11 age-group

1. How old are you?
   8   9   10   11

2. Are you a boy/girl?

3. Please write this instrument's name in-

   o English _____
   o Punjabi _____
   o Hindi _____

4. If I were to speak my favourite language, it would be
   o Punjabi
   o Hindi
   o English
   o Any other language _____

5. I prefer going Gurudwara with my
   o Family
   o Friends
   o Both

6. My favourite thing to do in the Gurudwara is
   o Eating Prashad
   o Eating food
   o Doing prayers
   o Playing with friends

7. I attend the Gurudwara for
   o Festivals
   o Nagar kirtans
   o Daily prayers/kirtan

8. I attend class at the Gurudwara is
   o Punjabi language   yes/no

- Music   yes/no

1. What is your age?

   12   13   14   15   16

2. Are you a boy/girl?

3. Please write your favourite game in:
   o English _____
   o Punjabi _____
   o Hindi _____
   o Any other language _____

4. I attend the Gurudwara for
   o Festivals
   o Nagar Kirtans
   o Gurpurabs
   o Daily prayers/kirtan

5. Which language do you prefer speaking at home?
   Punjabi   English   Hindi   Other
   If other, which one_____

6. You attend the same Gurudwara every time you go
   o Yes
   o No
   If yes, Which one _____

7. Do you think attending the Gurudwara is
   o Very Important
   o Somewhat important
   o No important

8. You enjoy attending the Gurudwara on
   o Festivals
   o Gurpurabs
   o Nagar kirtans
   o All of them

9. Which language do you prefer speaking inside the Gurudwara?
   Punjabi   English   Hindi   Other
   If other, which one_____

10. Which class(es) do you attend in the Gurudwara
    o Punjabi language
    o Music or Kirtan (tabla, harmonium)

o   Martial arts

11. Do you do your regular prayers (Paath)?
o   Yes
o   No

12. If yes, how often?
o   Daily
o   Weekly
o   Monthly
o   Prefer not to answer

For adults

1. Do you have any children of the age-group 8-16 who you attend the Gurudwara with?
o Yes
o No

   If no, thank you for your time. You do not qualify for this survey.

2. Are you a mother or father?

3. Have you been in New Zealand
o Your whole life?
o Less than 12 years?

4. Where were you born? _____

5. How old are your child/children? _____

6. Which languages can you speak well?
   English   Hindi   Punjabi   Other
   If other, please specify_____

7. Which language do you prefer speaking at home?
   English   Hindi   Punjabi   Other
   If other, please specify_____

8. Do you attend your local Gurudwara?
o Yes
o No

9. If yes, how often?
   Daily   Weekly   Monthly   Prefer not to say

10. Which language do you prefer speaking inside Gurudwara?
   English   Hindi   Punjabi   Other
   If other, please specify_____

11. Is attending Gurudwara important to you?
o Very important
o Somewhat important
o Not important

12. Is attending Gurudwara important to your child/children?
o Very important
o Somewhat important
o Not important

13. Do you have a regular Gurudwara that you attend?
o Yes
o No
   Which one _____?

14. I feel my children valuing Sikh culture is
o Very important
o Somewhat important
o Not important

15. Which class(es) do your child/children attend at the Gurudwara?
o Punjabi language
o Music or Kirtan (tabla, harmonium)
o Martial arts

16. Do you think your child/children engage themselves with Sikh culture through these classes?
o Yes
o No
o May be

17. Which Sikh social gatherings in the Gurudwara do you attend?
o Festivals
o Sangrands
o Gurpurabs
o Any other _____

18. Which one do your child/children enjoy the most?
o Festivals
o Sangrands
o Gurpurabs
o Any other ____

Appendix H: Surveys (Panjabi Version)

ਸਰਵੇਖਣ 8-12 ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਬਚਿਆਂ ਲਈ

AUT

1. ਤੁਸੀ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹੋ?

   8   9   10   11

2. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਕੁੜੀ?

3. ਇਸ ਵਾਜੇ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀਆ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੋ-

   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____
   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ _____

4. ਜੇਕਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਪਸੰਦੀਦਾ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਬੋਲਣੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ

   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____
   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ _____

5. ਮੈਂ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਕਿਸ ਨਾਲ ਜਾ�ਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਗੀ/ ਚਾਹੁੰਗਾ

   o ਘਰਵਾਲੇ
   o ਦੋਸਤ
   o ਦੋਨੇ

6. ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਕਰਨਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਹੈ

   o ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਖਾਣਾ
   o ਲੰਗਰ ਖਾਣਾ
   o ਪਾਠ ਕਰਨਾ
   o ਦੋਸਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਖੇਡਣਾ

7. ਮੈਂ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਜਾਂਦਾ/ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹਾਂ

   o ਤਿਉਹਾਰ

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- ਨਗਰ ਕੀਰਤਨ
- ਰੋਜਾਨਾ ਪਾਠ/ਕੀਰਤਨ
8. ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਕਲਾਸ ਲਈ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਂਦਾ/ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹਾਂ
- ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ   ਹਾਂ/ਨਹੀਂ
- ਕੀਰਤਨ/ਸੰਗੀਤ ਹਾਂ/ਨਹੀਂ
- ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ_____

ਸਰਵੇਖਣ 12-16 ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਬਚਿਆਂ ਲਈ

1. ਤੁਸੀ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹੋ?

   12   13   14   15   16

2. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਕੁੜੀ?

3. ਆਪਣੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਜਾਂ ਪਿਤਾ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀਆ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੋ-

   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____

   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____

   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____

   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ _____

4. ਤੁਸੀ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਬੋਲਣੀ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ?

   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____

   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____

   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____

   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ _____

5. ਮੈਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਜਾਂਦਾ/ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹਾਂ

   o ਤਿਓਹਾਰ

   o ਨਗਰ ਕੀਰਤਨ

   o ਗੁਰਪੁਰਬ

   o ਰੋਜਾਨਾ ਪਾਠ/ਕੀਰਤਨ

6. ਤੁਸੀ ਹਰ ਵਾਰ ਇਕੋ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ

   o ਹਾਂ

   o ਨਹੀਂ

   ਜੇਕਰ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿਹੜਾ _____

7. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ

   o ਬਹੁਤ ਜਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ

   o ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਜਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ

   o ਜਰੂਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ

8. ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋ ਕਿਸ ਦਾ ਅਨੰਦ ਮਾਣਦੇ ਹੋ

   o ਤਿਓਹਾਰ

   o ਨਗਰ ਕੀਰਤਨ

   o ਗੁਰਪੁਰਬ

o   ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ

9. ਤੁਸੀ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਬੋਲਣੀ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ?
o   ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
o   ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
o   ਹਿੰਦੀ _____
o   ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ _____

10. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਕਲਾਸ ਲਈ ਤੁਸੀ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ?
o   ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ
o   ਕੀਰਤਨ/ਸੰਗੀਤ
o   ਗਤਕਾ

11. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀ ਰੋਜਾਨਾ ਪਾਠ ਕਰਦੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ?
o   ਹਾਂ
o   ਨਹੀਂ

12. ਜੇਕਰ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿੰਨੀ ਵਾਰੀ?
o   ਰੋਜਾਨਾ
o   ਹਫਤਾਵਾਰੀ
o   ਮਹੀਨਾਵਾਰੀ
    ਯਾਂ
o   ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ

ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਮਾਤਾ-ਪਿਤਾ ਲਈ

1. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ 8 ਤੋ ਲੈ ਕੇ 16 ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਤਕ ਦੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਹਨ ਜਿੰਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਾਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ?
   o ਹਾਂ
   o ਨਹੀਂ

   ਜੇਕਰ ਨਹੀਂ, ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਲਈ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਦੀ ਯੋਗਤਾ ਪੂਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ।

2. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਪਿਤਾ ?

3. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ New Zealand ਆਪਣੀ
   o ਪੂਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਰਹੇ ?
   o 12 ਸਾਲ ਤੋ ਘੱਟ ਰਹੇ ?

4. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਥੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਏ ? _____

5. ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਬੱਚਾ/ਬੱਚੇ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹਨ? _____

6. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵਧੀਆ ਬੋਲ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ?
   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____
   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ_____

7. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਬੋਲਣੀ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ?
   o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
   o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
   o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____
   o ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ_____

8. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਾਰੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ?
   o ਹਾਂ
   o ਨਹੀਂ

9. ਜੇਕਰ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿੰਨੀ ਵਾਰੀ?
   o ਰੋਜ਼
   o ਹਫਤਾਵਾਰੀ
   o ਮਹੀਨਾਵਾਰੀ
   o ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ

10. ਕਿਹੜੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਾਰੇ ਬੋਲਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ?
    o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ _____
    o ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ _____
    o ਹਿੰਦੀ _____

o ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤਾਂ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਤ ਕਰੋ_____

11. ਕੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ?

o ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

o ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

o ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

12. ਕੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਬੱਚਾ/ਬੱਚੇ ਲਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ?

o ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

o ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

o ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

13. ਤੁਸੀ ਹਰ ਵਾਰ ਇਕੋ ਗੁਰੂਦੁਆਰੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ

o ਹਾਂ

o ਨਹੀਂ

   ਜੇਕਰ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿਹੜਾ _____

13. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬੱਚਾ/ਬੱਚੇ ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੱਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਉਸਦੇ ਲਈ

o ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ

o ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ

o ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ

14. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਕਲਾਸਾਂ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਬੱਚਾ/ਬੱਚੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ?

o ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ

o ਕੀਰਤਨ/ਸੰਗੀਤ

o ਗਤਕਾ

15. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਕਲਾਸਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੱਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਜੁੜਦੇ ਹਨ?

o ਹਾਂ

o ਨਹੀਂ

o ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ

16. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜਕ ਸੰਮੇਲਨ ਲਈ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ?

o ਤਿਉਹਾਰ

o ਸੰਗਰਾਂਦ

o ਗੁਰਪੁਰਬ

o ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਹੋਵੇ_____

17. ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਸਭ ਤੋ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਕਿਸ ਦਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਮਾਣਦੇ ਹਨ?

o ਤਿਉਹਾਰ

o ਸੰਗਰਾਂਦ

o ਗੁਰਪੁਰਬ

o ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਹੋਵੇ_____

Appendix I: Indicative Questions for Interviews

Date Information sheet produced:

4/04/2018

Project Title

Intergenerational Cultural and Language Transmission in Auckland's Sikh Gurdwaras

The same questions are for the three participating groups: 8-11, 12-16, and Parents

1. Intergenerational context: Family units
a. How long have you been in New Zealand?
b. Where were you born?
c. Explain in family context – who live in your household?

2. Punjabi language
a. Do you think your children should learn Punjabi language (adult)? Why or why not?
b. Do you think you should Punjabi (kids)? Why or why not?

3. Community engagement
a. Do you have friends in the local Sikh community? Please explain.
b. Do you attend religious/social events in people's homes? Please explain
c. Do you attend cultural events at gurdwaras such as gurpurabs, festivals, or any other social function?

4. What do you enjoy the most when attending the gurdwara?
a. How often do you attend?
b. What are your favourite things?
c. When was the last time you attended was and what did you do?
d. Who do you go with?
e. Do you have favourite events and classes at the gurdwaras?

5. Language and cultural acquisition
a. Describe your practice of daily prayers; including where, how often, and in what language?
b. What language do you feel most comfortable speaking; at home, at gurdwara, with friends, and in the community (shopping, school, work, sports, etc.)?