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Familial Allocentrism and Ethnic Identity Salience Among Asian Indians Living in the United States

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Familial Allocentrism and Ethnic Identity Salience
Among Asian Indians Living in the United States

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Seton Hall University

2012

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES
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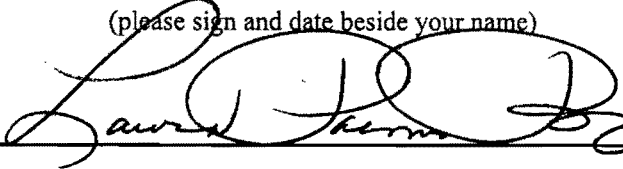
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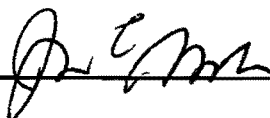
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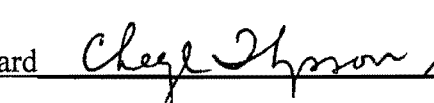
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents, Drs. Nagaraj and Sudha Dixit, who came from India and created the life they dreamed. I want to thank them for deeply instilling a scientific mindset within me that has brought me to explore the nature of my identity. They continue to show me that anything is possible with diligent effort, an ideal captured in the Sanskrit term “Bhakti,” meaning a deep devotion and love that drives action.

This work is also dedicated to my loving wife, Heema, who has seen me through all phases of this project. Our joint self-reflections on cultural identity often reminded me that I am not alone in the challenges of being bi-cultural. Her scientific mind always manages to see what I may have glanced over... and she is not afraid to tell me so.

Thank you.

Abstract

The family has been viewed as a unique social unit in that it is usually the most salient in-group (Lay, Fairlie, Jackson, Ricci, Eisenberg, Sato, Teeaar, & Melamud, 1998). We often learn about ourselves in relation to others in the world through interactions with family members. Many of the identities and corresponding role expectations we learn to adopt directly relate to the position we occupy in our family. Oftentimes, it is the family that serves to orient an individual to his or her ethnic identity. This study explored one's collectivistic identity in the context of family (familial allocentrism) as a predictive variable for the degree of Indian identity salience among Asian Indians in the United States. The main hypothesis posited that individuals who view themselves as interdependent or as collectively part of their family will report higher levels of Indian identity salience than those who feel more independent. Other variables that were examined included years spent in the United States and age at migration (for immigrants), as well as differences between first- and second-generation Indians. It was hypothesized that immigrants who arrived at an earlier age or had spent more years in the United States would display relatively lower collectivistic tendencies and lower Indian identity salience than those arriving later in life or spending fewer years in the United States. Lastly, it was hypothesized that second-generation Indians would be less collectively inclined and experience less Indian identity salience than their first-generation counterparts. Overall, results indicated that familial allocentrism was predictive of Indian identity salience. Limitations and implications are discussed.

Keywords: Asian Indian identity, collectivism, allocentrism, family, immigrants.

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Familial Allocentrism and Ethnic Identity Saliency
Among Asian Indians Living in the UNITED STATES

Chapter I

Introduction

India is the second-largest country in Asia and holds the second-largest population in the world at almost 1.2 billion people, which is about 17% of the world's population (Bhawuk, 2011). Between 1990 and 2000, Asian Indians increased in population from 815,000 to 1.89 million (Nandan, 2007). Among the geriatric population, it is said "this country is experiencing a 'browning' of the 'greying' of America" (Hayes-Bautista, D.E., Hsu, P., Perez, A., & Gamboa, C., 2002, p. 15). Asian Indians are an accelerating group of immigrants, making up the fourth-largest Asian immigrant group over age 55 in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2000). Currently, there are 2.15 million Asian Indians in the United States (Allied Media Corp, 2009). Yet, Indians are often omitted from research in social and work-related issues (Nandan, 2007; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Mehta, 1998). In pursuing research on Asians, the value of family must be considered when seeking to understand how an individual views the self. This study explored ethnic identity in relation to collective identification with the family among Asian Indians living in the.

Due to colonization and globalization, the influx of Western culture has promoted a natural evolution of Westernization in Indian society. However, immigrant Asian Indians and their families in the are often said to be more "Indian" than their families and friends residing in India (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). Many Indians in the United States experience the challenge of upholding family values (an artifact of collectivism), which may conflict with individualistically oriented goals. Immigrants may want to

achieve the “American dream” and display success for the family, while US-born Asian Indians are expected to retain Indian values. Navigating these conflicts often causes both intrapersonal and interpersonal stresses. This is one example of a source of stress unique to first-generation immigrants and has been identified as acculturative stress, Roysircar and Maestas defined it as “a specific kind of stress directly related to the process of acculturation and can be distinguished from general life stress and hassles” (2002, p. 78). Four critical areas of concern for ethnic-minority individuals in the pluralistic society that comprises the United States include racism and discrimination due to their immigrant/minority status, finding their place within the dominant culture, deciding how and how much of their ethnic and cultural heritage they will retain, and the cumulative stress associated with these factors (Roysircar & Maestas, 2000).

This struggle in identity is most clearly illustrated in one Indian’s statement (Rangaswamy, 2000):

It’s so hard to define what exactly an American is because we are in such a diverse country. My dress is mostly American, my eating habits are mostly Indian. And I’ve become comfortable saying, “I don’t have an identity.” I don’t have to have one. It sometimes frustrates me when people tell me I have to have an identity. I don’t know. Maybe we’re in a limbo stage when we’re not going to have one. (p. 6)

In addition, individuals may not always seek support within their community if they identify with individualistic ideologies. This may serve to further widen a cultural gap between generations. More specifically, one’s self-understanding in relation to the environment can alter their worldview. When an Indian is raised in the United States, the

environment with which he or she most immediately identifies is significantly different from the environment in which his or her parents and grandparents were raised (i.e., India). Even among immigrants, the acculturative experience varies across age groups, since cultural identification is largely a function of experience (Phinney, 1996). An Indian who is 45 years of age is likely to have more cultural experiences from which to develop a cohesive identity than a 15-year-old adolescent. In considering the above scenarios, it is clear that differences in self-perception among Indians can amplify generational gaps.

Other support systems Indians may connect with such as counseling centers, teachers, or peers may not share a similar culture and/or may not recognize the collective nature of Asian Indian identity. Traditional psychotherapy or counseling is fraught with Eurocentric assumptions that reflect certain assumptions on what is considered “healthy” or “normal” development. These ideologies are often informed by the gestalt of the time. For example, in the American, individualist culture, children are often expected to form their own life goals and support themselves once they are of age, between 18 and 30 years.

However, children in traditional Indian households often live at home and are supported by their parents through their young adulthood, until they settle with their own family. Even then, many families prefer to live in a joint family situation where the parents live with their children’s families. This interdependence is seen as the duty of each member and reflects a collectivistic culture where individuals “carry out their obligations and perform what is expected of them as specified by ingroup norms” (Triandis, 1995, p. 11). This also serves two functions: The adult children have their

parents' guidance and direct support in child rearing, while the parents have the satisfaction of contributing to their children's lives. While this is seen as normative behavior among the Asian Indian community, a Eurocentric perspective may view this as a failure to launch and may miss the essential function and role Indian parents serve through all parts of their children's lives. This is only one way that social structure manifests among the Asian Indian community. Similarly, families often have expectations for their children regarding how they should live their lives. In the process of growing up in a multicultural society, children are faced with choices about how they want to define themselves in relation to their peers and their family.

In a clinical setting, an individualistically minded therapist who approaches an Asian client struggling to define the self as an autonomous adult may guide the young adult to define the self as a separate entity from the family. This emphasis to individuate highly contrasts with expectations of a collectively oriented family to maintain harmony and serve a distinct, interdependent role (Lay et al., 1998). Depending on the family, the person's attempt to forcibly pull away from the parental unit may be construed as highly disrespectful and as an abandonment of familial responsibilities. This is one way that applying a Eurocentric framework to a population that holds different values (interdependence over independence) may not only be unhelpful but destructive. In order to make mental health services accessible and efficacious, we must understand the salience of ethnic identity, as well as the gravity that an individual's family has in his or her life.

This is just one of the many challenges of living in an increasingly diverse society, a result of US policy on immigration, which has opened doors to people from

around the world over that past several decades. The US Census Bureau (2008) projected that the minorities will increase their proportions of the total population while the non-Hispanic White population proportion will decrease. It is proposed that by 2050, non-Hispanic whites will constitute less than 53% of the US population while 16% will be Black, 23% will be of Hispanic origin, 10% will be Asian and Pacific Islander, and about 1% will be American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut. The fastest-growing race groups will continue to be the Asian and Pacific Islanders, increasing in size to 41 million by 2050.

However, Asian Indians have historically been misunderstood even in census data, as evidenced in several categorical changes. Asian Indians were classified as "Hindus" in census data between 1920 and 1940, as "White" between 1950 and 1970, and as "Asian or Pacific Islander" in 1980 and 1990 (Office of Management and Budget, 1995). This confusion reflects a system that may not understand the Asian Indian population, which may translate into an inability to effectively deliver services in a culturally competent way.

The experience of an immigrant living in America for the first time can be stressful (Mehta, 1998). Adjusting to different cultural norms, including language, food, and socialization are only some of the changes immigrants are faced with upon beginning a new life in a new land. Furthermore, raising children in a new country can present unique challenges. Children who have either immigrated to or have been born in the United States are faced with unique challenges as they negotiate their identity between the host and parent cultures (Kim & Omizo, 2008).

Research has revealed potential issues that Asian Americans face. When compared to their peers, young Asian Indians may experience increased family conflict,

heightened anxiety, low self-esteem, and poor school performance (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). Research also indicates that parents' relationship with both natal and host cultures directly influences their adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and psychological functioning (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). In order to understand the nature of cultural influence on ethnic minorities, two factors have been identified. Acculturation is the process by which ethnic minorities adapt to the dominant culture. This includes changes in values, beliefs, and behaviors as a result of living among members of the new culture (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). Enculturation refers to one's adherence to his or her parent or natal culture (Miller, 2007).

In one study on Indians in America, Mehta (1998) found that acculturation variables significantly accounted for 41% of the total variance in mental health scores, with perceived acceptance accounting for 19%, alone. In addition, cultural orientation, social and demographic variables (years of education in the United States, age, skin color, and family income) significantly accounted for 28% of the variance in mental health scores. Finally, the use of the English language was significantly positively correlated with mental health in Asian Indians.

Kim and Omizo (2008) examined acculturation and enculturation in relation to public and private dimensions of self-esteem, cognition, and general self-efficacy in Asian American college students. They found that acculturation was positively related to the membership dimension of collective self-esteem. Enculturation, or the degree to which individuals retain their ethnic identity, was also found to be positively related to the membership dimension of collective self-esteem. In addition, acculturation was positively related to cognitive flexibility, general self-efficacy, and the public dimension

of collective self-esteem. Finally, enculturation was positively related to the private dimension and the importance of the identity dimension of collective self-esteem. Clearly, one's level of acculturation and enculturation has an effect on the way an individual experiences life. Thus, evidence suggests that several variables are involved when considering the mental health of Asian Indians in America.

Statement of Problem

When considering the process of overcoming life challenges, collectivistic cultures generally mediate personal issues through an intricate social support network. However, the pressure to perform and uphold family values may be more than in individualistic cultures. In individualistic cultures, the pressure to uphold an organizational ideal in the private sphere (i.e., the family) may be relatively less demanding. However, the onus to define one's self though life goals is left to the individual, who may or may not be supported by a social network.

This is especially true of Asian Indian immigrants, whose social support network may not be as robust as that of their homeland. For a population that is accustomed to interdependence, this change is certainly an acculturative barrier. Thus, the unique stressors of Asian Indians must be understood within the context of ethnic identity as well as social identity.

Along the same lines, Negy, Shreve, Jesen, and Uddin (2003) found a positive relationship between ethnic salience and self-esteem among Hispanics and Whites. Factors that may moderate ethnic salience include experience with racism and acculturation. Umada-Taylor and Shin (2007) found that ethnic identity was related to self-esteem and moderated by one's group membership. More specifically, Asian

Americans living in the Midwest who reported having a clear sense of ethnicity also reported high levels of self-esteem. The authors proposed that the minority status of Asian Americans in the Midwest may have heightened the effects of ethnic salience in participants. These findings illustrate the importance of understanding ethnic salience as a factor in mental health.

In understanding how Asian Indians view themselves in relation to others, it is vital to examine social interactions in the context of the parent culture. Given that the Asian Indian culture is collectivistic in many ways, an Asian Indian immigrant in the United States may need to adjust to a social environment that demands individualistic tendencies. Even an Asian Indian born and raised in the United States must negotiate behaviors between home and school/office. Furthermore, the environment may serve to inhibit collectivistic tendencies by reinforcing individualistic traits or punishing collectivistic tendencies. This process may create a divide between how an individual perceives the self as an ethnic entity and his or her behavior.

For example, a child raised in a traditional Asian Indian household may be taught to be soft spoken and humble. However, this child may be noted as not participating in class because he or she may carry the value of humility into the classroom. This contrast may create a gap between how one must socially operate in the public sphere (e.g., school, work, recreational organizations, etc.) and how they see themselves within the private sphere (home, temple, etc.).

Such a premise requires one to negotiate his or her behavior across different situations, which may be a unique challenge. This process may require the individual to mediate between two identities, both of which are necessary to thrive in both

individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Since collectivism is part of Asian Indian culture, this gap may also affect one's awareness of the value of his or her native culture within his or her life. Furthermore, because an individual's family is the first in-group, this group most likely serves to introduce the individual to his or her culture. Thus, it appears that one's social identification with his or her family may affect his or her ethnic identification. The purpose of this study was to investigate whether collective identification with one's family could predict one's level of ethnic identity salience.

Theoretical Rationale

Ethnic categories and labels can be problematic in that their connotations may not be accurate in terms of space and time (Phinney, 1996). Thus, it is more than likely that being Asian Indian in the United States involves a set of experiences that are not shared by Indians residing in India. Furthermore, one generation of Indians may face unique social challenges to which their predecessors may not relate. Clearly, there is within-group variation in cultural experience that no one ethnic label can account for. In other words, even though two people may self-identify as Asian Indian, their experiences may be quite different. For example, they may have immigrated to the United States at different times, or one may have been born and raised in the United States. Depending on the demographics of an area, even one's place of residence may alter his or her sense of ethnic identity. Furthermore, the use of broad labels seems to propagate the distorted perception of inflated between-group variance (Qauttron, p. 25, 1986). In other words, the concept of a singular ethnic identity makes differences between an "Indian" and an "American" more salient than any similarities. Given that experience is one aspect of

ethnic identity (Phinney, 2007), variance among individuals on this dimension may connote a variance in ethnic identification within a group.

Ethnic identity is a social construct, a mind-set that is shared among members of a group. This frame of mind becomes a collective consciousness from which people view the world. The family can be seen as the first group to which an individual belongs and is generally “the most salient ingroup category in the lives of individuals” (Lay et al., 1998). It is this unit that is most likely to first introduce the person to his or her ethnic group, which is most likely to be the primary conveyor of culture. This is most clearly observed in language, food, cultural values, and implicit messages found in lifestyle. Thus, ethnic identity can be viewed as a function of the relationship between an individual and the family.

In support, Tajfel (1981) explained that in a process of social categorization, the different components (e.g., social objects or events, system of beliefs, etc.) of a group are brought together (p. 254). This process is internalized by members of a socially constructed group and serves the role of orienting an individual to find a place in society. If a society largely defines and provides the context for a cultural group and that society changes (e.g., through immigration), then the backdrop of the cultural group changes. Therefore, it would be difficult to expect that the cultural group, both individually and collectively, would view itself in exactly the same fashion as it did before the shift in society. This is seen in the aforementioned research on the relationship between geography and ethnic salience (Umana-Taylor & Shin, 2007).

In considering the above, it would be erroneous to use Asian Indian identity as it exists in India as a baseline to examine Asian Indian identity in the United States.

Although the current literature discussed the complex process of acculturation, wherein behaviors and cognitions are measured in relation to demands placed by the parent and host culture, such measures may not take into account the possibility that “ethnic identity may remain strong even when there is little direct cultural involvement” (Phinney, 1996). Overall, there does not appear to be a measure that takes into account how people see themselves in relation to others while considering the salience of ethnic identity.

Given that the current body of published literature does not appear to discuss the gap between social self-concept and ethnic salience, in this study I aimed to elucidate the relationship between cultural salience and collective identification among Asian Indians living in the United States.

Significance of Study

In order to make therapeutic services more accessible to groups who have traditionally underutilized psychotherapy (Nandan, 2007; Panganmala & Plummer, 1998), it is vital that we understand how members of the Asian Indian population conceptualize their identity. In addition, understanding how an individual views the self as part of a family unit in conjunction with ethnic salience may allow us to draw a relationship between the way he or she integrates with a group and the level to which his or her ethnicity defines him or her. It is only from this understanding that therapeutic approaches can be tailored to fit the needs of culturally unique populations. In the current study, I aimed to add to a growing body of literature on Asian Indians living in the United States. This knowledge may ultimately be utilized in the development of ethnic identity models and theories that are based on fundamentals of Asian Indian identity.

Definition of Terms

Individualism/Collectivism.

Individualism and collectivism are broad terms used to describe the way a culture views its constituents in relation to the whole. They are labels that denote general conditions of the social environment. More specifically, individualism is largely reflective of Western cultures in which one's unique identity and contributions are emphasized within the group (Triandis, 1995). In contrast, aspects of collectivism are usually found in Eastern cultures where the self is seen as a unit that is interconnected with the group (Lay et al., 1998). The unique aspects of each social orientation connote differences in self-construal, interpersonal relations, and approach-to-workplace situations.

Idiocentrism/Allocentrism.

As cultures vary in individualism and collectivism, so do individuals. As previously mentioned, individualism and collectivism refer to general trends in social behavior within a population. Triandis (1995) drew the distinction between cultural and individual social patterns using the terms *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* to describe individual dimensions of individualism and collectivism, respectively. Since identity and social patterns are largely dependent on social context, these constructs must be examined within a specific social sphere. This study focused on familial allocentrism, or one's sense of collective identity in relation to his or her natal family.

Ethnic Identity Salience.

Ethnicity is the set of cultural practices such as customs, language, and values of a social group (Helms, 2007). Ethnic identity "refers to commitment to a cultural group and engagement in its cultural practices (e.g., culture, religion)" (Helms, 2007, p. 236).

Phinney (2007) focused on two components of ethnic identity, exploration, and commitment. These two components appear related in that the secure, stable identity found in commitment rests on the foundation of ethnic understanding through the process of exploration (Phinney, 2007). The term *salience* serves to specify the degree to which ethnic identity is manifested within the individual's conscious awareness. For example, one's sense of ethnicity may be more pronounced within the home and less so in the workplace.

Exploration.

Phinney (2007) explained the element of exploration as an individual's efforts to seek experiences related to ethnicity. This appears similar to what Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) discussed as behavioral involvement. This may include multiple forms of learning about the ethnic group through reading, attending discourses, learning the language, eating ethnic food, and similar activities.

Commitment.

Phinney (2007) described the element of commitment as the degree of attachment to a group. This would require an individual to identify with the group's practices, values, beliefs, and other aspects of a cultural group. Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) discussed a similar construct of "attachment and sense of interdependence," which includes emotional involvement, a shared sense of fate or treatment in society, and a deep sense of identification with the group. A combination of these factors leads to a merging of the self with the group.

Family of Origin.

This study examined how people view the self in relation to the family that raised them. Thus, family of origin refers to the unit in which individuals grew up as children. This may include parents, caregivers, siblings, and relatives.

Indian.

Participants were given the opportunity to self-identify their ethnicity. Indian refers to anyone whose country of origin is India. These participants identified as first-generation Indians or immigrants. In addition, people who were born in the US or elsewhere and had two parents who identified as Indian, or who were from India, were considered Indian if the individual identified as such. These participants were identified as second-generation Indians. Additional broad labels include Indian American or Asian Indian. Other self-labels may include region/state-specific terms such as Karnatakan or Gujarati.

Research Question

In this study, I examined whether an individual's collective identification with his or her Asian Indian family predicted the degree of his or her ethnic identity salience. The variables included were years in the United States, familial allocentrism, and ethnic identity, which included exploration and commitment dimensions.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses determined whether ethnic identity could be predicted by measuring the degree of collective identification with one's family of origin.

Hypothesis 1: There will be a proportional relationship between familial allocentrism and ethnic identity salience. As familial allocentrism increases, Asian Indian identity salience will increase. Since the family is most likely the unit that

introduces and orients an individual to a culture, it is predicted that the more people view themselves as an extension of their family, the more they will seek culturally relevant experiences (exploration) and the more stable their group membership will be perceived (commitment).

Hypothesis 2: There will be an inversely proportional relationship between years spent in the United States and familial allocentrism. As the number of years an immigrant spends in the United States increases, familial allocentrism will decrease.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a proportional relationship between age at migration and familial allocentrism and ethnic salience. As age upon migrating to the United States decreases, familial allocentrism and Asian Indian identity salience decreases.

Hypothesis 4: Second-generation Asian Indians will demonstrate lower familial allocentrism and Asian Indian identity salience when compared to first-generation Asian Indian immigrants.

Limitations

This study included two general limitations. First, identity is not a static state but rather a fluid and dynamic self-view that can change with time and place. Therefore, it must be addressed from a developmental perspective. In order to truly embrace this approach, it is necessary to use a repeated-measures design, wherein participants are administered the survey instruments at multiple points during their lives. Second, participant responses are not paired with those of their family members. Thus, it is not possible to ascertain how the ethnic identity of parents or siblings may affect the participant.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Chapter II examines theoretical and empirical research on Asian Indians, ethnic identity, and the construct of individual -collectivism. The first section focuses on Asian Indians and includes an exploration of Indians in India, as well as Indian immigrants in the United States. Emphasis is placed on the vast diversity of subcultures in India and three unique waves of Asian Indian immigrants that came to the United States. The second section outlines several dimensions of ethnic identity. The third section discusses individualism and collectivism as they pertain to interpersonal styles. Examples are given to illustrate how the social norms of each could lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings.

Indians

India's diversity is displayed in its geography, culture, and people. Its land spans vast mountains, as well as wetlands, rainforests, and deserts. Climates range from tropical/monsoon in the south to temperate in the north. This variety in environments has inspired variation in cultures found in India. For one, its 1 billion people use 300–400 languages, which translates into 1,652 mother tongues (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner India, 2011; Bhawak, 2011). India is also religiously diverse, giving home to people of Hindu (80.5%), Muslim (13.4%), Christian (2.3%), Sikh (2.3%), Buddhist (1.9%), and Jain (0.4%) faith (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner India, 2011). Politically, India is divided into 28 states, each further divided into regions. Regions may share some similarities but maintain their distinct qualities in language, cuisine, clothing, art, literature, and cultural practices.

To illustrate the degree that these differences affect identity, Bhawuk (2011) explained that marriages across different regions are often treated as intercultural marriages. Bhawuk (2011) argued that the unique history of each region breeds a regional identity that may hold a greater salience for an individual than a nationalistic title (e.g., Indian). In addition, the caste system is often times used to identify the religious traditions of an individual. Alternatively, a single region or state may include several languages. So, one may identify as a Brahmin Tamil Iyengar from the state of Madras, while another may identify as a Brahmin Kannadica Iyengar from Bangalore. Both cities are in the southern state of Karnataka, but each has its unique culture in spite of sharing a religious affiliation. Although it may sound unpatriotic to self-divide a nation with a multitude of identifiers, acknowledging regional identity instills “cultural warmth” (Bhawuk, 2011, p. 90), even among fellow Indians.

Seen from another perspective, the specificity of identity is sensitive to the context. For example, an Indian introducing himself or herself to a non-Indian would identify as Indian, because it would be assumed that the person was not familiar with Indian sub-identifiers. However, that same individual would likely identify his or her city and language when introducing himself or herself to a fellow Indian. Given the dynamic nature of ethnic identity salience, as well as the array of identities found in the various states, regions, castes, languages, and religions, it would be difficult to find a singular Indian identity among the varied backgrounds. Even when one identifies as such, it is more than likely that one’s conception of “Indianness” is far more localized and narrow than an etic approach would account for.

To further appreciate the complexity of variance among Indians, Nandan (2007) chronicled three waves of Indian migrants to the United States. "Immigration waves sent different groups of Asian/Pacific Islander adults across the ocean at different times under different policy conditions" (Hayes-Bautista et al., 2002, p. 21). Thus, attention is given to the sociopolitical climate at each time period, which made each group unique in their life goals, acculturative trajectory, perspective on the United States, legal status, social status, and current issues and challenges. The three waves of Asian Indians entering mature adulthood were 1965–1975, 1976–1985, and 1990 onwards (Nandan, 2007).

The first wave of Indians (1965–1975) consisted of urban, middle-class young adults in their 20s and 30s who already held or were studying for their advanced degrees (Nandan, 2007; Rangaswamy, 2000). Most of these immigrants were men because traditional Indian families did not send their unmarried daughters out of the home on their own (Lessinger, 1995; Rangaswamy, 2000). They arrived with work visas and pursued the "American Dream," seeking career opportunities as medical doctors, engineers, scientists, and academicians, often settling in urban settings (Nandan, 2007; Rangaswamy, 2000; Lessinger, 1995). It should be noted here that the Asian Exclusion Act (1917) and the Immigration Act of 1924 were major factors in preventing Indians from entering the US workforce earlier (Nandan, 2007). The repealing of the Asian Exclusion Act in 1965 opened the doors for Indians, and changed the US economy (Nandan, 2007). Since the US Immigration and Naturalization Service preferred highly trained professionals, this cohort of Indian immigrants easily became permanent residents and citizens, which may also relate to the degree of their commitment to being part of the American culture.

The population in India translated into high competition for a few job postings, creating a dearth of work opportunities. This in combination with a lack of infrastructure and a socially stratified culture were reasons for many migrants of this generation to pave the way for their children (Lessinger, 1995). This generation of immigrants came from a culture that highly valued interdependence. This manifested in many ways: Adults would often (and still do) sacrifice for the well-being of their children and expect a deep sense of respect from their children. In addition, elders remain involved throughout the course of their children's lives, aiding with child rearing, as well as offering advice and passing cultural wisdom through life's challenges, while their children provide for them into their old age. Disrespect to elders in action or words, at any age, is a breach of protocol that maintains the social hierarchy. Many of the immigrants in the first wave did not have their family with them or regular visits to India, in turn, this sense of interdependence may have not existed or at least was not physically manifested. Thus, people of this generation were likely fending for themselves as they dealt with the social stressors of acculturating in a new country. However, since they were fluent in English, they were able to secure jobs across the United States, and less likely to become marginalized.

Overall, the first wave of Indian immigrants was able to hold a bicultural identity. They were able to adapt to European/American work culture while maintaining core aspects of their Indian heritage at home (Nandan, 2007). Most of this generation of migrants were men because Indian culture, especially at that time, traditionally restricted women's autonomy to seek careers and travel alone (Lessinger, 1995). Nandan (2007) noted that some Indians in this cohort married White American citizens and more readily adapted to US mainstream culture than their peers who found traditional Indian women

from India to marry. Of those Indians who had limited visits to India, their second-generation adult children and third-generation grandchildren consequently may not identify closely with Indian customs or relatives. This is one example of how the acculturation and immigration circumstances of one generation of immigrants affect that of future generations.

Currently, the first generation of immigrants is over 60 years of age. Many of the men in this generation continue to utilize their highly specialized training and work experience in the workforce. Their second-generation children are in graduate school and/or working and married (Nandan, 2007). A primary challenge for this generation is a lack of connectivity with their ancestral home. School friends and siblings may have emigrated from India to seek their own opportunities, and the passing of aging parents may have created a social environment unrecognizable to Indians returning home. Since this generation may not have had the same opportunities as later generations to visit to India, they may lack close bonds with extended family, which may further alienate them. These factors aside, some may consider moving back to India and quickly realize they have been acculturated to life in the United States. Returning to India would ultimately prove to be more of a change in culture than they may be willing to make at this time in their lives.

Like many immigrants, this generation faced racism. This struggle to gain acceptance and respect in society is best exemplified in the following quote from a doctor's wife (Rangaswamy, 2000):

It's a WASP world. Let's face it. And it stings. I feel across the board, there's discrimination. It's not very obvious, but it's there . . . We'll make money, we'll

vote, we'll gain in political clout, but we will be a separate little ball, molecules in the same atmosphere, coexisting, but not part of the same big ball. (p. 6)

To complicate things, growing up in India with joint families may create expectations that children (particularly first-born sons) will remain close and be able to care for them in their old age (Kalavar, 1998). While some second-generation children will remain in close proximity to their parents, others may not. This will leave those parents on their own to secure close attachments and care in their community. Their knowledge and familiarity with the system, including social services, may help them navigate this task. Even so, this generation is in a challenging position when it comes to feeling grounded in one culture. On one hand, they may expect to live their lives as they have seen their family live in India, and when they may not be able to live their life as such, they may not necessarily have a feasible way to fit back into their former life in India. However, Nandan (2007) noted that some immigrants of this generation have disengaged from a few Indian traditions and replaced them with American customs. Living mostly in urban settings offers more opportunities to interact and grow relationships with people from a range of cultures and backgrounds. However, the mechanism of this process—cultural replacement—is not clearly understood. Furthermore, it is not known whether there is a relationship between traditional Indian attitudes and the decision to immigrate to the United States. For example, Indians who chose to emigrate from India may hold a cultural identity that is different from those who choose not to emigrate. This could present a confounding variable because Indians who studied in the United States may represent a skewed sample of Indians. This serves as one

reason to study Indians in the United States and to understand them as potentially distinct from Indians living in India.

In terms of utilizing health services, Nandan (2007) reported that this generation of Indians is receptive to social services caring for them or their aging parents. Since seeking help from outside the family is not a traditional approach to problem solving, it appears that necessity has driven at least this dimension of cultural change. In a sample of 70 Hindus in the United Kingdom, Goodwin and Cramer (1998, p. 422) found that 80% would use a counseling service; however 76% "were insistent that the counselor should be someone who understood their culture intimately." Although Asian Indians may be open to mental health care services, these findings highlight the need to understand this population in order to formulate culturally viable interventions.

The second wave of Indian immigrants arrived between 1976 and 1985 (Nandan, 2007). Current immigrants from this wave are in their 50s and 60s, with children in high school or college. This group shares some similarities with the first wave in that most have become US citizens, have pursued career opportunities, and have sought to pave the way for educational opportunities for their children. Some couples arrived with both members highly educated, leaving wives to work outside of the home as well.

This generation of Indian migrants included Indians from other countries for reasons including the fleeing of political, economic, and social discrimination, as well as natural disasters. This subset of immigrants introduced a unique variation of culture. For example, an Indian participant from Guyana in Nandan's (2007) study reported cooking Indian cuisine with Guyanese flavor and worshipping Indian gods with her family but did not speak an Indian language. This exemplifies the dynamic nature of identity, whereby

an individual actively defines his or her cultural identity within the broader social context of his or her life.

From an acculturative perspective, dual-income families have been economically and socially successful, as they have participated more fully in mainstream culture than their first-generation immigrant counterparts. Thus, this generation expresses more biculturalism than those families who practice traditional gender roles. Those who choose to marry White Americans or second-generation Indians in the United States are inclined to become more assimilated than Indians who arrived with Indian spouses. One challenge to Indian parents of this generation is that their second-generation children were far quicker to adopt Western ideologies than they were. This created both generational and cultural gaps between parents and their children.

Another quality unique to the second wave of Indian immigrants is regular visits to India. Generally, Indians of this group are able to physically remain involved with relatives and childhood friends, as well attend important functions such as family weddings. In addition, they are able to care for aging parents, which may also give their children a greater connection with their ancestry than previous generations.

Unlike the first wave of immigrants, this generation has tended to settle in suburbia and consequently has experienced a contributed to a sense of loneliness when staying in the United States. However, immigrants of this generation often arrived alongside their extended family, including their parents. Thus, they were able to maintain aspects of their culture such as Indian food, language, customs, and other elements of daily life (Nandan, 2007).

Compared to the first wave of immigrants, Indian immigrants of the second wave had greater support from their extended family. Nandan (2007) argued that their close cultural ties led them to experience more cultural differences as they attempted to pass their cultural values and customs to their second-generation children. It was also noted that the acculturative experience of second-generation children of second wave immigrants is unique to children from first-wave parents. This outlines yet another dimension of variance among Asian Indians in the United States.

The third wave of immigrants migrated under the Family Reunification Act of 1990 between 1990 and 1999 (Nandan, 2007). Similar to some families of the second wave, these immigrants often included siblings and aging parents. However, many of these people were not as highly educated as their sponsors (Hodge, 2004) and relied on their sponsoring families for financial support. Some managed to work as small-scale entrepreneurs or maintain family-owned businesses such as gas stations, motels, and convenience stores (Rangaswamy, 2000). As noted by Hodge (2004), the lack of education may have made acculturation difficult due to language barriers and employment issues. In addition, their permanent residency status made them ineligible for many public social services (Nandan, 2007).

Elderly immigrants often immigrated to the United States and lived with their children (from the second wave) out of social necessity. They did not have the same sense of exploration of opportunities as previous waves of immigrants. Supportive friends and relatives of the elderly in India may have become deceased or may have migrated to the United States (Rangaswamy, 2000), which may have forced them to join their children in the United States, where they would be cared for in their old age. This subset

of the third wave has spent their retired life helping with their children's domestic life and child rearing. While this has provided an increased cultural connectivity for those living here, the sparse social infrastructure (especially in the suburbs) in comparison to that in India has led to loneliness among this cohort of Indian immigrants. Furthermore, the involuntary aspect of immigrating to the United States for some members of this generation has made acculturation even more difficult (Kalavar, 1998).

The following quote offers a window of understanding into the difficult position some grandparents occupy within their adult children's homes (Rangaswamy, 2000):

I shouldn't say this but we do provide valuable services. Whether our daughters-in-law are good or bad, they know that we look to proper functioning of the kitchen, we provide 100 percent baby-sitting, much better than any other, because we provide love and care as no one else can. I have also seen that when the children become ten and fifteen years old and no longer need baby-sitting, the grandparents have been made to cry and driven out of the house. This is the truth.
(p. 206)

Among the Indians of this generation are those who migrated specifically to establish permanent residency status in order to sponsor their other children. Many of these people planned to return to India upon the arrival of their children. However, in the process of waiting, they lost contacts with their social network in India and became financially depleted in their efforts to help their family realize the American Dream (Rangasawamy, 2000). This presented a difficult situation for this generation, rendering them immobile in a country in which they did not intend on settling and spending the rest of their lives. Much of this cohort of immigrants experienced loneliness and depression as

a result of this inability to return to their homeland and reconnect with their people in India (Nandan, 2007). Furthermore, because members of this generation were well past their formative years upon immigrating to the United States, living in a foreign country required a greater cultural shift for them than for immigrants of the first or second wave.

As can be seen in this discussion, the singular notion of “Indian” actually consists of a multitude of subidentities. Each wave of Indian immigrants experienced a unique social climate in the United States, as well as in India. Each set of circumstances uniquely impacted how one’s identity was formed and/or challenged. The life story of a 55-year-old Indian living in the United States for 30 years will certainly sound different from that of a 55-year-old Indian living in the United States for only 10 years. Although the process of acculturation may bear some resemblance between these individuals, the dynamic process of identity formation is a construct not always overtly displayed.

Ethnic Identity

Phinney (1996) discussed ethnicity as an identity, stating that it is not merely a categorical variable from which individuals can be labeled as “in” or “out.” Instead, she proposes that it is a multidimensional construct that is not uniform across all members of an ethnic group. Ethnic identity is dynamic: “It changes over time and context and must therefore be considered with reference to its formation and variation” (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 271). Ethnic identity comprises two major components, which include the process by which an individual interprets ethnicity and the degree to which an individual relates to this chosen social group.

Recent conceptualizations of ethnic identity are often based on Erikson’s (1968) ego identity perspective and Tajfel’s (1981) social identity perspective (Umana-Taylor &

Shin, 2007). Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as “that *part* of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 255). Tajfel limited his definition in order to focus on specific aspects of self-concept that are relevant to social behavior. According to Tajfel, when social identity is seen from this intergroup perspective, an individual creates social standing based on values and behaviors. Social identity naturally moderates group membership in the way it directs an individual to seek experiences associated with a certain chosen group.

Tajfel (1981) outlined four points that serve as the building blocks toward the “recognition of identity in socially defined terms” (p. 256). First, an individual will remain a group member or seek to become a group member if the group contributes to a positive sense of social identity. Second, if the group does not satisfy the social needs of the individual, then he or she will tend to leave unless it is either objectively impossible or leaving creates dissonance by breaking values associated with an acceptable self-image. Third, an individual has two solutions to the conflict presented in the former point: to adjust his or her interpretation so as to justify unwelcome aspects of group membership or to engage the group in hopes of changing the current situation. Fourth, every social group exists within the context of other social groups. Thus, an individual’s interpretation and reinterpretation of social standing is made only within the context of other groups. These principles, when combined, appear to account for the fundamental process of one’s identification with a group.

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) explored the multidimensional nature of collective identity, a term which refers to the subjective claim of belongingness

to a social group. In dissecting collective identity, several elements were made apparent through a survey of research. Self-categorization involves the label that a person gives himself or herself. For example, "Indian" is a label an individual may apply to indicate a sense of belonging to the Indian community. Although this may seem like a simple concept, the process of self-categorization engenders in-group loyalty and obedience to a set of prescribed behavioral norms. Several issues have been identified with this process, including the lack of consistency in self-labeling, which may be due to the identity that is most salient at the time of questioning. Another factor that prevents labeling from being a straightforward process is that the identification of being within the confines of a category is not always apparent to the individual (Huddy, 2001). Furthermore, people may be reticent to commit to a single category if they do not sense that they represent the "average" member or that they are marginalized within the group. Also, an individual may not admit to full membership if there is a perception that the category may be negatively evaluated, which relates to the evaluation component discussed next. For example, a person who practices a certain faith may downplay the level of involvement in the religious community (i.e., religiosity) if the individual is within a social context that does not support that faith or the practice of organized religion. When considering these factors, it clear that there is high variability in how individuals may come to associate with a group. In addition, the process of self-categorization is dynamic and relative to social context.

Evaluation is another major element of collective identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004), which comes into view once self-categorization has been established. This dimension refers to the attitudinal valence with which one approaches

his or her social category. This is distinct from importance (another dimension to be discussed) in that an individual may have a positive attitude about being an athlete but not rate this as important in relation to being Asian. Evaluation can be stratified into private and public regard. Private regard refers to an individual's valuing the self. For example, "I am happy to be Indian" is a positive private regard of ethnic identity. Public regard refers to an individual's perception of how others view their group. For example, "Most people think the social group I belong to is unproductive" would be an example of negative public regard. The Collective Self-Esteem (CSE) measure (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994) incorporates a private and public regard subscale. They found Whites to have significantly higher public regard than Blacks. Asians scored significantly lower in private regard than Whites or Blacks. Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) noted that measures of private and public regard can be impacted by an individual's consciousness of such evaluation. Similarly, Jackson's (2002) research on group identity successfully used a three-dimensional model to predict intergroup bias. This model consisted of three components: Cognitive, evaluative, and affective ties. Furthermore, as group identification increased, individuals reported exaggerated positive evaluations of the in-group while perceived conflict led to negative evaluations of the out-group.

If evaluation is the valance of one's self-appraisal, then importance can be seen as the weight of that appraisal on their overall self (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). This element is based on a hierarchical system and can be separated into explicit and implicit importance. The difference is one of conscious awareness. Whereas explicit importance is a self-stated appraisal of the value a collective identity brings to the overall

sense of self, implicit importance is more concerned with the nonconscious hierarchy of importance within an individual's system of collective identities. For example, an individual may identify his or her studentship as explicitly important, but he or she may not be entirely aware of the implicit importance of being Asian and its effect on his or her perspective on education.

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) discussed attachment and sense of interdependence as another element of collective identification that illuminates the emotional component of belonging to a group. Once a person has successfully self-categorized himself or herself into a group, a sense of belongingness ensues. Phinney (2007) described this sense of belonging as "commitment," referring to an attachment to a group. In the context of ethnicity, an individual who identifies as part of an ethnic group may come to see the fate of his or her associated group as his or her own. For example, an ethnic group's history, achievements, or suffering may be internalized by its constituents. Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) noted that even symbols that identify groups (e.g., a flag) can evoke an emotional bond, which reflects a need for belongingness.

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) noted that this level of group identification is relatively more complex than the previously discussed levels in that embedded in this level are three unique and overlapping cognitive elements. First, interdependence and perception of a mutual fate is achieved only when an individual believes that he or she is treated as a member of a group and not merely as an individual. This is not unlike being a member of an athletic team, whereby team attributes such as "winner" or "loser" are absorbed by each member. This effect clearly exists even among

sports team fans. Once an individual has come to have a sense of overlapping fate between the self and group, an element of affective commitment maintains a sense of attachment. This kind of commitment can predict in-group bias, which echoes Tajfel's (1981) discussion on social identity. Finally, Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) identified interconnection between the self and others as a third subelement of interdependence. This element appears to relate most closely to collectivistic identity. Tyler and Blader (2001) defined collective identity as "the degree to which people cognitively merge their sense of self and the group." This definition implies that there is an underlying cognitive process that permits an individual to sense the self as part of a group. As illustrated in an earlier example, what impacts the group impacts the self.

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) defined social embeddedness as "the degree to which a particular collective identity is implicated in the person's everyday ongoing social relationships." The authors noted this variable's relation to Stryker's "commitment" variable, which "is defined by the social and personal costs entailed in no longer fulfilling a role based on a given identity" (Stryker, 1980). These costs are understood as a "function of the strength of ties to others in social networks" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). One limitation of these definitions is that they assume that the collective identity in question is in operation, segregated from the array of identities an individual retains. Although these definitions may serve as good indicators of this element, it must be noted that an individual may be operating under the pretense of several parallel identities. For example, an individual may approach a familial situation as an Indian who is also a female, a daughter, and a sister. In such a context, being Indian may be a large part of how this individual relates to the situation, but being female may moderate the

degree to which she perceives the situation as an Indian. In this example, it would be naive to believe that both Indian men and women display the same social embeddedness. It is left up to future research to explore how parallel identities moderate each other.

Phinney (2007) explained the element of exploration as the individual's efforts to seek experiences related to ethnicity. This appears similar to what Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) discussed as behavioral involvement. This may include multiple forms of learning about the ethnic group through reading, attending discourses, learning the language, eating ethnic food, and other attempts to expand one's cultural awareness in both breadth and depth. This is perhaps the most overt expression of identity because it consists of observable behaviors that are measurable in terms of frequency and duration.

However, Phinney et al. drew a distinction between exploration and behavioral involvement in that exploration is a process that may grow over an individual's lifetime. Without exploration, one's emotional bond may be compromised, and it may be less secure and apt to change during the course of life experiences. The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) is one instrument used to assess one's ethnic identity through a combination of values, beliefs, and behaviors associated with the exploration and commitment variables of ethnicity (this is discussed in chapter 3). Other measures, such as the Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA) scale (Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992), place emphasis on language retention in measuring the degree of behavioral acculturation. Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) cautioned that this element must not be examined without consideration of the "opportunity structure" that a setting provides to engage in a behavior that is central to the individual's group. In

addition, one pitfall of assessing only overt behavior is that it is not necessarily indicative of beliefs. A person may behave in accordance with a collective identity (e.g., attend religious services) only to publicly display an identity without actually identifying with the group. In other words, it is difficult to measure the intentions of group-specific behavior, especially when the individual is ambivalent about his or her group identification.

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) identified content and meaning as a final element of collective identification. This element is not as tangible as those previously discussed, especially because it cannot be measured by any one scale. It may be considered as the "semantic space in which an identity resides." The authors deconstructed this element into three kinds of content that have been studied: Self-attributed characteristics, ideology, and narrative. One way of conceptualizing self-attributed characteristics is an individual's internalization of collective attributes of a group. In an extreme case, internalized racism is an example where a member of a nondominant group comes to devalue the self based on race stereotypes. Ideology refers to the individual's beliefs about his or her group's experience over time. This may include a collective dissatisfaction with representation in the public sphere, relative power, distribution of resources, and so on. Phinney (1996) specified factors such as economic, political, and sociohistorical variables that may affect one's beliefs about his or her group. Other factors that may contribute to such dissatisfaction are the cumulative set of experiences associated with holding a minority status, including discrimination, powerlessness, and prejudice (Phinney, 1996). This may also hold true for a collective sense of entitlement and power, which may serve to maintain the status quo. Lastly, the

narrative component of content includes the story that an individual holds to chronicle his or her membership within the social category in question. Clearly, this requires qualitative data, so few quantitative measures are available. In considering these three components of content, it becomes clear how they serve to inform one another and to build a self-portrait of an individual within the background of a chosen social group.

Individualism-Collectivism

In this discussion of collectivism and individualism, it must be made clear that these constructs are not mutually exclusive in that they exist along a continuum. Triandis (1995) described these terms as polythetic constructs: They are two aspects of the same entity. For example, a photographer may construe light both in terms of wavelength (sensed as color) and amplitude (sensed as brightness). Therefore, both color and brightness are necessary to accurately assess the lighting for a photographer's subject, in addition to a number of other descriptors (e.g., diffuse, direct, etc).

In addition, individualism and collectivism must be understood as broad descriptors of society that represent general inclinations or trends, rather than static rules of conduct. Every individual has his or her own proclivities in self-construal relative to his or her environment. Triandis (1995) drew the distinction between cultural and individual social patterns using the terms *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* to describe individual dimensions of individualism and collectivism, respectively. Thus, when individuals are discussed, their social tendencies are referred to as idiocentric or allocentric. When cultures are discussed, tendencies of broad populations are referred to as individualistic or collectivistic.

Triandis and Gefland (1998) identified two levels within collectivism and individualism—horizontal and vertical—yielding a total of four different social orientations: Vertical collectivism (VC), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC), and horizontal individualism (HI). Generally, the horizontal dimension places emphasis on equality across all members of a group, with the self perceived as similar to others. In contrast, the vertical dimension emphasizes competition and examining one's place in a hierarchical system. These four orientations represent distinct patterns found in self-regard, interpersonal relationships, and systems such as governments (Rokeach, 1973).

The Asian Indian culture, like many Asian cultures, is socially grounded in collectivism (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002), where the sense of self is generally defined within the context of the greater social sphere (e.g., family, organization, etc.). Oyserman and Lee (2008) viewed collectivism as a social system whereby individuals are interconnected through relationships and group memberships. For example, children of immigrants are often raised with the notion that their lives here are the results of the sacrifices their parents made to come to the United States in order to secure better opportunities for them. Thus, the choices, successes, and failures of a second-generation child are considered a testament to their parents. While this may also be the case in nonimmigrant families, the sense of immigrant status adds a dimension to parental expectations for their children to succeed. More specifically, immigrant parents often sacrifice vocational prestige, their way of life, and the comforts associated with direct familial support in their homeland to seek more opportunity for their children. This sacrifice is often made in hopes that their children will excel in school and thrive as

professionals. This is one example of how family members are interconnected in their motives, decisions, and actions.

Shulruf, Hattie, and Dixon, (2003, 2007) identified several dimensions that separate individualists from collectivists, including relation to the group, the need to belong to a group, the role of hierarchy, the use of language, and the role of family. Since a collectivistic attitude may allow an individual to maintain flexibility, such a person may view his or her goals as secondary to those of the group (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1998) and may make them somewhat hesitant to present novel ideas that may alter the group's path. In terms of the longevity of relationships, an allocentric attitude may render an impression of in-group stability that is not to be disturbed with personal motives. However, an idiocentric attitude may portray group membership as transient, with contributions viewed as segmented and with few (if any) ties attached to specific group members (Triandis et al., 1998). Thus, an individualistic orientation may lead one to exert a personal agenda on an in-group with relatively little concern for maintaining stability.

Along the same lines, when a conflict arises, people with allocentric tendencies are more likely to attempt preservation of in-group relations through mediation, whereas individualists may be more apt to seek justice (Shulruf, Hattie, & Dixon, 2003). This may intertwine with the sense-of-belonging dimension. Allocentrics are likely to determine their life satisfaction based on their ability to fulfill social obligations (Shulruf et al., 2003). This may cause such an individual to give in to others' demands rather than stand firmly by his or her original perspective. In the workplace, this difference in conflict-resolution style can certainly make the difference between being perceived as a

“pushover” and “go getter.” This also relates to adherence to hierarchy in the collectivistic mindset. Shulfur et al. (2003) explained that allocentrics tend to use hierarchy as reference for their status within an organization (e.g., work, school, or social club), whereas individualists may view it more as a ladder to ascend, often times in direct competition with their peers. To a supervisor from an individualistic culture, this may make a collectivist seem as though he or she were not as competitive as his or her individualistic counterpart. On this note, it is important to remember that more-recent immigrants arriving from India may already be acclimated to work and home environments because the workforce has experienced Westernization as economic globalization takes place.

The nature of competition also relates to the collectivistic tendency to emphasize personal relationships over tasks. This is underlined by the emphasis that collectivist cultures place on interdependence over independence (Triandis et al., 2003). Idiocentrics are relatively more task-oriented and tend to see relationships as secondary to the goal. In the workplace, this may bring about some miscommunication. An idiocentric supervisor may perceive an allocentric subordinate as not being task-oriented. A collectivistic worker may feel unsupported next to an individualistic colleague who may appear indifferent.

In addition, the expectations of being in a working relationship may be different. For example, relationships in collectivistic cultures tend to be involved with diffuse responsibilities and last relatively longer than those of individualistic cultures (Triandis et al., 2003). In contrast, individualistic cultures tend to view relationships as more transitory and lasting for as long as it takes to accomplish the group goal. Since in-group

responsibilities are segmented and clearly defined for each group member, there is little tolerance for ambiguity. This may also contribute to cross-cultural miscommunication between colleagues. Even more, this may cause or increase cultural mistrust among an organization's workforce.

Communication is yet another domain that has been found to vary between allocentrics and idiocentrics. Communication in collectivist cultures has been observed to be relatively indirect, often referring to the self in relation to the family or other organizations (Shulfur et al., 2003). This has been correlated with emotional restraint and the desire to maintain harmony within the group (Shulfur et al., 2003). This may be viewed by colleagues or supervisors as not being open and even be construed as disingenuous. However, one's style of referring to the self reflects a contextual approach to self-identification.

It should be noted that this discussion artificially dichotomizes the construct of individualism-collectivism. This is necessary to draw important distinctions, even if many are shared between members of different cultures. In reality, this notion is experienced both at the cultural and individual levels along a continuum. Although individualism and collectivism may present as polar opposites, Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002) explained they are more accurately viewed as worldviews that differ in the issues they make salient. Furthermore, different environments can elicit different tendencies in an individual. In other words, an individual may be able to modulate his or her individualistic-collectivistic attitudes depending on group dynamics.

Depending on the organizational culture and evaluative tendencies, an individual who is allocentric in nature may be evaluated as a "team player" or "unmotivated." On

the other hand, an individual who displays idiocentric tendencies may be viewed as a “strong leader” or “maverick.” Clearly, there is a gap between the cultural backdrop of an individual’s adopted organizational identity and how he or she is perceived and evaluated. In an individualistically oriented organization, this may place stressors on an individual from a collectivistic culture.

Understanding the nature of collectivism may shed light onto the contrasting roles an Asian Indian holds between the private sphere (where collectivism may be more salient) and the public sphere (where individualism may be more salient). Asian Indians raised with a collectivistic identity who adopt more individualistic identities may create a psychological gap between the private and public spheres. This may have a latent effect on their stress levels as they mediate between two culturally unique identities. At the same time, Asian Indians who maintain their allocentric mind-set within organizations that foster individualistic cultures may experience the struggle of miscommunication with colleagues or criticism from supervisors who may expect more individualistically driven behaviors, which may serve as a unique source of stress. Once again, this discussion of cross-cultural differences between collectivism and individualism are quite broad in scope. In addition, as the globalization of the world economy progresses, the workforce in historically collectivistic cultures, such as that found in India, are bound to be influenced by individualistic modes of business and lifestyle.

Hofstead’s IBM study produced an individualism index of 50 countries and three regions (Hofstead, 2001, p. 215). India scored 48 out of 100 (mean = 53, $SD = 25$), indicating Indians living in India are moderately individualistic with respect to 49 other countries. This supports Sinha and Tripathi’s argument that both individualist and

collectivist orientations coexist within individuals of the Indian culture (as cited by Hofstede, 2001, p. 123). This provides evidence for the concepts of individualism and collectivism being more continuous than dichotomous.

However, the process of engaging an identity that is more indicative of an individualistic or collectivistic approach in one's own country is certainly different from the same process occurring in a foreign country. For example, the existing support structure in the United States may be sparse compared to that in India. Consequently, there may be less buffering from stressors stemming from navigating behaviors between cultures. Hofstede's work certainly illuminates the topic and provides some background on the topic in relation to Indians in India. However, it cannot necessarily be used as a baseline reference for Indian social identity in the United States because it does not take into account the natural processes of acculturation.

Asian Indians in the United States are bound by a social context that demands certain characteristics to be manifested over others. For second-generation Asian Indians, varying social contexts (e.g., school, work, etc.) place expectations on their behavior that are dissimilar to expectations in the home. Furthermore, the second generation may be prone to adjust its ethnic identity according to the majority culture due to a social context to which the first generation cannot relate. This cultural gap in mutual understanding may be largely attributed to a difference in the social environment in which the formative years of the first generation were lived.

Summary

The aim of this chapter was to examine Asian Indian culture in the context of addressing the needs of this population. As discussed, it would be difficult to use a singular set of characteristics that universally represent all Indians. There are many layers

to the complexity of Indian identity, including the multitude of subcultures to which India is home. The broad range of experiences among Indians arriving to the United States under different conditions introduces yet another level of variability in this population. Research on ethnic identity was discussed to provide a framework to understand Indian experiences in the United States. Finally, individualism and collectivism were explored to illustrate how social identity may differ between Indian and American culture.

Chapter III

Methods

This chapter explains how this study was conducted. This includes the inclusion criteria for participant selection, as well as the process by which participants were contacted. Next, the statistical design of the study is discussed, including specific procedures conducted in order to test the aforementioned hypotheses. Last is an in-depth description of the instruments utilized in this study.

Participants

This study utilized a snowball sample. Asian Indians known to the researchers were sent an e-mail request to participate in a research study. In order to be selected in this study, participants must have been at least 18 years old, have self-identified as Asian Indian, and currently live in the United States.

Participants were sent a solicitation e-mail explaining a general outline of the study (see Appendix B). The researchers provided all participants with the website address (ASSET) for the survey to be accessed. Participants were instructed to enter their initials and their month and year of birth (e.g., VND1983) to begin the survey. This approach ensured that each participant only took the survey once and there were no duplicate accounts created. Once the link was accessed, the instructions, a demographic sheet, and two brief rating scales were presented (see Appendices C, D, and E). Completion of the above information served as implied consent.

People had the option to voluntarily take part in the study, and they were also asked to forward the call for participants to anyone they knew who fit the study inclusion

criteria. There was no penalty for not completing the research study, and the decision to participate or not participate was completely voluntary, with no incentive.

Participants were informed that their names were not required for this study and that their responses would not be linked to their identity, thus guaranteeing their anonymity. The participants' names never appeared on the survey, making it impossible for the researcher to link online responses with the participants' identity.

Design and Data Analysis

This study design was a nonexperimental, nonrandomized study because it did not use random assignment to groups and did not use multiple waves of measurement (e.g., pre- and posttest). Power analysis revealed that this study would require a minimum of 76 participants. To test the hypotheses in this study, multiple regression analysis was utilized to examine whether familial allocentrism and years in the United States were predictive of ethnic identity salience. This statistical procedure examined the predictive power of the predictor variable (i.e., familial allocentric identity and years in the United States) and the criterion variable (i.e., Asian Indian identity salience). In addition, a Pearson R correlation was conducted to assess the relationship between familial allocentrism and exploration and commitment factors of ethnic identity. Finally, a MANOVA was conducted to assess the differences in familial allocentrism and Asian Indian identity salience between first-generation immigrants and second-generation Asian Indians. Finally, post hoc analyses were employed to examine possible relationships between demographic variables, such as age and gender, with familial allocentrism and Asian Indian identity salience.

Instruments

Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale (FAIS)

The Family Allocentrism Scale (Lay, Fairlie, Jackson, Ricci, Eisenberg, Sato, Teeäär, & Melamud, 1998) began with an initial pool of 87 items that consisted of three domains. Forty-six items referred to family, 23 items referred to friends, and 18 items referred to classmates at school. Participants responded with a 5-point Likert type scale. This questionnaire was administered to 211 university students in Canada. This sample included two major subgroups: The “Western” sample included 82 females and 71 males and consisted mainly of Canadians and migrants from the United Kingdom and Western Europe. The “Eastern” sample included 34 females and 19 males and consisted mainly of Chinese Canadians, Chinese, and East Indians. Item analysis was conducted to compare the score for each item to the overall Family Scale score. This process revealed 20 items that related above $r = .30$ to the Family Scale score. These items met this contingency across both the Western and Eastern samples, which prevented item selection from being influenced by cultural bias.

The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 21 items and was designed to measure the level of an individual’s allocentrism/idiocentrism in the context of the immediate family. Participants were given a 5-point Likert-type scale for each item, ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*, yielding the lowest possible score of 21 and highest of 105. The FAIS is a bipolar, unidimensional scale, meaning that low scores indicate high idiocentrism and high scores indicate high allocentrism.

Sato (2007) demonstrated the value of the FAIS on 250 ethnically diverse participants in a metropolitan city in Canada. The instrument demonstrated a relatively

high internal consistency ($\alpha = .84$). Family allocentrism was positively correlated with horizontal collectivism ($r = .36$), vertical collectivism ($r = .60$), as well as interdependence ($r = .54$). In addition, the measure was negatively correlated with horizontal individualism ($r = -.15$), vertical individualism ($r = -.17$), and independence ($r = -.13$). Since the FAIS demonstrated a higher correlation with collectivism than individualism, it was noted that this measure was primarily an indicator of allocentrism.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R)

The original Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was developed in response to group-specific measures with the goal of creating an instrument that could measure ethnic identity across a range of ethnic groups. In turn, core components of ethnic identity were included, such as a sense of belonging, achieved identity, and involvement in ethnic practices. However, content-specific questions such as ethnic values were purposely excluded because values are specific to ethnic groups. A study utilizing a large sample of 5,423 adolescents from an array of ethnic groups in the southwestern United States (Roberts et al., 1999) revealed two factors: exploration and commitment. Exploration included the individual efforts to become familiar with cultural practices. Commitment included positive affirmation of one's group and a stable sense of commitment to the group. Lee and Yoo (2004) found a similar factor structure using a sample of Asian American college students. Although they found a three-factor solution, Phinney (2007) noted that one factor was similar to exploration and two (clarity and pride) were similar to commitment when combined. Although there was some discrepancy in modeling of the MEIM, exploration and commitment are key components of ethnic identity as measured by the MEIM.

More recently, Phinney and Ong (2006) used exploratory and then confirmatory factor analysis to test alternative theoretical models of a revised 10-item ethnic identity measure on a sample of 192 ethnically diverse university students. This version demonstrated good internal consistency, with Cronbach's alphas of .83 and .89 for exploration and commitment, respectively. The authors then eliminated items with low factor loadings, leaving three items for each of the two factors, yielding the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney, 2007).

Each of the six items were rated by the participants along a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*, with 3 as a neutral position. Items 1, 4, and 5 assessed exploration, and Items 2, 3, and 6 measured commitment. The score was calculated as the mean of item responses within each subscale (exploration and commitment) or that of all six items.

Phinney (2007) found that exploration and commitment correlated ($r = .74$). In addition, both factors demonstrated good reliability, with exploration demonstrating a Cronbach's alpha of .76 and commitment demonstrating a Cronbach's alpha of .78. The combined six-item scale demonstrated an alpha of .81.

Chapter IV

Results

This section summarizes the statistical findings for each hypothesis postulated. In addition, findings for exploratory questions are also examined.

Demographics

The present study examined 105 participants. Sample demographic characteristics are summarized in Table 1. The sample comprised 51 males and 54 females ranging in age from 18 to 70 years. Participants were primarily Indians following the Hindu faith ($n = 71$). First-generation immigrant Asian Indians ($n = 58$) and second-generation American-born Asian Indians ($n = 47$) were both well represented. The majority of participants were either single ($n = 64$) or married ($n = 38$). The recruited sample included 38 students, as well as participants who reported completing undergraduate college education ($n = 47$) and earning a graduate degree ($n = 49$). Participants in this sample were primarily located in the northeast region of the United States ($n = 91$), and 46 participants reported earning over \$60,000 annually. Participants migrated to the United States from birth through 34 years of age ($M = 18.2$, $SD = 10.5$) and spent an average of 19.2 ($SD = 9.6$) years in the United States (range = 2 to 43 years).

Table 1

Overall Demographic Characteristics (n = 105)

	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Male	51	49
Female	54	51
Age		
18-24	28	27
25-30	37	35
31-40	23	22
41-50	5	4.7
51-60	8	7.6
61-70	4	3.8
Generation		
1 st	58	55
2 nd	47	45

Study Hypotheses

Prior to testing the study hypotheses, means and standard deviations for primary study variables were calculated and are presented as Table 2.

Table 2.

Descriptive Statistics for Primary Study Variables

	Mean	SD
MEIM Total	3.80	0.68
MEIM Explore	3.76	0.79
MEIM Communication	3.84	0.83
Cultural Identity Average	3.01	0.92
Cultural Identity Difference	-0.38	0.83
FAIS Total	73.03	9.10

Hypothesis 1. The first study hypothesis stated that familial allocentrism will predict ethnic identity salience such that increases in familial allocentrism will be associated with increases in Asian Indian identity salience. More specifically, it was predicted that the more people view themselves as an extension of their family, the more they will seek culturally relevant experiences (exploration) and the more stable their group membership will be perceived (commitment). This hypothesis was addressed using a linear multiple regression analysis with standard entry of study variables. The coefficients for the multiple regressions analysis are summarized in Table 3. The results provided evidence to support the hypothesis, as the analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing regression to residual variance revealed a significant model: $F(1, 104) = 17.297, p < .001$. The model accounted for 14.4% variance in ethnic salience, with FAIS emerging as the only significant predictor, $t = 3.225, p = .002$.

Table 3

Hypothesis I: Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
MEIM-R					17.3	.001	
	1.664	.516		3.225		.002	
(Constant)							
FAIS	.029	.007	.379	4.159		.000	.379

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised;

FAIS = Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale

When examining the predictability of FAIS on the exploration component of the MEIM-R, the ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(1, 104) = 8.377, p = .005$. FAIS accounted for 7.5% of the variance in the exploration component of ethnic salience and was a significant predictor: $t = 2.894, p = .005$. The coefficients for the multiple regression analysis are summarized in Table 4.

When examining the predictability of FAIS on the commitment component of the MEIM-R, the ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(1, 104) = 19.992, p < .001$. FAIS accounted for 8.2% of the variance in the exploration component of ethnic salience and was a significant predictor: $t = 4.471, p < .001$. The coefficients for the multiple regression analysis are summarized in Table 3.

Table 4

Hypothesis I: Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
MEIM-R (explore)					8.37	.005	
(Constant)	2.153	.771		2.791		.008	
FAIS	.022	.011	.291	2.041		.047	.291
MEIM-R (commit)							
(Constant)	1.087	.621		1.750		.083	.403
FAIS	.038	.008	.403	4.471		.000	

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup *Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised*,

FAIS = *Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale*

Hypothesis II. The second study hypothesis predicted that there will be an inversely proportional relationship between years spent in the United States and familial allocentrism among first-generation Asian Indian immigrants. As the number of years an immigrant spends in the United States increases, familial allocentrism will decrease. A bivariate Pearson *r* correlation was used to test this hypothesis. Overall, the results did not provide evidence to support the hypothesis. Specifically, a weak and nonsignificant positive relationship was observed ($r = .013$, $p = .462$).

Hypothesis III. The third study hypothesis expected that there will be a proportional relationship between age at migration and familial allocentrism and ethnic

salience. As age upon migrating to the United States decreases, familial allocentrism and Asian Indian identity salience will decrease. A bivariate Pearson r correlation was used to test this hypothesis. Overall, the results did not provide evidence to support the hypothesis. No significant correlations were observed between age at migration and familial allocentrism ($r = .117, p = .210$) or ethnic salience ($r = -.134, p = .178$).

Hypothesis IV. The fourth study hypothesis expected that second-generation Asian Indians will demonstrate lower familial allocentrism and Asian Indian ethnic salience when compared to first-generation Asian Indian immigrants. This hypothesis was addressed using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Overall, the results did not provide evidence to support the hypothesis. Specifically, the MANOVA revealed no significant effects between generations in familial allocentrism— $F(1, 104) = 1.048, p = .308$ —or ethnic salience— $F(1, 104) = 1.903, p = .171$.

Exploratory Analyses

Another variable of interest in predicting ethnic identity salience for first-generation Indians was years of education completed in the United States. The ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(2, 48) = 5.359, p = .008$. A multiple regressions analysis revealed the combination of years of education in the United States and FAIS scores to account for 18% of the variance in MEIMs scores. Years of education in the United States emerged as one significant predictor: $t = 2.256, p = .029$. FAIS scores emerged as another significant predictor: $t = 2.745, p = .008$. The coefficients for the multiple regression analysis are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

Exploratory Study (First Generation): Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
<hr/> MEIM-R						
(Constant)	1.323	.866		1.528	.133	
FAIS	.031	.011	.364	2.745	.008	.358
Years of Education in US	.030	.013	.299	2.256	.029	.294

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised,*FAIS* = Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale

When examining second-generation Indians, results identified familial allocentrism as a predictor of ethnic identity salience. Specifically, the ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(1,45) = 14.424, p < .001$. The model accounted for 24.3% of variance in ethnic salience, with FAIS emerging as a significant predictor: $t = 3.798, p < .001$. The coefficients for the multiple regression analysis are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

Exploratory Study (Second Generation): Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
<hr/> MEIM-R <hr/>						
(Constant)	1.299	.635		2.045	.047	
FAIS	.033	.009	.493	3.798	.001	.493

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised,*FAIS* = Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale

When examining second-generation Indians and the ability for FAIS scores to predict the exploratory component of the MEIM-R, the ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(1, 45) = 4.167, p < .05$. FAIS accounted for 8.5% of the variance in the exploratory component of ethnic identity salience. FAIS was a significant predictor: $t = 2.041, p < .05$. The coefficients for the multiple regressions analysis are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Exploratory Study (Second Generation): Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
MEIM-R (explore)						
(Constant)	2.153	.771		2.791	.008	
FAIS	.022	.011	.291	2.041	.047	.291
MEIM-R (commit)						
(Constant)	-.145	.896			-.162	.872
FAIS	.053	.012	.541	4.315	.000	.541

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised,

FAIS = Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale

When examining second-generation Indians and the ability for FAIS scores to predict the commitment component of the MEIM-R, the ANOVA revealed a significant model: $F(1, 45) = 14.424, p < .001$. FAIS accounted for 24.3% of the variance in the commitment component of ethnic identity salience. FAIS was a significant predictor: $t = 3.798, p < .001$. The coefficients for the multiple regressions analysis are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8

Exploratory Study (Second Generation): Coefficients for Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (Standardized)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial
<hr/>						
MEIM-R						
(Constant)	1.299	.635		2.045	.047	
FAIS	.033	.009	.493	3.798	.000	.493

Note. MEIM-R = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised,*FAIS* = Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale

Chapter V

Discussion

This section restates the value of this study, as well as what it sought to achieve. It also interprets the data summarized in chapter 4, including the four main hypotheses and several exploratory studies. A discussion of future research goals and clinical implications follows.

Summary

This study explored whether collectivistic identity in the context of family can predict the degree of Indian identity salience among Asian Indians in the United States. The main hypothesis posited that individuals who view themselves as interdependent or collectively part of their family (familial allocentrism) would report higher levels of Indian identity salience than those who report being more individualistically oriented toward their family (familial allocentrism). In addition, first-generation Asian Indian immigrants were compared to second-generation Asian Indians born in the United States. Since ethnic identity has been previously linked to mental health, findings of this study serve to further illustrate the importance of understanding ethnic salience. This knowledge can be eventually used in tailoring therapeutic approaches to better meet the needs of Asian Indians living in the United States.

Main Hypotheses

Hypothesis I. The first study expected familial allocentrism to be predictive of ethnic identity salience among first- and second-generation Asian Indians, such that as familial allocentrism increased, Asian Indian identity salience would increase. Findings suggested that familial allocentrism might influence the degree of Asian Indian ethnic

salience. In other words, the more individuals view themselves as an extension of their family (familial allocentrism), the more they actively engage their ethnic identity as Asian Indians (ethnic identity salience). Ethnic identity was further examined through its components: exploration and commitment. This study found that the manner by which an individual relates to his or her family influences the seeking of culturally relevant experiences (exploration) and the perception of stable group membership (commitment).

It must be noted that a limitation of this sample was that a majority of first-generation Indians were under the age of 40 years. Many of these Indians emigrated later, in their 20s, when their identities were more likely to be solidified. In addition, an immigrant who emigrated from India 40 years ago did so in a vastly different socioeconomic climate than an Indian emigrating within the last 10 to 20 years. When considering the general Westernizing of Indian culture, migrating from India more recently is likely to lessen some differences in culture experienced by first-generation immigrants. Lastly, future research on Indian immigrants would benefit from assessing for variables associated with the experience of acculturation, such as changes in socioeconomic status and whether they had support from friends or family upon migrating to the United States.

Hypothesis II. The second study revealed no significant relationship between the number of years an immigrant spent in the United States and his or her way of associating with his or her family in an allocentric or idiocentric fashion. This finding may be attributed to the nature of the sample and, more importantly, certain factors that were not measured. For example, most of the sample was under the age of 40, which might have limited the amount of variation observed in this subsample. In another example, an Indian

immigrant from a large city who emigrated at the age of 8 may be more similar to his US-born counterpart than an Indian who emigrated from a small village at the age of 28 with her US-born counterpart. Along these lines, the circumstances of emigration, as well as the nature of the immigrants' living situations when immigrating to the United States (e.g., access to family in the United States, ability to secure academic or job placement, etc.), must be considered in order to develop a clear perspective of the immigrant experience. Since these factors were not assessed, it is unclear whether this sample of first-generation Indian immigrants was exposed to Western culture prior to emigrating to the United States and their socioeconomic status upon arrival in the United States.

Hypothesis III. The third study revealed no significant relationship between age at migration and familial allocentrism and ethnic salience. This was likely due to a limited age range within the sample of first-generation Indian immigrants. Most participants were 40 years of age or younger and immigrated to the United States in their 20s. A greater correlation may have been found if the first-generation sample had included Indians who had immigrated during their formative years or if the sample had included immigrants older than 40. Other methodological limitations that may have played a role in this finding and would be further explored in the limitations section.

Hypothesis IV. The fourth study revealed no significant differences in familial allocentrism and Asian Indian ethnic salience across generations. This was likely due to two limitations of the sample; both first- and second-generation samples were limited in age range and most first-generation Indians in the sample immigrated only after their formative years of identity. This combination of limiting factors caused the first- and second-generation samples to be rather homogeneous. An intergenerational difference

may have been observed if the first-generation sample had included more Indians who had immigrated during their formative years or if the sample had included immigrants older than 40. Alternatively, if the second-generation sample included Indians in older age groups, there may have been a more even intergenerational comparison with age held constant. Other methodological limitations that might have played a role in this finding are further explored in the limitations section.

Exploratory Studies

When considering variables of interest in relation to ethnic identity salience for first-generation Indians, no significant relationship was found with the number of years living in the United States and ethnic identity salience. However, one exploratory study revealed the predictive ability of number of years of education completed in the United States for ethnic identity salience. This finding suggested that an immigrant's experience of socializing and engaging in the academic process in the United States may accelerate acculturation, as well as any changes that may occur in how an individual perceives himself or herself in relation to the family.

For second-generation Indians, familial allocentrism emerged as a predictor of ethnic identity salience. Essentially, as US-born Indians felt more interconnected with their families, the more ethnically Indian they felt. Familial allocentrism was also a predictive factor for an individual's level of seeking to be familiar with aspects of their Indian identity. Since a second-generation Indian is likely to follow cultural norms and values as a result of seeing behaviors modeled by family members, this finding supports the notion that a sense of interconnectedness with the family can lead to the desire to become more knowledgeable about Indian culture.

Among second-generation Indians, results indicated that familial allocentrism was a predictive factor for an individual's level of commitment to his or her Indian identity. Since a second-generation Indian is likely to be introduced to his or her culture through his or her family, this finding supported the notion that a sense of interconnectedness with the family can lead to positive affirmation of one's Indian identity and a stable sense of belonging within the Asian Indian group. The fact that familial allocentrism had a greater predictive ability for commitment than exploration may signify that one's relationship with his or her family may have a great influence on his or her sense of belonging to the Indian culture. On the contrary, one's desire to seek culturally relevant experiences (e.g., attending discourses, celebrating holidays, or attending other cultural programs) may be a personal choice that is relatively less affected by one's familial relationships.

It must be noted that the predictive ability of familial allocentrism for ethnic identity salience was significantly greater for second-generation Indians than for first-generation Indians. This may be due to the fact that many first-generation Indian immigrants may have left their primary families in India upon emigrating to the United States. This change in physical proximity may have altered the nature of the relationship between individuals and their families. Alternatively, those Indians who choose to emigrate from India may have a predisposed relationship with their family, as well as patterns of identity expression and even certain personality traits that may be accounted for by variables that extend beyond those included in this study.

As Roysircar and Maestas (2000) noted, first-generation immigrants undergo an acculturative process whereas their second-generation offspring engage in a process of

ethnic identity formation. The two constructs have also been elucidated by Sodowsky and Lai (1997): "Acculturation adaptation is a response to the dominant group, and ethnic identity is a response to one's ethnic group" (p. 213). Since the MEIM-R was designed to measure ethnic identity as opposed to acculturation, it may have placed more emphasis on clarifying the experience of second-generation Indians than that of first-generation Indians. Even so, items found in the MEIM-R certainly assessed the way an individual views himself or herself in the context of his or her ethnicity.

Limitations

One main limitation of employing a snowball sampling method alongside an Internet-based survey is that people of Indian origin who do not completely identify as Indian, or do not associate with Asian Indian social circles, may never have a chance to see the survey. More specifically, Indians who may have assimilated to or separated from the Western culture of the United States may automatically be discounted from completing the survey, thus biasing the sample in favor of Indians who are culturally integrated or bicultural.

Due to logistical concerns in sampling, another limitation of this study was its inability to assess the degree of generational gap between first-generation Asian Indians and their second-generation children. It would have been ideal to administer the survey to parents and their children, thus allowing for direct parent-child comparison of results.

One variable that was particularly challenging to assess reliably was familial allocentrism. It is suspect that this study may have found more differences between first- and second-generation Indians if this variable were measured equally across the two groups. Whereas second-generation Indians were likely to have physical contact with

their primary family, many first-generation Indians may not have that same level of contact. Young first-generation Indians often do not have the time or funds to regularly travel to India to see their family. Although some immigrant families opt to bring their parents to the United States on a tourist visa, this is a process that is not always an option due to logistical concerns (e.g., health concerns) or because parents are simply more comfortable in India. Thus, the nature of one's self-perspective of fitting in to one's primary family may not be consistent across generations on the basis of proximity to one's primary caretakers—in addition to any generational variable. Future research on Indians may not have this issue, given that most Indian immigrant families are choosing to permanently settle in the United States.

Another variable that was difficult to quantify was the inherent conflict faced by first-generation Indians as they make life decisions as bicultural individuals. More specifically, as an Indian grows and matures in the United States, he or she is forced to make key life decisions that may cause conflict both individually and with the family. This is especially true of first-generation immigrants, who often face ambivalent feelings toward moving to the United States. Some of these conflicts arise out of being away from the majority of their family and fear of losing touch with loved ones. Other immigrants are concerned about their ability to pass on their Indian identity to their children who are growing up in a foreign and Western culture.

Furthermore, what may be even more subtle is the effect that each life decision may have on the parent-child relationship as they move through different phases of the life cycle. For parents who were born and raised in India, raising children in the United States involves supporting opportunities and choices that may never have been available

to them in India. Thus, the worldviews between immigrant parents and their first-generation children may be separated not only by generation but also by a cultural gap. It is this gap that is subtle and yet ubiquitous among Indian immigrant communities. Through informal interviewing, it was also made clear to the researcher that there exists a wide range of responses to this gap by both immigrant parents and their first-generation children. This variation also makes it challenging to operationally define and accurately quantify the cultural gap faced in Indian communities. In addition, the essential difference in experience as an Indian in India and in the United States is another dimension of the cultural gap that is salient and yet difficult to quantify.

Along the same lines, first-generation Indian parents often maintain hectic schedules in an effort to become financially stable, which can leave little time and/or energy to transmit cultural traditions. For example, festivities in India are often celebrated with extended families where the task of preparing holiday food items is shared primarily between the women of all the families. However, a family that emigrates to the United States may not have the family or friends with whom they could share such responsibilities. As a result, much of the grandeur of a family tradition may be scaled down in order to accommodate the parents' schedules and lack of support. This is a source of stress for some homemakers as they attempt to recreate the same traditional experience and transmit Indian culture to second-generation Indians.

Another cultural gap within families may form as second-generation Indians raise their third-generation offspring. In cases where second-generation Indians remain geographically close to their parents (or other close family), immigrant parents may serve as a deep conduit of Indian culture that their second-generation children may have not

retained or ever picked up. However, for second-generation Indians who may not have access to their immigrant parents, or whose parents are deceased, third-generation children may not have that cultural channel from which to absorb themselves in their Indian roots.

Lastly, in attempting to measure "Indianness," it must be made clear that Indian identity (or any identity) is not a static construct and has changed meaning across time and through the evolution of social climates. Furthermore, the meaning of being Indian continues to vary between individuals and even within one's life. Informal interviews of all age groups have revealed that every individual has a unique way of defining what it means to be Indian. Thus, it appears that the within-group variance of this construct may be far too high to sustain a singular definition of Indian identity.

Along these lines, being Indian in the United States is qualitatively different from being Indian in India. In India, the contrast to Western culture exists only passively through media. In the United States, each individual from an Indian family is confronted on a daily basis with Western societal norms that actively challenge the individual to reassess his or her ethnic identity.

In considering these two factors related to Indian identity, it appears that construct validity is a potential concern when measuring an individual's self-perception of his or her Indian identity. Since each participant has an inherently distinct concept and experience of being Indian, each individual's approach reflects their subjective understanding of the survey elements. Although this may be acceptable and even appropriate for most other constructs, the fact that Indian identity salience was of key interest in this study made this challenging to account for this source of variance.

However, a strength of this study's design lies in the choice of measures. In using the MEIM-R (Phinney, 2007), the survey avoided assessing specific behaviors traditionally thought to reflect Indian culture and instead allowed the participants to determine their identity and how they know that identity. In other words, the study avoided placing demand characteristics on what Indian identity should mean for participants.

Clinical Implications

As previously discussed, the integration of one's cultural identity plays a vital role in the overall mental well-being of an individual. The results of this study served to illustrate the connection between one's sense of ethnic identity and his or her social identification with his or her family.

After the researcher personally connected with so many Indian Americans on the topic of this dissertation, it was made clear that acculturation and related cultural issues are salient issues that are not normally discussed within the population. When parents were given the opportunity to express their thoughts on the issue, the process of searching for words and organizing their thoughts seemed to help them process through something very deep in their being. For some, this dialogue elucidated the conflict inherent in deciding to settle down and raise a family in the United States; on one hand there may be a perception of greater opportunity, while on the other hand there is a sacrifice of culture that may have not been foreseen.

At the same time, many second-generation Indians were perplexed at questions related to their ethnic identity. Many were challenged to examine who they were and how they knew that they were Indian. Most were aware of the discrepancy between social mores and expectations between home and school or work. Caught between two

dissimilar worlds, only some were able to verbalize how they preserve their Indian identity.

This exemplifies the cultural gap across generations: First-generation immigrants face issues central to acculturation whereas second-generation children face issues more central to ethnic identity (Roysircar & Maestas, 2000). The psychological processes involved in each are unique, indicating that immigrants and their US-born children do not occupy the same psychological space. In other words, the two generations may have different worldviews due to inherent differences in both temporal and spatial dimensions of life experience.

For instance, the process of intergenerational passing of culture-specific messages is often competing with strong environmental signals emitted by the media and immediate peer groups. The world outside the immediate family can contain more powerful reinforcers that are delivered at far higher intervals than those found within the home. For example, the drive to fit in at school can be far more compelling than taking part in a culturally relevant family event that does not carry over or have any tangible connection beyond the home. In this case, a second-generation Indians may choose the company of their peers instead of engaging an opportunity to understand their cultural roots. This behavior can be seen as troubling for first-generation parents, who as previously discussed are often concerned with passing their Indian identity on to their children.

The combination of different goals between immigrant parents and their children can often lead to intergenerational conflicts in several areas of life. For instance, second-generation Indians often hold more liberalized views on issues revolving around dating

and marriage. Many first-generation parents cannot relate to the concept of marrying someone who is not Indian. The disillusionment that their children may not live their lives in the way their parents imagined can be a significant source of stress. In addition, the challenge of adapting to such circumstances can create strains in relationships between family members.

A clinician working with an Indian American must consider the circumstances under which the individual immigrated to the United States or those of the parents of a US-born Indian. For a US-born Indian, it is important to understand the role that his or her culture plays in both daily life, as well as in major life decisions. Along these lines, it is important to note that every individual conceptualizes his or her Indian identity in a unique fashion: Some place more emphasis on aspects of lifestyle such as food and language whereas others may focus more on religious traditions and values. This knowledge can help with the conceptualization of the client's worldview, as well as set the stage for understanding the client's cultural identity in the context of familial bonds.

In terms of treatment, whereas a symptom-focused approach can play an important role in the identification and management of acute concerns, operating exclusively from such a perspective may not enable a clinician to account for culturally related stressors. Furthermore, when working with clientele from collectivistic cultures, it is vital to not assume individualistic ideals when determining treatment goals. This is especially true for immigrant Indians who were raised in a society that generally focuses more on the needs of the family unit than of the individual. To assume an individualistic approach would only serve to alienate the client from the therapeutic relationship. Alternatively, allowing the individual to narrate the nature of familial relations and

elaborate on particular strains among those bonds can help make cultural dimensions of the presenting problem more salient. This is especially true for second-generation Indians, who must often qualify their life choices for parents who may not always understand the social context of the matter. Of note, when working with members of ethnic minority populations, understanding the client's culture as the individual has internalized it can make the therapeutic ground fertile for change.

Future Directions

In considering other variables associated with emigration from one's native country, future research should focus on the internal factors involved in deciding to emigrate from India, as opposed to the generally acknowledged external variables such as seeking educational and occupational opportunities. Alternatively, because many first-generation Indians in this study's sample came later in life, their ethnic identity likely formed prior to immigrating to the United States. Thus, many first-generation Indians may approach the construct of ethnic identity with a sense of preserving what they know while living in a different culture. At the same time, many second-generation Indians may find their Indian identity as something to integrate within their lives.

Future research must seek to draw a relationship between the acculturation of parents and that of their children. Along these lines, it would be beneficial to clarify the relationship between parental acculturation and familial allocentrism of their second-generation US-born offspring. This would serve as one more building block toward further elucidating familial patterns in relation to acculturation.

In addition, although the beliefs and behaviors of immigrants may have been challenged upon settling in the new country, their understanding of Indian culture was

formed in a qualitatively different environment than that of second-generation Indians. In other words, whereas a first-generation Indian has had the experience of being an Indian in both India and in the United States, a second-generation Indian has only had the experience of being an Indian in the United States. Being an Indian in India is fundamentally different from being an Indian in the United States. This divergence of life experience as Indians is likely to generate a host of potential differences in self-perception, among other inter- and intrapersonal variables.

The degree to which acculturation occurs among immigrants is relative to their socioeconomic status and life situation in India. For example, Indians residing in urban areas of India live in relatively more Westernized societies than their rural counterparts, where a more traditional social structure is assumed (Jaipal, 2004). People in cities are often more immersed in Western media and increasingly live further from their extended family, often for work-related reasons. Thus, the experience of acculturating to a new life in the United States can be vastly different between two different Indians. Future studies should consider the specific geographical location from which Indians emigrate.

Conclusion

On a final note, understanding ethnic identity and the way it is internalized is vital to addressing the mental health needs of an individual. This is more so true for ethnic minorities, who often must live in a society that does not always recognize or reinforce the salience of their ethnic identity. In considering first- and second-generation Indians in the United States, each generation has its own unique challenge in addressing this issue.

The results of this study indicated an important connection between one's collective identification with one's family and the degree to which he or she feels Indian.

Since each individual conceptualizes his or her Indian identity differently, this study focused on the individual's salience of being Indian, rather than how many stereotyped qualities an individual meets. Each participant was given the opportunity to consider his or her ethnic identity without the constraints of assumptions. Consequently, this study was able to create a window through which the researcher was able to assess the relationship between social identity and ethnic identity.

Through the course of this study, two things were made clear to the researcher. First, ethnic identity is an issue that affects many Indians in the United States and those who understand the nature of being Indian in a foreign country who are able to acclimate to the culture in the healthiest way. Second, this topic is salient and yet not openly discussed. The process of conducting this study brought people together to discuss challenges, as well as triumphs, in settling in the US. In addition to adding to the knowledge base, it is the hope of the researcher that this study inspires people to continue this dialogue.

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Appendix A
Solicitation E-mail

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your interest in this survey. As an Asian Indian and a counseling psychology doctoral student, I recognize many of the challenges of growing up and living in America. While there is so much to explore on the experiences of Asian-Indians in America, there is relatively little published research on Indians in the field of psychology. This project aims to add knowledge to a field that can ultimately tailor current resources and create new ones for the unique needs of Asian Indians in America.

To make your participation as brief as possible, I have created a survey that will only take about **10 minutes** or less to complete.

If you are 18 years or older, are of Asian Indian descent and live in the US, I invite you to take part in this survey. As an Asian-Indian, I am interested in understanding the challenges that Asian Indians face in America. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. Your anonymity will be maintained throughout all aspects of the study. Any publication of the data from this study will in no way identify you and results will be reported in combined form only. All material will be collected in the strictest confidence. Completed responses to questionnaires will be kept in a secure location and will be accessible only to myself and my academic advisor, Dr. Lewis Schlosser. The data will be stored electronically on a USB memory key and kept in a locked, secure physical setting.

Your participation provides useful information on the challenges of Asians living in the US. Personally, this study may also be useful to increase your self-awareness. This survey includes a demographic form, and a variety of scales to measure how you have adapted to the US culture. To begin the survey, click the following link: [Asset site](#)

Please enter a username that DOES NOT include your actual name.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Seton Hall Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Human Subjects Research. Questions about the research subject's rights should be directed to the Director of the IRB at Seton Hall University, Dr. Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D. at (973) 313-6314. Thank you for your consideration to participate.

Sincerely,

Vasudev N. Dixit, M.A.
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Appendix B

Solicitation Notice – ASSET Survey (web-based)

Seton Hall University

College of Education and Human Services
Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy
400 South Orange Avenue
South Orange, New Jersey 07079
(973) 761-9451

Dear Participant:

Purpose and Duration of Research

Thank you for your interest in this survey. Currently, I am a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program within the Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy at Seton Hall. As an Asian Indian, I recognize many of the challenges of growing up and living in America. While there is so much to explore on the experiences of Asian-Indians in America, there is relatively little published research on Indians in the field of psychology. This project aims to add knowledge to a field that can ultimately tailor current resources and create new ones for the unique needs of Asian Indians in America.

To make your participation as brief as possible, I have created a survey that will only take about **10 minutes or less** to complete.

Procedures and Voluntary Participation

If you are 18 years or older, are of Asian Indian descent and live in the US, I invite you to take part in this survey. The purpose of this study is to understand the challenges that Asians face in America. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Please note that consent to participate is implied by clicking "Next" to enter the survey.

Anonymity Preservation and Confidentiality Maintenance

Your anonymity will be maintained throughout all aspects of the study. Any publication of the data from this study will in no way identify you and results will be reported in combined form only. All material will be collected in the strictest confidence. Completed responses to questionnaires will be kept in a secure location and will be accessible only to myself and my academic advisor, Dr. Lewis Schlosser. The data will be stored electronically on a USB memory key and kept in a locked, secure physical setting.

Anticipated Risks and Discomfort

There is little to no foreseen risks or discomfort involved in the completion of the study. The likelihood of experiencing any form of risk or discomfort in this study is minimal. Should you experience any discomfort during or after completing the survey, please contact the researchers listed below with any concerns. To reduce this risk, participation is completely voluntary and participants have the right to discontinue participation at any time by exiting the survey.

Benefits to Research

Your participation provides useful information on the challenges of Asians living in the US. Personally, this study may also be useful to increase your self-awareness. This survey includes a demographic form, and a variety of scales to measure how you have adapted to the US culture. To begin the survey, click the following link: **ASSET site**

Contact Information

If you have any questions regarding this study or what is expected of your voluntary participation feel free to contact the researchers below. For pertinent questions about the research and research subject's rights should be directed to the Director of the Institutional Review Board at Seton Hall University, Dr. Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D. at (973) 313-6314.

Sincerely,

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Appendix C

Demographic Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Some of the following questions may seem quite personal. Please understand that we are not trying to pry into your personal lives but rather need to know this information for statistical purposes. If there are details about specific questions you would like to share, there is space to do so at the end of the survey.

Your responses will be kept **strictly confidential**. It is very important that you answer every question. Thank you very much.

1. Country were you born in?
2. Please indicate your age:
3. Sex: __female __male
4. Religious preference (please check all that apply):
 __Hindu __Islam __Sikhism __Jainism __Zoroastrian
 __Christian (please state denomination, if any) _____
 __Catholic (please state denomination, if any) _____
 __Spiritual (non-denominational)
 __Atheist (absence of belief in a higher being)
 __Agnostic (unsure of the existence of a higher being)
 __Other (please state) _____
5. Please indicate how important religion/spirituality is in your life (If applicable):
 Not Important
 Slightly Important
 Undecided
 Important
 Very Important

6. Current US Region of residence:

Northeast South Midwest West Coast Southwest Other (Please specify) ____

7. Please indicate your sexual orientation:

____ Heterosexual ____ Gay/Lesbian ____ Bi-sexual ____ Questioning

8. Marital status: __single __married __union __separated __divorced __widowed

9. Number of children (if applicable) ____

10. Home state(s) in India (or state(s) parents are from, if born in the US) (Please list all):

11. Languages you speak:

12. Languages you understand (if different from above):

13. Immigration status:

____ Naturalized US citizen; ____ Residential status (green card);

____ Temporary (tourist) visa; ____ Student visa; ____ US born citizen

14. Your employment ____employed ____self-employed ____unemployed (seeking)
____retired ____student

15. Current profession/previous profession (for retirees):

16. Please indicate your annual income (for yourself if single, for your family if married):

less than \$20,000

\$20,000 - \$40,000

\$40,000 - \$60,000

\$60,000 - \$80,000

\$80,000 - \$100,000

\$100,000+

17. Highest level of education completed:

__grade school; __some high school; __graduated high school;

__some college; __graduated college;

__some graduate/professional school; __graduate degree;

Grade School

High School

Two-Year Associate Degree

College

Graduate/Professional School

Please indicate your reason(s) for immigrating to the US (if applicable):

19. Number of years of education in the US:

20. Number of years in the US:

21. Year you came to the US:

22. Age upon migrating to the US:

23. How do you identify yourself?

1. Indian only
2. mostly Indian
3. Indian-American
4. mostly American
5. American only

24. Which identification does (did) your mother use?

1. Indian only
2. mostly Indian
3. Indian-American
4. mostly American
5. American only

25. Which identification does (did) your father use?

1. Indian only
2. mostly Indian
3. Indian-American
4. mostly American
5. American only

26. As an Indian (Asian, Indian, Indian-American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have for your culture?

1. Extremely proud
2. Moderately proud
3. Little pride
4. No pride but do not feel negative toward group
5. Feel negative toward group

27. How would you rate yourself?

1. Very Indian
2. Mostly Indian
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly Westernized
5. Very Westernized

28. Please rate your belief in Indian values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work):

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (do not believe) | | | | (strongly believe in Indian values) |

29. Please rate your belief in American (Western) values:

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (do not believe) | | | | (strongly believe in Western values) |

30. Please indicate how well you get along with other Indians:

- | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (do not fit) | | | | (fit very well) |

31. Please indicate how well you get along with other Americans who are non-Indian:

- | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (do not fit) | | | | (fit very well) |

32. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

1. I consider myself an Indian. Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself as an Indian person.
2. I consider myself as an American. Even though I have an Indian background and characteristics, I still view myself as an American.
3. I consider myself as an Asian-American, although deep down I always know I am an Indian.
4. I consider myself as an Indian-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.
5. I consider myself as an Indian-American. I have both Indian and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

Appendix D

The Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R)

1. Culturally, I describe myself as:

2. My ethnicity is most clear to me when: _____.

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group,
such as its history, traditions, and customs.

2- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

3- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

4- I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.

5- I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.

6- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

Response scale:

(1) Strong disagree (2) Disagree (3) Neutral (4) Agree (5) Strongly Agree

Appendix E

Family Allocentrism-Idiocentrism Scale (FAIS)

You are asked to rate yourself by indicating the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you. Please consider the family you were raised in when rating yourself.

1 Extremely Uncharacteristic

2 Moderately Uncharacteristic

3 Neutral

4 Moderately Characteristic

5 Extremely Characteristic

1. I am very similar to my parents.
2. I work hard to please my family.
3. I follow my concerns or goals even if it makes my family unhappy.
4. I would be honored by my family's accomplishments.
5. My ability to relate to my family is a sign of my competence as a mature person.
6. Once you get married your parents should no longer be involved in major life choices.
7. The opinions of my family are important to me.
8. Knowing that I need to rely on my family makes me happy.
9. I will be responsible for taking care of my aging parents.
10. My happiness depends on the happiness of my family.
11. If a family member fails, I feel responsible.
12. Even when away from home, I should consider my family's values.
13. I would feel uneasy and not comfortable if I told my family "no" when they asked me to do something.
14. I have many duties and obligations in my family.
15. There are a lot of differences between me and other members of my family.
16. I think it is important to get along with my family at all costs.
17. I should not say what is on my mind in case it upsets my family.
18. My needs are not the same as my family's.
19. After I leave my parent's house, I am not accountable to them.
20. I respect my parents' wishes even if they are not my own.
21. It is important to feel independent of one's own family.