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Cultural Influences on South Asian American Relationships

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CULTURAL INFLUENCES

ON SOUTH ASIAN AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

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As the United States becomes an increasingly diverse society, the need for an understanding of the psychological impact of the immigrant and second-generation experience increases. Acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview have been identified as factors that contribute to the mental health of minority populations. The influence of these variables on interpersonal relationships, however, has not been studied. This research sought to better understand the impact these three variables have on the friendship and romantic relationship choices of immigrant and second-generation South Asian individuals between the ages of 21 and 36.

The following measures were adapted for this population and used to assess the aforementioned variables: Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn et all., 1987), Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997), Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney and Ong, 2007), the Individualism-Collectivism Scale-Shortened Version (Hui and Yee, 1994) and the Cultural Values Conflict Scale (CVCS; Inman et al., 2001). Recruitment was conducted through campus organizations and snowball sampling, and data was obtained online.

Correlational and multiple regression results show that there is a complex relationship between these variables, and that individuals who are able to successfully negotiate both cultural contexts engage in behaviors that allow them to integrate their cultural identities into their perceptions of themselves and their understanding of the

American and South Asian worlds around them. This study's most salient finding is that long-term romantic relationship choices, as opposed to friendship choices and dating behaviors, are most influenced by the strength and centrality of ethnic identity. Clinical implications and suggestions for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

REASON FOR RESEARCH

As the United States becomes an increasingly diverse society, the need for an understanding of the psychological impact of the immigrant and second-generation experience increases. This understanding is crucial for two distinct reasons: first, it will help us understand American society as it evolves and changes, and second, it will help us understand ethnic communities, families, and individuals more intimately. For the field of psychology in general, and, clinical psychology in specific, this knowledge will be helpful in providing mental health services to acculturating populations.

In the year 2000, the Census Bureau published the following: 11.9 million, or 4.2% of the United States population, is of Asian (Far East, Southeast Asia, or Indian subcontinent) descent. Of this 11.9 million, 1.9 million identified as either Asian Indian or a combination of Asian Indian and another racial group. Of all the Asian subgroups sampled (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese), the Asian Indian population is both the third largest group and the fastest growing group in the United States. Despite their prevalence as a minority group, most psychological research focusing on the Asian American experience has sampled from the East Asian population; there is a dearth of research focusing specifically on the experiences of individuals from the Indian subcontinent. As the Asian Indian population continues to rise, it is important to understand the experiences of immigrant and second-generation individuals.

Acculturation and ethnic identity have been identified as factors that impact the psychological health of minority populations. Acculturation (as defined by Berry,

Trimble and Olmedo, 1986) is the process by which individuals adapt to the host culture, as well as the changes in beliefs, values, and behavior that accompany contact with mainstream society. Effective acculturation does not mean undergoing a transformation of norms and values; rather, it entails an understanding of and an ability to function within the cultural conventions of the host society (Mehta, 1998). Several models of acculturation exist, and they will be discussed in detail.

Ethnic identity is distinctly different from acculturation, and, according to Phinney (1990), involves three things: self-identification with an ethnic group, sense of belonging within the ethnic group community, and degree of affiliation with the ethnic group. Ethnic enclaves play an important role in the maintenance of ethnic identity for immigrants and in the creation of ethnic identity for second generation individuals, as will be further delineated. While Phinney's model is the most common of ethnic identity models, others will also be included for explanation purposes. In addition, minority identity development will be discussed in the context of ethnic identity.

It is impossible to adequately understand the acculturation and ethnic identity formation process of this population without understanding the South Asian worldview. Due to the fact that collectivism (the predominant value system of South Asians) and individualism (the predominant value system of Americans) are different, it is crucial to understand these differences when studying this population. The origins and implications of these differences will be discussed.

The literature also shows that individuals who have adequate amounts of social support fare better under psychological distress than those who lack a social support network. Social support research, however, has focused on Western, not Eastern,

populations, and so the notion of social support and the role it plays in interpersonal relationships may be different for this population (due to worldview). As an extension of the lack of information about social support in this cultural context, there is little research on the values and qualities important to immigrant and second-generation South Asians in interpersonal relationships, specifically in friendships and romantic relationships. This research is an effort to better understand the roles that acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview play in the interpersonal relationships of South Asian American immigrant and second generation individuals.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Worldview Dimensions

In order to understand the immigrant and second generation South Asian experience, it is important to understand the cultural differences between East and West-specifically worldview and how it impacts interpersonal functioning. Ibrahim (1985) defined worldview as "our philosophy of life," and "our experience within social, cultural, environmental, philosophical, and psychological dimensions." Sue and Sue (2003) expanded on this idea, stating that "not only are worldviews composed of our attitudes, values, opinions, and concepts, but they may affect how we think, define events, make decisions, and behave."

This East-West cultural negotiation brings with it a significant challenge: to understand the individualistic value system (and learn to function in an individualistic society) after having been raised in a society that operates more collectively. Although not every individual experiences the same struggle, several basic beliefs and values have been delineated as collectivistic: group orientation; self-respect, dignity, and self control; filial piety; respect for elders/hierarchical relationships; respect for community; humility; closed emotionality; holistic view of mind and body; academic and occupational goals (Sue and Sue, 2003; Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu, 1997).

Before the aforementioned collectivistic values are discussed, it is important to understand and be able to semi-operationalize important worldview dimensions. Ibrahim (1985) conceptualized worldview as having four main dimensions: time focus, human

activity, social relations, and the people/nature relationship. Each one of these dimensions has a value orientation that describes the cultural norms as they relate to each facet of life. Time focus is divided into three orientations: past, present, and future. Human activity consists of being, being-in-becoming, and doing. Social relations are described as lineal, collateral, or individualistic. Lastly, the people/nature relationship is characterized by subjugation to nature, harmony with nature, and mastery over nature.

Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu, (1997) used three of the four dimensions to describe the South Asian worldview: time orientation, human activity, and the people/nature relationship. Time orientation is both past and future, as seen by reverence for culture, age, and elders as well as the belief that people who forget their past will re-live their errors, as seen in the Hindu notion of reincarnation. Human activity is being-in-becoming: spiritual needs supersede material needs, although material success is sought when it doesn't come at a spiritual cost. Nature is respected, and individuals strive to live harmoniously with all life. While these authors do not describe this population in terms of social relations, it is logical to conclude (based on cultural norms and worldview) that human relationships are defined both as lineal (vertical relationships as seen in respect for hierarchy) and collateral (collectivistic focus).

Collectivism

The crux of collectivism is the familial/group orientation, characterized by filial piety, respect for elders and hierarchical relationships, and respect for community. Individuals behave in ways that bring honor to their family and meet the needs of others and the community at-large, rather than placing the needs of the self over the needs of

others (Sue and Sue, 2003; Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu, 1997). Ego boundaries are much more permeable in collectivistic societies than in individualistic societies, as evidenced by the fact that Indians place more emphasis on the social identity aspect of self-concept than their American counterparts (Dhawan et al., 1995). This is closely tied to the value of humility- the importance of not making the self the center of attention or explicitly talking about one's accomplishments. Rather, the community is expected to recognize the accomplishments of the individual and the community-at-large, and credit is given in a collective, rather than individualistic, manner (Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu, 1997).

Closed emotionality is another facet of the collectivistic worldview, and is closely tied with the ideas of filial piety and family honor. Strong emotional displays may be seen as both immature and inappropriate (Sue and Sue, 2003), as an individual's behavior is considered a reflection of the immediate and extended family rather than a reflection of self. This propensity for containing emotions undoubtedly impacts the way that individuals of Asian descent create and maintain relationships, and may prove especially salient as they interact with individuals who, due to their individualistic worldview, may be more comfortable with the expression of intense emotions.

Holistic view of mind and body, and its relationship to wellness and healing, is another important aspect of the collectivistic worldview. From a Hindu perspective, the source of suffering is the identification of self as semi-synonymous to body and mind; attachment to worldly possessions and the outcomes of actions (Jaipal, 2004) leads to feelings of disconnect between the individual, collective, and spiritual selves. By extension, psychological suffering is often manifested in physiological symptoms, and so

an understanding of the intimate connection between mind and body is necessary in order to understand a variety of aspects of the South Asian experience.

Academic and occupational goals are also hallmarks of the Asian American experience; this is, in part, due to the cultural value of filial piety, as a child's performance in an academic (or any external) setting is important because it implicitly conveys family values and is indicative of the type of parenting/child rearing in the family. Additionally, academic and occupational success is important for South Asian immigrants because of two significant aspects of their history: the colonization of India by the British and their idiosyncratic immigration pattern post-1965. The British occupation of India led to an emphasis on formal education and individual success which, to some extent, explains the achievement-oriented and upwardly mobile behavior seen with this particular subset of US immigrants (Patel, Power, and Bhavnagri, 1996). Their unique immigration history, as seen in the next section, will explain this further.

Historical Context of South Asian Immigration

In order to understand the experiences of South Asian Americans, it is important to understand the context in which they immigrated and how they have historically been and currently are perceived in American society. In 1965, after the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed, the United States experienced an unanticipated influx of Asian immigrants. Due to the fact that most of the Asian immigrants met the act's criterion of "professionals, scientists, and artists of "exceptional ability," the model minority myth, or idea that Asian individuals are hardworking, skilled and educated, was created. This myth implies that they are able to quickly move up the professional and

socioeconomic ladder, setting achievement expectations for this population by American society-at-large.

At first glance, census data supports this contention; in 1997, 42% of Asian/Pacific Islander Americans had their bachelor's degrees (as compared to 26% of their Caucasian counterparts) and made up between 10-22% of the collegiate population at prestigious universities such as Harvard, Berkley, and MIT (Sue and Sue, 2003). Upon closer examination, however, it becomes apparent that there is a significant discrepancy between the highly educated, professional Asian Americans and those who enter the country with either a lack of skills or difficulty with the English language. Sandhu (1997) found that Southeast Asians are three times more likely to be on welfare than the general population. Thus, the model minority myth is, in fact, a myth: it presents a skewed view of Asian Americans' abilities, making it particularly difficult for those who don't fit the stereotype.

Due to the fact that South Asians were relatively nonexistent in the United States prior to 1965, the influx of an elite group of South Asian immigrants contributed to the creation and perpetuation of the model minority myth. This myth may have actually aided the South Asian's transition into American society, as Americans believed that those South Asians who immigrated to the US were "culturally predisposed to socioeconomic achievements" (Kibria, 1999). The discrepancy in socioeconomic status seen in the Southeast Asian population is not as prevalent in the South Asian population, although a discrepancy does exist because some highly educated individuals who immigrated post-1965 were unable to find jobs in the United States and so opened up their own

businesses, ran newsstands, and became taxi cab drivers in order to make a living and give their children a chance at the American dream.

For second generation South Asian Americans who don't fit the stereotype, the myth can increase acculturative stress, cause additional difficulty in establishing an ethnic identity, and may impact the interpersonal functioning of those who either choose not to or are unable to meet society's high expectations of their intellectual and skilled abilities. Additionally, the model minority myth creates tension between minority groups in the United States, as Prashad (2001) asserts: "[the] stereotype is used not just to uplift Asians, but pointedly to demean Blacks and Latinos," which can further impact the formation and quality of interpersonal relationships.

South Asians who do fit the model minority description thrive in academic and professional settings, but "the idea of "foreignness" is [still] deeply imbedded in [their] image" (Kibria, 1999). Research shows that immigrants' economic success does not necessarily predict psychologically healthy acculturation patterns or ethnic identification with the host culture (Walters, Phythian, and Anisef, 2007), substantiating Kibria's (1999) claim that "the deficient social skills, passivity, and orientation towards math and technical subjects that are part of the image suggest a certain lack of comfort and familiarity with the norms and expectations of US culture."

Thus, even those who are able to integrate into society because of their professional skills experience feelings of "otherness" in a predominantly white society. These feelings of "otherness" are reflected in two related constructs that are essential to understanding the immigrant and second-generation South Asian American experience: acculturation and ethnic identity.

Assimilation

Oftentimes, assimilation and acculturation are used interchangeably to refer to the

minority individual's adaptation process. The two terms are not, however, synonymous.

The concept of assimilation predates acculturation, and refers to a unidirectional process

by which an immigrant is absorbed by society at-large. Sayegh and Lasrey (1993) write,

"Successful assimilation occurs when immigrants have become full participants in the

"institutions" of the host society and identify completely with that society." It entails the

adoption of the host culture's values, using the majority as both a reference group upon

which to compare the self to as well as an ideal to aspire to identify with. It also entails

the host culture's acceptance of the immigrant group by providing equal opportunity in

terms of institutional and group membership, social relations, and positions of power

(Gordon, 1964).

According to LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993), there are three dangers

with this method of adapting to a host society: rejection by the majority, rejection by the

ethnic enclave/community, and increased acculturative stress induced by attempting to

shed ethnic identity and learn the norms and values of the host culture simultaneously.

Acculturation

Acculturation, on the other hand, refers to the bidirectional process of cultural

adaptation that occurs as a result of the interaction between the immigrant, his natal

culture, and his host culture. According to LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993),

acculturation, unlike assimilation, does not require changing values, reference group, or

identification; nor does it require acceptance from the majority. Mehta (1998) agrees,

stating that effective acculturation does not mean undergoing a transformation of norms and values; rather, it entails an understanding of and an ability to function within the cultural conventions of the host society. Psychologists have proposed many models of acculturation; among the most important include Berry's (1986) model, the pluralist model, the alternation (selective acculturation) model, and the orthogonal model.

Berry's Bidirectional Model

According to Berry (1986), whose bidirectional model of acculturation has received significant empirical support as a result of its wide use, acculturation attitudes are central in delineating and understanding the different ways in which individuals experience the immigration process and adapt to life in another society. Berry et al. (1989) posit that there are four distinct ways in which ethnic group members can associate with their host culture: assimilation (severing ties with the mainland and becoming American), marginalization (rejecting both cultures), separation (identifying with their native culture only), and integration (biculturalism). These attitudes are based on if (and how) the individual maintains his or her ethnic distinctiveness in the host society, as well as how the individual chooses to interact (or not interact) with the host society and its different norms and values.

These authors proposed that the most psychosocially adjusted acculturated individuals become comfortable in and competent with the new norms, customs, and values of the host culture while still maintaining and practicing customs that are tied to their home country. In this way, Berry and his colleagues argue that integration, or biculturalism, is the ideal for acculturating individuals because it reduces the amount of

psychological distress (especially distress associated with adjustment issues such as self-identification, and cultural alienation) and therefore increases the chance that ethnic individuals will be able to lead a psychologically healthy life in their new environment.

Research has shown that second-generation South Asian adolescents (ages 16-19) who had integrated or assimilated styles of acculturation had higher self-esteem and were less anxious than those adolescents who were either separated or marginalized (Farver, Narang, and Bhadha 2002). Additionally, integrated adolescents were found to have both higher GPAs and higher perceived self-competence in scholastic achievement, social competence, moral conduct, friendship, and global self-worth than marginalized or separated adolescents (Farver, Bhadha, and Narang, 2002). This suggests that adolescents who function biculturally have more satisfying interpersonal relationships than those who experience more acculturative stress, although the relationship between acculturation and quality of interpersonal relationships has not been explicitly studied. Thus, while it is clear that these two variables are related, there is room in the literature for this relationship to be further explored.

Alternation Model

The alternation model of acculturation posited by LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) conceptualizes acculturation as context-dependent; that is, individuals who selectively acculturate are able to adapt to (and therefore behave in ways that are consistent with) the cultural norms of their environment. This ability has been likened to that of bilingualism- individuals are able to switch between cultures depending upon social appropriateness just as individuals who are bilingual are able to switch languages

when necessary. In this way, individuals maintain a positive relationship with both cultures without having to choose one over the other; there is no cultural hierarchy, as suggested by the assimilation model.

According to the authors, the alternation model differs from the integration attitude cited by Berry and his colleagues (1989) because it focuses on the cognitive and affective experience that accompanies the handling of acculturative stress. Having the following three factors allows the individual to function biculturally: ability to communicate proficiently in both cultures, acquisition of a range of culturally or situationally appropriate behaviors (role repertoire), and social support in both cultural environments (LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993).

Researchers (Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil, 1981) have found that many Asian Indians acculturate in this way; they hold onto core traditional values in their home environment, and adapt their presentation and behavior when in a more public environment, such as the workplace. This ability to function biculturally is closely tied to ethnic identity, as immigrant parents of second generation children have described themselves as bicultural because they have both an Indian and American way of thinking and behaving (Inman et al., 1997). Patel, Power, and Bhavnagri (1996) studied the socialization values and practices of Indian immigrant parents, and found that traditional, highly acculturated fathers passed on expectations of selective acculturation to their children. Specifically, they stressed the maintenance of traditional values in interpersonal interactions in the home as well as encouraged their children to adopt the conventions of the majority in professional contexts, emphasizing the importance of maintaining cultural values and traditions but also being able to function in American society.

Second generation South Asian Americans also comment on their abilities to selectively acculturate (Ali, 2004). Ali describes second-generation South Asian Muslims who "lead double lives, fully acculturated with American friends, while pretending to be good Muslims to their parents, feigning to reject the pernicious influences of American culture." These individuals struggle to balance and experience behaviors that are culturally and religiously impermissible but are salient aspects of American society, such as drinking, dating, and premarital sex. As a result of this cultural conflict, the second-generation individuals interviewed by Ali kept their culturally-dissonant behavior confined to their "American worlds," engaging in secret interpersonal and romantic relationships with opposite-sexed individuals from various cultural and religious backgrounds in order to satisfy both their needs and their parents' expectations.

Ethnic Identity

It is impossible to talk about acculturation without talking about ethnic identity, which is testament to the intimacy of the relationship between the two constructs. They are, however, two distinct constructs. Ethnic identity, according to Phinney and Ong (2007), is an internal structure that is similar to sense of self. The distinction between self and ethnic identity is that the self is self-referent, whereas ethnic identity is group-referent; it is salient because it refers to a shared, collective identity of individuals going through similar acculturation experiences. It is derived from a sense of belonging to a culture, group, and setting; it includes identification with values, traditions, and, often, language. It is a dynamic, developmental process that occurs over time, and consists not only of knowledge about the ethnic group and community, but also of experiences that

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have made the in-group affiliation important for the individual. In order to measure this construct, Phinney and Ong (2007) have delineated two categories that appear to be most salient in determining the strength of ethnic identity: exploration and commitment/attachment.

Exploration refers to the seeking of information and experiences that reflect the individual's ethnic and cultural group membership. Commitment/attachment refers to the affective component of ethnic identity- personal investment in group membership. These facets of ethnic identity vary depending upon the individual's developmental level; Phinney (2006) delineates stages through which individuals progress as they mature in their ethnic identities. She posits that individuals begin in the ethnic identity diffusion stage, in which individuals lack a clear sense of who they are ethnically, which leads to either foreclosure or moratorium. Individuals in the foreclosure stage exhibit a strong commitment to their ethnic group, often due to their affiliation with their heritage through their family rather than an internalization of beliefs and worldview. Conversely, individuals in the moratorium stage explore their ethnic identity, learning about the underpinnings of their cultural background and beginning to integrate these aspects into their sense of self. As individuals reach adulthood, they may reach the ethnic identity achievement stage, in which they have a firm commitment to their ethnic group based on a clear understanding of what it means to identify ethnically as a result of their exploration experiences. Bracey, Bamaca, and Umana-Taylor (2002) found a significant positive correlation between ethnic identification and self-esteem for monoracial and biracial minority adolescents, suggesting that the exploration of ethnicity leads to less acculturative stress and better mental health.

The Pluralist Perspective:

The Influence of Ethnic Identity on Acculturation

The pluralist perspective of assimilation/acculturation emphasizes the importance of ethnic identity in cultural adaptation. The authors of this perspective define ethnicity as "a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories" through social experience (Conzen et al., 1992 as cited in Zhou, 1997). In this way, ethnic identity is conceptualized as a form of social capital which aids individuals' acculturation process: interaction with an ethnic subset of American society increases the chance of financial and social support, which aids in the practical and psychological aspects of the acculturation process. The creation of a collectivist context in an individualist society is invaluable for acculturating populations as it often helps the new immigrant understand the host culture's social norms in terms of his or her cultural experience (Zhou, 1997).

The Function of Ethnic Enclaves

In geographic areas in which there are large concentrations of South Asians, such as New York and Los Angeles, the existence of ethnic enclaves and creation of "little Indias" aids the transition from motherland to host country. Due to the fact that South Asians are also geographically dispersed across the United States, a transnational community has been created through symbolism and dispersion of culturally-relevant information in the newspaper *India Abroad* (Shukla, 2000). This appears to have eased acculturative stress, as Mehta (1998) found that immigrants who perceive themselves as accepted in both the at-large American society and in their ethnic community have better

mental health than those who only feel comfortable in their homeland cultural context, consistent with Farver, Bhadha and Narang's (2002) finding that second-generation integrated (bicultural) individuals experience less anxiety than those who are either separated or marginalized.

While both immigrant and second-generation individuals use ethnic communities as part of their adaptation process, the way in which the community is used varies depending on generation. The immigrant group most often uses the ethnic community for three purposes: to maintain their ethnic identity, to transmit cultural values and practices to their children (Inman et al., 1997), and to learn to function biculturally (Zhou, 1997). Participation in ethnic organizations also helps increase civic participation in the anti-discrimination movement (Raj, 2004), which also increases a sense of belongingness and safety in an American environment.

Immigrant parents report that their psychological and behavioral sense of belonging to the ethnic group is significantly influenced by their access to and participation in cultural and religious celebrations, as well as their ability to raise their children in concordance with the values and traditions with which they were raised (Inman et al., 1997). Cultural transmission, the second function of the ethnic community, occurs in several ways: modeling, participation in both cultural and religious traditions, teaching the native language, reading Indian books/stories, and engaging in Indian artistic traditions (singing, dancing, playing musical instruments, etc.). This transmission occurs both within the confines of the immediate family and through the extended ethnic family (in the form of the cultural community), a result of the collectivistic worldview that characterizes this population.

For second generation individuals, for whom the majority of socialization occurs in a predominantly American context, belonging to an ethnic community is especially important in planting the seeds for ethnic identification because it is the only community in which the values and belief systems of their families are the norm. From a collectivist perspective, socialization through community serves to deepen ethnic and family bonds by reinforcing closeness and obedience, values immigrant parents see as lacking in larger American society. In addition to cultural transmission, this community bond also serves to protect the family from conflicts due to their minority status, as evidenced by Rudrappa's (2002) description: "This private sphere is seen as a separate social universe, unsullied by the happenings of the public world. In the privacy of their homes [and in their community] Indian Americans are able to practice their religion, speak their language, cook their Indian foods, and crucially, reproduce their families in what is considered to be the Indian way" (Salam, 2005).

For immigrants, participation in the community not only strengthens their ethnic identification but also helps them learn to adapt their traditions and values in a way that allows them to be accepted both in the ethnic community and in their host culture. In an effort to raise children who are able to function in both communities, immigrant parents modify traditional South Asian parenting techniques to facilitate acculturation. This leads to more of an authoritative or democratic parenting style (as opposed to the authoritarian parenting style prevalent in South Asia). Furthermore, because immigrant parents learned cultural values through implicit means (modeling, social norms), they must also learn, more explicitly, about their native cultural values so that they can effectively pass them on to their children (Inman et al., 1997).

Immigrant Parents and their Second -Generation Children: Value Transmission and
Conflict

According to Inman et al. (2007), discipline and scholastic achievement are two
modalities which immigrant parents often use to reinforce native cultural values and help
their children acculturate effectively. Through the use of reinforcement and punishment,
parents can teach their second generation children culturally appropriate behaviors and
increase the likelihood that they will both behave in culturally appropriate ways and hold
on to cultural values as they age. This technique is often used to carry on the tradition of
intra-ethnic and intra-religious marriage, a construct the "Americanized" South Asian
might not be as open to otherwise. The immigrant parents' strong emphasis on intra-
ethnic and intra-religious marriage comes out of a need to ensure the transmission of
cultural values from generation to generation, as inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriage
increases the chance that their children and grandchildren will identify more with
American cultural values than South Asian ones (Inman et al., 1997).

Scholastic achievement is also emphasized for two reasons: first, because
educational attainment leads to financial success and stability, and second, because
achieving professional status allows their children to perpetuate the model minority myth,
which, though it has detrimental consequences for those who don't fit the stereotype,
increases society's respect for those who live up to their model minority status.
Furthermore, immigrants whose credentials are not accepted in the United States often
experience increased stress, which can lead to psychological distress (Mehta, 1998), and
so it makes sense, then, that immigrant parents often stress the importance of scholastic

achievement, as they associate effective acculturation with being able to create a life for themselves in a new country and culture. In this way, immigrant parents are future-focused in their goals for acculturation and ethnic identity retention.

The second generation population, however, is often more present-focused in their acculturation orientation, and is primarily concerned with fitting in based on the external traits and behaviors that they associate with being either American or South Asian (Zhou, 1997). The second generation struggle is often hallmarked by the sentiment that they must choose one culture over the other; to identify with their American side is to reject their South Asian side, and vice versa. During adolescence, these individuals report cultural conflict (both within themselves and with their parents) around issues such as role transitions, responsibilities, and autonomy.

While negotiating the self in terms of the family and external environment marks adolescence for many American teenagers, it is a foreign concept to South Asian parents, as these struggles aren't seen in South Asian cultures, and can cause conflict between immigrant parents and their second generation children. This intergenerational conflict is highest when there is an acculturation mismatch between parent and child; Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) show that parents and children who are integrated (bicultural) experience the least amount of intergenerational conflict and therefore acculturate into American society with the greatest ease. Additionally, children whose parents had difficulty acculturating (as evidenced by their separated or marginalized acculturation style) experienced more psychological problems than those adolescents whose parents were integrated, further adding to the body of literature that suggests that

biculturalism in the healthiest way to adapt to American society (Koplow and Messinger, 1990; Vollebergh and Huiberts, 1997).

The Intersection of Acculturation and Ethnic Identity:

The Orthogonal Model

Lastly, the orthogonal model of acculturation, proposed by Sayegh and Lasry (1993) in reaction to the criticisms of the unidirectional and bidirectional acculturation models discussed above, conceptualizes the adaptation process as a function of the interaction between acculturation and ethnic identity. These authors propose potential outcomes: assimilation (low ethnic identification and high dominant-culture identification), integration (high ethnic and dominant-culture identification), ethnocentrism (high ethnic and low dominant-culture identification), and marginalization (low ethnic and dominant-culture identification). This only further substantiates the claim that acculturation and ethnic identity, while separate constructs, are inextricably intertwined.

Identity Development

South Asian American identity development, according to Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu (1997) follows the generic outline for minority identity development cited in Sue and Sue (2003). This model consists of five distinct stages: conformity, dissonance and appreciating, resistance and immersion, introspection, and integrative awareness. Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu, (1997) claim that immigrants, more so than second generation individuals, notice the distinct differences between their natal and host

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cultures, and attribute this hypersensitivity to the fact that immigrants have experienced being a minority in their own land due to the history of British rule in India. Immigrants enter the United States with some sort of understanding of White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant values, beliefs, and assumptions (Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu, 1997), which may explain the unique combination of individualism (as evidenced by the emphasis on educational attainment and individual success) and collectivism (as evidenced by family and community norms/values) seen in some South Asian Americans (Patel, Power, and Bhavnagiri 1996).

Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu, (1997) characterize the South Asian American immigrant identity development as skipping over the conformity stage due to their acknowledgement of cultural differences upon entering the United States and their experience of holding on tightly to their ethnic identity in the face of British colonialism. Instead, immigrant individuals enter identity development in the second stage: dissonance and appreciating, when they realize that working hard is not enough to achieve acceptance by both mainstream America and other immigrant or American-born ethnic minorities. In the third stage, resistance and immersion, the immigrant may re-identify with their South Asian heritage because, no matter how hard they try, they feel unaccepted by American society. This leads to a reaffirmation of ethnic identity, which can also increase identification with other minorities (Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu 1997) and contribute to the anti-discrimination activism that sometimes accompanies ethnic organization affiliation (Raj, 2004). When these individuals move into the fourth stage, introspection, they feel more secure about their identity and have the cognitive room to explore the more dogmatic beliefs they may have held in the resistance and immersion

stage. This leads to the integrative awareness stage, in which South Asian immigrants decide which natal and host values they are comfortable accepting or rejecting; they create an individual identity that is an amalgamation of attributes that are characteristic of both societies (Ibrahim, Ohnishi and Sandhu, 1997). Thus, these authors substantiate Berry (1986) and Farver, Badha and Narang's (2002) contention that biculturalism allows for the greatest functioning in both the natal and host cultures.

Unlike their immigrant counterparts, second generation individuals might struggle more with visible aspects of their cultural otherness. Inman (2006) presents a model of ethnic identity that separates values and worldview (which she terms internal ethnic identity) from observable behaviors (external ethnic identity), which can be theoretically linked to the notion of phenotypic visibility. According to Zhou (1997), second generation individuals report varying experiences: some feel ostracized because their visible minority status makes it almost impossible for them to shed their status as different, or not-white; others feel accepted in American society precisely because of the strength of their ethnic identities.

Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) found that some adolescents feel a greater pull to assimilate rather than integrate into mainstream American society because integration risks alienation from their American peers (and doesn't guarantee acceptance in American society) while assimilation is more likely to result in acceptance by their Caucasian (majority) peers. This is somewhat consistent with the notion of "reflected appraisal," the idea that others' perceptions impact the type and strength of racial identity (Khanna, 2004). According to this author, phenotype, cultural exposure, and reflected appraisal shape the identities of those who may not feel a strong leaning towards one

culture or the other; if their peers see them as white (accept their assimilative status) and they don't feel particularly connected to their South Asian background, second generation individuals might be more likely to reject or downplay their cultural heritage in favor of a more mainstream lifestyle. On the other hand, those who have an adequate amount of cultural exposure (as seen by their external ethnic identity- observable behaviors that increase their feelings of belongingness to the in-group such as language usage, religious participation, community involvement) don't rely as much on their phenotypic attributes and the reflected appraisals of others in forming their ethnic identity. This suggests that interpersonal interactions significantly impact both acculturation and ethnic identity. As will be further delineated later, there is a need in the literature for the exploration of the relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and the interpersonal relationships of both the immigrant and second generation populations, as the research to-date has not looked at the intersection of these variables.

In "Brown Girls, White Worlds," Rajiva (2006) touches upon the difficulties with racialization of self faced by many second generation women. She, like Khanna (2004), contends that the visible aspects of their minority status significantly contribute to racial identity. Unlike some of their parents' generation, second generation individuals don't struggle with language barriers, but are still both phenotypically and culturally different from the mainstream. These differences make the dominant American cultural narrative unattainable. In contrast to their parents' generation, the dominant Indian cultural narrative is unattainable as well, and so these individuals are faced with a unique dilemma: a "second skin" that shapes their life story without the glorification of the native culture or memories of genuine belongingness. For those who may not have

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experienced boundary events (social moments that caused them to transition from an unracialized self-concept to an awareness of difference (Twine, 1996)) and so have felt relatively comfortable passing, familial/community norms and expectations often create a divide between the experiences of the average American teenager and that of a second generation South Asian. These expectations are often centered around interpersonal interaction: working, dating, going to parties, staying out late. Feeling alienated from the typical American developmental milestones has the potential to disturb the formation of self-concept, as shame and humiliation due to difference may be experienced. Over time, these emotions can lead to a sense of personal insufficiency, which may result in a fragile sense of self. As Handa (2003) eloquently states, "those teenage years that still hover within me are about not being Canadian enough, not being Indian enough, not being White enough…not being."

A Unique Second Generation South Asian American Identity

In an effort to create a space in which they belong, second generation young adults have formed a collective identity on college campuses. The formation of a collective identity is part of the coming-of-age process of this generation; an attempt to separate/individuate from the immigrant communities in which they grew up and to create an identity that is similar yet different from that of the community-at large. In essence, it is the creation of a distinct South Asian American identity.

The question, "what makes us Indian?" is not answered by the degree to which second generation individuals or organizations utilize specific cultural staples, such as food, language, music, dress, or heredity (as it might be for the immigrant generation).

Rather, the second generation collective identity is centered around a common minority American experience, and is disseminated through interpersonal interactions that occur in the context of both formal and informal social networks. This interaction leads to the "synthesis of Indian and American ideas and values into a generational identity that allows them to interact in the public realm with both their parents' organizations and with the organizations of other segments of the new second generation" (Bacon, 1999).

With regard to organizations of other segments of the new second generation, Salam (2005) found that the collective second generation often asserts its status as autonomous from the immigrant generation by the mechanisms of categorization and labeling. The second generation is much more likely than the first to identify panethnically, choosing to use broad terms such as "South Asian" instead of identifying in ways that are more nation-specific (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Nepalese). This is due to the fact that the second-generation, in contrast to the first, is not as affected by the religio-socio-political divides seen between the various South Asian countries (delineated above). Additionally, second generation individuals who identify as South Asian often also favor a panethnic identity (especially in terms of organizational ethnic identity) because of the political power it gives them as a minority group in American society. This is not to say that they exclusively refer to themselves as South Asian; rather, the terms they use to qualify their ethnicity shift depending upon the socio-political context in which they are identifying themselves. This is consistent with the ethnic identification of other second generation Asian Americans, as documented by Kibria (1999). Additionally, this collective identification creates and maintains

interpersonal relationships that span South Asian ethnic groups, creating a community that is larger and an ethnic identity that is broader than that of their parents' generation.

Interpersonal Relationships

Based on a review of the literature, it is clear that there is a dearth of information about the interpersonal relationships of the immigrant generation. What little research has been done suggests that immigrant individuals form relationships in two distinct arenas: the ethnic community and the workplace. In the ethnic community, acculturation is facilitated by interactions with others going through similar acculturative struggles, and in the workplace, immigrants learn to behave in ways that are professionally consistent with the mainstream culture (as seen by the selective acculturation literature cited earlier). Some research has been done on the interpersonal relationships of second generation individuals, but this literature focuses mostly on the cultural struggles surrounding American developmental milestones such as dating and marriage. There is a dearth of information about the friendship choices of second generation individuals, as well as the cultural values and interpersonal qualities that facilitate their relationships.

Social Support

In order to understand the nature of immigrant and second generation interpersonal relationships, it is important to understand the function of social support in a collectivistic society. Social support is defined as "the perception or experience that one is loved and cared for, esteemed and valued, and part of a social network of mutual assistance and obligations" (Taylor, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi, and Dunagan, 2004). Although

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at first-glance it might seem that the collectivistic value system would lend itself well to Western notions of social support due to the fact that there is an emphasis on interconnectedness and group-belongingness, Eastern values around help-seeking are distinctly different from those of European Americans. Instead of thinking of the group as there to help meet individual informational, instrumental, and emotional needs, immigrants (and, due to familial/community socialization, their second generation children) behave in ways that focus on collective, rather than personal, needs.

Taylor, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi, and Dunagan (2004) found that individuals of Asian descent gave the following reasons for not seeking social support when dealing with a stressor: preserving the harmony of the group, the belief that telling others would make the problem worse, concern that sharing problems would result in criticism or poor evaluation by others, desire to save face and avoid embarrassment, and the cultural belief that each person has an obligation to discharge his or her own responsibilities and correct mistakes. Although immigrants tended to seek less social support than their second generation children (who sought more support from their immediate families than their parents), respondents of Asian descent, on the whole, sought significantly less social support than their European American counterparts.

One reason for this difference is that Western cultures value talking as a tool to help clarify thoughts about problems, while Asian cultures (those who subscribe to a more collectivistic worldview) sometimes view talking about problems as a "disturbance from thinking." (Taylor, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi, and Dunagan, 2004). Instead of helping solve problems, it is seen as amplifying them by blowing them out of proportion or drawing unnecessary attention to the problems and/or the individual. These cultural

norms are especially important when examining the effects of acculturation and ethnic identity on interpersonal dynamics, as each affects the other.

Friendship

According to Ali (2004), peer relations play a significant role in the way these individuals acculturate; the transactions that occur between second generation South Asians and their American friends, their second generation South Asian friends, and interactions with others in their ethnic community at-large affect the individual's acculturation trajectory. The only elaboration on this point that can be gleaned from his research, however, is that the selective acculturation process can impact the formation of interpersonal relationships. Ali (2004) writes, "For example, some people lead double lives, fully acculturated with American friends, while pretending to be good Muslims to their parents, feigning to reject the pernicious influences of American culture." Similarly, Maira (2002) found that Indian American youth in NYC socialized with their American friends during the week and their Indian friends during the weekend, suggesting that they were able to effectively function in both worlds (competently selectively acculturate).

Research on Asian American women's friendships suggests that emotional support is less central to the establishment and maintenance of friendships than those of White women (Rose, 2008) which is consistent with the notion of social support as different in a collectivistic context (Taylor, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi, and Dunagan, 2004). However, the little social support and friendship-choices literature that exists doesn't specifically address the Asian Indian and/or South Asian population, and so the dearth of information makes it particularly important to further delineate in future research.

Inman (2006) writes about the effects of ethnic identity on the intimate relationships of immigrant and second generation South Asian populations. She states that immigrant women often struggle with internalized values related to intimacy; due to the fact that intimacy before marriage is taboo in traditional South Asian culture, these women fear loss of face and loss of an ethnic social structure/morality if their engagement in premarital intimacy is not kept secret.

Inman (2006) refers to this as the fear of being Americanized, and it can be extrapolated that this fear impacts the way that these women acculturate. This is consistent with Ali's (2004) contention that second generation individuals lead double-lives in order to create and maintain relationships in both an American and South Asian context, but doesn't provide any information as to the qualities valued in any type of relationship, friendship or romantic.

The notion of reflected appraisal (Khanna, 2004), as delineated earlier, helps individuals create a sense of ethnic identity when there are no objective criteria for self-attributions; it can be assumed, then, that reflected appraisals also play a role in the formation of relationships. Reflected appraisals are most likely due to both phenotype and external ethnic identity (behaviors that indicate belongingness to an ethnic or cultural group), and so it can be inferred that the appraisal of belongingness to a South Asian context might lead to different values in terms of interpersonal relationships than if the appraisal resulted in belongingness to mainstream society. However, this has not been hypothesized or studied in the literature, and so a connection between these aspects cannot be accurately made.

Immigrant Parents on Intimacy in America

Many immigrant parents believe that the traditional South Asian family structure is superior to that of the nuclear American family, and are often skeptical of the concept of "love marriage" because it is something they have never experienced and therefore cannot understand. They often ask, "What is this going out business?" unable to comprehend the concept of a relationship that begins before marriage (Maira, 2002). Often, these traditionally minded parents see love as something that develops after parental consent has been given (namely in an arranged marriage situation). "Family and parents are the most important parts of one's life. How can a person love another without parents' wisdom or blessings? After all, the feelings of love are created by one's family!" (DasGupta, 1989).

Some immigrant parents also argue that "love marriage" is the reason there are so many divorces in the United States, maintaining that becoming a "wife" or "husband" is a cultural and familial obligation rather than a fulfillment of personal desire (Gupta, 1999). They often see "love marriages," or the "development of ties between individuals who are not sanctioned by [the] family [as] a threat to the integrity of the family unit" (Gupta, 1999). These parents also often feel that the community's respect for the family is determined by the children's actions, and so children who are obedient and don't fall prey to the American dating tradition reflect positively on their family (Maira, 2002), upholding a value system that is respected as the preservation of culture and worldview in the post-1965 immigrant community. This disapproval of the American dating tradition stems from a belief, on the part of the parents, that not only are their children deviating

from cultural and traditional norms, they are also participating in immoral acts or putting themselves in situations in which these behaviors could ensue.

An issue that is unique to South Asian American immigrants (as compared to their South Asian counterparts) is that, for them, dating in the American sense often leads to a fear of an interracial marriage (Segal, 1991). This fear stems from a belief that interracial or intercultural marriage will result in the dilution of culture, causing their children to lose their "Indian-ness" (Mukhi, 2000). Interracial or intercultural marriages are more likely than intra-racial and intra-cultural marriages to result in a nuclear family structure, which is in stark contrast to the more traditional extended-family structure held in high esteem by some members of the immigrant generation. Immigrant parents fear that with American family structure comes American values, and they worry that their children and grandchildren will not only lose their Indian identities but also adopt a more individualistic value system, further separating them from the culture of their motherland. In their opinion, the American moral standard pales in comparison to their 1960's and 70's South Asian doctrine, and they are resistant to watching their offspring assimilate instead of simply taking the "best of both worlds" (Gupta, 1999). Dasgupta (1998) quotes an immigrant father on dating: "Children talk about going out on date(s) and tell us that we don't know anything about U.S. culture. What do they know about their cultural background? I think they are lost...If dating is an exploration, they are going the wrong way."

Second Generation Negotiation: Reactions to Traditional Views on Intimacy

Forced to find their own niche in American society, second generation South Asian Americans have found a way to please both their parents and themselves. Though it involves dishonesty, something strongly reprimanded based on the South Asian value system, many second generation South Asian Americans employ this as a strategy to be able to fit in with their peers, to fulfill their own desires as Americans, and to preserve their parents' respect for them as obedient and moral children. A 1991 study of second generation Indian Americans in California reported that 95% of the 120 individuals interviewed were either currently dating or had dated, and over half of these individuals reported that they kept it secret from their families (Maira, 2002). These youth employ strategies such as lying to their parents about who they're going out with and where they are going, making phone calls at discreet times or on separate phone lines- "dating on the sly" (Mukhi, 2000). When the children reach college-age, they often date while they are away from home and keep this information from their parents. This deception is not easy for the second generation, however. A young man speaks of his friend, who has been dating a girl for three years, and says, "If he tells his parents, his relationship is basically over. Yet, on the other hand, going against his parents is something he does not want to do. It goes against everything he believes in" (Leonard, 1997).

Communication between parents and children in the South Asian American community has been poor, according to research. Many teenagers and young adults avoid talking to their parents about dating and relationships because they feel that "their parents would not listen, understand, or help" (Segal, 1991). Often, the "parents do not come into play until the relationship is serious," according to one woman interviewed about her

second generation experience (Leonard, 1997). For some, when the relationship becomes known to the parents, the parents pressure the children to get married and "legitimize" their relationship (Gupta 1999). Other, more liberal immigrant parents, however, accept the fact that their children are in relationships, but don't share this information with other members of the South Asian American community (for fear of social and cultural judgment). These parents tell their children, "If you go out with too many boys, or something, you become ruined" (Maira, 2002). Once parents, even the more liberal ones, have accepted their child's partner and have "made the relationship public" in the South Asian American community, they, as well as the community, consider it to be a "serious, committed relationship" (Gupta, 1999). Singla (2005) also writes about this behavior, labeling it "partial concealment."

Parents who adopt this "in-between" attitude often prefer that their children date other South Asian Americans, believing that if a marriage were to occur, the likelihood of preservation of South Asian culture would be greater in a same-ethnic marriage than in an interracial one. These same parents have also been documented to impose age restrictions upon their children's dating, not allowing them to date during early adolescence, as many American parents do (Maira, 2002). These immigrants, often educationally minded, prefer that their children focus on their studies, and when they reach an age at which it is appropriate to form opposite-sex relationships (most often the beginning or middle of the collegiate years), encourage them to befriend South Asian American members of the opposite sex. These relationships, however, are presumed to be close friendships, and, according to the parents, don't have a sexual component. "What doesn't fit their image,

they ignore, perhaps thinking that if they ignore it long enough, it will go away" (Shah, 1997).

In a study of second generation South Asian Americans, it was found that 40% of the sample was open to dating non-Indian Americans, but only 26% were open to marrying one. Those who were willing to date but not marry non-Indian Americans reasoned that, for a marriage, they needed someone who shared their culture and religion. They also noted that the community would look down upon and criticize their decision, and they didn't want to be forced to deal with disapproval (Gupta 1999). These sentiments, expressed by the second generation, reflect parental attitudes towards marital and familial relationships, and suggest that, even when the children go against their parents' wishes and date, the value system parents have instilled in their children influences their decisions. Singla (2005) elaborates on this concept, describing it as a combination of individualism and collectivism: autonomy and partner choice are equally as important as parental acceptance, and a combination of the two is used in deciding whom to date and whom to marry.

In Gupta's (1999) study, those who said that they would marry a non-Indian American explained that they wanted to marry someone because they loved them, and not because of their ethnicity, which reflects a more Americanized value system. However, the qualities and values that these individuals hold in esteem in romantic relationships have not been studied; thus, the association between acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and interpersonal relationships is theoretical, at best.

Of the parents who do allow their children to date, however, many don't approve of multiple relationships, even if these relationships are kept secret from the South Asian

community. This is often due to the unspoken sentiment that, if sexual intimacy is part of the relationship, it is immoral and inappropriate to have several sexual partners. This one-relationship mentality poses a problem for the second generation child who wants to date the way mainstream Americans do- get to know many people, experience many types of relationships, and then decide what is right for them (Gupta 1999). Other second generation South Asian Americans, however, adopt this attitude from their parents and are concerned about choosing the "right one" to date, with the hopes that, when a relationship forms, it will be secure.

Some immigrant parents, in an effort to preserve tradition but also acculturate, introduce their children to potential mates and then allow them to date, giving them a chance to assess their suitability for each other (Menon, 1989). This pre-approval gives parents a chance to reinforce the South Asian concept of an ideal mate: a person from the same caste or subcaste (for the very traditionally minded), someone who practices the same religion, comes from a respectable family, and has the ability to provide for and support a family (Gupta, 1999). Research has shown that a great percentage of Indian American youth aren't totally opposed to the idea of an arranged marriage, but would like the freedom to either accept or reject the mates their parents have chosen for them (Mukhi, 2000). In this way, some second generation youth have gracefully bridged the gap between the generations and cultures in a way that is, more often than not, accepted by the immigrant generation.

Interrelatedness of Aforementioned Variables: Existing Research

The Connection between Ethnic Identity and Relationships

Research by Davidson (1992) and Porterfield (1982) suggests that people enter mixed-ethnic relationships with different motivations than those enter into same-ethnic relationships (the characteristics that are important in partner choice vary depending upon the type of relationship that is sought). Gurung and Duong (1999), however, hypothesized that this was not the case, and instead posed that the qualities valued in partner choice are the same for both those who choose to be in same-ethnic and mixed-ethnic relationships. The attributes these authors found important in partner preference include: appearance, sense of humor, financial stability, intelligence, parental approval, communication skills, formal education, athletic ability, sense of adventure, kindness, interest in my culture, similar ethnicity, self-confidence, religion (and extent practicing), and individuality. Additionally, they found that self esteem that is rooted in ethnic identity leads to greater likelihood of intra-ethnic relationships and high ethnic identity is predictive of strong relationship quality and commitment. These results suggest that the cultural values inherent in ethnic identity (and the feelings of belongingness that accompany a strong ethnic identity) impact the formation and quality of interpersonal relationships. However, this is just one study, and it doesn't assess acculturation or worldview directly. Furthermore, the study includes participants from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and so the results cannot be justifiably generalized to a South Asian population.

Acculturation, Ethnic Identity, and Interpersonal Relationships

Only one article (Mok, 1999) was found that examined the inter-relationships between these three variables in the Asian American population. The results were that interracial dating behavior for second generation Asian Americans correlated positively with high acculturation (as measured by the SL-ASIA, a scale designed specifically for Asian Americans), high perceptions of heterosexual attractiveness of Caucasians, and past interracial dating experience. They also found that interracial dating behavior correlated negatively with ethnic identity (as measured by the MEIM, a multidimensional measure of ethnic identity designed to be used with ethnically diverse samples), Asian American friendship (as measured by the percentage of friends they had in each ethnic group), parental influence, and density (as measured by the relative proportion of their ethnic group in the environment in which they grew up). The opposite was also found to be true: ethnic identity, Asian American friendship, parental influence, and density correlated positively with intra-racial dating while acculturation, heterosexual attractiveness of Caucasians, and interracial dating experience correlated negatively with intra-racial partner choice.

Their measure of dating likelihood was rather rudimentary, though, and consisted of the question, "How likely is it that you would date a (n): African American, Asian American, Hispanic American, and White American?" (with ratings on a likert scale from 1-7). It did not address the question of worldview and its impact on the values inherent in partner choice, which is incredibly important when delineating the relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, and the formation of interpersonal relationships. In

addition, their sample did not consist of any South Asians, and so it is not clear that these same conclusions would be true for this particular subset of the Asian population.

Rationale for the Present Study

It is clear that the relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and the qualities valued in interpersonal relationships has not been adequately studied. While the authors that have been cited studied these constructs alone and/or in other contexts, no solid conclusions or generalizations can be made about the relationship between these factors. It makes sense that these variables are intertwined, as acculturation delineates the individual's level of comfort with the values considered acceptable in either (or both) the natal and/or host culture. Similarly, ethnic identity delineates the individual's level of comfort with cultural values and adds a behavioral component that helps the individual identify with either (or both) the natal and/or host culture. It is logical to conclude that acculturation status, group-belongingness, and worldview impact the qualities and characteristics South Asian individuals (of both the immigrant and second generation) look for in friends and potential romantic/life partners. It is also logical to conclude that these three variables impact the immigrant and second generations differently, as immigrants grew up in a predominantly South Asian context, while the second generation grew up in a predominantly American context. Studying the relationship between these variables is incredibly important not only to add to the literature, but also because it sheds light on the South Asian American experience. As the South Asian population increases, and as the second generation grows from young

adulthood to adulthood (and the third generation is born), the need for an adequate understanding of this experience increases.

Hypotheses

1. Individuals who identify as Assimilated will have low ethnic identity and will be more likely to identify with individualistic values than individuals who identify as bicultural or South Asian. They will experience less cultural value conflict in an American context and be more likely to engage in inter-ethnic friendships and romantic relationships than individuals who are bicultural or South Asian in their acculturation status.

2. Individuals who identify as South Asian will have high ethnic identity and will be more likely to identify with collectivistic values than individuals who identify as assimilated or bicultural. They will experience more cultural value conflict in an American context, and be more likely to engage in intra-ethnic friendships and romantic relationships than individuals who are assimilated or bicultural in their acculturation status.

3. Individuals who identify as Bicultural will have high ethnic identity and will be more likely to identify with a combination of individualistic and collectivistic values than individuals who identify as either assimilated or South Asian. They will experience a moderate amount of cultural value conflict in both South Asian and American cultural contexts, and be equally as likely to engage in inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic friendships and romantic relationships.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Overview

This study examined the relationships between acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and the experience of cultural value conflict as it relates to the interpersonal relationships of immigrant and second generation South Asians in the United States. Individuals' acculturation statuses were assessed using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn et al., 1987), which was adapted for the South Asian population. Participants' acculturation statuses were measured both categorically (classifying participants as either South Asian, bicultural, or assimilated) and continuously. Ethnic identity was assessed by two measures: The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure- Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney and Ong, 2007) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998), which was modified for the South Asian population. The MEIM-R consists of two subscales (exploration and commitment), and both were used. The MIBI was designed to measure three stable dimensions of identity: centrality, ideology, and regard. The centrality and regard subscales were administered in this study.

Due to the fact that the MEIM-R's commitment scale assesses attachment, belonging, and understanding but not explicit attitudes towards the respondent's ethnic group, the MIBI centrality and regard scales –which ask questions directly assessing the centrality of ethnicity in identity and attitudes about the ethnic group- were used in order to give the researcher a more thorough understanding of the participant's ethnic identity. The combination of these two measures was suggested by Phinney and Ong (2007) as a

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way to more comprehensively assess ethnic identity. Kiang et al., (2006) used these two subscales of the MIBI to measure ethnic identity, which suggests that using these two subscales- instead of the entire instrument- is an acceptable way to measure these aspects of ethnic identity.

In order to assess the values important to the participants, the Individualism-Collectivism Scale- Shortened Version (Hui and Yee, 1994), was administered. Due to the fact that worldview plays a large role in the values that are internalized, measuring worldview was anticipated to help delineate the impact of acculturation and ethnic identity on the formation of interpersonal relationships. Questions assessed participants' tendencies to think and behave in individualistic and collectivistic ways.

Lastly, in order to assess the amount of cultural conflict individuals experience in interpersonal relationships, the Cultural Values Conflict Scale (Inman et al., 2001) was used. Questions that pertain to the following three dimensions were asked: family relations, dating practices and premarital sexual relations, and marriage.

Participants

Participants were recruited through community and campus organizations to which a large number of South Asian individuals belong. The participants' ages were between 21-36, as the researcher was interested in the impact of acculturation and ethnic identity on the interpersonal relationships of this population, and recruiting younger individuals might not have given the same type of information due to the fact that younger individuals might be actively acculturating, exploring their ethnic identity, and may not have reached a point in their lives when they find personal and cultural

values/qualities important when forming interpersonal relationships. So, this study sought individuals who belonged to community and campus organizations and were either enrolled in higher education coursework or working as young professionals in American society. The researcher hoped that the sample (target N=100) would include individuals of both the immigrant generation and second generation.

Procedure

A snowball sampling method of recruitment was used, and was conducted in three distinct ways. First, campus organizational leaders were contacted and asked to distribute an email with a link to a website, where the respondents were able to anonymously participate. In addition, participants were invited to forward the survey to other South Asians who might be willing to participate through an email-link at the end of the study. Also, the researcher sent the survey to all South Asian individuals she knows personally and professionally, and requested that they both participate and pass along the information to interested friends and family.

The front-page of the survey had a brief description of the study, explaining that participation was anonymous and voluntary. It also stated that participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time. Additionally, it gave the participants the researcher's contact information, in the event that they had questions or wanted to know the outcome of the study after the analyses have been completed. By filling out the survey, the participants gave their consent, and therefore no additional consent form was needed. The researcher anticipated that it would take the participants somewhere between 20 and 30 minutes to complete the questionnaires.

Measures

Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn et al., 1987) - Adapted for the South Asian Population

The SL-ASIA is a 21-item questionnaire used to measure Asian American acculturation into Western culture. It is the only scale that has been designed expressly for this population, and studies have shown that it is both reliable and valid. Alpha coefficients range from .72-.91 (Kodama and Canetto, 1995; Suinn, Khoo, and Ahuna, 1995; Suinn et al., 1987). The administration of this measure yields scores that delineate acculturation status, on a unidimensional scale from 1-5, with 1 being least acculturated and 5 being most acculturated. The questions ask about a variety of acculturation dimensions, including language (4 questions), identity (4 questions), friendship choice (4 questions), behaviors (5 questions), generation/geographic history (3 questions), and attitudes (1 question). Abe-Kim, Okazaki, and Goto (2001) proposed an alternative scoring model for the SL-ASIA that classifies individuals into three categories: traditional, bicultural, and assimilated- conceptualizing and measuring acculturation as a multidimensional, rather than a unidimensional, construct. Both scoring methods were used in this study. Additionally, this scale was modified for this specific Asian-American population. In addition to providing information about acculturation status, this measure gave the researcher insight as to the characteristics participants find important in friendships, as delineated by their answers to friendship choice questions.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney and Ong, 2007):

Exploration and Commitment Subscales

The MEIM-R is a 6 question measure assessing exploration and commitment, two important aspects of ethnic identity (Phinney and Ong, 2007). Questions are answered on a Likert-scale, with answers ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Each subscale has three questions- and the results can either be divided into subscales or a full scale score can be used. Sample questions include: "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs" and "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group." Phinney and Ong (2007) found that both subscales have good reliability: .76 for the exploration scale and .78 for the commitment scale. Full scale reliability was found to be .81. Factor analysis showed that this model was a good representation of the latent structure of ethnic identity, indicating that it has good validity.

Multidimensional Black Identity Centrality and Regard Subscales (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997*) - Adapted for the South Asian Population*

The MIBI is an instrument created to measure racial identity as a multidimensional construct. Sellers et al., (1997) described the three dimensions measured by this instrument: centrality (the extent to which a person's identity is defined by race), regard (a person's affective and evaluative judgment of their race), and ideology (how the individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about their race influence their behavior with regards to life-philosophies such as nationalism, oppression, assimilation, and humanism). Regard was further divided into private regard (individuals' beliefs about

their ethnic group as well as their feelings about their belongingness to their ethnic group)
and public regard (individuals' perceptions of society-at-large's opinions and beliefs
about their ethic group).

In their initial study, the authors found internal consistency for the centrality
subscale to be .77, and after revising their private and public regard subscales (Sellers et
al., 1998), measured their reliabilities to be .78 and .78, respectively. Their factor analysis
suggested that regard as a whole could be considered a construct, but delineated
differences between private regard (the extent to which the individual feels positively or
negatively towards their ethnic group in general, as well as how positively or negatively
they feel about their belonging to that ethnic group) and public regard (how positively or
negatively the individual thinks society at-large views their ethnic group). Criterion
validity and predictive validity, in terms of friendship choices and amount of time spent
with individuals of the same ethnic group, were also found to be adequate (Sellers et al.,
1997 as cited in Walsh, 2001; Sellers et al., 1998), such that individuals who scored high
on the centrality subscale had more contact with individuals of the same ethnic group
than those who scored lower on that subscale. It was extrapolated, then, that high
centrality leads to more intra-ethnic friendship and romantic relationship choices. Due to
the fact that this measure was created for individuals of African American descent, it was
adapted for this population.

The Centrality scale consists of 8 questions, with choices ranging from 1 (strongly
disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). This scale assesses the extent to which individuals feel
their ethnicity is central to their self concept- for example, "Being South Asian is an
important part of my self-image." The regard subscale, which also consists of 16

questions, measures the extent to which respondents have positive feelings towards their ethnic group- for example, "I am proud to be South Asian." These questions were further demarcated into private and public regard (8 questions each).

Individualism-Collectivism Scale- Shortened Version (INDCOL; Hui and Yee, 1994)

The INDCOL was originally developed to assess individuals' value systems: whether their orientations were more individualistic or collectivistic. The original scale was 63 items, and factor analyses showed that the internal structure of the original scale was insufficient. Thus, Hui and Yee (1994) shortened and revised the scale. Factor analysis showed that their questions loaded onto two subscales: ingroup solidarity (which measures solidarity with people who are either nuclear family or part of the community) and social obligation (which measures politeness and preservation of harmony in relationships), and confirmed the instrument as valid. Reliability for the subscales has also been shown to be .59 and .68, respectively, which was deemed adequate given that the reliabilities were calculated based on an entire sample of responses (as opposed to one individual's response to the question set, in which case higher reliability would be necessary).

Questions are scored on a likert scale from 0-5, with 0 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree." Higher scores indicate identification with collectivist values, while lower scores indicate identification with individualistic values.

Cultural Values Conflict Scale (CVCS; Inman et al., 2001) - Adapted for this Study

The CVCS was developed specifically for measuring the cultural value conflict of South Asian women in the United States, and will be used to measure the amount of conflict individuals experience when making choices about intimate partners and relationships. This measure consists of 24 items rated on a scale from 1-6, with 1 being "strongly disagree," 5 representing "strongly agree," and 6 indicating "not applicable." Higher scores indicate more cultural value conflict, and lower scores indicate less cultural value conflict.

The scale consists of questions that assess four central values: family relations, dating practices/premarital sexual relations, marriage, and sex-role expectations, all of which shed light on the values inherent in the formation of interpersonal relationships. The authors originally anticipated the questions loading onto the aforementioned four factors, but confirmatory factor analysis did not confirm the four-factor model. When exploratory factor analysis was done, a better fitting two-factor model was found. These two factors are referred to, by the authors, as the intimate relations and sex-role expectations subscales. The intimate relations subscale captures South Asian expectations about intimate relations and the context in which they should occur, as well as the influence of cultural pressures on behavioral choices. The sex-role expectations subscale highlights cultural-value conflicts that encompass both familial expectation and sex-role socialization.

Reliability of the full scale was found to be .84, and reliability for the subscales (intimate relations and sex-role expectations) were .87 and .85, respectively. Adequate discriminant and convergent validity have also been established. Due to the fact that the

sex-role expectation questions were written expressly for women and this researcher was interested in the effects of acculturation and ethnic identity on the interpersonal relationships of both men and women, these questions were omitted. An exploration of the factor structure was conducted in order to assess construct validity, and a reliability analysis was conducted to ensure that reliability was maintained.

Analyses

Participants' responses to each instrument were examined, and frequency statistics were calculated in order to better understand the range of responses. Reliability analyses were conducted on each of the measures as well. In addition, factor structure exploration of all measures was performed, and when more suitable factor structures were found, new subscales were created. These new subscales were subject to reliability analyses as well. Each measure was also subject to a multivariate analysis of variance by sex to determine if men and women answered the questions differently. The Cultural Values Conflict Scale was subject to two additional multivariate analyses of variance examining differences in cultural value conflict based on generation status (immigrant or second generation) and place of childhood residence. This was done to gain a more thorough understanding of the differences between immigrant and second generation individuals.

Once these preliminary analyses were completed, a correlational analysis was performed to further delineate the relationships among acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and cultural value conflict as measured by these instruments. The relationships between the concepts measured by these instruments' subscales were also

examined through correlational analysis. Additionally, due to the fact that the primary

purpose of this study was to examine cultural conflict experienced by young South Asian

Americans with regard to interpersonal relationships, a multiple regression model was

utilized to explore acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview as predictors of cultural

value conflict.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographics of the Sample

The final sample consisted of 128 heterosexual individuals of monoracial South Asian descent, all currently residing in the United States. The participants ranged in age- from 21 to 36, and in gender- 39 men and 89 women. The mean age was 26.5. Though the researcher anticipated a sample primarily comprised of graduate students, the largest portion of the sample -85 individuals- identified as non-students, while 28 identified as current graduate students and 15 identified as current undergraduate students. Participants' highest education achievement ranged from a high school diploma (10 individuals), an undergraduate degree (66 individuals), and a graduate degree (52 individuals).

Generationally, the majority of participants (72) identified as second-generation, having been born in the United States to two parents who were born in a South Asian country. Three individuals identified as second-generation with one parent who was born in a South Asian country and one parent who was born in the United States. Fifty-three participants identified as first-generation, indicating that they themselves were born in a South Asian country and currently reside in the US. Specific South Asian country of origin was not assessed.

When asked a multiple choice question about their perception of themselves and their acculturative status, 33 participants indicated that they consider themselves "mostly or

very" South Asian, 84 individuals deemed themselves "bicultural," and 11 stated that they were either "mostly or very" Westernized.

Results of the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale
(SL-ASIA; Suinn et al., 1987) - Adapted for the South Asian Population

When acculturation was measured as a continuous construct (as the authors of the SL-ASIA intended), the distribution was normal, with the mode showing that most participants' acculturation status was bicultural. When a multidimensional scoring method was used for the SL-ASIA, as proposed by Abe-Kim, Okazaki, and Goto (2001) and delineated in the methods section, respondents were classified into the following acculturation status categories based on their answers: South Asian (19 individuals), bicultural (104 individuals), and assimilated (5 individuals). Interestingly, these numbers are different than the numbers found when individuals were asked to classify themselves as either South Asian, bicultural, or assimilated, suggesting that some individuals' perceptions of their acculturation status are different than their acculturation status as defined by the behaviors and attitudes targeted by this scale's questions.

Using either measure or scoring method, however, it is clear that the majority of the sample is of bicultural status, followed by those who are South Asian and then by those who are assimilated. This is shown in tables A and A1. The SL-ASIA's full scale reliability for this sample was found to be .846, comparable to the reliabilities found by Kodama and Canetto, (1995), Suinn, Khoo, and Ahuna, (1995), Suinn et al., (1987), which ranged from .71 to .91.

Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn et al., 1987):

Table 1:
Frequency Statistics for Acculturation when measured as a Continuous Variable

N:	128
Mean:	65.8516
Median:	66.5000
Mode:	73.00
SD:	11.82756

Table 2:
Frequency Statistics for Acculturation Status when measured as a Categorical Variable

Status	Frequency	Percent
Traditional	19	14.8
Bicultural	104	81.3
Western	5	3.9
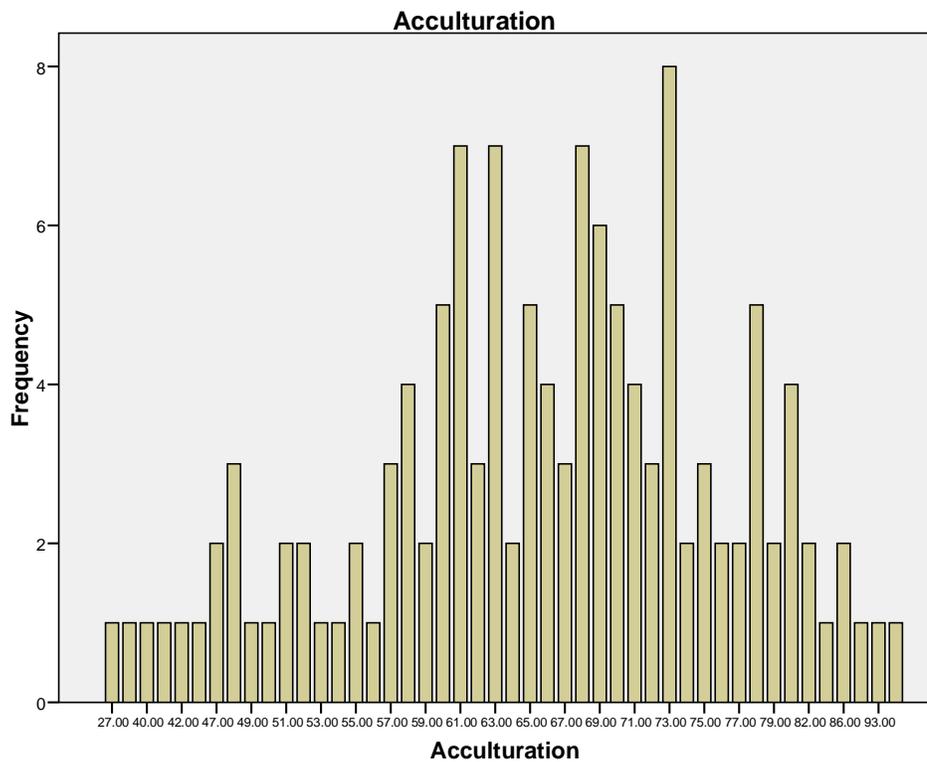
Figure 1:
Distribution of results for SL-ASIA when measured as a continuous variable.

As delineated in the measures section, the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale includes 4 questions that assess the individual's preference in terms of friendship choice. Due to the fact that this research was designed to assess the impact of acculturation, worldview, and ethnic identity on both friendship and romantic relationship choice, the friendship choice questions from the SL-ASIA were examined both in the larger context of acculturative status (as the authors intended) and as their own question subset.

The distribution of answers to these four friendship choice questions was normal, suggesting that the majority of respondents had exposure to South Asian, Anglo, Black, and other non-South Asian groups during childhood and still continue to associate with these ethnic groups today. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the sample was of bicultural status, and this result suggests that individuals who are bicultural are equally likely to choose friends of South Asian and non South Asian descent, as hypothesized by the researcher.

In addition, both a factor analysis (see table 3) and reliability analysis was conducted, to determine if these questions could be used as a measure of friendship choice in further analyses. All four questions loaded highly onto the factor, the alpha was found to be .541.

Table 3:

Factor Loadings from Principal-Components Analysis of SL-ASIA Friendship Choice Questions: Communalities, Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

SL-ASIA Item	Factor Loading	Communality
6. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child, up until age 8? Answer choices (same for all four questions): a). Almost exclusively South Asians and Asian-Americans b). Mostly South Asians, Asian-Americans c). About equally South Asian/Asian groups and Anglo groups d). Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, and other non-Asian ethnic groups e). Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, and other non-Asian ethnic groups f). Other, please specify (answers re-coded into one of the above categories by the researcher)	.432	.186
7. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child, from 6-18? See above for answer choices.	.619	.383
8. Whom do you now associate with in the community? See above for answer choices.	.776	.602
9. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community? See above for answer choices.	.763	.583
Eigenvalues	1.754	
% Variance	43.849	

Results of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised

(MEIM-R; Phinney and Ong, 2007)

As delineated by Phinney and Ong (2007), the shortened MEIM was used to measure the exploration and commitment categories of ethnic identity. The full scale reliability in this sample was found to be .888, higher than the .71 full scale reliability found by the authors. In addition, this sample's reliability for the exploration and commitment subscales, .884 and .869 respectively, are higher than the .76 and .78 found by the authors in the original study.

An exploration of the measure's factor structure suggests that there is substantive overlap in the exploration and commitment dimensions of ethnic identity, as the questions loaded very highly onto one factor when entered into SPSS (See table 3). Therefore, it was concluded that the MEIM-R would be used as an entire scale, rather than as two subscales of one unified construct, in further analyses. The higher the individual's score on this measure, the more ethnically identified the individual. The distribution of this sample on the MEIM-R, as seen in the graph delineated below, was skewed, as the majority of participants endorsed moderate to high levels of ethnic identity. Due to the fact that the majority of the sample was bicultural according to the SL-ASIA results, this confirms the hypothesis that individuals who identify biculturally are highly ethnically identified.

Table 4:

Factor Loadings from Principal-Components Analysis of MEIM-R: Communalities,
Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

MEIM-R Item	Factor Loading	Communality
1. I have spent time exploring my ethnic group history and traditions. Likert scale for all questions: 1 (strongly disagree)-5 (strongly agree)	.715	.511
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group. See above for likert scale.	.804	.646
3. I understand what ethnic group membership means to me. See above for likert scale.	.804	.646
4. I have done things to help me understand my ethnic group better. See above for likert scale.	.898	.806
5. I have talked to others as a way to learn more about my ethnic group. See above for likert scale.	.805	.648
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group See above for likert scale.	.783	.613
Eigenvalues	3.870	
% Variance	64.500	
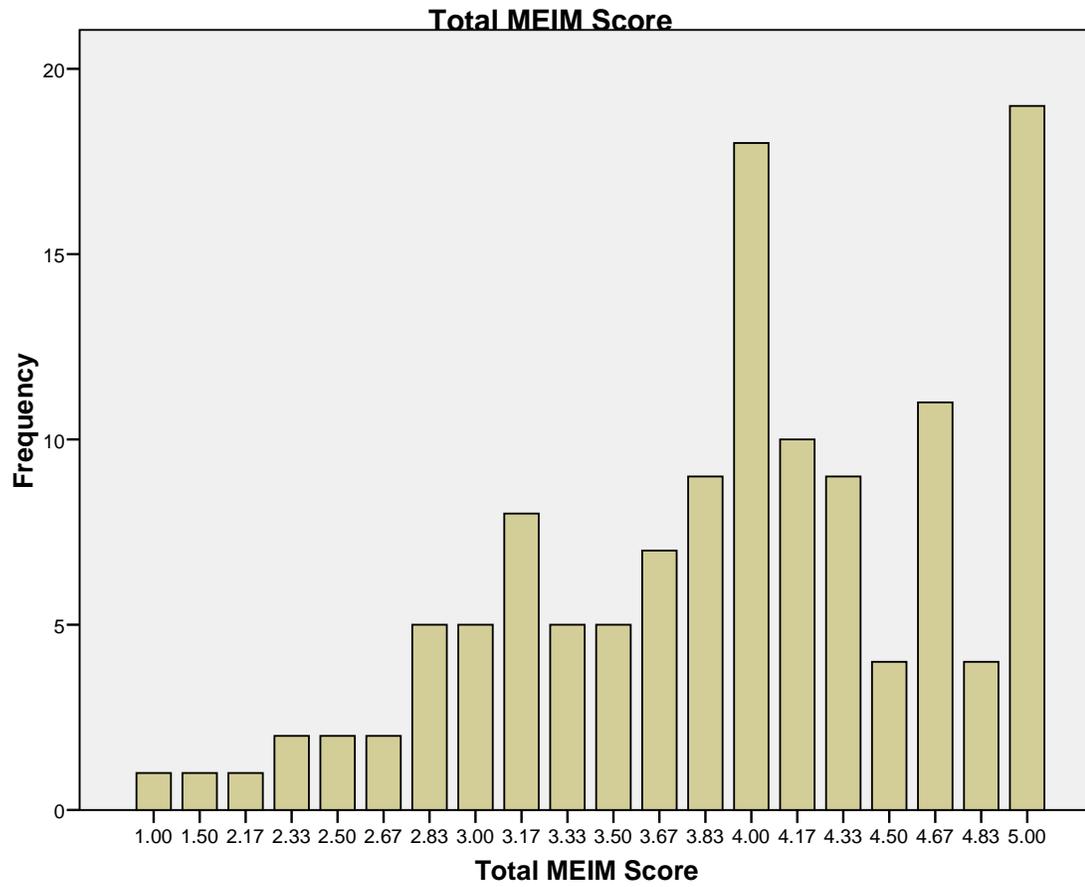
Figure 2:
Distribution of results for MEIM-R.

In order to determine if men and women answered the MEIM-R differently, a

MANOVA by sex was conducted and was found to be significant at the .015 level. When

the individual questions of the MEIM-R were examined, only two of the questions were

found to differ by sex. Men, more than women, endorsed having engaged in activities

that help them understand their ethnic background better and reported that they felt strong

attachment towards their ethnic group (see tables 5 and 6). This finding is discussed in

the next chapter.

Table 5:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for MEIM-R by Sex

MEIM-R item	df	sig
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	n/s
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	n/s
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	1	n/s
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic group better.	1	.002*
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.	1	n/s
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	.019*

*p<.05

Table 6:
Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for MEIM-R Ethnic Identity Questions as a Function of Gender

MEIM-R item	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
1. I have spent time trying to learn more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	4.03	.873	4.22	.863
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	3.67	1.108	3.94	1.101
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	3.85	.961	4.13	.842
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.	3.46	1.144	4.08	.932
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.	3.62	1.161	3.97	1.005
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	3.62	1.121	3.99	1.006

Results of the Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory Centrality and Regard

Subscales (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) –

Adapted for the South Asian Population

Due to the fact that the Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory is an ethnic identity instrument that measures distinct constructs of ethnic identity rather than ethnic identity as a whole, it was recommended by the authors (Sellers et al., 1997) to not conduct a full-scale reliability analysis on the instrument but rather to assess the reliability of each dimension. Therefore, reliability was computed for the centrality subscale, and the alpha was found to be .887, markedly higher than the .77 alpha coefficient found by Sellers et al., (1997). The reliability for the private regard and public regard subscales were .812 and .895, respectively, higher than the .78 alphas found for these subscales by Sellers et al., (1998). Factor structure exploration using SPSS software showed that the factor structure proposed by the authors was accurate, substantiating the authors' claim for construct validity (see tables 7, 8, and 9). The higher the individual's score on the scale, the more they identified with the aspect of ethnic identity being measured.

The distribution of the respondents' answers to the centrality subscale was normal, suggesting that many participants consider their ethnic identity to be moderately central to their identity. The distribution of responses to the private regard scale was skewed to the right, indicating that the majority of participants felt positively about their ethnic group in general as well as about their belongingness to South Asian community. The sample's responses to public regard questions were also normally distributed,

suggesting that participants believe that South Asians are regarded highly in American

society at-large.

Table 7:
Factor Loadings from Principal Components Analysis of MIBI Centrality Scale:
Communalities, Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

MIBI Centrality Item	Factor Loading	Communality
1. Being South Asian has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (Reverse-scored) Likert scale: 1(strongly disagree)-5 (strongly agree)	.815	.663
2. Being South Asian is an important part of my self-image. See above for likert scale.	.776	.603
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other South Asians. See above for likert scale.	.541	.293
4. Being South Asian is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (Reverse-scored) See above for likert scale.	.796	.633
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to South Asian people. See above for likert scale.	.832	.692
6. I have a strong attachment to other South Asian people.	.751	.565
7. Being South Asian is an important reflection of who I am. See above for likert scale.	.864	.746
8. Being South Asian is not a major factor in my social relationships. (Reverse-scored) See above for likert scale.	.621	.386
Eigenvalue	4.581	
% Variance	57.267	
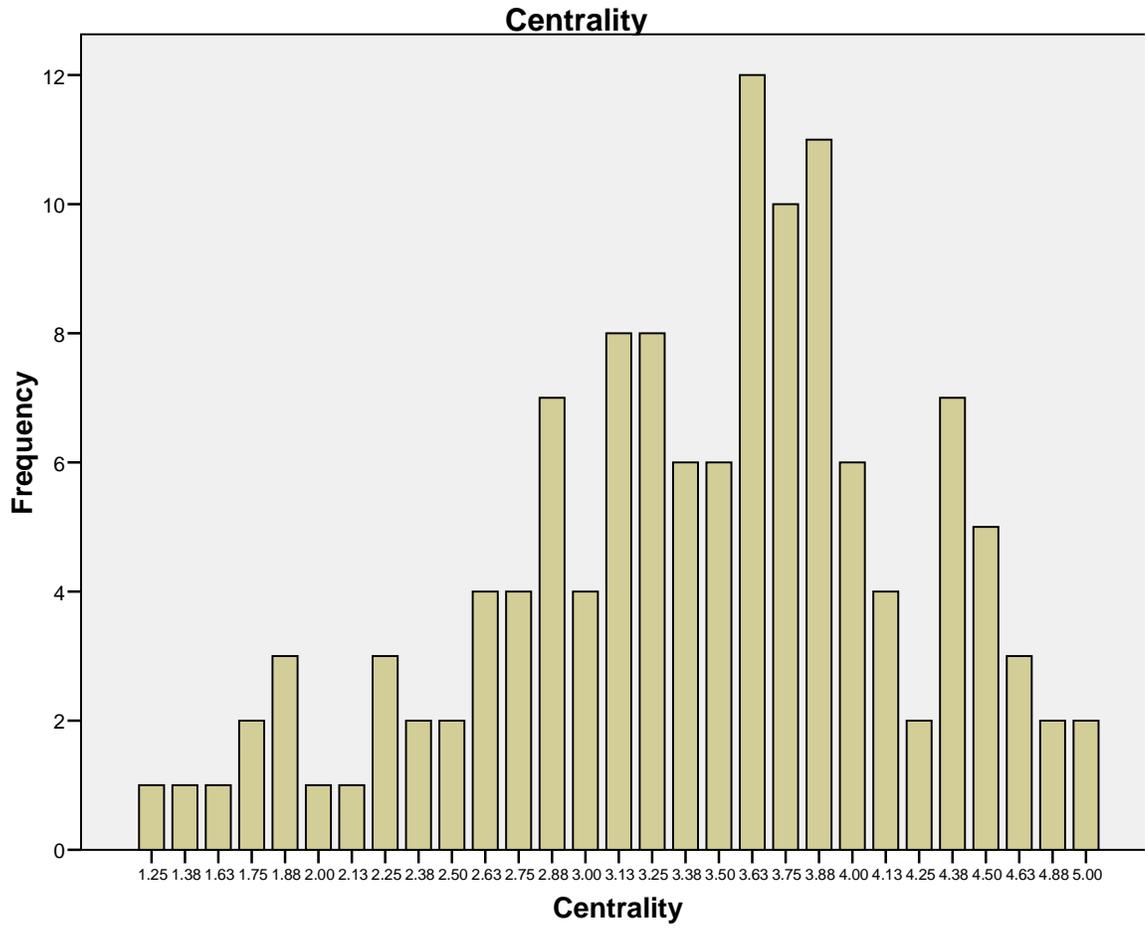
Figure 3:
Distribution of results for MIBI centrality scale.

Table 8:

Factor Loadings from Principal Components Analysis of MIBI Private Regard Scale:
Communalities, Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

MIBI Private Regard Item	Factor Loading	Communality
9. I feel good about South Asian people. Likert scale: 1(strongly disagree)- 5 (strongly agree)	.766	.587
10. I am happy that I am South Asian. See above for likert scale.	.820	.673
11. I feel that South Asians have made major accomplishments and advancements. See above for likert scale.	.449	.202
12. I often regret that I am South Asian. (Reverse-scored) See above for likert scale.	.670	.449
13. I am proud to be South Asian. See above for likert scale.	.840	.705
14. I feel that the South Asian community has made valuable contributions to this society. See above for likert scale.	.727	.528
Eigenvalues	3.144	
% Variance	52.398	
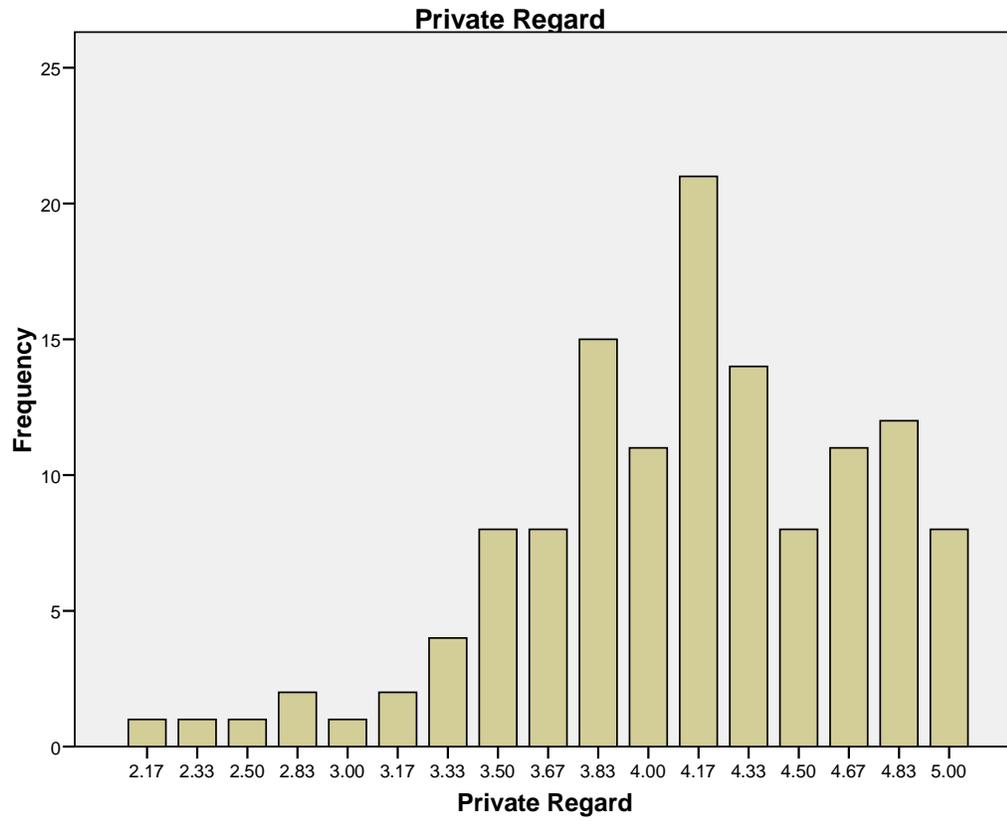
Figure 4:
Distribution of results for MIBI private regard scale.

Table 9:

Factor Loadings from Principal Components Analysis of MIBI Public Regard Scale:
Communalities, Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

MIBI Public Regard Item	Factor Loading	Communality
15. Overall, South Asians are considered good by others.	.850	.722
16. In general, others respect South Asian people.	.874	.765
17. Most people consider South Asians, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups. (Reverse-scored)	.680	.462
18. South Asians are not respected by the broader society. (Reverse-scored)	.741	.549
19. In general, other groups view South Asians in a positive manner.	.894	.799
20. Society views South Asian people as an asset.	.843	.711
Eigenvalues	4.008	
% Variance	66.802	
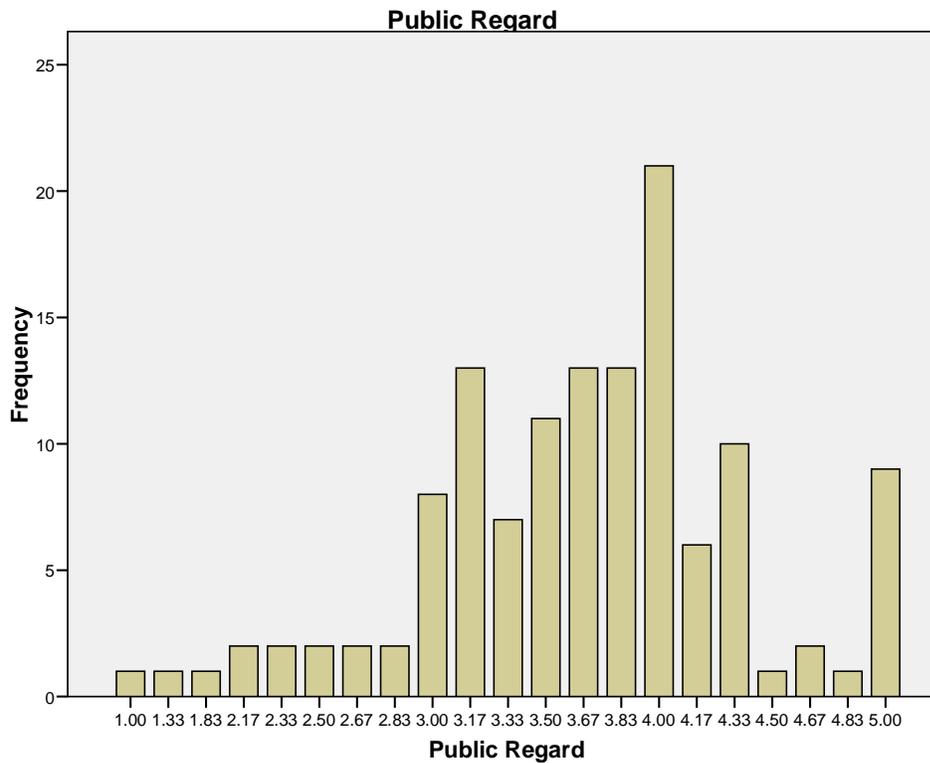
Figure 5:
Distribution of results for MIBI public regard scale.

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In order to determine whether men and women answered the MIBI questions differently, a MANOVA by sex was conducted for each of the subscales (centrality, private regard, and public regard). Using a p-value cutoff of .05, the results showed that men and women did not differ in the way they answered these questions. See Appendix A, tables A1, A2, and A3 for the results.

Results of Individualism-Collectivism Scale- Shortened Version

(INDCOL; Hui and Yee, 1994)

In the Individual-Collectivism scale's original validation study (Hui and Yee, 1994), two subscales were found: ingroup solidarity (which measures solidarity with people who are either nuclear family or part of the community) and social obligation (which measures politeness and preservation of harmony in relationships). Reliability for the subscales was shown to be .59 and .68, respectively. When a reliability analysis was performed on the results of this study, however, the alphas were .239 and .495, respectively. This suggests that the questions were not measuring the same constructs, and so an exploration of the factor structure was conducted in SPSS (for factor loadings for the entirety of the Individualism-Collectivism scale, see Appendix B, table B1). Questions that did not load highly (less than .35) or did not allow for an interpretable factor structure were eliminated, and two subscales (eight questions each) were found, one delineating individualistic values and the other delineating collectivistic values (see table E). The reliability for these new subscales were .679 and .684, respectively, and so in subsequent analyses these subscales were used in lieu of the ones found by the scale's authors.

Higher scores on each of the subscales indicated identification with the value system being measured (individualism or collectivism). The distribution of responses for both subscales, as seen in the graphs delineated below, was normal. These distributions, combined with the fact that the majority of the sample identified as bicultural according to the SL-ASIA results, confirm the hypothesis that individuals who are bicultural are equally likely to identify with individualistic and collectivistic values.

Table 10:
Individualism-Collectivism Scale Factor 1: Collectivism

INDCOL Item	Factor 1: Collectivism Subscale
1. The motto "sharing both a blessing and calamity" still applies even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causes a lot of trouble.	.415
2. I would help if a colleague at work told me that he/she needed money to pay utility bills.	.513
19. I can count on my relatives for help if I find myself in any kind of trouble.	.389
20. When deciding what kind of education to have, I would definitely pay attention to the views of relatives of my generation.	.400
21. I am often influenced by the moods of my neighbors.	.537
22. My neighbors always tell me interesting stories that have happened around them.	.626
27. If a husband is a sports fan, a wife should also cultivate an interest in sports. If the husband is a stock broker, the wife should also be aware of the current market situation.	.390
36. I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors every day.	.513
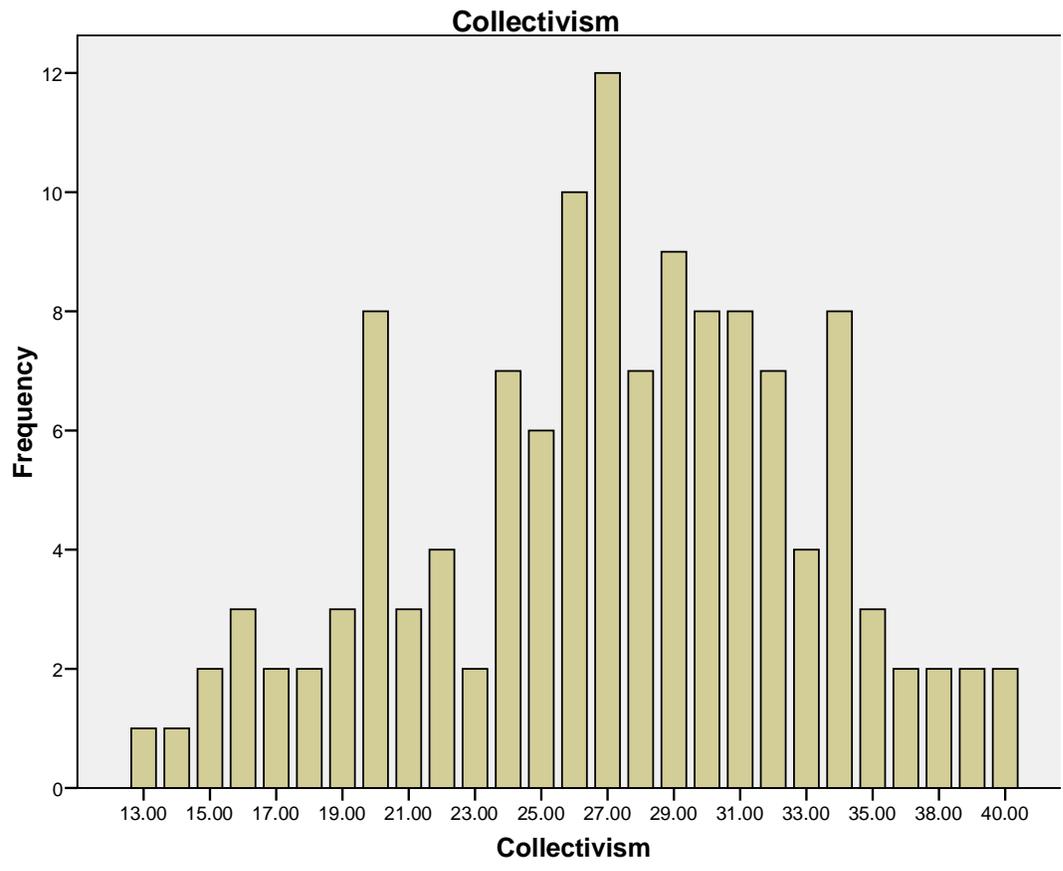
Figure 6:
Distribution of results for INDCOL collectivism scale.

Table 11:
Individualism-Collectivism Scale Factor 2: Individualism

INDCOL Item	Factor 2: Individualism Subscale
8. To go on a trip with friends makes one less free and mobile. As a result, there is less fun.	.504
10. I would not let my needy mother use the money that I have saved by living a less than luxurious life.	.471
11. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.	.479
23. Even if the child won the Nobel prize, the parents should not feel honored in any way.	.627
24. Children should not feel honored even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contribution and service to the community.	.626
25. In these days parents are too stringent with their kids, stunting the development of initiative.	.612
28. I don't really know how to befriend my neighbors.	.425
32. One need to be cautious when talking with neighbors, otherwise others might think you are nosy.	.357
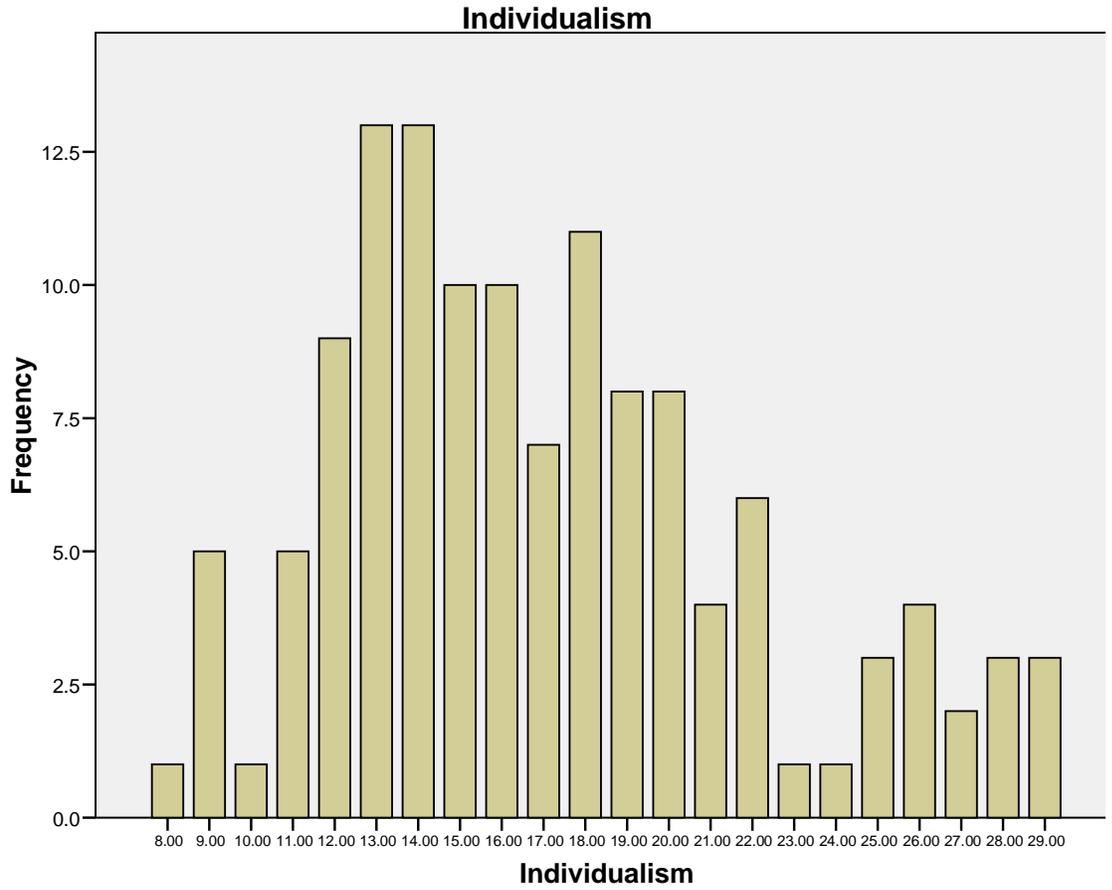
Figure 7:
Distribution of results for INDCOL individualism scale.

In order to determine whether men and women answered the Individualism-Collectivism scale questions differently, a MANOVA by sex was conducted for each of the subscales (individualism and collectivism). Using a p-value cutoff of .05, the results showed that men and women did not differ in the way they answered these questions. These results can be found in Appendix B, tables B2 and B3.

Results of Cultural Values Conflict Scale

(CVCS; Inman et al., 2001) – Adapted for this Study

As stated in the measures section, the original Cultural Values Conflict scale included questions assessing cultural conflict as it relates to sex-role expectations. Due to the fact that the focus of this study was cultural value conflict as it relates to interpersonal relationships, the sex-role expectations questions were omitted. When a reliability analysis was conducted, the full-scale reliability for the questions used was .829, suggesting that this scale does, in fact, have construct validity. In order to better understand what was being measured by these questions, an exploration of the factor structure was conducted in SPSS. Using a cutoff score of .45, the questions loaded onto two subscales: American value conflict (11 questions) and South Asian value conflict (7 questions). The first subscale –American value conflict- consists of questions that, if endorsed highly, suggest that the individual experiences cultural value conflict when interfacing with American culture due to more traditional South Asian values. The second subscale- South Asian value conflict- measures the opposite: the questions, if endorsed highly, suggest that the person experiences cultural value conflict when interfacing with South Asian culture due to more westernized values (see tables 12 and

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13). The reliability for the subscales were .85 and .798, respectively. As seen in the graphs below, the distribution of responses to the CVCS questions was normal, suggesting that the majority of the sample experienced moderate amounts of cultural value conflict in both cultural contexts. Due to the fact that the majority of the sample identified as bicultural according to the SL-ASIA results, the hypothesis that individuals of bicultural status would experience moderate amounts of cultural value conflict was confirmed.

Table 12:
Cultural Value Conflict Scale Factor 1: American Value Conflict

Cultural Value Conflict Scale Item	Factor 1: American Value Conflict
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	.512
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	.678
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	.558
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	.710
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	.628
6. I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to. (Reverse-scored)	.618
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.	.546
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	.603
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	.484
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	.361
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	.675
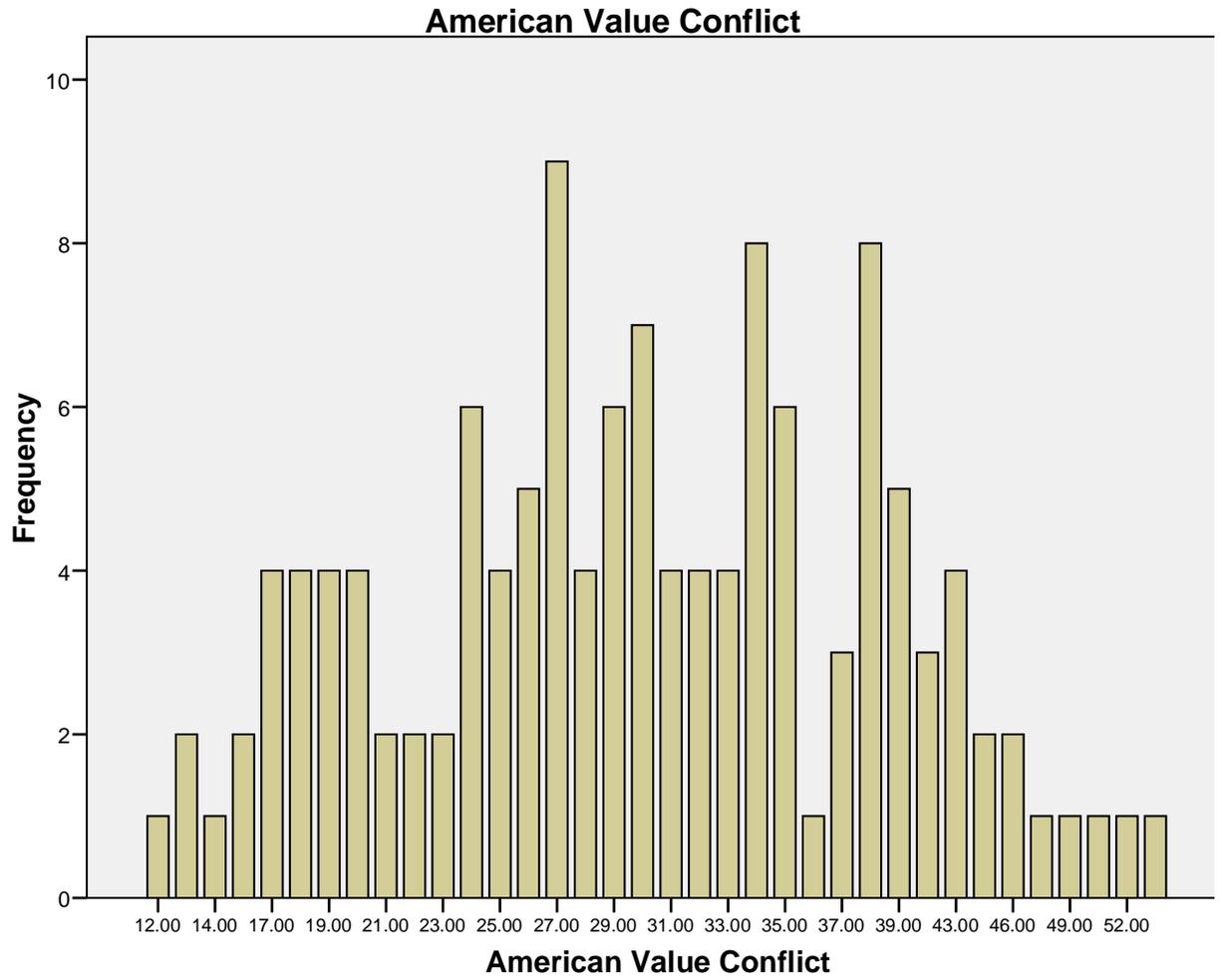
Figure 8:
Distribution of results for CVCS American value conflict scale.

Table 13:
Cultural Value Conflict Scale Factor 2: South Asian Value Conflict

Cultural Value Conflict Scale Item	Factor 2: South Asian Value Conflict
12. I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	.467
13. I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.	.539
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	.498
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	.615
16. I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.	.592
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.	.516
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	.572
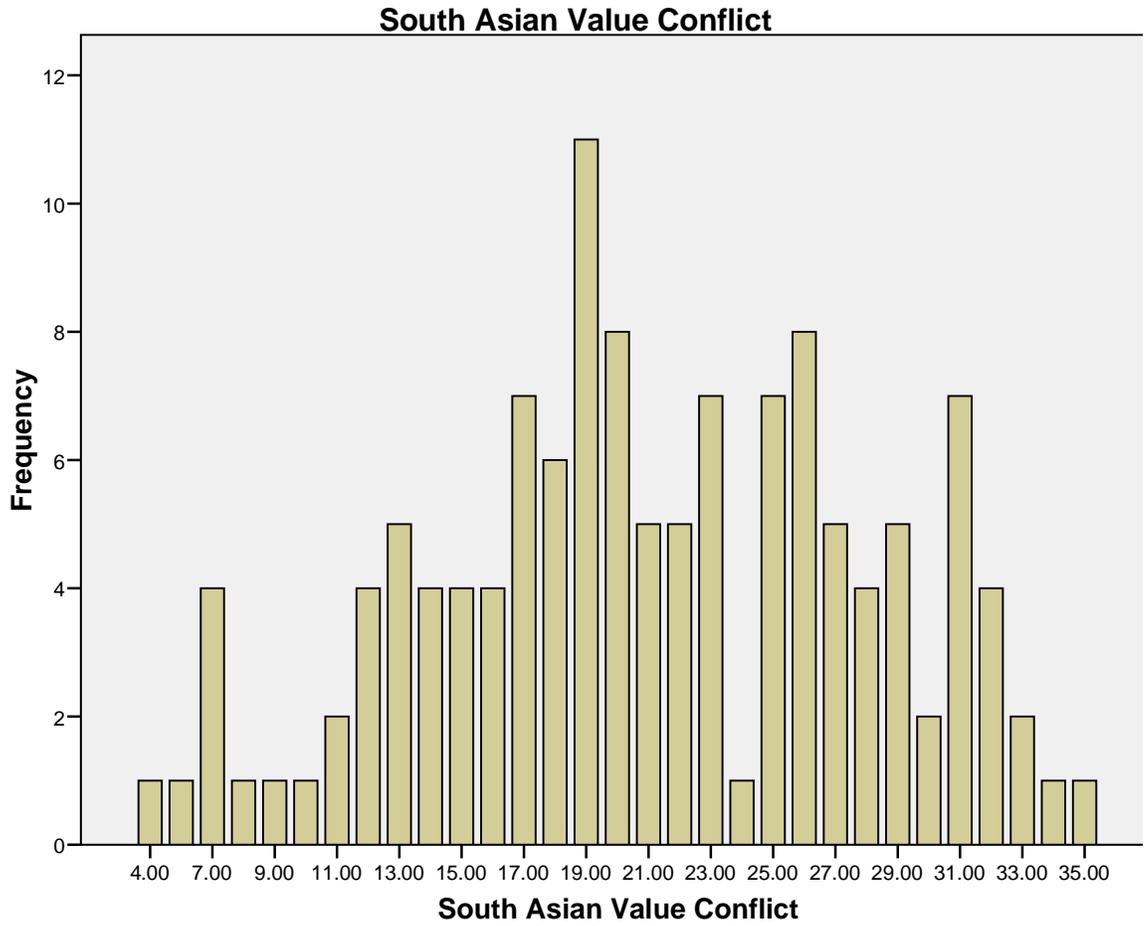
Figure 9:
Distribution of results for CVCS South Asian value conflict scale.

In order to determine if immigrant and second-generation individuals answered the Cultural Value Conflict scale questions differently, a MANOVA by generation and a MANOVA by childhood residence (in South Asia only, mostly in South Asia, equally in South Asia and the US, mostly in the US, some in South Asia, in US only) were conducted. Neither of these was found to be significant, suggesting that the sample did not differ in their experience of cultural value conflict based on their generation or the cultural context in which they were raised. For results, see Appendix C, tables C1 and C2.

Another MANOVA was conducted in order to determine whether men and women answered the Cultural Value Conflict scale questions differently, and was found to be significant at the .00 level. When individual questions were examined, it was found that more men than women said that they believed dating was acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage. In addition, more men than women stated that they believed premarital sex was only acceptable after engagement. Women, in contrast, endorsed more discomfort with the idea of having premarital sex with someone they were physically attracted to, more anxiety about the idea of an arranged marriage, and a greater struggle with the cultural expectation that they be married by the age of 25 (see tables 14 and 15). These results are discussed further in the next chapter.

Table 14:

Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Cultural Value Conflict Scale by Sex

CVCS item	df	sig
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	1	.05*
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	1	n/s
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
6. I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to. (Reverse-scored)	1	.042*
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.	1	n/s
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	1	n/s
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	1	.002**
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	1	n/s
12. I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	1	.011*
13. I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.	1	.016*
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	1	n/s
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	1	n/s
16. I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.	1	n/s
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.	1	n/s
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	1	n/s

Note: *significant at p<.05
       **significant at p<.01

Table 15:

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Cultural Value Conflict Scale Questions as a Function of Gender

CVCS items	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	2.33	1.264	1.90	1.108
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	2.92	1.365	2.98	1.365
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	3.59	1.208	3.74	1.050
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	2.28	1.075	2.52	1.289
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	2.05	1.376	2.15	1.361
6. I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to. (Reverse-scored)	2.28	1.432	2.84	1.413
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.	2.23	1.266	2.36	1.350
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	3.90	1.095	3.97	1.256
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	2.85	1.387	3.18	1.466
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	2.46	1.393	1.82	.886
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	3.00	1.277	2.85	1.328
12. I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	3.15	1.679	3.93	1.536
13. I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.	2.45	1.745	3.26	1.676
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	2.46	1.211	2.55	1.288
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	3.13	1.341	3.13	1.290
16. I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.	2.59	1.428	3.09	1.535
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.	2.95	1.450	2.90	1.603
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	2.74	1.390	2.83	1.463

Due to the fact that the Cultural Value conflict subscales (American Value Conflict and South Asian Value Conflict) found by the factor exploration do not directly assess the researcher's question regarding cultural value conflict in the context of relationships, the questions were divided into three alternative subscales based on content. The first of the subscales consists of questions pertaining to comfort with interracial marriage (4 questions), the second consists of questions assessing comfort with the American values of dating, sexual relations, and cohabitation prior to marriage (5 questions), and the third consists of questions that ask about feelings towards more collectivistic familial expectations and attitudes (5 questions). When factor exploration was conducted in SPSS, the items loaded very highly onto the subscales, suggesting that the questions are, in fact, assessing the same construct (see tables 16, 17, and 18). A reliability analysis was done, and the alphas were found to be .864, .734, and .767, respectively.

The distribution of results for the interracial marriage subscale was bimodal, with approximately half the sample endorsing high conflict with regards to interracial marriage and half the sample endorsing low conflict with regards to interracial marriage. This substantiates the researcher's hypothesis that individuals who identify as bicultural are equally likely to engage in inter and intra-ethnic relationships, as the majority of the sample was bicultural according to the results of the SL-ASIA. The distribution for the dating behavior subscale was skewed such that a high number of individuals endorsed low to moderate amounts of cultural value conflict with regards to dating behavior, and the distribution for the familial expectations and attitudes subscale was normal,

suggesting that the majority of individuals endorsed a moderate amount of cultural value

conflict with regards to family expectations and attitudes.

Table 16:
Cultural Value Conflict Scale Subscale 1: Interracial Marriage

Cultural Values Conflict Scale Item	CVCS Subscale 1: Interracial Marriage	Communality
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	.874	.763
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	.820	.672
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	.811	.657
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	.864	.746
Eigenvalue	2.839	
%Variance	70.972	
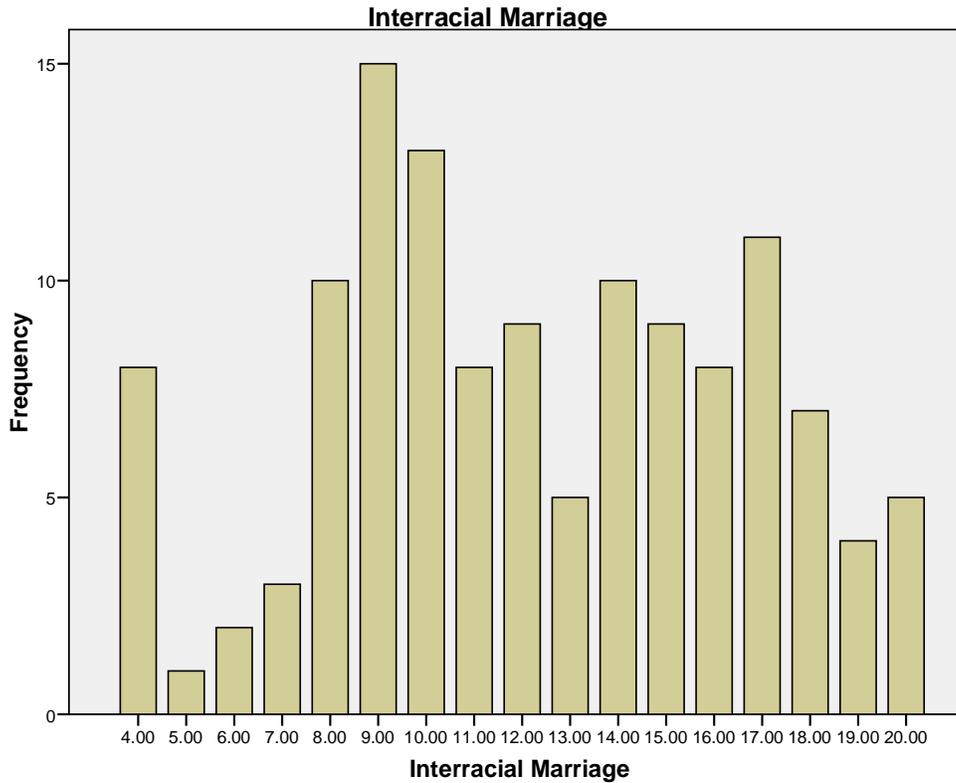
Figure 10:
Distribution of results for CVCS interracial marriage subscale.

Table 17:
Cultural Value Conflict Scale Subscale 2: Dating Behavior

Cultural Values Conflict Scale Item	CVCS Subscale 2: Dating Behavior	Communality
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	.722	.521
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	.795	.632
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to.	.767	.588
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	.566	.321
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	.636	.404
Eigenvalue	2.466	
%Variance	49.320	
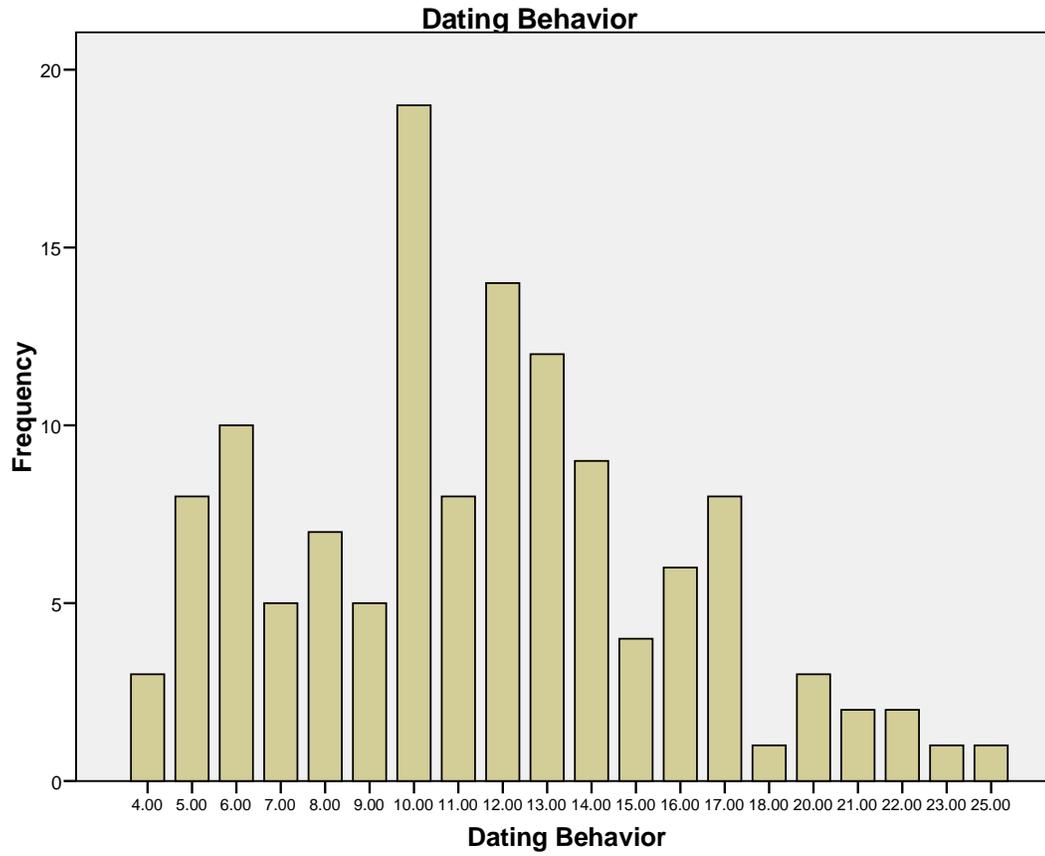
Figure 11:
Distribution of results for CVCS dating behavior subscale.

Table 18:

Cultural Value Conflict Scale Subscale 3: Family Expectations and Attitudes

Cultural Values Conflict Scale Item	CVCS subscale 3: Family Expectations and Attitudes	Communality
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	.390	.152
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	.746	.556
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	.809	.654
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my behaviors.	.781	.610
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	.811	.658
Eigenvalue	2.631	
%Variance	52.613	
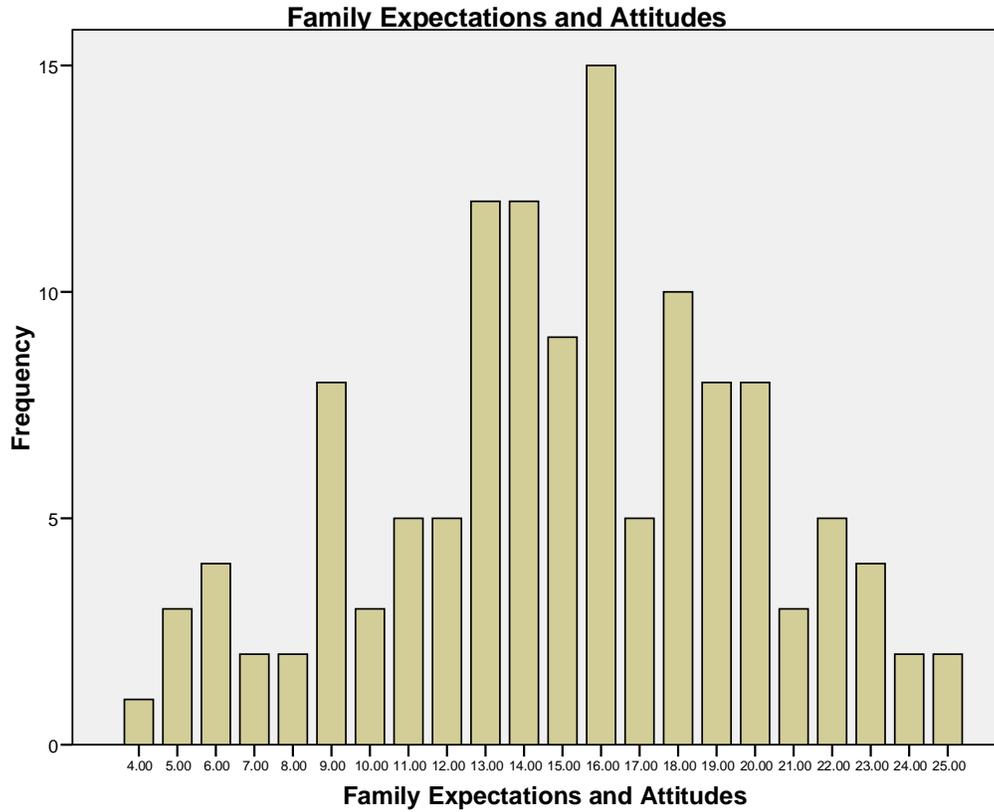
Figure 12:
Distribution of results for CVCS family expectations and attitudes subscale.

Correlational Analysis Results

A two-tailed Pearson product correlational analysis between the following scales was conducted: Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI) centrality, MIBI private regard, MIBI public regard, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised total score, Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) total score (categorically classifying individuals as either South Asian, bicultural, or assimilated), SL-ASIA index (classifying individuals as less or more acculturated using a continuous scoring system), SL-ASIA friendship choice, INDCOL collectivism, INDCOL individualism, total Cultural Conflict (as measured by the Cultural Values Conflict Scale), CVCS American Value Conflict, CVCS South Asian value conflict, CVCS Interracial Marriage, CVCS Dating Behavior, and CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes.

Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI) Centrality Subscale

The correlational analysis showed that the MIBI centrality subscale was positively correlated with the private regard subscale, but that it was not significantly correlated with the public regard subscale. In addition, it was positively correlated with the total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R) score, suggesting that the centrality questions had some overlap with the private regard questions and the MEIM-R questions. Its relation to the Suinn-Lew Self-Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA) scores (when measured as continuous and categorical) was negative and significant, suggesting that individuals whose ethnic identity was central to their identity were less acculturated than individuals whose ethnic identity was not as central to their perception of themselves. In

addition, it was negatively correlated with the SL-ASIA friendship choice questions, indicating that individuals high on centrality were more likely to choose friends who were of the same ethnic background than individuals who were low on centrality. This suggests that the researcher's hypothesis that individuals' friendship choices would be influenced by the strength of their ethnic identity was correct. Similarly, the correlation between the INDCOL collectivism scale and the MIBI centrality scale was positive and significant, suggesting that those who are more ethnically identified also subscribe to a more collectivistic worldview. These findings confirm the hypothesis that individuals who identify as South Asian (low acculturation) will have high ethnic identity and will endorse collectivistic values.

Logically, the correlation between the MIBI centrality scale and the INDCOL individualism scale was negative, suggesting that individuals whose ethnic identity was not central to their perceptions of themselves were more individualistic in their worldview. This substantiates the hypothesis that individuals who have low ethnic identity will identify with individualistic values. Also, this subscale was positively correlated with the total CVCS scale, indicating that individuals who are high on ethnic centrality also experience overall cultural value conflict. Similarly, this subscale was positively correlated with the CVCS interracial marriage subscale, suggesting that people whose ethnicity is central to their identity experience cultural value conflict when thinking about or engaging in interracial relationships. This confirms the hypothesis that individuals who are less acculturated will experience more cultural value conflict and be more likely to engage in intra-ethnic relationships than individuals who are assimilated or bicultural in their acculturation status. See table 19 for correlation matrix.

Table 19:
Intercorrelations between MIBI Centrality Scale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with MIBI Centrality	Sig
MIBI Private Regard	.480**	.000
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	.592**	.000
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	-.336**	.000
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	-.270**	.002
SL-ASIA Friendship choice	-.308**	.000
INDCOL Collectivism	.318**	.000
INDCOL Individualism	-.303**	.001
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	.199*	.024
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	.351**	.000
CVCS Dating Behavior	n/s	n/s
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
    * significant at p<.0

Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI) Private Regard Subscale

The correlational analysis showed that the private regard subscale was positively correlated with the centrality subscale, as noted above. It was also positively correlated with the public regard subscale and Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, suggesting that there is some content overlap in these measures of ethnic identity. The Suinn-Lew Self-Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA) results, when measured categorically (participants were classified as South Asian, bicultural, and assimilated) were negatively correlated with the MIBI private regard scale, suggesting that individuals who feel positively about their ethnic group and belongingness were less acculturated than individuals who endorsed low private regard. Similar results were found when using the SL-ASIA as a continuous, rather than categorical, scale. Also, the SL-ASIA friendship choice questions

were negatively correlated with private regard, suggesting that individuals who feel positively about their group and group belongingness were less likely to engage in friendships with individuals of other ethnicities than people whose private regard was lower. This substantiates the researcher's hypothesis that high ethnic identity would be associated with intra-ethnic friendships.

Additionally, the MIBI private regard scale was positively correlated with the INDCOL collectivism scale, suggesting that individuals who feel positively about their ethnic group and ethnic group belongingness also identify more with a collectivistic worldview. This further substantiates this study's hypothesis that individuals who have high ethnic identity will be more likely to identify with collectivistic values than individuals who identify as assimilated or bicultural. Logically, the MIBI private regard scale was found to negatively correlate with individualism. See table 20 for correlation matrix.

Table 20:
Intercorrelations between MIBI Private Regard Scale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with MIBI Private Regard	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.480*	.000
MIBI Public Regard	.416*	.000
MEIM-R	.472*	.000
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	-.215**	.015
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	-.315*	.000
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	-.276**	.002
INDCOL Collectivism	.346*	.000
INDCOL Individualism	-.371*	.000
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	n/s	n/s
CVCS Dating Behavior	n/s	n/s
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
        * significant at p<.05

Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI) Public Regard Subscale

As stated above, the correlational analysis showed that the MIBI public regard scale was correlated positively with the MIBI private regard scale, suggesting that there is some overlap in the question content. It was negatively correlated with individualism, suggesting that individuals who subscribe to an individualistic worldview were less likely to believe that their ethnic group is regarded highly by society-at-large. It was also negatively correlated with the total CVCS scale, suggesting that individuals who believe that their ethnic group is regarded highly by society experienced lower levels of overall cultural value conflict. In addition, the MIBI public regard scale was negatively correlated with the South Asian Value Conflict subscale of the CVCS, substantiating the

finding that individuals who have high public regard experience low amounts of cultural

value conflict in a South Asian cultural context. See table 21 for correlation matrix.

Table 21:
Intercorrelations between MIBI Public Regard Scale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with MIBI Public Regard	Sig
MIBI Centrality	n/s	n/s
MIBI Private Regard	.416**	.000
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Friendship choice	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	-.305**	.000
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	-.212*	.016
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	-.235**	.008
CVCS Interracial Marriage	n/s	n/s
CVCS Dating Behavior	n/s	n/s
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at $p<.01$
    * significant at $p<.05$

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised

As delineated above, the MEIM-R scale was found to be positively correlated

with the Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (MIBI) centrality subscale and MIBI

private regard subscale, suggesting that there is an overlap question content, which makes

sense given the fact that both are measures of ethnic identity. It was not correlated with

the public regard subscale, however, suggesting that the MEIM-R and MIBI public

regard subscales are measuring different constructs. The MEIM-R was negatively

correlated with both the SL-ASIA total score (when individuals were classified

categorically as South Asian, bicultural, or assimilated) and with the SL-ASIA index

score (when acculturation was measured as a continuous variable). Additionally, it was negatively correlated with the SL-ASIA friendship choice questions, further substantiating the finding that individuals high on ethnic identity were more likely to choose friends from their ethnic group than individuals whose ethnic identity was not as important in their perception of themselves.

Also, the MEIM-R was negatively correlated with the INDCOL individualism scale, suggesting that individuals whose ethnic identity was high according to the MEIM-R scored low on individualism. Additionally, there was a positive correlation between the MEIM-R and the CVCS interracial marriage subscale, indicating that individuals who are strongly ethnically identified experience more cultural value conflict with regards to interracial marriage than those who are less ethnically identified. These results further substantiate the hypothesis that individuals who have higher ethnic identities experience more cultural value conflict when it comes to interracial marriage, suggesting that these individuals are more likely to engage in intra-ethnic romantic relationships. Additionally, it is evidence for the hypothesis that individuals with lower ethnic identities will experience less cultural value conflict around interracial dating, indicating that they are more likely than individuals with high ethnic identity to engage in interracial relationships. See table 22 for correlation matrix.

Table 22:
Intercorrelations between MEIM-R Scale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with MEIM	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.592**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	.472**	.000
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	-.332**	.000
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	-.317**	.000
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	-.252**	.004
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	-.273**	.002
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	.341**	.000
CVCS Dating Behavior	n/s	n/s
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
    * significant at p<.05

Suinn-Lew Self-Identity Acculturation Scale- Revised for the South Asian Population

The correlational analysis showed that the SL-ASIA was significantly correlated with several other scales when scored categorically (classifying individuals as South Asian, bicultural, or assimilated) and when scored on a continuum from less acculturated to more acculturated. The direction of the correlations was the same regardless of the scoring system. The SL-ASIA was shown to be negatively correlated with the MIBI centrality subscale, suggesting that individuals who are more acculturated regard their ethnicity as less central to their identity than individuals who are less acculturated. Similarly, it was negatively correlated with the MIBI private regard subscale and the MEIM-R, also indicating that higher acculturation is associated with lower ethnic identification. Also, it was negatively correlated with overall cultural value conflict (the entire CVCS question set), the American Value conflict subscale, the interracial

marriage, dating behavior, and family expectations and attitudes subscales of the CVCS.

This suggests that individuals who are more acculturated experience less cultural value

conflict in all these domains than individuals who are less acculturated, consistent with

this researcher's hypothesis that cultural value conflict would be inversely related to

acculturation. See tables 23 and 24 for correlation matrices.

Table 23:
Intercorrelations between SL-ASIA Scale (when scored categorically) and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with SL-ASIA	Sig
MIBI Centrality	-.336**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	-.215*	.015
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	-.332**	.000
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	.573**	.000
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	n/s	n/s
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	-.224**	.000
CVCS American Value Conflict	-.299**	.001
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	-.337**	.000
CVCS Dating Behavior	-.176*	.047
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	-.186*	.036

Note: **significant at p<.01
       *significant at p<.05

Table 24:

Intercorrelations between SL-ASIA Scale (when scored continuously) and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with SL-ASIA	Sig
MIBI Centrality	-.270**	.002
MIBI Private Regard	-.315**	.000
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	-.317**	.000
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	.704**	.000
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	n/s	n/s
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	-.190*	.032
CVCS American Value Conflict	-.316**	.000
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	-.269**	.002
CVCS Dating Behavior	-.252**	.004
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
    * significant at p<.05

SL-ASIA Friendship Choice Questions as Grouped by this Researcher

The SL-ASIA friendship choice questions were found to be significantly correlated with several measures, indicating that it is influenced by the variables researched in this study. It was found to be negatively correlated with MIBI centrality, MIBI private regard, and the MEIM-R, indicating that the higher an individual's ethnic identity, the more likely they are to choose friends of the same ethnic origin. Additionally, it was positively correlated with the SL-ASIA total acculturation score (when measured as a categorical variable) and the SL-ASIA Index score (when measured as a continuous variable), suggesting that individuals who are more westernized in their acculturation status are more likely than those who are more South Asian identified to choose friends from non-Asian ethnic groups.

Furthermore, these questions were found be positively correlated with the experience of value conflict in a South Asian context (as measured by the CVCS South Asian value conflict subscale) and negatively correlated with the experience of value conflict in an American context (as measured by the CVCS American value conflict subscale), suggesting that individuals who choose friends of non-Asian descent are more likely to experience conflict when faced with South Asian values than individuals who choose friends of Asian and South Asian descent. Additionally, it was found to be negatively correlated with the CVCS interracial marriage subscale, suggesting that individuals whose friendship choices are predominantly Asian and South Asian experience conflict when faced with the option of interracial marriage, and vice versa. These questions were also negatively correlated with dating behavior, suggesting that people who preferred friends of non-Asian descent were less likely to experience cultural value conflict with regards to dating behavior than individuals who preferred Asian or South Asian friends. These results substantiate the researcher's hypothesis that high ethnic identity and low acculturation would lead to more intra-ethnic friendship choices, and low ethnic identity and high acculturation would lead to more inter-ethnic friendship choices. See table 25 for results.

Table 25:
Intercorrelations between SL-ASIA Friendship Choice Questions and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with SL-ASIA	Sig
MIBI Centrality	-.308**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	-.276**	.002
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	-.252**	.004
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	.573**	.000
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	.704**	.000
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	n/s	n/s
CVCS Total Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS American Value Conflict	-.286**	.001
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	.206*	.020
CVCS Interracial Marriage	-.296**	.001
CVCS Dating Behavior	-.186*	.035
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
    * significant at p<.05

INDCOL Collectivism Scale as Found by this Researcher

The correlational analysis showed that the INDCOL collectivism scale as

positively correlated with the MIBI centrality and public regard scales, suggesting that

people who have a collectivistic worldview are more likely to report that their ethnicity is

central to their identity and feel positively towards their ethnic group and their

belongingness to that group. Logically, it was also negatively correlated with the

INDCOL individualism scale, showing that individuals who are high on collectivism are

low on individualism and vice versa. See table 26 for correlation matrix.

Table 26:
Intercorrelations between INDCOL Collectivism Scale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with MIBI Public Regard	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.318**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	.346**	.000
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	-.176*	.046
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS Interracial Marriage	n/s	n/s
CVCS Dating Behavior	n/s	n/s
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01
      * significant at p<.05

INDCOL Individualism Scale as Found by this Researcher

The INDCOL individualism scale was found to be significantly correlated with several other scales. It was negatively correlated with MIBI centrality, MIBI private regard, MIBI public regard, and the MEIM-R, suggesting that individuals who are high on individualism are low on ethnic identity as an umbrella construct. Logically, it was negatively correlated with the INDCOL collectivism scale, as written above. It was found to be positively correlated with overall cultural value conflict as well as the CVCS South Asian value conflict subscale, the dating behavior subscale, and the family expectations and attitudes subscale. This suggests that people who subscribe to an individualistic worldview experience conflict when immersed in an environment that upholds South Asian values, which explains why these individuals experienced high levels of cultural

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conflict with regards to dating behavior and family expectations/attitudes. See table 27

for correlation matrix.

Table 27:
Intercorrelations between INDCOL Individualism and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with SL-ASIA	Sig
MIBI Centrality	-.303**	.001
MIBI Private Regard	-.371**	.000
MIBI Public Regard	-.305**	.000
MEIM-R	-.273**	.002
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Index (continuous)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Collectivism	-.176*	.046
CVCS Total Cultural Conflict	-.201*	.023
CVCS American Value Conflict	n/s	n/s
CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	.221*	.012
CVCS Interracial Marriage	n/s	n/s
CVCS Dating Behavior	.178*	.045
CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	.257**	.003

Note: **significant at p<.01
    * significant at p<.05

Cultural Value Conflict Scale- Total Cultural Conflict

The correlational analysis showed that total cultural conflict (as measured by the

entire CVCS question set) was positively correlated with MIBI centrality and negatively

correlated with MIBI public regard. This suggests that individuals whose ethnic identity

is central to their identity and those who believe society at-large views their ethnic group

negatively experience cultural value conflict. In addition, the CVCS total cultural conflict

scale was negatively correlated with the SL-ASIA results when measured categorically

and continuously, suggesting that individuals who are less acculturated experience more

overall cultural value conflict than individuals who are more acculturated. Additionally,

overall cultural value conflict was positively correlated with individualism, suggesting

that participants' whose worldviews are individualistic experience cultural value conflict

in a broad sense. See table 28 for correlation matrix.

Table 28:
Intercorrelations between CVCS Total Cultural Conflict and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.199*	.024
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	-.212*	.016
MEIM-R	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA (categorical)	-.224*	.011
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.190*	.032
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	.201*	.023

Note: * significant at p<.05

Cultural Values Conflict Scale- American Value Conflict Subscale

The CVCS American Value Conflict subscale, which asks questions assessing

how much cultural conflict individuals experience when faced with aspects of the

American value system that differ from those of the South Asian value system, was

positively correlated with the MIBI Centrality subscale. This suggests that individuals

who identify strongly as South Asian experience value conflict when interfacing with

societal norms that are in contrast to their cultural values. In addition, this scale was

negatively correlated with acculturation, further suggesting that people who are more

South Asian in their style experience high cultural value conflict in the face of American

values. Also, it was negatively correlated with friendship choice as measured by the SL-

ASIA, further substantiating the claim that people who are South Asian identified tend to

choose friends who are South Asian and experience conflict when confronted with the

American value system. See table 29 for correlation matrix.

Table 29:
Intercorrelations between CVCS American Value Conflict Subscale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS American Value Conflict	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.228**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA (categorical)	-.229**	.001
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.316**	.000
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	-.286**	.001
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01

Cultural Values Conflict Scale- South Asian Value Conflict Subscale

The CVCS South Asian Value Conflict subscale, which asks questions assessing

how much cultural conflict the individual experiences when in the context of a South

Asian value system, was negatively correlated with the MIBI public regard subscale and

positively correlated with the INDCOL individualism subscale. These results suggest that

individuals who believe that society at-large views their ethnic group positively

experience less cultural value conflict in a South Asian context than individuals who

believe their group is viewed negatively by society. In addition, it indicates that

participants who were individualistic in their worldview experienced more cultural value

conflict in a South Asian context than individuals who were less individualistic in their

worldview. Also, the fact that scale was positively correlated with SL-ASIA friendship

choice questions substantiates these findings, as it suggests that individuals who choose

friends of non-Asian descent experience higher value conflict in a South Asian context

than those who choose friends of Asian and South Asian origin. See table 30 for

correlation matrix.

Table 30:
Intercorrelations between CVCS South Asian Value Conflict Subscale and other
measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS South Asian Value Conflict	Sig
MIBI Centrality	n/s	n/s
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	-.235**	.008
MEIM-R	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Total (continuous)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	.206*	.020
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	.221*	.012

Note: **significant at p<.01
        *significant at p<.05

Cultural Values Conflict Scale- Interracial Marriage Subscale

The CVCS Interracial Marriage Subscale consists of questions assessing cultural

conflict as it relates to comfort with interracial marriage. This subscale was positively

correlated with the MIBI centrality subscale, suggesting that individuals whose ethnic

identity is central to their perception of themselves experience more conflict with the idea

of interracial marriage than individuals whose ethnic identity is lower. It was also

positively correlated with the MEIM-R scale, futhering the finding that individuals who

are more ethnically identified experience more cultural conflict around the issue of

interracial marriage. Its' correlation with acculturation was found to be negative,

suggesting that people who are less acculturated experience more cultural value conflict

with interracial marriage than individuals who are more acculturated. It was also

negatively correlated with the SL-ASIA friendship choice questions, indicating that

individuals who choose friends of primarily South Asian and Asian descent experience

high conflict with regards to interracial marriage (and vice versa), suggesting that there is

a relationship between an individual's friendship preferences and romantic relationship

preferences. It can be extrapolated, then, that the hypothesis that individuals who are

more acculturated will be more comfortable with interethnic relationships than

individuals who are less acculturated has merit. See table 31 for correlation matrix.

Table 31:
Intercorrelations between CVCS Interracial Marriage Subscale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS Interracial Marriage Scale	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.351**	.000
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	.341**	.000
SL-ASIA (categorical)	-.337**	.000
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.269**	.002
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	-.296**	.001
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	n/s	n/s

Note: **significant at p<.01

Cultural Values Conflict Scale- Dating Behavior Subscale

The CVCS Dating Behavior Subscale asks questions that assess the individual's

comfort with mainstream American dating behavior, and was found to be negatively

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correlated with acculturation. This suggests that individuals who are less acculturated experience more cultural value conflict with regards to dating behavior than individuals who are more acculturated. This scale was also positively correlated with the INDCOL individualism subscale, which furthers the finding that people who are more individualistic in their worldview experience less conflict with dating behavior than individuals who are less individualistic. This was further substantiated by the finding that the CVCS dating behavior scale was positively correlated with the SL-ASIA friendship choice questions, suggesting that individuals who choose to be friends with individuals of primarily non-Asian descent are more comfortable with mainstream American dating behavior than individuals whose friend groups are made up of mostly Asian and South Asian individuals. See table 32 for correlation matrix.

Table 32:
Intercorrelations between CVCS Dating Behavior Subscale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS Dating Behavior	Sig
MIBI Centrality	n/s	n/s
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA (categorical)	-.176*	.047
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.252**	.004
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	-.186*	.035
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	.178*	.045

Note: **significant at p<.01
        *significant at p<.05

Cultural Values Conflict Scale- Family Expectations and Attitudes Subscale

This CVCS subscale was found to be positively correlated with the INDCOL individualism scale, suggesting that individuals who are more individualistic in their

worldview are more likely than individuals who are less individualistic to experience

conflict with regards to familial expectations and attitudes. See table 33 for correlation

matrix.

Table 33:
Intercorrelations between CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes Subscale and other measures

Scale	Pearson Correlation with CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes	Sig
MIBI Centrality	n/s	n/s
MIBI Private Regard	n/s	n/s
MIBI Public Regard	n/s	n/s
MEIM-R		
SL-ASIA Total (categorical)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA (continuous)	n/s	n/s
SL-ASIA Friendship Choice	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Collectivism	n/s	n/s
INDCOL Individualism	.257**	.003

Note: **significant at p<.01

Multiple Regression Results

As stated in the proposed analyses section, a series of least squares multiple

regressions were conducted to see how well each of the constructs (ethnic identity,

worldview, and acculturation) predicted cultural value conflict. Due to the fact that the

correlation coefficients reported in the correlational analysis section were significant but

low, it was hypothesized that these measures would be weak predictors of cultural value

conflict. However, in order to determine which significant correlations provided the most

information with regards to cultural value conflict, six regressions were run. The SL-

ASIA friendship questions were not used as an independent variable in the regressions

due to the fact that the reliability of this question set for this sample was not strong

enough to justify its use as a predictor variable. Therefore, the independent variables were as follows: MIBI centrality, MIBI private regard, MIBI public regard, MEIM-R, SL-ASIA index score (when acculturation was measured as a continuous variable), INDCOL collectivism, and INDCOL individualism. These measures were regressed to the following dependent variables: CVCS total cultural value conflict, CVCS American value conflict, CVCS South Asian value conflict, CVCS interracial marriage, CVCS dating behavior, and CVCS family expectations and attitudes.

Criterion Measure: CVCS Total Cultural Value Conflict

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS total score, the regression was found to be significant at the .01 level. Upon examination of the subscales, the MIBI centrality scale and the INDCOL individualism scale were found to be significant at the .05 level. This suggests that there is a significant relationship between how central a person's ethnic identity is to their perception of themselves, their level of individualistic worldview, and the amount of overall cultural value conflict they experience. See table 34.

Table 34:
Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS Total Cultural Value Conflict

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	3.546	1.789	.224	.050*
MIBI Private Regard	-1.367	2.544	-.063	.592 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-2.199	1.680	-.127	.193 (n/s)
MEIM-R	.160	1.701	.010	.925 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.155	.096	-.146	.109 (n/s)
INDCOL Collectivism	.253	.193	.120	.191 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.607	.235	.241	.011*

Note: *significant at p<.05
R^2=.167

Criterion Measure: CVCS American Value Conflict Subscale

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS American Value

Conflict subscale, the regression was found to be significant at the .01 level. Upon

examination of the individual subscales, the SL-ASIA was the only one found to be

significant. This suggests that there is a relationship between acculturation and the

experience of cultural value conflict in an American cultural context. See table 35 for

results.

Table 35:
Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS American Value Conflict

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	2.454	1.273	.218	.056 (n/s)
MIBI Private Regard	-1.234	1.809	-.080	.496 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-1.234	1.809	-.080	.496 (n/s)
MEIM-R	.120	1.210	.011	.921 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.213	.068	-.283	.002*
INDCOL Collectivism	.077	.137	.052	.574 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.291	.167	.163	.084 (n/s)

Note: *significant at p<.05
R^2=.165

Criterion Measure: CVCS South Asian Value Conflict Subscale

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS South Asian Value

Conflict subscale, the regression was significant at the .05 level. Upon subscale

examination, the INDCOL individualism scale was found to be significant. This suggests

that there is a significant relationship between individualistic worldview and the

experience of conflict in a South Asian cultural context. See table 36 for results.

Table 36:
Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS South Asian Value Conflict

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	1.092	1.029	.123	.291 (n/s)
MIBI Private Regard	-.133	1.463	-.011	.928 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-1.640	.966	-.169	.092 (n/s)
MEIM-R	.040	.979	.005	.968 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	.058	.055	.097	.297 (n/s)
INDCOL Collectivism	.176	.111	.149	.115 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.316	.135	.224	.021*

Note: *significant at $p<.05$
$R^2=.123$

Criterion Measure: CVCS Interracial Marriage Subscale

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS Interracial Marriage subscale, the regression was significant at the .01 level. Upon examination of the subscales, the MIBI Centrality subscale was found to be significant, suggesting that there is a relationship between the centrality of ethnicity in identity and conflict regarding interracial marriage. See table 37 for results.

Table 37:
Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS Interracial Marriage

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	1.387	.604	.255	.023*
MIBI Private Regard	-.339	.859	-.045	.694 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-.081	.567	-.014	.887 (n/s)
MEIM-R	1.058	.575	.198	.068 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.060	.032	-1.836	.069 (n/s)
INDCOL Collectivism	-.016	.065	-.022	.805 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.105	.079	.121	.190 (n/s)

Note: *significant at $p<.05$
$R^2=.193$

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS Dating Behavior

subscale, the regression was significant at the .05 level. Upon examination of the

subscales, the only measure that was significant was the SL-ASIA, suggesting that there

is a relationship between acculturation and conflict regarding dating behavior. See table

38 for results.

Table 38:
Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS Dating Behavior

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.690	.653	.122	.293 (n/s)
MIBI Private Regard	-.237	.929	-.030	.799 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-.320	.613	-.052	.603 (n/s)
MEIM-R	-.761	.621	-.137	.223 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	-.104	.035	-.275	.004**
INDCOL Collectivism	.053	.070	.070	.454 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.163	.086	.182	.059 (n/s)

Note: **significant at p<.01
R^2=.128

Criterion Measure: CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes Subscale

When all independent variables were regressed to the CVCS Family Expectations

and Attitudes subscale, the regression was significant at the .01 level. Upon examination

of the subscales, it was found that the INDCOL individualism scale was significant,

suggesting that there is a relationship between individualistic worldview and conflict

regarding family expectations and attitudes. See table 39 for results.

Table 39:

Regression Analysis Summary for Scales Predicting CVCS Family Expectations and Attitudes

Scale	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig
MIBI Centrality	.736	.694	.121	.291 (n/s)
MIBI Private Regard	-.443	.986	-.053	.655 (n/s)
MIBI Public Regard	-.944	.651	-.142	.150 (n/s)
MEIM-R	.094	.660	.016	.887 (n/s)
SL-ASIA (continuous)	.026	.037	.063	.493 (n/s)
INDCOL Collectivism	.130	.075	.161	.083 (n/s)
INDCOL Individualism	.277	.091	.287	.003*

Note: *significant at p<.01

R^2=.150

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The information gleaned from this research study is particularly important in understanding the effects of implicit and explicit cultural values and norms on individuals of South Asian origin living in the United States. The immigrant and second-generation experience, as explained thoroughly in the literature review, is wrought with cultural negotiation, and understanding the factors that play a role in that negotiation process can be enlightening and normalizing for individuals immersed in the experience.

Interestingly, though the majority of individuals who participated in the study were born and raised in the United States (72 participants), a significant portion of the sample (53 people) were born in a South Asian country and were currently residing in the United States. The fact that the majority of the sample both self-identified as bicultural and was found to be bicultural in their acculturation status as measured by the SL-ASIA suggests that immigrants who reside in the United States during their early adulthood years (21-36), as well as individuals who experience the intersection of cultures from birth, learn to function in ways that allow them to integrate both cultures' values, norms, and expectations into their behaviors and self-concepts.

It is interesting that both the immigrant and second generation individuals overwhelmingly identified as bicultural, as opposed to the immigrant generation being more South Asian in their acculturation status. This finding was furthered by the results of the MANOVA by generation and childhood residence, as there was not a significant difference between individuals born and raised in South Asia or those born and raised in

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the United States with regards to their experience of cultural value conflict. This may be due to the fact that immigrants who choose to study or work in the United States after having been raised in a South Asian country are a self-selected subset of the South Asian population that most likely has an interest in or identification with a more westernized value system, in contrast to the second-generation individuals who were raised in both cultural contexts simultaneously.

In addition, the fact that the sample was highly-educated, with 66 individuals having already obtained a college degree and 52 individuals having obtained a graduate degree, suggests that the participants sampled are both part of and perpetuating the model minority myth. Therefore, these results do not give us any information about how acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview impact the experience of cultural value conflict and relationship choice for individuals who are not able to live up to society's expectations of them as part of the model minority.

Though this sample may be biased due to the snowball-sampling nature of recruitment, it may also be representative of the South Asian American population at-large. If so, the fact that the majority of individuals were biculturally acculturated suggests that biculturalism has become the norm for this age group of individuals of South Asian origin living in the United States. The results of this study suggest that bicultural individuals both have moderate to high ethnic identities (as seen by the distribution of responses to the MIBI scales and the MEIM-R), subscribe to both individualistic and collectivistic values (as seen by the distribution of responses to the INDCOL individualism and collectivism scales, as well as the correlational analysis), and experience moderate amounts of overall value conflict (as seen by the distribution of

responses to the CVCS scale, as well as the correlational analysis). The fact that these individuals subscribe to both American values and South Asian values is made clear by the distribution of responses to the CVCS American value conflict and South Asian value conflict scales, which showed that the majority of individuals experienced moderate amounts of each.

Furthermore, individuals' relationship choices seem to be affected by their acculturation status, ethnic identity, and worldview, as the sample was normally distributed when it came to friendship choices, skewed to the left when it came to dating behavior (suggesting that the majority of individuals experienced low-to-moderate amounts of value conflict regarding dating) but bimodally distributed when it came to conflict regarding interracial marriage. These results suggest that bicultural individuals are likely to make interpersonal choices that reflect mainstream values when those choices affect them in the short term but are evenly split between allegiance to host and natal culture values when making interpersonal choices that impact them in the long-term, consistent with the definition of biculturalism as the negotiation between and integration of two cultures.

Regression Results and How They Add to the Existing Literature

As explained in the results section, the regression results, correlational findings, and descriptive data substantiate all three of the researcher's original hypotheses, which suggests that the theory behind this study was correct- that there is a complex relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and cultural value conflict as it relates to relationship behaviors and choice. The speculation that acculturation, ethnic identity,

and worldview would predict the amount and type of cultural value conflict, however, was not substantiated due to the fact that the relationships between these constructs were not strong enough to account for a substantiative percentage of the variance. This does not necessarily mean that these constructs are not predictive of cultural value conflict, but suggests that the measures used did not complement each other well enough to demarcate exactly how much each construct contributed to the experience of conflict.

Despite this, a multiple regression analysis was conducted, and the results showed that there were several relationships between constructs that provided meaningful information about the various factors that play a role in the experience of cultural value conflict for South Asian individuals residing in the United States. Specifically, the regression results emphasized the constructs that were most closely related to the various categorizations of cultural value conflict found by factor analysis and grouping of content-similar questions (overall cultural value conflict, American cultural value conflict, South Asian cultural value conflict, cultural value conflict relating to interracial marriage, cultural value conflict relating to dating behavior, and cultural value conflict relating to family expectations and attitudes).

These results showed that ethnic identity plays an important role in the experience of cultural conflict, but showed that centrality, as opposed to private regard, public regard, or exploration/commitment (as measured by the entire MEIM-R scale), was most influential in the experience of value conflict, both overall and with regards to the prospect of interracial marriage. This gives us substantial information regarding the concept of ethnic identity, showing that individuals who have internalized their ethnicity as a defining part of themselves and their interpersonal interactions are more likely to

take their ethnic identification into consideration when forming long-term romantic relationships than those who simply know about their heritage, feel positively about their culture of origin, or believe that their ethnic group is regarded positively by the community at-large. This makes sense, because if an individual's ethnicity is central to their identity, he or she may find it particularly important to partner with someone for whom ethnic identity is also salient. This is consistent with the finding that individuals whose self-esteem is influenced by their ethnic identity tend to engage in intra-ethnic relationships (Gurung and Duong, 1999), and the finding that high ethnic identity was associated with intra-racial dating (Mok, 1999).

In addition, the fact that centrality seems more influential than private regard, public regard, and exploration/commitment in individuals' partner choices reinforces the theory that ethnic identity is a multifaceted construct that can and should be studied not only as a whole but also in its various dimensions (Phinney and Ong, 1997; Sellers et al., 1998). According to Inman et al., (1997), ethnic identity is passed from parent to child through both interactions in the home and with the ethnic community at-large, which would suggest that private regard, public regard, and exploration/commitment are precursors to the formation of ethnic identity centrality. These results suggest, however, that the solidification of ethnic identity is an internalization process that is linked to but somewhat separate from cultural exposure. While Phinney and Ong (2007) created their commitment questions to assess the affective experience that creates an in-ethnic-group affiliation, the fact that MIBI ethnic identity centrality was most influential in partner choice suggests that either the construct measured by the MEIM-R commitment questions is different from the actual ethnic identity internalization process or that this

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sample is biased towards foreclosure (commitment to ethnic group without internalization) instead of moratorium (integration of cultural background into sense of self; Phinney, 2006). Additional research examining the process by which ethnic identity becomes central to self-concept might shed further light on the experience of cultural value conflict in general and with regards to relationship choice in specific.

Though ethnic identity seems to be important to individuals when making decisions about long-term romantic relationships, it seems that it plays less of a role in the decision to engage or not engage in dating behavior. This is a bit different from the study by Mok (1999), which concluded that both ethnic identity and acculturation played a positively-correlated, instrumental role in dating behavior. In contrast to that finding, the regression results of this study show that conflict with regards to dating was related to acculturation and not ethnic identity, indicating that individuals who are more acculturated experience less conflict when it comes to dating than individuals who are less acculturated. This suggests that acculturation status helps shape an individual's decision to date or not to date, but has less of an impact than ethnic identity centrality in individuals' long-term relationship choices. This is also consistent with the regression finding that acculturation was related to cultural value conflict in an American context, such that individuals who are more westernized experience less conflict when faced with mainstream American values.

Given the fact that the majority of the sample was bicultural, these findings suggest that individuals who are able to bridge the culture gap and incorporate aspects of both American and South Asian culture into their way of being are more likely to engage in mainstream dating behavior, but ultimately their marriage decisions are influenced by

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their ethnic identification more so than their ability to negotiate their way in both cultures. This is consistent with Gupta's (1999) finding, which showed that 40% of the South Asian Americans in their sample were open to dating non Indian-Americans but only 26% were open to marrying a non-Indian American, explaining that while they felt comfortable dating people of other ethnic origins, they preferred to partner with someone who understands their culture. While this may reflect an emphasis on the impact of ethnic identity in permanent partner choice, it could also be understood as the definition of biculturalism if conceptualized as a combination of individualism (in the sense that the person is making autonomous choices with regards to their romantic relationships) and collectivism (in the sense that the choice is ultimately one that is consistent with cultural expectations), as suggested by Singla (2005). It could also be explained by the concept of selective acculturation, which has been described by Patel, Power, and Bhavnagri (1996) as the act of maintaining traditional South Asian values at home and integrating into American society and its values outside the home, as the decision to date is often done without the parents' knowledge, while marriage is an act that includes the family (Ali, 2004). These alternative explanations only further substantiate the hypothesis that ethnic identity and acculturation are different, but related, concepts.

Furthermore, the regression results show that subscription to individualistic values is also significantly related to the experience of cultural value conflict, particularly the experience of overall cultural value conflict, value conflict in a South Asian cultural context, and conflict with family expectations and attitudes. This makes sense given the contrast between individualistic values and traditional South Asian values and expectations. The fact that the regression results did not reveal a strong connection

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between the two worldview dimensions and cultural value conflict as it relates to interracial marriage suggests that worldview is less important than ethnic identity centrality in partner choice. However, the fact that there is a strong positive correlation between ethnic identity centrality and collectivism suggests that worldview and ethnic identity centrality are inextricably linked concepts, and so it would be imprudent to conclude that worldview does not play a role in relationship choice.

Additionally, it is particularly interesting that individualism was found to be significant in the regression analysis but collectivism was not, which might mean that the strength of the questions on the individualism subscale better captured the construct than those on the collectivism subscale. This might also explain why there was a strong correlational connection between ethnic identity and collectivism but not a strong predictive relationship between collectivism and cultural value conflict with regards to interracial marriage and dating behavior. In future research, the use of a more straightforward and reliable individualism-collectivism scale is indicated.

Clinical Implications

The results of this study are particularly interesting when put in a clinical context, because they provide the clinician with a framework for understanding the experience of individuals of South Asian descent living in the United States. Due to the fact that this sample consisted of people between the ages of 21 and 36 (most of whom were enrolled in or had completed higher education degrees), these findings provide the most amount of information to clinicians who work with college students, graduate students, and young-professionals.

These years are formative for all individuals, but as is seen by the research cited in the literature review and by this study's results, individuals who are trying to bridge a culture gap amidst their exploration-of-self process face issues different from those who have been raised in a mainstream cultural context. The dilemma related to separation and individuation is different for those identifying with both individualistic and collectivistic values, as the process of establishing the self as an autonomous entity can be precarious given both ethnic identity and cultural expectations. As the results suggest, this dilemma is particularly salient in terms of relationship behaviors and choice, for both immigrants who are residing in the United States between the ages of 21 and 36 and for those of South Asian descent born and raised in the west.

Clinicians who work with these individuals need to be aware of the differences between South Asian culture and mainstream United States culture, so that conflict with regards to interpersonal interactions and relationship choice can be understood in context. Helping clients to understand the impact the collision of the two cultures has had on them can be enlightening, powerful, and cathartic, as these clients might not view their struggle as one rooted in cultural differences but instead might conceptualize them as points of family contention or personal insufficiency. In a traditional South Asian context, the negotiation of self-vs.-family is a foreign concept (Farver, Narang, and Bhadha, 2002), and so second-generation individuals who engage in this normative, American developmental process might experience psychological distress. This could result in feelings of low self-esteem and questions regarding the individual's social competence (Farver, Bhadha and Narang, 2002), which could cause difficulty with sense of self

formation as well as confusion and distress with regards to interpersonal interactions and relationship choices.

Due to the fact that college is often the first time an individual is living apart from his or her family, and because college-age is the developmental stage in which individuals typically learn about themselves as romantic partners, clients of South Asian descent might present with internal and external conflicts regarding their desire to engage in these relationships (or their choice to engage in these relationships) and the feelings of disobedience and shame that might accompany them (due to the fact that they might be going against their parents' implicit or explicit expectations).

Assessing the client's acculturation status through either formal measurement (using an instrument such as the SL-ASIA) or through clinical questioning is particularly important. Even if the client appears to be bicultural in nature, it is prudent to understand just what the acculturative process means for that client, as the ability to function in both cultures can be achieved through either selective acculturation (behaving in culturally appropriate ways based on context; LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993) or integration/biculturalism (the creation of a cohesive way of being that blends both cultures; Berry et al., 1989). Thoroughly exploring an individual's acculturation status and the process by which it was formed (and is sustained) will give the clinician an idea of the strength of their ethnic identification, their worldview, and a rudimentary understanding of the type of conflict they might face in terms of interracial marriage, dating behavior, and family expectations and attitudes. Of course, reflecting on each of these constructs separately as well as in relation to each other is important, as the results

of this study show that these concepts are related but impact interpersonal choices differently.

Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) found that an acculturation status mismatch between parent and child negatively impacts psychological well-being, and Bracey, Bamanca, and Umana-Taylor (2002) found that exploration of ethnic identity decreases acculturative stress and increases psychological health. These conclusions, combined with the findings of this study, suggest that engaging clients in conversations about their childhood experiences, notably the values transmitted to them by their parents and their ethnic community at-large, as well as how much those values have influenced their thoughts, feelings, behaviors, and experiences, is crucial in determining both an individual's worldview and the strength of their ethnic identity.

As mentioned earlier, it is important to get a sense of the individual's affective commitment to their ethnic group identification, because the strength of the affective connection is related to ethnic identity centrality, which in this study has been shown to significantly influence the experience of cultural value conflict with regards to relationship choice, specifically interracial marriage. Exploring with clients what values they hold as central to who they are, as well as the values they see as important in the establishment of a compatible emotional connection, might help clients begin to understand the role their ethnic identity plays in their interpersonal interactions. Additionally, processing what it might mean for them personally to engage in a serious relationship with someone of the same or different ethnic background, as well as what those two relationship scenarios might mean to their families and communities at-large, would be a qualitative way to assess the impact of ethnic identity centrality on

relationship choice and might open the door for rich self-exploration and cultural negotiation in psychotherapy.

Ultimately, the goal of psychotherapy would be to help individuals make choices that feel comfortable to them, whether those choices are based predominantly on the individual's wants/needs, the family or ethnic community at-large's expectations, or a combination of both. Research by Berry et al. (1989) shows that a combination of both- reflected in biculturalism- is the most psychologically adaptive, as it is associated with higher self-esteem and lower amounts of anxiety than separation (identification with the ethnic group only) or marginalization (rejecting both the natal and host culture; Farver, Narang, and Bhadha, 2002). Furthermore, Farver, Bhadha and Narang (2002) found that biculturalism was associated with social competence and friendship satisfaction in South Asian adolescents, a conclusion that was further substantiated by this study's finding that the majority of individuals identify biculturally and also engage in friendships with people of Asian and non-Asian descent equally, suggesting that they have an easier time forming friendships in mainstream American society than individuals who prefer to associate only with others from their ethnic group.

The relationship between friendship choice and cultural value conflict with regards to dating behavior and interracial marriage was also particularly salient, showing that individuals whose friend groups consist of people from both Asian and non-Asian cultures experience less conflict than those whose friend groups are primarily made up of individuals of the same ethnic group. This further substantiates the contention that biculturalism causes less conflict with regards to interpersonal relationship choices than

either being South Asian identified or westernized, which leads to greater psychological adaptation and health.

If a client does not identify biculturally, the goal of psychotherapy is not to engage them in an acculturation process that leads to biculturalism. Instead, it is to help the individual explore the various constructs and values that influence his or her life, giving them insight into both their experience of conflict and the motivations behind their choices, thus allowing them to be more intentional in their cognitive, behavioral, and affective worlds. If changes do occur in the individual's acculturation status, ethnic identity, or worldview, the hope is that these changes will be psychologically adaptive, decreasing value conflict and increasing comfort with relationship choices.

The clinical exploration process can be guided by a client's acculturative status as well as worldview; for example, if the individual is more South Asian identified and subscribes to a more collectivistic worldview, it might be important for the clinician to take the notions of closed emotionality, filial piety, and family honor (Sue and Sue, 2003) into consideration when encouraging the client to explore his or her family and community experiences. In addition, this might impact the individual's interpersonal relationships because it might prevent the individual from engaging in the sharing of a wide range of emotional reactions (as is typical in intimate friendships and/or romantic relationships in American society), and so keeping this in mind when examining both the therapeutic relationship and conflict with regards to relationship choice may be warranted.

Also, clients who are less comfortable engaging in the therapeutic relationship due to these collectivistic traits might present with physiological, rather than affective,

symptoms (Sue and Sue, 2003). Alternatively, they may present with academic concerns, as there is a great emphasis on academic achievement in the South Asian American community and seeking help for academic reasons is more culturally acceptable than help-seeking for emotional or interpersonal reasons. Individuals' conflict in relationships might also manifest themselves in either academic performance deficits (e.g. difficulty concentrating) or in psychosomatic ways, and so paying attention to worldview and how it might impact client presentation may be helpful with therapeutic conceptualization and intervention.

It may also be important to take the client's gender into consideration when engaging in psychotherapy, as the results of this study show that there are slight gender differences with regards to the experience of cultural value conflict. This sample, which consisted of 89 women and 39 men, showed that men endorsed a more bicultural approach to their dating practices, as they qualified their comfort with dating and premarital sex behavior by saying that it was acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage. The women in this sample, on the other hand, experienced more discomfort than men with the more Americanized notion of premarital sex based on physical attraction, as well as more discomfort than men with South Asian norms around marriage, particularly that of being married by the age of 25 and having an arranged union. This suggests that men are better able to negotiate the cultural conflict around dating behavior, and may mean that men have an easier time than women integrating into the social norms of American society. This may or may not be due to gender socialization differences both in American and South Asian society; not enough information was obtained to come to any significant conclusions regarding gender

differences with regards to cultural value conflict. When engaging in psychotherapy, however, it may be important to explore exactly what gender specific messages have impacted the individual's acculturative process, ethnic identity formation, worldview conception, and experience of cultural value conflict.

Suggestions for Future Research

Due to the fact that this study did not find acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview to be predictors of cultural value conflict, this relationship should be further explored. Based on this study's findings, there is clearly a complex relationship between these constructs, but the measures chosen did not allow for a substantive proportion of the variance to be accounted for by each construct. Therefore, conducting a more thorough investigation of these variables -and distinguishing each construct from the other in reliable ways- is indicated.

This could be done through the use of multiple measures for each construct, thus providing a more comprehensive understanding of an individual's place on the acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview continuums. Also, measurement of value conflict could be targeted at different sorts of interpersonal relationships and behaviors – professional relationships, academic relationships, friendships, romantic relationships- and could be further demarcated by the other person's ethnic belongingness, so that conflict could be measured not only based on the type and quality of the relationship but also by the cultural context in which the relationship is formed. In order to gain all this information, it would be best to combine quantitative and qualitative data, as there is a

dearth of instruments measuring these constructs, and the ones that were used in this study did not account for substantiative portions of the variance.

It would be particularly interesting to conduct a longitudinal study assessing acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and its' relationship to cultural value conflict as it relates to interpersonal interactions and choices. Doing so would add to the literature regarding not only the acculturation process, ethnic identity development, and worldview internalization, but would also shed light on how individuals of South Asian descent negotiate these issues as they grow and change. Furthermore, studying the impact of these variables on interpersonal interactions over time will provide us more information about how interpersonal attitudes and preferences develop, and how they impact the formation and sustenance of different sorts of relationships at different developmental stages.

If a longitudinal study were to be conducted, sampling would need to be done differently, and would hopefully be representative of the South Asian American population at-large. Targeting South Asians across the United States would be particularly important, especially in assessing the transmission of cultural values and internalization of ethnic identity, as individuals who grow up in an area populated by South Asians most likely will have a different level and quality of ethnic identity than those primarily exposed to American society. Finding participants in areas that have few South Asians might be particularly difficult, as there may not be a cultural organization or ethnic enclave in which to recruit. Advertising in newspapers such as *India Abroad* might be one way to gather participants, as research shows that a transnational South Asian American community has been created by the dispersion of this newspaper to

individuals across the country (Shukla, 2000). Also, in order to ensure that the study has an adequate number of participants throughout the years, it would behoove the researcher to choose a large sample size and to offer some sort of compensation for long-term commitment to the study.

Acculturation Assessment over Time

Though Berry's (1986) bidirectional acculturation model –which classifies individuals as either assimilated (becoming westernized), separated (identifying heavily with the ethnic group), marginalized (rejecting both cultures), or integrated (biculturalism characterized by an internalization and blending of values from both cultures) has received substantial empirical support, there are other acculturation theories that also have merit. The fact that many South Asian immigrants who entered the United States post-1965 subscribe to the alternation (selective) model of acculturation (alternating thought and behavior based on the cultural context; Inman et al., 1997) suggests that this acculturation strategy should be further studied, as cultural values and expectations are communicated to the second-generation both implicitly and explicitly through interactions with their parent generation.

Paying attention to the parent generation's acculturation process and status may be particularly important in understanding the second generation's experience of value conflict, as Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) found that a mismatch between parent and child is predictive of intergenerational conflict and associated psychological distress. Assessment of parental acculturation status could be done through the use of quantitative measures such as the SL-ASIA, qualitative questioning, and the obtainment of

demographic data that might give information about the individual's functioning in American society (language fluency, education level, profession, attitudes towards American cultural values and norms, friendship and relationship choices, etc).

While some research shows that the majority of second generation individuals have a bicultural acculturation style when measured by the SL-ASIA (Setty, 2007; Farver, Narang, and Bhadha 2002; Farver, Bhadha and Narang, 2002), there is also support for the selective acculturation model in the second-generation population. Seth (2008) found that the second-generation males in her sample, as well as the second-generation females in Ahluwalia's (2002) sample, move fluidly between cultural contexts and expectations, which is more consistent with the selective acculturation model (LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993) than the integration model posed by Berry and colleagues (1989). This is not to say that selective acculturation and integration/biculturalism do not have any overlap, or that both could not exist in the same person; rather, it highlights the dynamism of the acculturation process and indicates that it may be worthwhile to continue to study this process, especially as it unfolds as individuals age.

Worldview Assessment

A significant limitation of this study was the use of Hui and Yee's (1984) INDCOL measure, as it was not found to be as reliable and informative as anticipated for this sample. The wording of the questions should have been tailored to individuals for whom English is their primary language, and their content should have been tweaked in

order to capture individualistic and collectivistic thought behaviors and processes more thoroughly.

In retrospect, the researcher wishes that Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand's (1995) conceptualization of individualism and collectivism as having vertical and horizontal aspects, was used. These authors posited that individualism and collectivism are extremely broad in their conceptualization, and due to the broadness of the constructs, adequate reliability and validity cannot be obtained. So, they demarcated these constructs into vertical and horizontal aspects based on Fiske's (1990; 1992) research on the four patterns of social relationships related to the distribution of resources in society.

The four patterns were as follows: communal sharing (sharing with the in-group according to need), authority ranking (sharing resources based on rank), market pricing (sharing resources based on each person's contribution to society) and equality matching (distribution of resources equally). Singelis et al (1995) created questions that assessed horizontal collectivism (perceiving the self as part of the collective but conceptualizing all members of the collective as equal; a combination of communal sharing and equality matching), vertical collectivism (perceiving the self as part of a collective but accepting the inequalities inherent in the social strata; a combination of communal sharing and authority ranking), horizontal individualism (the self is autonomous and there is an emphasis on equality; a combination of market pricing and equality matching) and vertical individualism (the self as autonomous with an acceptance of inequality based on social norms; a combination of market pricing and authority ranking). The authors found that their questions loaded well onto the aforementioned factors, and that the alphas for

these more specialized aspects of individualism and collectivism were adequate (.64-.74). Therefore, in future studies, this measure or another more robust measure of worldview assessment should be used.

In addition to individualism and collectivism, religious beliefs may play a role in worldview transmission and internalization. This study did not ask any questions about participants' religious backgrounds, affiliations, and/or beliefs. In the future, however, this may be an interesting domain to explore, as religiosity may be tied to a greater internalization of worldview dimensions and values that are consistent with their faith traditions and beliefs. Religiosity may also impact the experience of cultural value conflict and shape interpersonal behaviors and relationship choices.

Ethnic Identity Assessment over Time

The fact that ethnic identity centrality seemed particularly important in the experience of cultural value conflict suggests that this aspect of ethnic identity could be studied in detail, so that its' relationship to psychosocial adjustment in interpersonal domains can be explicated. Exploring the ethnic identity development process may be helpful when doing a longitudinal study, as the strength of individuals' ethnic identities are bound to change as they age. It may also shed light on the development process itself, and inform the creation of measures that more accurately assess ethnic identity internalization.

Taking the notion of reflected appraisal into consideration may be particularly helpful when assessing ethnic identity development over time. According to Khanna (2004), interpersonal experiences that give the individual information about how they are

perceived racially can impact the type and strength of their ethnic identity, especially for individuals who do not have a strong leaning towards either their natal ethnicity or that of American society. For individuals who have had little exposure to their ethnic group- due to geographic location, parental acculturation status, value transmission, or any other reason- the strength of their ethnic identification may be significantly influenced by the way others perceive them. In a longitudinal study, questions assessing the strength and impact of reflected appraisal, particularly during developmental periods in which the sense of self is formed and solidified, may provide significant information about how the ethnic identification process occurs. It may also provide information about how ethnic identity impacts interpersonal interactions and behaviors, as reflected appraisal is a process that occurs in a social context.

Future studies could use the Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory centrality, public regard, and private regard subscales – as well as the exploration and commitment subscales of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised-, as the results of this study showed them to be robust in terms of reliability and validity. These measures don't seem to capture the entire ethnic identification process, however, as there seems to be a difference in cultural exposure, attitudes towards the ethnic group, and the creation of an ethnic identity that is both central to the individual's perception of self and plays a significant role in the individual's interpersonal interactions. Assessing affective commitment to the cultural group may be a way to differentiate between these different facets of ethnic identity, and may also help determine which individuals are more likely to experience value conflict with regards to relationship choice.

According to the results of this study, ethnic identity centrality impacts permanent partner choice but not friendship or dating behavior. It can be hypothesized, then, that ethnic identity plays a more influential role in interpersonal relationships that are characterized by depth, closeness, and compatibility. Due to the fact the MIBI centrality scale seems to be the only one that assesses this affective commitment, a qualitative analysis may be indicated to further understand this concept.

Cultural Value Conflict Assessment over Time

Based on the results of this study, it is logical to conclude that acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview impact the experience of cultural value conflict. Though this study is the first of its kind, a recent literature review revealed that other authors have found cultural and affective conflict to be salient for second generation individuals negotiating dating and marriage (Seth, 2008; Abraham, 2002; Tewari, 2002). The fact that other researchers are interested in first and second generation South Asians' experience of cultural value conflict confirms this researcher's finding that there is a dearth of information regarding the impact of culture on this population's relationships. It also validates this researcher's belief that studying these variables and understanding their impact is particularly important in this day and age, as the second generation reaches adulthood and a third generation is born.

Due to the fact that the measures used did not strongly predict value conflict as measured by the Cultural Values Conflict Scale, a future study might assess value conflict both quantitatively (using the subscales found in this study) and quantitatively. As suggested earlier, looking at a variety of interpersonal relationships (professional,

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academic, friendship, and romantic relationships), as well as the cultural context in which the relationship was formed, might be helpful in understanding exactly how culture impacts different interpersonal interactions. Furthermore, looking at the experience of value conflict at different developmental stages might be very useful, as children might experience more value conflict with regards to peer relationships, teenagers/young adults might experience more value conflict with regards to academic and romantic relationships, and working professionals might experience value conflict with regards to professional relationships and romantic relationships.

Examining value conflict with regards to academic relationships also might shed light on the experiences of South Asian Americans who don't fit the model minority stereotype, as this study did not provide any information about this subset of the population. Also, taking participants' genders and sexual orientations into consideration would be most important in this sort of study, as the experience of cultural value conflict with regards to romantic relationships may differ based on gender and sexual identity.

In addition, if the longitudinal study was able to follow subjects into adulthood, both romantic relationship choice and the quality of romantic relationship choice could be studied. Theoretically, the measures of acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview would be predictive of the sorts of relationships the individual might choose, as well as the sorts of conflict that might arise given those relationship choices. Participants could be given a dyadic adjustment scale (that includes cultural value conflict questions) as part of the research protocol at two different points in their development- when they are in stable dating relationships and when they are in committed marital relationships. In this way, the researchers might gain a more comprehensive understanding of how much

acculturation, worldview, and ethnic identity impact romantic relationship choices and satisfaction both in the short and long term.

In conclusion, as the South Asian American population increases in size, it becomes increasingly important to understand the cultural and psychological underpinnings of their experience. Not only does the study of acculturation, ethnic identity, worldview, and cultural value conflict shed light on the way that cultural negotiation takes place for individuals of South Asian descent, it also speaks to the American experience as one that is inherently diverse. Beginning to delineate how these variables relate to each other adds to the body of literature that seeks to operationalize and understand the cultural merging process, and also provides important information for clinicians working with individuals who might be struggling with culture value conflict in a variety of domains. The results of this study give us substantial information about how cultural identification and value internalization impact relationship behavior and choice, but it is the researcher's hope that these findings simply open the door to a research domain characterized by clinical curiosity and cultural complexity.

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Appendix A:

Multidimensional Black Identity Inventory (Sellers et al., 1998) - adapted for this population

Table A1:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for MIBI Centrality Subscale by Sex

MIBI Centrality Item	df	sig
1. Being South Asian has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
2. Being South Asian is an important part of my self-image.	1	n/s
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other South Asians.	1	n/s
4. Being South Asian is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to South Asian people.	1	n/s
6. I have a strong attachment to other South Asian people.	1	n/s
7. Being South Asian is an important reflection of who I am.	1	n/s
8. Being South Asian is not a major factor in my social relationships. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s

Table A2:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for MIBI Private Regard Subscale by Sex

MIBI Private Regard Item	df	sig
9. I feel good about South Asian people.	1	n/s
10. I am happy that I am South Asian.	1	n/s
11. I feel that South Asians have made major accomplishments and advancements.	1	n/s
12. I often regret that I am South Asian. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
13. I am proud to be South Asian.	1	n/s
14. I feel that the South Asian community has made valuable contributions to this society.	1	n/s

Table A3:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for MIBI Public Regard Subscale by Sex

Item	df	sig
15. Overall, South Asians are considered good by others.	1	n/s
16. In general, others respect South Asian people.	1	n/s
17. Most people consider South Asians, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
18. South Asians are not respected by the broader society. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
19. In general, other groups view South Asians in a positive manner.	1	n/s
20. Society views South Asian people as an asset.	1	n/s

Appendix B:
Individualism-Collectivism Scale (Hui and Yee, 1994)

Table B1:
Factor Loadings from Principal Components Analysis of INDCOL Scale: Communalities, Eigenvalues, and Percentages of Variance

Item	Factor Loading 1	Factor Loading 2	Communality
1. The motto "sharing both blessing and calamity" still applies even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causes a lot of trouble.	.415	.045	1
2. I would help if a colleague at work told me that he/she needed money to pay utility bills.	.513	.125	1
3. If a colleague lends a helping hand, one needs to return the favor.	-.019	-.075	1
4. There is everything to gain and nothing to lose for co-workers to group themselves to help each other.	.273	.057	1
5. Colleagues' assistance is indispensable to good performance at work.	.282	.007	1
6. I like to live close to my good friends.	.325	-.192	1
7. It is a personal matter whether I worship money or not. Therefore it is not necessary for my friends to give any counsel.	-.245	.237	1
8. To go on a trip with friends makes one less free and mobile. As a result, there is less fun.	-.100	.504	1
9. I would not let my parents use my car (if I have one), whether they are good drivers or not.	-.020	.314	1
10. I would not let my needy mother use the money that I have saved by living a less than luxurious life.	.009	.471	1
11. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.	-.061	.479	1
12. Teenagers should listen to their parents' advice on dating.	.122	-.254	1
13. Young people should take into consideration their parents' advice when making education/career plans.	.171	-.484	1
14. Each family has its own problems unique to itself. It does not help to tell relatives about one's problem.	-.414	.297	1
15. Whether one spends an income extravagantly or stingily is of no concern to one's relatives (cousins, uncles).	-.322	.128	1

16. One need not worry about what the neighbors say about whom one should marry.	-.092	.203	1
17. When deciding what kind of education to have, I would pay absolutely no attention to my uncles' advice.	-.283	.427	1
18. If possible, I would like co-owning a car with my close friends, so that it wouldn't be necessary for them to spend much money to buy their own cars.	.467	.222	1
19. I can count on my relatives for help if I find myself in any kind of trouble.	.389	-.428	1
20. When deciding what kind of education to have, I would definitely pay attention to the views of relatives of my generation.	.400	-.459	1
21. I am often influenced by the moods of my neighbors.	.537	.214	1
22. My neighbors always tell me interesting stories that have happened around them.	.626	-.025	1
23. Even if the child won the Nobel prize, the parents should not feel honored in any way.	.341	.627	1
24. Children should not feel honored even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contribution and service to the community.	.169	.626	1
25. In these days parents are too stringent with their kids, stunting the development of initiative.	.139	.612	1
26. The decision of where one is to work should be jointly made with one's spouse, if one is married.	.179	-.028	1
27. If a husband is a sports fan, a wife should also cultivate an interest in sports. If the husband is a stock broker, the wife should also be aware of the current market situation.	.390	-.046	1
28. I don't really know how to befriend my neighbors.	-.336	.425	1
29. My neighbors have never borrowed anything from me or my family.	-.490	.143	1
30. I am not interested in knowing what my neighbors are really like.	-.626	.262	1
31. I have never chatted with my neighbors about the political future of this state.	-.640	.152	1
32. One needs to be cautious when talking with neighbors, otherwise others might think you are nosy.	-.340	.357	1
33. On the average, my friends' ideal number of children differs from my own ideal by [0/1/2/3/4	-.246	.239	1

or more/I don't know my friends' preference].			
34. I have never loaned my camera to any colleagues.	-.428	.218	1
35. When I am among my colleagues, I do my own things without minding about them.	-.309	.183	1
36. I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors every day.	.513	-.227	1
Eigenvalues	5.478	2.942	
% Variance	15.217	23.388	

Table B2:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for INDCOL Collectivism Subscale by sex

INDCOL Collectivism Subscale item	df	Sig
1. The motto "sharing both a blessing and calamity" still applies even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causes a lot of trouble.	1	n/s
2. I would help if a colleague at work told me that he/she needed money to pay utility bills.	1	n/s
19. I can count on my relatives for help if I find myself in any kind of trouble.	1	n/s
20. When deciding what kind of education to have, I would definitely pay attention to the views of relatives of my generation.	1	n/s
21. I am often influenced by the moods of my neighbors.	1	n/s
22. My neighbors always tell me interesting stories that have happened around them.	1	n/s
27. If a husband is a sports fan, a wife should also cultivate an interest in sports. If the husband is a stock broker, the wife should also be aware of the current market situation.	1	n/s
36. I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors every day.	1	n/s

Table B3:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for INDCOL Individualism Subscale by Sex

INDCOL Individualism Subscale item	df	Sig
8. To go on a trip with friends makes one less free and mobile. As a result, there is less fun.	1	n/s
10. I would not let my needy mother use the money that I have saved by living a less than luxurious life.	1	n/s
11. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.	1	n/s
23. Even if the child won the Nobel prize, the parents should not feel honored in any way.	1	n/s
24. Children should not feel honored even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contribution and service to the community.	1	n/s
25. In these days parents are too stringent with their kids, stunting the development of initiative.	1	n/s
28. I don't really know how to befriend my neighbors.	1	n/s
32. One need to be cautious when talking with neighbors, otherwise others might think you are nosy.	1	n/s

Appendix C:
Cultural Values Conflict Scale (Inman et al., 2001)

Table C1:
Multivariate Analysis of Variance for CVCS by Generation

CVCS item	df	sig
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	1	n/s
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	1	n/s
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
6. I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.	1	n/s
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	1	n/s
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	1	n/s
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	1	n/s
12. I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	1	n/s
13. I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.	1	n/s
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	1	n/s
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	1	n/s
16. I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.	1	n/s
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.	1	n/s
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	1	n/s

Table C2:

Multivariate Analysis of Variance for CVCS by Childhood Residence Location

CVCS item	df	sig
1. I believe dating is acceptable only in a mutually exclusive relationship leading to marriage.	1	n/s
2. I would experience anxiety if I decided to marry someone from another racial/cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
3. I feel guilty when my personal actions and decisions go against my family's expectations.	1	n/s
4. I would feel guilty if I were dating someone from another cultural/ethnic group.	1	n/s
5. Despite cultural expectations, I would not experience anxiety if I engaged in premarital sex with someone I was in love with. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
6. I would not experience discomfort if I were to engage in premarital sexual relations with someone I was physically attracted to. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
7. I would experience guilt engaging in premarital sexual relations due to the social stigma attached to it within my culture.	1	n/s
8. Marrying within my own ethnic group would be less stressful than marrying outside of my racial/ethnic group.	1	n/s
9. The idea of living with a partner prior to marriage does not create anxiety for me. (Reverse-scored)	1	n/s
10. I believe that premarital sexual relations are acceptable only after being engaged to the person.	1	n/s
11. An interracial marriage would be stressful to me.	1	n/s
12. I experience anxiety at the thought of having an arranged marriage.	1	n/s
13. I struggle with the value attached to needing to be married by age 25.	1	n/s
14. I feel guilty for desiring privacy from my family.	1	n/s
15. I often find it stressful balancing what I consider private and what my family considers to be public and vice-versa.	1	n/s
16. I struggle with the pressure to be married and the lack of option to remain single within my culture.	1	n/s
17. My family worries about me becoming too Americanized in my thoughts and behaviors.	1	n/s
18. I struggle with my family's need to be involved in my day-to-day activities.	1	n/s