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Socialization for independence and interdependence in Canadian and South Asian immigrant families in Canada

by

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ABSTRACT

In this study I compared independence and interdependence in Canadian (N = 43) and South Asian immigrant mothers (N =49) and their children (Canadian: N = 44, South Asian: N = 47), living in Edmonton, which is an Anglophone city in Western Canada. Canada and South Asia have been classified as individualistic and collectivistic cultures respectively (Hofstede, 1980). I used self-report measures to assess mothers' inter/independence orientations on several dimensions, namely family allocentrism, Asian values, self-construal, traditionalism and modernity. In addition, I assessed socialization for independence or interdependence in a story-telling task with mothers and children. I found that South Asians were more interdependent in private domains such as family relations and independent in public domains such as employment and education. Mothers in both cultures gave importance to the development of independence as well as interdependence in their children. However, in the story-telling task, South Asian mothers encouraged more interdependence than Canadian mothers. South Asian children also showed more interdependent orientations than Canadian children. This study demonstrates that a domain-specific description best explains people's independence and interdependence. In addition, this study also emphasizes the utility of using a mixed methods approach to understand the socialization process.

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CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

The present study deals with the retention and intergenerational transmission of ethnic culture and the acculturation process among South Asian immigrant families in Canada. With over 185 million people living outside their country of birth (Hong, Wan, No, & Chiu, 2007), migration is a worldwide phenomenon. As migration continues to increase, there is a growing concern for successful adaptation of immigrants into new cultures. A study of socialization in immigrant families will help us understand how parents in immigrant families prepare their children to deal with their dual (or multiple) cultural reference groups. In this research, I also studied immigrant mothers' acculturation choices, and their cultural and value orientations, which are likely to influence their socialization practices, and their expectations about independence or interdependence in their children. Immigrants' acculturation choices are largely affected by the demographics and policies of the host culture (Berry, 1997). Since this study is located in Canada, I begin with an overview of multiculturalism in Canada.

Multiculturalism in Canada

For centuries, Canada has been home to immigrants from all over the world and immigration has defined the character of Canadian society. Early waves of immigrants (before the 1970s) to Canada came primarily from Europe, but a change in immigration policies in 1967 removed ethnic and racial barriers and brought about a surge of immigrants from other parts of the world, especially

Asia and the Middle East (Statistics Canada, 2006). At present, about one-fifth of the Canadian population is foreign born and a large percentage of this foreign-born population comprises visible minorities from various regions of the world, who speak different languages, follow different faiths, and have widely different cultural backgrounds (Statistics Canada, 2006). As Canada continues to receive immigrants in order to meet its labor market demands (Dolin & Young, 2004), successful adaptation of immigrants in Canada becomes an important issue. Multicultural experience brings about cultural enrichment and it has been shown to be beneficial for people by exposing them to different perspectives (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Simonton, 1997). Research has shown that multicultural experiences enhance people's problem-solving skills (Leung & Chiu, 2010) and their creativity (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008) and are thus beneficial for both immigrants as well as the host nationals.

Canada has a policy of official multiculturalism (Government of Canada, 1971) in which the government is committed to encourage and support various cultural and ethnic groups in Canada. The elements of this policy are: maintenance of the ethnic culture; acceptance and tolerance of other groups; contact and sharing among various groups; and learning of official languages so as to encourage inter-group communication (Berry, 1984, 1998). In 1988, the government adopted the Multiculturalism Act, which recognizes diversity as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society. The multiculturalism act ensures equality for all Canadians, and no discrimination based on culture, religion or language (Berry, 1998). For multiculturalism to thrive, in addition to government

policies that support multiculturalism, it is also important that there is acceptance of cultural diversity in the population and tolerance for various ethnic groups. Ethno-cultural groups should also hold positive attitudes towards each other and be attached to the larger Canadian society (Berry & Kalin, 1995). However, there has not been much recent research on attitudes of Canadians towards multiculturalism. Previous research by Berry and colleagues found that Canadians in general hold positive attitudes towards multiculturalism (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin & Berry, 1995). These studies also showed that people's attitudes vary according to the ethnic group in question. Canadians reported having lower comfort levels with immigrants from South Asia (like Sikhs) than immigrants from European countries (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin & Berry, 1996). There is a need for research on attitudes of people towards multiculturalism in the wake of recent incidents in the post 9/11 era (e.g., the 2005 London bombings; the 2006 arrests of terrorists in Ontario, Canada; Garcia, Wong, & Kirova, 2008) and on the feasibility of a multicultural policy in the Canadian context. Some scholars have even contended that true multiculturalism, which entails genuine respect and tolerance for all cultures, is very difficult to achieve (see Siegel, 2007). In fact, by encouraging groups to maintain their own cultures rather than assimilate to the host culture, state multiculturalism policies can lead to fragmentation and segregation of various ethnic minority groups (Kağitçibaşi, 1997; Wong, 2008). Overall, in describing the Canadian context we can say that there is government and policy level support for multiculturalism, but there is limited evidence to show positive attitudes towards multiculturalism in the general population. While

I acknowledge the need to study the host culture attitudes in understanding the process of immigrants' adaptation to the host culture, the scope of my research is limited to how immigrants negotiate the various cultural demands imposed by their ethnic and the Canadian cultures.

Acculturation in Immigrants

When two cultures come in contact with each other, "there are changes in either one or both groups" and the process by which these changes occur is defined as acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Hersokovits, 1936, p. 149). Even though this definition of acculturation includes changes in both the dominant (host) and non-dominant (immigrant) group, the non-dominant group is likely to change more during the acculturation process (Berry, 1997, 2001). At an individual level, immigrants must make several choices such as 'which cultural tradition to follow' and 'which language to speak' (Hong, Wan, No, & Chiu, 2007). Broadly, immigrants make choices along two dimensions : (1) 'maintenance of the ethnic culture'; and (2) 'contact and participation in the host culture' (Berry, 1997). These are two orthogonal dimensions and it is possible for individuals to adopt aspects of both cultures (Berry, 1997; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Sabatier & Berry, 2008). In the same way that learning a new language does not mean forgetting or not speaking an older one, learning the traditions of the host culture does not necessitate giving up ethnic cultural traditions. There is evidence that ethnic and host culture orientations are independent of each other and have non-inverse patterns of correlations with some external variables such as personality, self-identity and adjustment (Ryder et

al., 2000). The bi-dimensional view of acculturation stands in sharp contrast to the previously held unidimensional view of acculturation, according to which adoption of the mainstream culture is accompanied by the simultaneous loss of the ethnic culture (Gordon, 1964; see also Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1988).

Based on choices along the two acculturation dimensions, immigrants may adopt one of the four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (1997): assimilation (not maintaining contact with the ethnic culture but maintaining daily contact and interaction with the host culture); integration (maintaining one's ethnic culture and also maintaining contact with the host culture); separation (maintaining one's ethnic culture and avoiding interaction with the host culture); or marginalization (having little interest in maintaining contact with either the host culture or the ethnic culture) (Berry, 1997). Thus, in a bi-dimensional view of acculturation, with the passage of time in the host nation and with higher involvement in the host culture, assimilation is not inevitable but alternate acculturation strategies like integration or biculturalism may also be adopted (Berry, 1997, 2001; Dion & Dion, 1996).

How do immigrants make choices among the various acculturation strategies? Immigrants do not have unlimited choices in determining their acculturation strategy, and their choices are influenced by numerous factors in their ethnic culture and their host culture as well as their individual dispositions, preferences and their abilities and circumstances (Berry, 1997, 2009; Ward, 2004). The immigration policies and ideology of the host culture influence and

often restrict immigrants' acculturation choices. Researchers have drawn parallels to the four acculturation strategies while describing the host cultural attitudes towards immigrants. At the host cultural level positive attitude towards assimilation is compared to the ideology of the host culture as a 'melting pot', integration is compared to the ideology of 'multiculturalism', separation to 'segregation' and marginalization to 'exclusion' (Berry, 2001, 1997; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). There can be a mismatch between the preferred acculturation strategy of immigrants and the ideology of the host culture (Bourhis et al., 1997). Immigrants might also lack skills to pursue a particular acculturation strategy. For example, immigrants who lack proficiency in the majority language may not have a choice to assimilate into the host culture until they learn the majority language. Acculturation research has shown that cross-cultural transition is more difficult for immigrants who come from cultures that are very different from the host culture, compared to immigrants who migrate into cultures that are similar to their home culture (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward 2004). Even the ethnic cultural group imposes some constraints on immigrants' acculturation choices. For instance, if assimilation is widespread within the ethnic group, the choice of integration or separation becomes difficult for individual members of the group (Berry, 1998). The acculturation choices available are determined by the vitality of the immigrant group. Immigrant group vitality consists of: (1) demographics (i.e., the sheer number of individuals from that group); (2) status (i.e., the groups' socio-economic and socio-historical status); and (3) institutional control factors that

include the ethnic groups' representation and their power for decision-making in various areas such as education and politics (Bourhis et al., 1997; Hardwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). Thus, individual and group level factors affect people's acculturation choices (Berry, 2003; Berry, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2006; see also Ward, 1996).

Maintenance of the ethnic culture as well as adoption of host cultural values are shown to have benefits for immigrants, and researchers have contended that integration is the most desirable and adaptive acculturation strategy (Berry et al., 1989; Donà & Berry, 1994; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Ward (1999) proposed that while identification with the ethnic group is beneficial for psychological adjustment, identification with the host culture is associated with better socio-cultural adaptation. However, there is individual variation in what is most adaptive for a particular immigrant group or individual. Discrepancy between immigrants' preferred acculturation strategy and the actual acculturation strategy that they adopt can lead to stress and conflict (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001).

The four acculturation strategies described by Berry have been widely studied in acculturation research, however there is some confusion in describing how immigrants come to negotiate their two cultures. Researchers have given different opinions about how immigrants integrate the two cultures. Those who endorse the unidimesional view of acculturation treat integration as a transitory and midway stage in the process of an individual's assimilation into the host culture (Gordon, 1964; Suinn, Khoo, Ahuna, 1995; Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa,

Lew, & Vigil, 1987). Some researchers view integration as a fusion of multiple cultures in which integrated individuals create a new culture that has elements of both cultures (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). The new culture of integrated individuals may be a mix of both cultures or it can be a way of life that is atypical of both cultures (Coleman, 1995; Lessinger, 1995; Padilla, 1995; Roosens, 1989). This model is yet to be tested empirically. Others have advocated a domain-specific model of acculturation where an individual can adapt to the host culture in some domains (e.g., family domain) while maintaining the ethnic culture in other domains (e.g., work) (Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Kim et al., 2000).

Domain-specificity can be at three levels of abstraction, namely, the super-ordinate level, the ordinate level, and the sub-ordinate level (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004). At a super-ordinate level, domains are classified as private (social-emotional, value-related) and public (functional, utilitarian). Research has shown that immigrants may adopt different acculturation strategies in public and private domains. For example, in a study with Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, researchers found that these immigrants adopted a separation strategy in the private domain, but sought integration in the public domain (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). At an ordinate level, domains are described more specifically, for example, marriage, child-rearing, education, or occupation. South Asian immigrants in North America have been shown to have domain specific acculturation strategies at the ordinate level. For example, South Asians encourage their children to adapt to the host culture and do well in education and occupation but at the same time retain their ethnic cultural values in

making decisions about marriage or respect for elders in the family (Asher, 2002; Dasgupta, 1998; Dion & Dion, 1993, 1996; Naidoo, 1984). South Asian immigrants are shown to adopt the dressing style and etiquettes of the North American culture in educational and occupational settings but generally hold on to their ethnic culture in other areas like food preferences, religious beliefs and practices or family ideology and values (Sadowsky & Carey, 1988; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). At the subordinate level, integrated individuals may shift from one culture to the other in different contexts, such as the classroom, home, and friends (Clément & Noels, 1992; see also Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2004; Taylor & Lambert, 1996).

In order to understand the process of acculturation among immigrant groups it is important to know in what ways the immigrant groups' culture is different from that of the host culture. One frequent way in which Canadian and South Asian cultures have been differentiated is along the dimension of individualism and collectivism. Canadian culture is classified as an individualistic culture while South Asian culture is classified as a collectivistic culture (Hofstede, 1980). In order to understand the differences between the two cultures, I will discuss individualism and collectivism in the next section. A characterization of individualistic and collectivistic culture will give some insight into the possible challenges faced by South Asian immigrants acculturating into Canadian culture.

Individualism and Collectivism

While psychology as a science often strives to explain universal human behavior, cultural differences challenge the universality of even basic theories in

psychology. Psychologists, for a long time, have tried to provide a systematic explanation for cultural differences in psychological processes. One attempt has been to categorize world cultures as either individualistic or collectivistic on the basis of differences in their sense of self with respect to relations with others (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

In a cross-national study, Hofstede (1980) compared people from 40 countries and assigned an individualism score to each country. In his conceptualization, "Individualism stands for a society in which the ties between individuals are loose, everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family only". On the other hand, "Collectivism stands for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange of unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede, 1991; pp. 260-261). In his study, the western developed nations such as the USA, Canada, Australia and Britain scored higher on individualism (Canada's score 80/100) while other nations like Venezuela, Colombia and Peru scored lower on individualism. Some other countries (e.g., India, Japan and Argentina) were in the middle on scores of individualism (India's score 48/100). Despite several criticisms of Hofstede's (1980) work on various theoretical and methodological grounds, his study helped in organizing cultural differences into overarching patterns, and this organization has facilitated a large body of cultural and cross-cultural research (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). In fact, individualism and collectivism (I-C) have

been the most significant constructs in cross-cultural psychology in the last three decades (Kağitçibaşi, 2007).

While Hofstede (1980) measured differences in I-C across nations, most research has dealt with the ways in which these cultural frames influence individuals (Oyserman et al., 2002). An individualistic worldview emphasizes personal goals, personal uniqueness, and personal control and peripheralizes the social. Collectivism emphasizes a social way of being, mutual obligations and expectations based on ascribed statuses and orientation toward the in-group and away from the out-group (Kağitçibaşi, 1994, 1997; Kim, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, 1993; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, 1995). I-C influence various psychological processes, such as self-concept, well-being and attribution style.

Individualism implies that a person strives for a positive sense of self and feeling good about the self and values having unique or distinctive personal attitudes and opinions (Oyserman & Markus, 1993; Triandis, 1995). Collectivism implies that group membership is central to one's personal identity and a person strives to maintain harmonious relationships with close others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, 1993). For individualists, open emotional expressions and attainment of one's personal goals are sources of well-being (Diener & Diener, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). For collectivists, well-being is dependent on successfully carrying out social roles and obligations, and restraint in emotional expression is valued as a measure for maintaining in-group harmony (Kim, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individualism promotes a

decontextualized attribution style, and reasoning, judgment and causal inference are oriented towards the person rather than the situation or social context. Collectivists, on the other hand, include social context, situational constraints and social roles in their perception of a person and in their reasoning style (Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994). With regard to relationships, for individualists, relationships and group memberships are important to maintain self-relevant goals but their relationships and group memberships are impermanent and non-intensive and are based on the benefits derived from them (Kağitçibaşi,1997; Kim, 1994; Oyserman, 1993; Shweder & Bourne, 1982). For collectivists, group membership is ascribed and fixed and boundaries between in-groups and out-groups are relatively impermeable and important. In-group interaction is based on equality or even the generosity principle (Kim, 1994; Morris & Leung, 2000; Triandis, 1995). In the research that followed the initial conceptualization of I-C, cross-cultural differences in numerous constructs and behaviors have been related to cross-cultural differences in I-C (e.g. Heine & Ruby, in press).

Nevertheless, researchers have levied numerous criticisms at I-C research. The extensive use of I-C to explain cross-cultural differences in various individual and group attributes carries a risk of ignoring alternate explanations for cultural differences (Kağitçibaşi, 1994). For example, in a cross-cultural study between American and South Asian adults, Berman et al. (1985) compared the criteria that adults in the two cultures use to allocate awards to people. They found that while Americans allocated awards based purely on merit, South Asians allocated awards taking into account the merit as well as the need of the person to whom the award

is to be allocated. These results coincide with individualists' objectivity in their decision-making about a person and collectivists' tendency to take into account the contextual or situational factors while making decisions about a person. However, Americans and South Asians also differ on numerous other factors, for instance South Asians may have higher sensitivity to poverty due to greater salience of scarce resources, and the cross-cultural differences attributed to I-C differences may be due to entirely different reasons (Leung, 1988; Kağitçibaşi, 1994). Secondly, people's I-C orientations are assumed, rather than tested, based on their affiliation to a particular group (Matsumoto, 1999). However, there is within-culture variability and situational variability in I-C orientations of people (Hong et al., 2000; Kağitçibaşi, 1997; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994), which is often ignored in cross-cultural studies. I-C research has also been criticized on methodological grounds, such as the extensive use of self-report data (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1995; Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002), use of unrepresentative samples, mainly university students (Heine & Ruby, in press), or heterogeneity in the conceptualization of I-C (Oyserman et al., 2002). In addition, there is research evidence that does not support the commonly held view that Asians are more collectivistic than Westerners (Takano & Osaka, 1999; Matsumoto, 1999). Lastly, some researchers have contended that such dichotomization of cultures inevitably leads to good-bad comparisons (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994).

Due to the complexity of these constructs, researchers have stressed the need to study I-C orientations along more than one dimension. Kağitçibaşi, (1997,

2007), proposed that there are two types of I-C: *normative* and *relational*. *Normative I-C* relates to social norms, values, conventions and rules in the society. Normative collectivism lays emphasis on the person's in-group above his/ her individual interest. On the other hand, normative individualism upholds individual rights, needs and prerogatives as most important. *Relational I-C* focuses on relationships of self with others, and this dimension varies from separateness on one end to connectedness on the other. It is to be noted that *normative* and *relational* I-C are two independent dimensions of individual level self-construal and may or may not be correlated with each other (Kağitçibaşi, 1997).

In a comprehensive meta-analysis of I-C studies, Oyserman et al. (2002) found that people in the USA, which is classified as an individualistic culture (Hofstede, 1980), showed high levels of relatedness, and cultural differences are seen only along the normative dimension. I-C has been measured in different ways and Oyserman et al. (2002) found that different studies tap different kinds of I-C. *Normative* and *relational* I-C were the two basic ones that they discussed (Kağitçibaşi, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2002). Kağitçibaşi proposes that people from urban middle-class traditionally interdependent societies may display both autonomy and relatedness and so can be best described as having an *autonomous-related* self (Kärtner, et al., 2007; Kağitçibaşi, 1996; Kwak, 2003).

Kashima and Hardie (2000) differentiated among individualistic, collective and relational self-aspects and treated these three dimensions as being independent of each other. Their definition of individualistic self was derived

from previous literature in the area, which emphasizes personal uniqueness, autonomy, independence from others and the social context, and the belief that the self is generally dissimilar to others. The collectivistic self derives its definition from membership in groups or social categories. There is emphasis on in-group norms, roles and status defined by the collectives. The relational self "reflects self-definitions derived from ties with specific others, one's interpersonal roles, and characteristics shared with significant others" (Kashima & Hardie, 2000; p. 20; Kashima et al., 1995). While previous research might have suggested an overlap between gender and culture, where girls are found to be more like Asians, the assessment of the various dimensions of I-C shows that gender differences emerged more along the relational dimension, while culture differences are seen along the I-C dimension (Kashima, et al., 1995). Cross-cultural differences between Americans and Asians have also been demonstrated on other constructs. There is some evidence showing that Americans are more modern than Asians. Therefore, in the next section I will discuss modernity, which is closely related to individualism and collectivism.

Modernity and Traditionalism

Normative individualism and collectivism closely resemble 'modernity' and 'traditionalism', respectively (Kağitçibaşi, 2007). 'Modernization', which is described as the transformation of rural and agrarian societies to secular and urban ones can be equated to 'westernization' or a change from normative collectivism to normative individualism (Inkeles, 1969; Kağitçibaşi, 2007; Uberoi, 1993). The modernization theory propounds that with socioeconomic development and

industrialization, there are changes in customs, traditions, attitudes and lifestyles of people towards higher individualism (Deshpande, 2004). For instance, in the family context, with increased affluence and resources, older people become less dependent on their adult offspring and children become economically independent at an early age. The financial independence of family members changes the hierarchical and traditional family roles and relationships from more collectivistic to more individualistic (Georgas et al., 2006; Kağitçibaşi, 2007). For example, Ruggles (2007) shows that increasing opportunities for the younger generation to become financially independent is related to a decrease in intergenerational co-residence and in parental control. The modernization theory suggests that economic and industrial development leads to nuclearization and westernization of families.

The assumptions of modernization theory have been challenged by the presence of striking economic development and industrialization in collectivistic nations such as Japan, Korea and Singapore where they nevertheless retain the interdependent family structure. Moreover, researchers have argued that the nuclear family and individualism predated industrialization in Western Europe by centuries (Deshpande, 2004; Kağitçibaşi, 2006; 2007). The assumption that a nuclear family is more compatible with an urban lifestyle has also been challenged. In traditional Indian joint family, the male lineal descendants of a common ancestor with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters share a common household. Joint family system is related to close personal ties among kin and reflects collectivism (Uberoi, 2004) and therefore, according to the

modernization theory one would expect joint family system to be more common in rural households. However, it is more expensive to maintain a very large household with several dependents. In India joint family is more common in affluent and urban families than in poor families (D'Cruz & Bharat, 2001). Moreover, the characterization of joint and nuclear family needs further discussion. A nuclear family structure is described as a household comprising parents and their unmarried children. However, families can be living in separate nuclear households but still not be functionally nuclear, for instance, functions like production and childcare may still be performed by the joint family. Family members may also consult their larger kin group for making important decisions and maintain regular kin ties and interaction with extended family members (e.g., Kağitçibaşi, 2006; Mullatti, 1995).

It is expected that as immigrant families acculturate into the more developed and industrialized western world, they will become more individualistic. There is some research that supports this prediction. However, it has been widely shown that some collectivistic values are retained even as immigrant families become more individualistic (see Kwak, 2003; Taylor & Wang, 2000). In fact, social support provided by kin networks and intact family structure is adaptive for immigrant families (Kwak, 2003). Family embeddedness continues to be important even when family members become more autonomous. The immigrant family seems to be moving towards a combination of both autonomy and embeddedness rather than towards the western individualistic ideal (Kağitçibaşi, 2006). In research with Mexican immigrant families in the USA,

Kwak (2003) found that adolescents in immigrant families agreed with their parents on family embeddedness but there were disagreements and conflicts with regard to autonomy. Thus, even adolescents, who are supposedly the fastest acculturating group (Kağitçibaşi, 2006), did not prefer a complete shift to the western style of family.

South Asian immigrants in North America have also been shown to adopt Western values in some domains while retaining ethnic cultural values in others (Sadowsky & Carey, 1988). Moreover, South Asian culture cannot be described as simply collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). The participants for this study are recent immigrants to Canada from India and Pakistan and so in the next section I will give an overview of the South Asian family system and of the research done with South Asian immigrants in America.

South Asian Immigrants in North America

The Indian culture has often been described as demonstrating the co-existence of seemingly contradictory ways of thinking. Jung (1978) commented after his visit to India, "It is true that the logical processes of India are funny, and it is bewildering to see how fragments of Western science live peacefully side by side with what we, short-sightedly, would call superstition" (Jung, 1978, cited in Sinha & Tripathi, 1994, pp. 124). Ramanujan (1990) remarks, "the new ways of thought and behavior do not replace, but live along with older 'religious' ways. Computers and typewriters receive ayudhapuja (worship of weapons) as weapons of war did once. The modern, the context-free, becomes one more context, though it is not easy to contain" (p. 57). In a research study with undergraduate students

at an Indian university, Sinha and Tripathi (1994) found that the participants could be best described as having mixed orientations (i.e., both individualistic and collectivistic) (see also Sinha & Tripathi, 2002).

Family relationships are very important for Indians and individuals are deemed as being incomplete in the absence of family relationships (Sinha, 1979). The rules of interactions among people are determined by relationship, age and gender dynamics. It is common for people to use kin terms even to address people who are not related to them, perhaps due to a desire to establish social linkages using the family paradigm (Chaudhary, 2004). In the traditional Indian joint family, social roles are communicated to the child through his/her engagement in multiparty interactions. Even in the case of nuclear households, relationships are sustained through regular visits, and interactions with members of the extended family (Chaudhary, 2004). For Indians, social practices and social institutions are very important and are considered as part of the moral order (Bhatia, 2000; Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1990).

South Asian immigrants in America face the task of negotiating two widely different cultural demands. There are marked cultural differences between South Asian and American culture in various domains like family roles and relationships, marriage rules, gender roles, customs and eating habits (Das & Kemp, 1997). However, South Asian immigrant families have been reported to show by and large successful socio-cultural and psychological adaptation (Asher 2002; Dion & Dion, 2001). South Asian immigrants follow a domain-specific manner of acculturation, adopting American culture in some domains and

retaining the ethnic culture in others (Sadowsky & Carey, 1988). Research with South Asian immigrants in America has shown that among South Asian immigrants, certain cultural values withstand change, for example, respect for elders, filial piety, humility and strong sense of duty for family (see Sadowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995). Nevertheless, inter-generational conflicts in South Asian immigrant families have been reported in areas such as career choices of adolescents (Asher, 2002), gender roles and marriage choices (Dion & Dion, 1996; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998).

I take the case of gender roles as an example. In South Asian culture, women are traditionally responsible for maintaining the family honor, but at the same time, they are also considered dangerous in that they can destroy the family line through sexual infidelity (Dasgupta & Dasgupta, 1996). One pervasive myth about American society among South Asians is that American women are free about sex (Espin, 1995). Immigrants from South Asia, which is a more conservative culture with regard to sex, may be fearful about their daughter's emerging sexuality and thus put more restrictions on their daughters, for example, by monitoring their clothes and friends (Dasgupta, 1998; Kakaiya 2000). Parents in South Asian families sometimes scrutinize their daughter's behavior more than their son's (Dion & Dion, 1996; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998; Wakil, SIddique & Wakil, 1981). However, parents also want their daughters to be successful academically and professionally (Kalliyayalil, 2004). Gendered socialization in SA immigrant families creates intergenerational conflicts, confusions and displacement, but eventually it leads to the girls' acceptance of the values

endorsed by their community (Kallivayalil, 2004). Thus, girls try to negotiate beliefs and behaviors related to gender endorsed by their ethnic culture and by the majority culture (Kallivayalil, 2004).

Socialization in immigrant families plays an important role in determining children's adaptation in the host culture and the retention of ethnic culture in subsequent generations of immigrants. Family is the most salient in-group category and plays a crucial role in ethnic culture maintenance, especially in the absence of other institutions where children can learn about their ethnic culture. However, the family is embedded in a social context, which greatly influences the socialization process. In the following sections, I will discuss socialization of children in immigrant families.

Socialization in Immigrant Families

The process of acculturation for children in immigrant families is not adequately explained by the acculturation theories proposed in psychology (see Ward, 2004, for an overview of the theories of acculturation). For children in immigrant families, acculturation occurs alongside development and it is difficult to tease apart acculturation related learning from the normal process of development. While developmental theories stress the importance of context in development (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lerner, 2001), these theories usually include the influence of a single culture. For children, acculturation should be seen as a part of development, where children and adolescents from immigrant backgrounds learn competencies required to function effectively in one or more cultural contexts (Sam & Oppedal, 2002; Sam, 2006). Sam (2006) described the

acculturation-development pathway in which he explained the process of development and acculturation for children in immigrant families (see Figure 1).

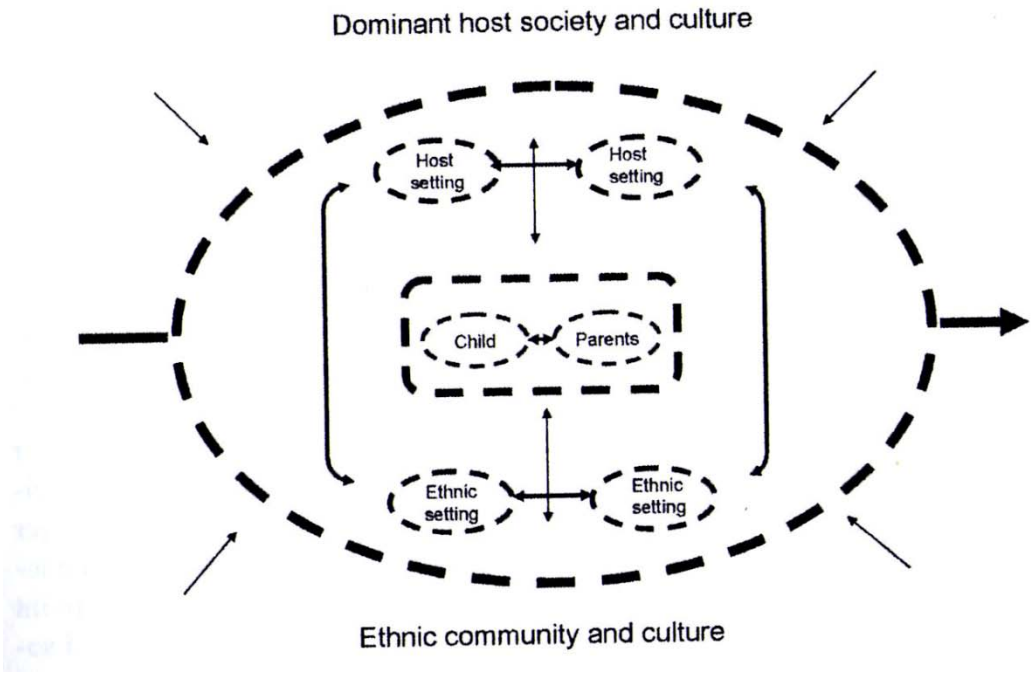

Figure 1. The general model of acculturation development pathway (Sam, 2006, p. 103).

In the acculturation development pathway, the child is placed at the center of two cultural settings, namely the ethnic society and the host society. There is close and reciprocal interaction between parents and children. Though the parent-child unit is partially isolated, it is influenced by both the host culture and the ethnic culture context (represented by perforated boundary). The host setting represents institutions like schools, work, media and healthcare and the ethnic setting represents institutions such as ethnic clubs, religious group and relatives. Though separate from each other, and represented at the opposite poles in the model, they maintain reciprocal interaction with each other and influence each other. The various settings influence and are influenced by the developing child

either directly, or indirectly for example, through his/ her interactions with other family members. The reciprocal arrows and perforated boundaries represent the various reciprocal interactions proposed in the model. Finally, the developmental context of the child is influenced by global events such as various international developments and globalization (Sam, 2006).

Parent-child interactions are largely influenced by the context of development. Socialization is described as, "the process by which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him/her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community" (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 339). Parents play a vital role in their child's socialization process and hold the primary responsibility of passing on the culture to the next generation (Harkness & Super, 1996; Le Vine et al., 1994). The socialization goals selected by parents are determined by the culture in which the child grows and in which the child has to adapt, and by pragmatic concerns like survival and economic return (Shweder et al., 2006). Different cultures stress different values and goals. For instance, individualistic cultures emphasize ideals like independence, autonomy, and self-reliance, whereas collectivistic cultures emphasize closeness, concern with authority and duty (Harkness & Super, 1996; Keller et al., 2002). Accordingly, the socialization goals set by parents for their children should be widely different in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Kim & Choi, 1994). Cross-cultural studies comparing individualistic and collectivistic cultures have shown differences in socialization practices and goals of parents in

individualistic and collectivistic cultures from a very early age (Kärtner et al., 2007; Keller, Voelker, & Yovsi, 2005).

In situations of cultural contact between individualistic and collectivistic cultures, there can be conflict and compromise between the two idealized models of socialization in the two cultures (Greenfield, Suzuki, & Rothstein-Fish, 2007). How do parents in immigrant families coming from cultures that endorse widely different socialization goals from the host culture decide the socialization goals for their children? Research with SA immigrant families living in North America, discussed earlier, illustrates that parents encourage aspects of both cultures and emphasize individualistic traits in some domains and collectivistic traits in others (e.g., Asher, 2002; Kallivayalil, 2002). Perhaps the socialization goals set by parents in SA immigrant families will focus on both individualistic and collectivistic cultural values.

The socialization goals and ideals set by parents for their children are manifested in day-to-day family interactions. Researchers in the field of language socialization have studied both socialization for the use of language and socialization through language (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In this study, by comparing narratives in Canadian and SA immigrant families, I focused on socialization through language.

Language as a Means of Socialization

Language is a powerful means of socialization, and in learning how to talk, children also learn how to think, how to feel and express their feelings and how to behave (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002; Mandelbaum, 1970). In his

socio-cultural theory of development, Vygotsky states that socio-cultural meanings are created by using language for particular purposes in socially defined activities (Wertsch, 1984). Behavioral expectations within a culture are communicated to children both directly and indirectly through language (Ochs & Sheiffelin, 1984). For instance, in some languages (like Hindi) different pronouns are used to address elders and same-age people and in learning the correct pronoun usage, children also learn about age-related status (Chaudhary, 2004). Daily discourse is laden with cultural messages and an analysis of day-to-day family communication can provide insights into the nature of roles, relationships, statuses and ideologies prevalent in the culture (Shweder et al., 2007). Many messages communicated in language are unintended and implicit and research that relies completely on asking caregivers about their socialization goals and practices may provide an incorrect or incomplete picture of family socialization practices (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002; Shweder et al., 2007).

Anthropologists have carried out extensive field work in different cultures and have documented and analyzed daily interactions between members and other novices in order to understand the socialization process in these different cultures (e.g., Ochs, 1988; Shieffelin, 1990). Researchers have also studied working-class and minority groups within the USA (e.g. Heath, 1983). A review of studies in language socialization across cultures clearly shows that the sustained dyadic parent-child conversation with mutual negotiation, which is very common in middle class European-American households, is one variant among many (Shweder et al., 2007). From my own experience of growing up in India, I can say

that the daily discourse in Indian families is markedly different from that reported in literature on European American families.

While there are between-group differences in socialization practices, there are several similarities among groups. For instance, people in many communities have been reported to engage in common behaviors like teasing (e.g., Corsaro, Molinari, & Rosier, 2002; de León, 2000) or explicit instruction as a means of socialization (Miller & Hoogstra, 1992). Narrative is an important means of socialization and has existed in all communities in one form or the other. There is a vast literature on narrative and how it is related to various constructs like memory (Neisser & Fivush, 1994), the role of narrative in construction of selves (e.g., Bruner, 1990; Wortham, 2001), and narrative in family life (Pratt & Fiese, 2004). For this study I discuss the role of narrative in early socialization. Young children are socialized into the cultural meaning systems through recurring interactions with family members in the form of narrative and other discourse practices (Miller, Fung, & Koven, 2007).

Family Interactions in Individualistic and Collectivistic Cultures

Children begin to tell stories in conversation as early as the second or third year of life (e.g., Miller, Cho, & Bracey, 2005; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Shweder et al., 2006). Narratives appear early in life and they are very common in family communication (Miller, Wiley, Fung, & Liang, 1997; Sperry & Sperry, 1996) and thus they act as a powerful tool of socialization (Miller, Fung, & Koven, 2007). Young children's own stories and stories narrated to them often comprise simple routine activities like going to a birthday party, helping in cooking a meal, getting

hurt, sharing with a sibling and writing on the bedroom wall. However, these stories contain messages about cultural values and expectations (Miller, Fung, & Koven, 2007). Researchers have found that the style and content of story-telling varies across cultures and even among different groups within a culture (e.g., Miller, Wiley, Fung, & Liang, 1997; Wang & Leitchman, 2000). For instance, some research in European American working class communities has shown that the people in these communities stick to telling literal truth while narrating personal experience (Heath, 1983; Miller, Hengst, Alexander, & Sperry, 2000). On the other hand, in African American communities, people produced several fantasy stories and there were many fictional embellishments in their stories (Sperry & Sperry, 1996, 2000).

Researchers have compared daily communication in individualistic and collectivistic cultures and reported differences in various aspects. These differences in communication styles appear even for preverbal infants (Fernald & Morikawa, 1993; Keller et al., 2007). In a study about maternal interaction with infants in Japanese and American culture, Fernald and Morikawa (1993) compared Japanese and American mothers' talk to their non-verbal infants in a play situation. They found that American mothers focused more than Japanese mothers on labeling the object and talking about its physical characteristics. In contrast, Japanese mothers emphasized verbal routines about exchange of objects more frequently than American mothers. In one instance where the mother was playing with a toy truck with her infant an American mother said "That's a car. See the car? You like it? It's got nice wheels." A typical response of the Japanese

mother was “Hai buubuu (here! Its vroom vroom). Hai dozo (I give it to you). Hai koore chodai (now give this to me) Choodai (give me) hai arigatoo (yes! Thankyou) (Fernald & Morikawa, 1993, p. 653). This is an example of how American mothers focused on object labeling while Japanese mothers focused on polite exchange of the possession. In this study, Japanese mothers also engaged in more empathy routines and encouraged their children to show positive feelings towards the toy (Fernald & Morikawa, 1993).

Several researchers have compared story-telling in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Miller, Fung & Koven, 2007). Parents in collectivistic cultures use story-telling as a didactic medium to convey expectations about correct behavior (e.g., Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000; Wang, Bernas & Eberhard, 2005). In contrast, parents in individualistic cultures (e.g., European American mothers) use story telling primarily as a means of entertainment (Miller, Sandel, Liang, & Fung, 2001). Comparison of narratives in various cultures has shown that parents in collectivistic cultures talk about children’s past transgressions more frequently, while in individualistic cultures parents’ narratives are intended to portray the child in a favorable light so as to protect the child’s self-esteem.

In a study with Chinese and American mothers, Miller, Fung, and Mintz (1996) found that Chinese mothers told stories about the child’s past transgressions much more than their American counterparts, who talked more about the child’s achievements and his/her strengths. Even when American mothers talked about their child’s transgressions they did so in a non-serious

manner and downplayed the child's misdeeds (Miller et al. 1996). These differences in parents' narratives highlight the different purposes of these narratives in the two cultures. For mothers in collectivistic cultures, narratives were used as a disciplining strategy while for mothers in more individualistic cultures, narratives were used mainly as an entertainment activity. This is not to say that American mothers did not attempt to discipline their children. Miller et al., (1996) reported that American mothers preferred to handle discipline here and now, rather than talking about it later and they tried to handle the child's disciplining in private, while putting forward the best face of the child in public.

Other researchers have also shown that mothers in Chinese families talk about the child's transgressions and give explicit instructions about correct behavior (e.g., Fung, Miller, & Lin, 2004; Miller, Wiley, Fung, & Liang, 1997). For example, in one of the stories, narrated by the grandmother to her child, she talked about the child's transgression and repeatedly used didactic statements about what the child should do, for example, "So next time mom is spanking you, you don't say, 'you don't hit me'. You should say, I won't push the screen down" (Fung et al., 2004, p. 317).

In Bhatia's (2000) account of daily interactions in Indian families, he discussed how Hindi-speaking caregivers use directives and declaratives to communicate socio-moral meanings. In the Indian context, social norms and moral codes are mutually interdependent (see Shweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1990), that is, Indians feel morally obligated to perform social norms. For instance, in the Hindu context, a son feels morally obligated to perform the

funeral rites of his father (Shweder et al., 1990). Bhatia (2000) gave the following example of parent child communication to illustrate how parents communicate social norms that the child should follow. Here a father (F) is convincing his son to recite a poem or read in front of the researcher.

F: now be a good boy and listen to me
F: sit on the chair
F: now you just narrate a poem
F: sit in my lap and start reading
F: sit properly
F: show us you can clap
F: you can't clap either son
F: say something or today you will get my nose cut
F: should I say, "I salute you my Lord"
F: say something or now the whole of India will know what the boy is doing
F: is this how you behave when guests come? (Bhatia, 2000, p. 156).

In the above example, the father gives a lot of directives to the child to regulate the child's behavior. He also conveys the moral message about how the child should behave in front of guests and that not doing so will cause losing respect or status in front of others (in Hindi language, the expression getting one's nose cut is an expression used for losing face) (Bhatia, 2000). These studies about story-telling practices and daily discourse reiterate that language is an important means of communicating social and moral expectations by parents to their children.

There is some evidence of cross-cultural differences in children's stories as well. Wang and Leichtman (2000) compared stories of American and Chinese children (6 year olds) and found that American children showed more independent orientations and Chinese children showed more interdependent orientations in their stories. In this study, they gave story-beginnings to children

that talked about various contexts such as relationships and conflict, and asked children to complete the stories. They analyzed children's stories and found distinct independent related themes like focus on autonomy and aggression in American children's stories, and interdependent related themes like focus on social engagement and concern with moral code in Chinese children's stories (Wang & Leichtman, 2000).

In this research, I will compare Canadian and South Asian immigrant mothers and their children on various dimensions. As immigrants acculturate to Canada, they are likely to retain several aspects of their ethnic culture, especially in the initial years of their settlement in the host nation. At the same time, immigrants come with high expectations for doing well in the host culture, which is especially true for immigrants who come voluntarily for education or employment. As immigrant parents socialize their children, they have the double task of maintaining their ethnic culture and developing skills and behavior in their children that will help them to succeed in the host culture. Adaptation to the new culture can be challenging for immigrants who come from a culture that is widely different from the host culture. In this study, I compared Canadian and South Asian immigrant mothers on their independence and interdependence orientations in various domains. I also compared story-telling in Canadian and South Asian immigrant mother-child dyads with respect to independence and interdependence orientations. I will also test whether mothers' inter/independence orientations are reflected in their own or their children's inter/independent orientations as shown

in story-telling. The findings from this study will add meaningfully to the literature on adaptation of immigrant families in the western cultural setting.

CHAPTER 2

The Study

Context of the Study

This study was done in Edmonton, Alberta, which is a city in Western Canada. Edmonton and its census metropolitan area has a population of 1,024,825 people, of which 17.15% are visible minorities. Edmonton is home to 40,200 immigrants from South Asia who compose the second largest immigrant group (after Chinese) in Edmonton (Statistics Canada, 2006). South Asia consists of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. While most South Asian immigrants in Canada live in Ontario and British Columbia, there is a growing community of South Asian immigrants in Edmonton, Calgary and Montreal. Edmonton is an Anglophone region in Canada and 76.67% people in Edmonton are monolingual speakers of English. Immigrants from South Asia speak many different languages like Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Tamil, and Telugu, however, most can speak English (Statistics Canada, 2006).

South Asians in Edmonton belong to many different religious faiths such as Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism or Jainism and there are a few temples, gurudwaras and mosques in Edmonton. These religious institutions organize various events where people get together to celebrate festivals and other events. The *Bhartiya Cultural Society* and the *Hindu Society* are two organizations in Edmonton that are engaged in organizing various events for the South Asian community in Edmonton. These organizations provide a forum for people to engage in their cultural activities and help new immigrants in connecting with the existing South

Asian community in the region. Most South Asian participants in this study reported that they were engaged with these community organizations in some way.

Research Questions

In this study, I compared Canadian and South Asian immigrant mothers in Canada on their independence and interdependence orientations using self-report measures as well as observational data during story-telling with their children. I content analyzed the narratives of children (4 – 7 years of age) and mothers to get a behavioral measure of children's and mothers' independent and interdependent orientations. Narrative is laden with cultural messages and has been used as a tool in cross-cultural research for comparing people's social behavior and cognitive characteristics (e.g., Miller et al., 1996; Miller et al., 2007; Wang et al., 2000; Wang & Leichtman, 2000; Wiley et al., 1997). The purpose of this study is to compare the inter/independence orientations of mothers and their children in Canadian and South Asian immigrant families. The values promoted in the narratives of immigrant mothers are likely to be influenced by their own self-orientations as well as the socialization goals that mothers set for their children, both of which are influenced by the larger cultural system (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

In addition to observational data, I assessed mothers' self-orientations with standardized self-report scales. Self-report measures provide more insight into mothers' self-orientations and will supplement the observational data. In addition, the measures gave information on whether mothers' self-orientations are reflected

in their narratives with their children or whether their narratives are independent of their self-orientations and perhaps more influenced by their socialization goals.

The sample for this study comprised South Asian immigrants, from urban middle-income groups in their home country. They are proficient in English and have come to Canada voluntarily for education or employment. There is a sizeable population of South Asian immigrants in Edmonton (Statistics Canada, 2006) and also encouragement of multiculturalism in Canada (Berry, 1998). Since the setting seems appropriate for maintenance of the ethnic culture and also participation in the host culture, I expect that SA immigrant mothers in this study will adopt the strategy of integration. That is, they will retain their ethnic culture but also participate in the Canadian culture. South Asian immigrants have been shown to endorse their ethnic culture in private domains more than in public domains (e.g., Sadowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995; Kallivayalil, 2004). I expected similar results such that South Asian immigrant mothers will follow ethnic cultural values in private domains (like family) but Canadian cultural values in public domains (like employment). Since the immigrants in this study have lived in their home country most of their life, I expected South Asian mothers to score higher than Canadian mothers on interdependent orientations as measured through various self-report scales.

Mothers' choices for socialization goals will be influenced by both the ethnic culture and the host culture (Sam, 2006) and therefore I expected that South Asian immigrant mothers will encourage both independence and interdependence in the stories for their children. However, in comparison to

Canadian mothers, South Asian immigrant mothers will encourage more interdependence in their stories with children. Family plays an important role in determining children's orientations especially at a young age and I expected that, similar to their mothers, South Asian children will also manifest more interdependent orientations than their Canadian counterparts. The stories used in this study talk about various situations related to friendship, family relations, and conflict. Mothers may use story-telling as a means of inculcating their ethnic culture values in their children and SA and Canadian mothers' and children's stories are likely to reflect interdependent and independent orientations, respectively.

I studied the relation between mothers' self-orientations as reflected by their scores on various standardized scales and their self-orientations as reflected in the narratives with their children. The research questions for this study are as follows:

- Do South Asian mothers show more interdependence than their Canadian counterparts on both self-report and observational measures?
- What acculturation strategy best describes the acculturation choices of immigrant mothers and are these choices related to demographic measures such as length of stay in Canada and English language proficiency?
- Is mothers' inter/independence related to their acculturation choices regarding maintenance of the ethnic culture or participation in the North American culture?

- Is there any relation between mothers' inter/independence, their socialization for inter/independence and their children's inter/independence?
- Do South Asian children show more interdependence than their Canadian counterparts in a story-telling task?

CHAPTER 3

Methods

Sample

A total of 44 CAD and 49 SA families participated in the study. The participants were comprised of children between 4 and 7 years of age and their mothers. There were two groups of participants: the Canadian group (CAD) was composed of mothers born in Canada and their children, also born in Canada, and the South Asian immigrant (SA) group consisted of mothers born in South Asia and their children. In this study all the participants in the SA group were either from India (87.76%) or Pakistan (12.24%). Children in the SA group were not necessarily born in Canada. Background data were collected using the background information questionnaire (Appendix 1).

The average age of CAD children was 5.45 years (*SD* = 0.87) and the average age of SA children was 5.77 (*SD* = 0.92) years. The SA children were slightly older than the CAD children ($p = 0.09$) but this difference in their ages was not significant. CAD mothers were slightly older than their SA counterparts but this difference did not reach significance (*M* (*SD*): CAD = 35.28 (6.83); SA = 32.76 (3.12), $p = 0.06$). Most CAD mothers (86 %) and all except one SA mother (98%) were married and living with their husbands and children. On average, SA mothers had lived in Canada for 6.45 years (*SD* = 2.29 years, Range = 3.00 years to 11.00 years), and most of them (75.60% of the total number of participants) had lived in Canada for five years or more. Most children were born in Canada (61%) and the remaining children were born in either India or Pakistan. Mothers

in both groups had been married for 10.00 years on average (*SD:* CAD = 4.86 years; SA: 3.00 years). Most mothers in the two groups had a university degree (CAD = 77% and SA = 98%). I also asked about the educational qualifications of the participants' spouses. All of the fathers in the SA group and 56.40% fathers in the CAD group had some university education. Most mothers in the CAD group were monolingual English speakers (55.80%) but all of the SA mothers could speak English and at least one other language. More than half of the participants in the SA group spoke more than two languages. Most parents reported speaking to their children in the native language at home but they also spoke English, especially to children who attended school. While Hindi was the first language of 55% participants, there were participants from different language groups like Urdu, Malyalam, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi, Marathi and Gujarati.

In the SA group, half the mothers reported that the reason for immigration was employment or education and half reported that the reason was family unification. In the SA group, half the participants had other relatives in Canada and all of them reported having several friends from the SA ethnic group. Out of the participants who had relatives in Canada, 65% reported that they interact with their relatives in Canada at least once a week. Most of the CAD participants interacted with their relatives more than once a week. The SA participants maintained regular contact with their relatives in their home country and 81% of them reported talking to their relatives in the home country at least once a week or even more. However, as compared to the mothers, children in the SA families interacted less frequently with their relatives in Canada and also to their relatives

in SA. Though less than mothers, children also interacted with relatives in Canada (55% reported that children interact at least once a week) and with their relatives in SA (56% reported that children interact at least once a week). Thus, the participants in this study maintained regular contact with their families in the ethnic culture.

In a few cases, mothers did not send the questionnaire back and so I only have their narrative data. In other cases, the child refused to tell stories or did not say anything during the story-telling sessions. In three cases, there was a problem in recording and so I was not able to obtain narrative data. Therefore, for a few participants I only have questionnaire data or only the narrative data. Table 1 presents the number of participants with questionnaire data, narrative data and both questionnaire and narrative data. This study has a small sample size and so there may be low power to detect group differences. Most studies that have used the measures included in this study have been done with larger samples. The percentage of girls and boys did not differ by the cultural group, for the overall sample $\chi 2$ (1, N = 94) = 3.63, p = 0.06, or the participants from whom I obtained questionnaire data $\chi 2$ (1, N = 92) = 2.84, p = 0.09, or narrative data $\chi 2$ (1, N = 91) = 2.49, p = 0.12.

Table1

Number of Canadian and South Asian Participants

	CAD			SA		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Questionnaire data	17	26	43	28	21	49
Narrative data	18	26	44	27	20	47
Both questionnaire and narrative data	16	25	41	24	18	42

Note. Total CAD $N = 44$; Total SA $N = 49$.

Materials

The cultural level constructs on individualism and collectivism are manifested at the individual level as independence and interdependence. I used the measures given in Table 2 to assess these constructs.

Table 2

Measures used for assessment of independence and interdependence in mothers and children

Constructs	Measures	
Mothers	Questionnaire	Story telling
Independence	Modernity Individualism	
Interdependence	Relationality Collectivism Family allocentrism Traditionalism	
Socialization for independence	Individualistic socialization goals	• Autonomy • Aggression
Socialization for interdependence	Collectivistic socialization goals	• Moral code • Social engagement • Concern with authority
Children	Questionnaire	Story telling
Independence	-	• Autonomy • Aggression
Children	Questionnaire	Story telling
Interdependence	-	• Moral code • Social engagement • Concern with authority

Self-construal. I measured the self-construal of participants using the 10-item RIC (Relational, Individualistic and Collectivistic) Self-Aspect scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000, Appendix 2). The scale consists of 10 multiple-choice items, where participants were asked to select one response. There are three choices for each item: Individualistic, Relational and Collectivistic. For example, one item in the scale is "I think its most important in life to" and there are three responses for this item reflecting either individualistic, relational or collectivistic orientations. The three choices for this item are: "Have personal integrity/be true to myself" (Individualistic); "Have good personal relationships with people who are important to me" (Relational); and "Work for causes to improve the well-being of my group" (Collectivistic). The participant gets a score of individualism, relational and collectivistic self by dividing the total number of items in each category with the total number of items to which the participant responded. This scale is often used as a Likert scale, in which participants are asked to rate their choice of all the three types of self-construal choices. However, I used the forced-choice format to reduce the length of the questionnaire.

Familialism. The importance of family as the most salient in-group domain has been stressed in cross-cultural research (Kağitçibaşi, 1990). Cultures vary on I-C, and individualism and collectivism at the level of individual is termed as idiocentrism and allocentrism, respectively (Triandis, 1989). I used the Family Allocentrism Scale (FAS) (Lay et al., 1998) to assess allocentrism in the family domain. The scale consists of 21 statements about family allocentrism (e.g. "My happiness depends on the happiness of my family") including 6 inverted

items. The participants were asked to rate how much they agreed with an item on 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from *not at all* (1) to *completely* (6). The mean was calculated after inverting the negatively worded items (Cronbach's $\propto$ = .85 across all participants, Cronbach's $\propto$ for Canadian = .79 and for SA = .80) (Appendix 3)

Traditionalism-modernity inventory. I administered the Traditionalism-Modernity inventory, developed by Ramirez (1991) to assess the traditional attitudes of parents in various domains (Appendix 4). This is a 40-item Likert-type scale that assesses values and beliefs in areas such as sex roles, family orientation, preference for rural or urban lifestyle, authority relations and religion. This scale was originally developed for clinical work with Mexican-Americans and it measures people's attitudes across a wide range of domains that are relevant to South Asians as well.

This questionnaire contains 20 traditionalism items and 20 modernity items and participants are asked to rate their agreement with an item on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 4. A traditionalism score was obtained by calculating the mean of all the traditionalism items and a modernity score was obtained by calculating the means of modernity items. Participants could obtain a score ranging from 1 to 4 on both traditionalism as well as modernity. The mean for all the participants was 3.03 (*SD* = .34; *Range* = 2.15 to 3.45) for traditionalism and 2.30 (*SD* = .26; *Rang*e = 2.20 to 3.50) for modernity. In previous research traditionalism and modernity scores were not calculated separately but a balance score for traditionalism was obtained by subtracting the mean of modernity items

from the mean of traditionalism items. Therefore, I also calculated a balance score for traditionalism. The balance score will be negative if one scores higher on modernity than on traditionalism and it will be positive if one scores higher on traditionalism than on modernity. The average balance score for the entire group was 0.23 (*SD* = .44; *Range* = -1.00 to 1.25). The traditionalism items showed high reliability (Cronbach's $\propto$ = 0.80, CAD = 0.80; SA = 0.71), but the modernity items had low reliability (Cronbach's $\propto$ = 0.53; CAD = 0.50; SA = 0.44). Previous studies have reported a high Cronbach's $\propto$ (.92) for the scale (Patel et al., 1996).

Socialization goals. Socialization goals were assessed using a set of 18 statements concerning qualities that the child should learn or develop by the time he/she is 7 years of age (Keller et al., 2006, Appendix 5). The mothers were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with each of these statements on a 6 point Likert-scale, ranging from *not at all (1)* to *completely (6).* Individualistic socialization goals included items such as "develop self-confidence" or "become competitive". Collectivistic socialization goals comprised of items such as "learn to care for the wellbeing of others" or "obey elderly people". Participants could obtain a score from 1 to 6 on both individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals. For the entire sample, the mean of individualistic socialization goals was 4.67 (*SD* = 0.72; Range = 2.44 to 6.00) and that of collectivistic socialization goals was 4.71 (*SD* = 0.83; Range = 2.00 to 6.00). The individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals subscales showed high reliability (Individualism

subscale, Cronbach's ∝ = 0.77 (CAD = 0.78; SA = 0.80); Collectivism subscale, Cronbach's ∝ = 0.85 (CAD = 0.80; SA = 0.89)).

Asian values scale (AVS). The AVS was developed by Kim, Atkinson, and Yang, (1999) and then revised by Kim and Hong (2004) (Appendix 6). It is a 25-item scale that assesses people's adherence to Asian cultural values. The participants are asked to rate their agreement with a particular statement on a 4-point Likert-type scale. The scale comprises items in various domains such as family, education and role expectations (e.g., "One should be able to question a person in authority position" reverse coded; or "One should think about one's group before oneself.") The scale comprises 12 items that have to be reverse coded. Participants' scores on this scale could range from 1 to 4. The mean for the entire group was 2.38 (*SD* = 0.43; Range = 1.12 to 3.32). The scale demonstrated high reliability when calculated for the entire sample (Cronbach's ∝ = .85) and also for the CAD group (Cronbach's ∝ = .83) but the reliability was low for the SA group (Cronbach's ∝ = 0.52). The instrument developers report alphas between 0.81 and 0.82 and other studies have reported high reliability (for e.g. Cronbach ∝ = 0.77, Shim & Schwartz, 2008).

Vancouver Acculturation index (VAI) (Ryder et al., 2000). The VAI is a 20-item Likert-type scale comprising 10 pairs of items that tap various domains of cultural identity such as tradition, marriage, social activities and humor (Appendix 7). It is a Likert-type scale where participants have to rate their agreement with a particular item on a scale from 1 to 9. Every pair consists of one item to assess involvement in the heritage culture and one item to assess

involvement in the North American culture, such that participants obtain a score on two subscales: the heritage culture maintenance; and involvement in the North American culture. The scores can range from 1 to 9 on the two scales. In this study the SA participants obtained an average score of 7.45 (SD = 1.05; Range = 4.00 to 9.00) on heritage culture maintenance and 4.60 (SD = 1.44; Range = 1.10 to 7.60) on participation in the North American culture. Both subscales demonstrated high reliability (Cronbach's $\propto$ = .77 for heritage culture maintenance and Cronbach's $\propto$ = .82 for NA cultural involvement). The VAI measures acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct and preference to maintain the heritage culture is deemed as being independent of involvement in the host culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

Story-telling task. For story-telling task (Appendix 8), I used 11 story beginnings that referred to various topics like peer conflict, competition, family relations, authority relations and routine activities. These story beginnings were used by Wang and Leichtman (2000), in a study comparing Chinese and American children on independence and interdependence. For the purposes of my study, eleven colorful, cartoon-like pictures were also painted by artists on the basis of the content of the story and were used as story-telling aids in this study. I had one artist make these picture cards (Appendix 9). The picture characters were either animals or human beings. If they were human beings, they were of the same sex and ethnicity as the subject child. Half of the stories were selected randomly and given to the mother to construct with the child and the researcher did the remaining stories with the child. Since there were 11 stories, with half the

participants, the researcher did 5 stories and with the other half, mothers did half stories. The sequence in which the mother and researcher narrated the story was counterbalanced. Mothers were asked to narrate the stories with their child, to assess mothers' encouragement of independence or interdependence in their children in a story-telling situation.

Procedure

CAD participants were recruited through daycares in Edmonton and through snow-balling. SA participants were contacted through community groups and through snow-balling. I used different methods for recruiting CAD and SA participants, because it is difficult to recruit many SA immigrants through English language day cares. We sent our participation forms to parents of children in day cares or community groups and those who agreed to participate were requested to fill out the form and give their contact number and a convenient time to be called. The participants were first contacted over the phone and the researcher briefed them about the study and the procedure for data collection. The researcher made an appointment for visiting their home for data collection at a time that was convenient for both the mother and the child. The story-telling sessions were done at participants' homes, after which the researcher handed the questionnaires to mothers, along with a stamped mailing envelope addressed to the researcher. The mothers were asked to complete the questionnaire and post it to the researcher whenever it was convenient. The researcher requested permission to remind the mothers to post the questionnaire in case they did not do so in the next two weeks. If the mothers were not proficient in English, the researcher requested them to

complete the questionnaire in her presence, so that they could ask her to translate any item that was not clear. The questionnaires are simply worded and most participants did not have problems in understanding the questionnaires.

Female researchers collected narrative data in both CAD and SA families. Two researchers visited the family to collect data and at least one was the same ethnicity as the participant. For all participants, researchers collected narrative data first and then handed the questionnaires to the mothers. The researcher went through the questionnaire once before giving it to mothers and also gave her contact telephone numbers to the mothers, in case they had questions when filling out the questionnaire. The SA families in the study had immigrated to and lived in Canada for at least a few years, and the SA mothers and most of the children were proficient in English. SA mothers rated their child's and their own English proficiency on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 stands for "not at all proficient" and 5 stands for "very proficient". The average score for their English proficiency was 3.96 (*SD* = 0.88) and the average score of their child's English proficiency was 4.09 (*SD* = 0.95).

For collecting narrative data, the researcher spoke to the child and the mother for a short time for rapport formation before starting the story-telling sessions. After chatting with the child, the researcher said, "We are going to play a fun game. We are going to make up some stories about pictures together. Your mom and I are going to show you these very interesting pictures and start the story about each picture. You will help us finish this story." Whenever the researcher did the stories first the mother was asked to go into another room. The

researcher let the child narrate the story in the native language if he/she was not proficient in English or preferred to talk in the native language. Only 4 children spoke in their native language, but there were a few children who sometimes used a few Hindi words while narrating the story. I developed standard prompts for all stories, such as “so what happens next”, “that’s a very good story, can you tell me something more”. If the child did not tell a story, the researcher tried to create an interest in the story by describing the picture again and asking some questions like “tell me what’s going to happen now?” Researchers also asked about how a particular story character feels.

Coding

The story-telling sessions were video recorded and later transcribed using TRANSANA, which is software for transcription and analysis of qualitative data. If the stories were in a language other than English, a native speaker of that language transcribed and translated the stories. All codings were conducted on English transcriptions. I chose to code the English transcriptions because there were only 4 children in the study who spoke in their native language. Using a single coding scheme on a carefully transcribed and translated data set has been shown a reliable method (see Han et al., 1998; Wang & Leichtman, 2000; Wang et al., 2000).

The stories were then content analyzed to identify independence or interdependence orientations of children and mothers in the study. Content analysis is defined as, “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1968, cited

in Wang & Leichtman, 2000, p. 1333). The original coding scheme was developed using the categories suggested by Wang and Leichtman (2000), however, some modifications were made based on previous research findings with SA families.

Wang and Leichtman (2000) developed 6 composite items, namely social engagement, moral code, concern with authority, autonomous orientation, aggression and emotional expressiveness, to analyze their data and these composite items consisting of several component behaviors. For example, the composite item moral code consists of four component behaviors: (1) Didactic statement of social standards and moral rules; (2) Reference to protagonist child's appropriate behavior, moral character and good deeds; (3) Instance of reparation, including both verbal and behavioral amends made by perpetrators; (4) Reference to correct future behavior. The composite items were broad constructs that are shown to be emphasized more in some cultures than in others. and the component behaviors consisted of the specific behaviors that described these constructs. I used 5 composite items suggested by Wang and Leichtman (2000), but I made some modifications to the component behaviors that determined the scores on these composite items based on the story data that I obtained. Thus, 5 composite items (social engagement, moral code, concern with authority, autonomy and aggression) were constructed and described as follows. I did not examine 'emotional expressiveness' because this was not relevant to my research questions. To obtain a score on the composite items, I counted the number of occurrences of any related theme across all the stories told by children and

mothers. The coding categories that I used in this study were not mutually exclusive but overlapped within an utterance, that is, within the same utterance I could code more than one variable.

Moral code. This item indexes participants' concern with moral correctness and appropriate behavioral conduct in their narratives and I expected both SA mothers and children to show higher concern for moral rectitude in their narratives. SA mothers are more likely than Canadian mothers to use story telling for teaching children about correct moral and social behavior. Four component behaviors for moral code are (1) Didactic statements of social standards, expectations, and moral rules, for instance, "you should share your toys" or "you should take care of your toys because poor people don't even have any toys;" (2) Reference to the appropriate behavior, moral character, or good deeds of the protagonist, for example, "the pig helps the bears when they are lost and cannot find their mom;" (3) Instances of reparation, both verbal and behavioral amends by perpetrators, for instance, "he thought, why did I not listen to my parents and go in the group," Or "the bears give the truck back to the pig and says sorry to him;" and (4) Lessons learned from the story and appropriate future behavior, for instance, "he learned a lesson to always follow what his mom asks him to do." Or "after that he never fought with his friends for a toy because he understood that friendship is better than fighting."

Social engagement. This item indexes the narrator's tendency to introduce positive relations and interactions and instances of sustaining positive relations in their narratives, and I expected more instances of social engagement

in stories of South Asian mothers and children. Six component behaviors coded are: (1) Number of friendly characters introduced, for example, a parent, some relative or a friend of the protagonist; (2) Instances of help provided by the protagonist, for example, “the little girl helped the other child in making nice pictures;” (3) Instances of help provided to the protagonist, for instance, “the snake gave water to the goose;” (4) Instances of group action and cooperation, for example, “the mother bear, the father bear and the little bear arranged a party for the grandfather. Mother bear made a cake and father decorated the house and child made a card for the grandfather;” (5) Instances of positive relationships manifested or continued and instances of new relationships established, for example, “then they (the two bunnies) became friends and they were best friends and even their houses were stuck together” or “he likes his dad very much and they have so much fun together;” and (6) Tendency to maintain harmony among friends, for example, “both the bunnies run at the same speed and they will have a tie.”

Autonomous orientation. This item indexes children’s and mothers’ tendency to express autonomy and self-determination in their narratives. Similar to previous literature in the area, I expected that Canadian mothers and children will give more instances of autonomous orientations in their stories. The behaviors coded were: (1) Reference to protagonist child’s personal needs and desires, for example, “the boy wanted to buy a toy;” (2) Reference to protagonist child’s personal likes and dislikes, for instance, “he like to play tic-tac-toe with his friends.” Or “he does not like to go to his grandmother’s house;” (3) Instances

in which the protagonist child or the child who is narrating the story expressed personal evaluations, opinions and judgments, for example, “I don’t think that this girl made the best painting, the teacher should be fair” or “the monkey said that its not fair;” (4) Instance in which the protagonist retained control over his or her own actions and resisted group or social pressure, or when the protagonist takes action to retain his rights. For example, “the monkey said to his mother that you are not my boss.” Or “the pig ran and grabbed the truck back, and said, “this is my truck”; and 5) Instances in which the protagonist did something independently or disobeyed the authority figure. For instance, “he goes out takes a cab and goes back home.” In addition to this, I also counted autonomy in story-telling, which I measured by the number of story-telling instances in which the child retains control during story-telling. For instance, when a mother prompted her child to tell something more, he said, “I want this to be done.”

Concern with authority. This item indexes children’s tendency to show their concern with and conformity to authority in their narratives. Since concern with authority is more characteristic of collectivistic societies, I expected SA participants to show a higher concern for authority than their Canadian counterparts. Four component behaviors were coded: (1) Number of authority figures introduced, referring to people who had superior-subordinate interactions with the protagonist child, such as demanding, ordering, approving, disapproving, or punishment; (2) Instances of authority approval, for instance, “the father said to him, it’s very good that you take care of your toys. You are a good boy;” (3) Instances of authority disapproval or punishment. For instance, “his mother gave

him a time out;" and (4) Conformity or obedience to authority, for instance, "he gave the toy back to the pig [when his mother told him to]."

Aggression. This item indexes instances when the protagonist engages in aggressive acts. I expected Canadian participants to mention more instances of aggression in their stories than their SA counterparts. The three component behaviors coded were: (1) Physical aggression, such as hitting, beating, and pushing, for instance, "they snatch the truck from each other;" (2) Verbal aggression, such as arguing, threatening, or quarrelling, for instance, "the boy said that his painting is the best and they said that their painting is the best and they started arguing;" and (3) All other forms of aggression, like stealing, getting jealous or getting mad at someone, or any other form of emotional aggression (e.g., jealousy).

I coded all the data and one independent research assistant recoded 20% of the transcripts for reliability. The research assistant was blind to the hypotheses of the study and was not given information about the identity of the participants. The average inter-coder reliability (*r*) was .84 for the variables. Disagreements were resolved by discussion between the coders.

CHAPTER 4

Results

Differences in CAD and SA Mothers Responses on Self-Report Measures

The questionnaire data consisted of measures of CAD and SA mothers' independence and interdependence and a measure of acculturation choices for SA mothers. In synchrony with differences in SA and Canadian cultures in individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), previous research has shown that SA show more interdependent orientations than Canadians (e.g., Keller et al., 2006). Although there are cross-cultural differences in self-orientations, there is also within-culture variability in both CAD and SA groups (Hong et al., 2000; Mishra, 1994; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). SA might be uniformly more interdependent than Canadians in some domains than in others or within the SA group, certain groups might display more interdependent orientations than others. The results of this study will help understand whether SA immigrant mothers show more interdependent orientations than CAD mothers on all these measures or only on some measures. I will also examine whether participants' scores on these various constructs are related to each other in the two groups. For immigrants coming from collectivistic cultures to more individualistic cultures, this transition poses various challenges as these immigrants have to respond to widely different cultural expectations.

Self-construal. For the RIC scale I obtained scores on individualism, relationality and collectivism by dividing the number of responses in each category by the total number of responses given by the participants. I expected

CAD mothers to score higher on individualism than their SA counterparts and SA mothers to score higher than CAD mothers on collectivism.

In a 2 (Culture) X 3 (Self Construal) ANOVA I found a significant effect of self-construal ($F = 18.63$, $p = 0.00$) and an interaction effect ($F = 7.48$, $p = 0.00$) between culture and the type of self-construal. I found that both CAD and SA mothers scored highest on relationality. CAD mothers scored significantly higher than SA mothers on relationality (t (89)= 3.85, $p = 0.00$ and SA mothers were significantly more collectivistic than CAD mothers (t (89)= 2.54, $p = .01$) (Table 3). There was no difference in the percentage of responses coded as individualistic for CAD and SA mothers (t (89) = 1.22, $p = 0.22$) (Table 3). I had expected that CAD mothers would score higher than SA mothers on individualism. By using a forced choice format we can say that if the mothers are asked to select only one response, both CAD and SA mothers are most likely to prefer a relational response. I also found that the responses of SA mothers were evenly distributed across the individualistic, relational and collectivistic categories (see Table 3).

Table 3

Mean (SD) Percentage of Individualistic, Relational and Collectivistic Responses on the RIC scale

Self construal	**Canadians**		**South Asians**	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Individualistic	36.78	16.63	32.23	18.48
Relational	47.17	16.56	37.72	18.64
Collectivistic	16.06	13.53	30.05	19.92

I also calculated the percentage of individualistic, relational and collectivistic responses on all items in the RIC scale, in order to get an idea about how a person's preference for a particular form of self-construal might change depending upon the domain of functioning. As we can see in Table 4, most participants in both the CAD and SA groups thought that it is most important for them to teach their child to be individualistic, i.e., "to know themselves and develop their own potential as a unique individual". On other items most Canadians selected relational responses while SA selected both relational and collectivistic responses. When asked about what they think is important to be a good employee for a company, a higher percentage of Canadians gave an individualistic response while a higher percentage of SA's gave a collectivistic response. Responses to the RIC questionnaire reveal that people in both cultures may show different preferences for individualism, collectivism or relationality in different domains covered in this questionnaire.

Table 4

Percentage of Participants who gave Individualistic, Relational and Collectivistic Responses on various items in the RIC Scale

	Canadian			**South Asians**		
	Ind	Rel	Col	Ind	Rel	Col
I think its most important in life to	46.5	51.2	2.3	49.0	36.7	14.3
I would teach my children	86.0	14.0	0.0	81.6	10.2	8.2
I regard myself as	25.6	62.8	11.6	18.4	65.3	16.3
I think honor can be attained by	34.9	34.9	30.2	37.5	18.8	43.8
I would regard someone as a good employee for a company if	45.2	33.3	21.4	18.4	36.7	44.9
The most satisfying activity for me is	11.6	65.1	23.3	2.0	59.2	38.8
When faced with an important personal decision to make	21.4	64.3	14.3	24.5	59.2	16.3
I would feel proud if	38.1	31.0	31.0	27.7	10.6	61.7
When I attend a musical concert	35.7	57.1	7.1	50.0	37.5	12.5
I am most concerned about	15.0	60.0	25.0	6.3	39.6	54.2

Note. Ind = Individualistic response; Rel = Relational response; Col = Collectivistic response

Traditionalism and modernity. In the traditionalism-modernity inventory, I calculated the mean on 20 traditionalism items and the mean of 20 modernity items to obtain a score for traditionalism and modernity. By the very definition of modernity as "the degree to which an individual's attitudes are

similar to those found in the western industrialized nations" (Abraham, 1976, cited in Patel et al., 1996, p. 304), one would expect CAD mothers to score higher on modernity. On the other hand, SA mothers should score higher on traditionalism, which can be regarded as the opposite of modernity.

A 2 (Culture) X 2 (Traditionalism) ANOVA revealed a significant effect of both traditionalism (F (1, 90) = 23.60, p = 0.00) and group (F (1, 90) = 51.82, p =0.00). The interaction effect was not significant (F (1, 90) = 2.68, p = 0.11). Both groups scored higher on traditionalism than on modernity. SA mothers scored significantly higher than CAD mothers on both traditionalism (M (SD): CAD = 2.84 (0.34); SA = 3.19 (0.29), $p < .01$) and modernity (M (SD): CAD = 2.70 (0.25); SA = 2.90 (.29), $p < .01$). As suggested in the test manual (Ramirez, 1991), I calculated a balance score by subtracting each participant's modernity score from her traditionalism score. I found that there was no difference between the two groups on the balance score (M (SD): CAD = 0.15 (0.49); SA = 0.30 (0.38); t (90) = 1.64, p = 0.11).

The scores also revealed that both groups scored higher on traditionalism than on modernity. Though this difference was only significant for the SA group (t (48) = 5.50; $p < .01$), there was a trend in the same direction for CAD mothers as well (t (42) = 1.94; $p < .06$). A higher score on traditionalism (than modernity) is expected for SA mothers but not for CAD mothers. Another interesting finding for this study was that for CAD mothers, traditionalism and modernity were inversely related (r = -.36, $p < .05$) but there was no correlation between traditionalism and modernity scores for SA mothers (r = - .01, p = 0.97).

I separated the items in three domains, namely family, preference for urban versus rural lifestyle and general items which included all the remaining items (see Table 5). Overall, SA mothers scored higher on traditionalism in all three domains. Moreover, there was no difference in modernity scores between the two groups in family related items or in preference for urban versus rural lifestyle (see Table 6). For the general items, I found that SA mothers scored higher on traditionalism and there was no difference on modernity scores between the two groups.

Table 5

Items in Family Domain, Preference for Urban versus Rural Life and General Items in the Traditionalism-Modernity Inventory

Family related items on Traditionalism-Modernity Scale
Husbands and wives should share equally in household work
Women with children should not have full-time career or job outside of home
Husbands and wives should share equally in child-rearing and child care
You should know your family history so that you can pass it on to your children
In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in bringing up children
Husbands and wives should participate equally in making important family decisions
Children should always be respectful of their parents and older relatives
Adult children should visit their parents regularly
Children should be taught to be loyal to their families
Children should be encouraged to be independent of their families at an early age
Children should be taught to always feel close to their families
Everything a person does reflects on his/her family
When making important decisions about my life, I always like to consult members of my family
If my family does not agree with one of my major life decisions, I go ahead and do what I think is right anyway

Preference for urban versus rural lifestyle
I prefer to live in a small town or a friendly neighborhood where everyone knows each other
I prefer to live in a large city
It's hard to meet and get to know people in cities
I prefer the excitement of a large city to relaxed living in a small town

General
Husbands and wives should share equally in household work
All institutions should follow a democratic process of decision-making
Women with children should not have full-time career or job outside of home
Students should not question the teachings of their teachers or professors
Husbands and wives should share equally in child-rearing and child care
In industry or government, when two persons are equally qualified, the older person should get the job
Women should assume their rightful place in business and in the professions along with men
Laws should be obeyed without question
Students should have decision-making power in schools and universities
It does not matter to me if my job requires me to move away from the place where I have my roots
With institutions, the amount of power a person has should not be determined by either age or gender

Traditions observances such as church services or graduation ceremonies add meaning to life

We should not let concerns about time interfere with our friendships and interactions with others

The biblical version of the creation of the universe should not be taught in schools

If you are not careful, people can cause you to waste your time and you will never get anything accomplished

Most traditional ceremonies are outmoded and wasteful of time and money

There is no doubt that the universe was created by a supreme being

Children should be taught to always feel close to their families

We get into such a hurry sometimes that we fail to enjoy life

Eventually, science will explain all the mysteries of life

A person should only be responsible to himself or herself

No matter how many advances we make through science, we will never be able to understand many important things in life

Most religions are primarily folklore and superstition

Religion adds meaning to our mechanized and impersonal lives

Traditions and rituals serve to remind us of the rich history of our institutions and our society

Traditions limit our freedom

Table 6

Means (SD) on Traditionalism and Modernity in Three Domains

	Traditionalism			**Modernity**		
	CAD	SA	*p*	CAD	SA	*p*
Family	3.01 (0.31)	3.42 (0.29)	.00	3.14 (0.42)	3.06 (0.39)	.31
Urban/Rural	2.51 (0.74)	3.21 (0.48)	.00	2.74 (0.94)	2.45 (0.78)	.11
General	2.79 (0.29)	2.97 (0.31)	.01	2.76 (0.25)	3.09 (0.26)	.00

Asian values and family allocentrism. The scores on the Asian Values Scale (AVS) and Family Allocentrism Scale (FAS) were in the expected direction. SA mothers scored higher than their CAD counterparts on both these measures. There was a significant difference between the means of CAD and SA mothers on AVS (*M* (*SD*): CAD = 2.07 (0.35); SA = 2.66 (0.28), t (87) = 8.81, $p < .001$). Similarly, SA mothers scored higher than CAD mothers on the FAS as well (*M* (*SD*): CAD = 3.98 (0.52); SA = 4.71 (0.56), t (90) = 6.44, $p < .01$). There was also a high correlation between participants' scores on AVS and FAS ($r = 0.64$, $p < .01$; CAD: $r = .39$, $p < .01$; SA: $r = .43$, $p < .01$). Because these scales were highly correlated, for further analysis I chose to use only the FAS scale. I selected the FAS scale for two reasons. Firstly, this study deals mainly with family socialization and so a measure of FAS is most relevant for the study. Secondly, I found that the AVS showed low reliability for the SA group.

Socialization goals. In the scale socialization goals, participants received scores on two subscales – the individualism subscale and the collectivism subscale. I assessed immigrants' acculturation choice using the Vancouver

Acculturation Index and found that immigrants scored higher on maintenance of their ethnic culture and lower on participation in the North American culture. Since immigrants score higher on maintenance of the ethnic culture, I expected SA to score higher than CAD on collectivistic socialization goals. In addition, I expected SA to score higher on collectivistic than on individualistic socialization goals. I expected CAD to score higher on individualistic subscale but lower on collectivism subscale.

For both groups, I found that participants scored high on both individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals. That is, both CAD and SA mothers had high expectations for individualistic and collectivistic traits in their children (Table 7). I compared the scores of mothers in the two groups on both individualistic and collectivistic goals using a 2 (Culture) X 2 (socialization goals) ANOVA. There was no main effect of either culture ($F = 0.36$, $p = 0.55$) or the type of socialization goals ($F = 0.37$, $p = 0.55$) and no interaction effect between culture and the type of socialization goals preferred ($F = 0.83$, $p = 0.36$). Perhaps there was a ceiling effect because mothers had high expectations for both types of goals. I also found that there was a high correlation between mothers' expectations for individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals in both the groups. For Canadians individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals were correlated at 0.61 ($p < .01$) and for SA this correlation was 0.73 ($p < .01$). Thus, both CAD and SA mothers gave importance to both individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals.

Table 7

Mean Scores of CAD and SA mothers on Individualistic and Collectivistic Socialization goals

	CAD		SA	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Individualistic goals	4.83	0.64	4.74	0.80
Collectivistic goals	4.80	0.70	4.54	0.94

Acculturation. The VAI measures acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct and so participants get a score for maintenance of the heritage culture (HC) as well as a score on participation in the North American culture (NAC). I administered a paired sample t-test to compare participants' scores on HC and their participation in the NAC. SA mothers scored significantly higher on HC (M = 7.45 (SD = 1.04)) than on NAC (M = 4.60 (SD = 1.48), t (48) = 11.09, p = .00). In accordance with the bi-dimensional view of acculturation, HC and NAC should not be inversely correlated with each other, because endorsement of heritage culture does not imply an inability to adopt NA cultural values. I found support for the bi-dimensional view of acculturation as participants' scores on NAC and HC were not inversely correlated (r = .02, p = 0.90). I found that mothers' HC scores were related to their scores on other measures such as the Family Allocentrism Scale, and their scores on the socialization goals that they set for children. Scores on HC were also positively correlated with scores on traditionalism and Asian Values Scale, but these correlations did not reach significance (p = .06). Participants' scores on NAC were not related to scores on

any of the other scales used in this study. Thus, we find that for SA mothers, endorsement of Asian values, familialism, or traditionalism are not related inversely to the adoption of NA culture.

I did not find a relation between the length of stay in Canada, or other demographic variables measured in this study with participants' scores on the VAI. I asked participants to rate on a scale from 1 to 5 their identification with their ethnic culture and their identification with the NA culture. The participants' ratings on their identification with the heritage or NA culture was positively correlated with their VAI scores on HC and NAC respectively (r = .31 (for both), $p < .05$). I found a pattern similar to VAI scores, such that participants rated their identification with their heritage culture significantly higher than their identification with the NA culture (t (44) = 5.59, p = .00) and their ratings on identification with the heritage culture was not correlated with their ratings on identification with the NA culture (r = .01, p = .00).

Researchers have contended that a high language confidence in the language of the out-group is related to higher identification with the out-group (Clément & Noels, 1996). In this study I found a positive correlation between the perceived English language proficiency of the mothers and their scores on NAC (r = .46, p = .00). Language proficiency in the majority language plays an important role in people's adaptation and participation in the host culture and can influence people's acculturation choices and available options.

These data suggest that SA mothers are higher on maintenance of the ethnic culture than on adoption or participation in the NA culture. Significantly

lower scores on participation in the NA culture suggest that SA mothers may be best described as following the acculturation strategy of 'separation' (see Berry, 1997). However, the VAI covers several domains, including family, work, marriage, friendship, and humor. When I compared the scores in each domain (covered by separate items on the scale), I found that SA mothers endorse the heritage culture more in some domains than in others. For instance, they scored lowest on their openness to marry someone from the host culture, or in behaving in typically NA ways. They gave higher ratings on being comfortable working with NA or having NA friends. There was no significant difference in participants' scores on 'comfort in working with people from their heritage culture' or 'comfort in working with NA people'.

Summary of CAD and SA Differences and Similarities in Self-report Measures. SA mothers' responses on the Vancouver Acculturation Index indicated that they are higher on participation in their ethnic culture than on participation in the North American culture. SA mothers scored higher than CAD mothers on some measures of interdependence orientations, such as the Asian Values Scale and the Family Allocentrism Scale. However, there was no difference between the ratings of CAD and SA mothers on the importance they gave to the encouragement of independence and interdependence in their children. SA mothers scored higher than CAD mothers on traditionalism as well as on modernity. Responses on the self-construal scale (RIC) showed that both CAD and SA participants in the study scored higher on relationality than on

individualism or collectivism. SA scored higher than CAD on collectivism but there was no difference between the two groups on their individualism scores.

Correlations

As can be seen in Table 8, for the total sample, the scores of only a few variables were related to each other. I found that there was a positive correlation between mothers' scores on the collectivistic socialization goals and their scores on traditionalism. However, the correlation between collectivistic socialization goals and traditionalism was significant only for the SA group and not for Canadians (see Table 9 and Table 10). The scores on collectivistic or individualistic socialization goals were not related to scores on family allocentrism for Canadian mothers. SA mothers' scores on family allocentrism were not correlated with their ratings on individualistic socialization goals but were positively related to their ratings on collectivistic socialization goals. I also found that family allocentrism was positively related to traditionalism for Canadian but not SA participants. Though traditionalism was not significantly related to family allocentrism for SA's, the correlation was in the positive direction and the balance score on traditionalism (calculated by subtracting modernity from the traditionalism) was significantly related to family allocentrism for CAD ($r = 0.57$, $p < 0.01$) and SA's ($r = 0\ .38$, $p < 0\ .01$). I also found that for SA mothers, family allocentrism was negatively correlated with modernity.

Table 8

Intercorrelations Among Measures of Inter/Independence

	DG (I)	DG (C)	TR	MOD	FAI
DG (I)	1.00				
DG (C)	0.71**	1.00			
TR	0.15	0.20*	1.00		
MOD	-0.03	-0.18	0.01	1.00	
FAI	0.05	0.15	0.56**	- 0.04	1.00

Note. DG(I) – socialization goals individualistic; DG (C) - socialization goals collectivistic; TR – traditionalism; MOD- modernity; FAI – family allocentrism index
*p < 0 .05; ** p < 0.01

Table 9

Intercorrelations Among Measures of Inter/Independence, Canadians

	DG (I)	DG (C)	TR	MOD	FAI
DG (I)	1.00				
DG (C)	0.62**	1.00			
TR	0.16	0.21	1.00		
MOD	-0.08	-0.23	-0.36*	1.00	
FAI	-0.03	0.04	0.62**	-0.28	1.00

Note. DG(I) – socialization goals individualistic; DG (C) - socialization goals collectivistic; TR – traditionalism; MOD- modernity; FAI – family allocentrism index.
*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

Table 10

Intercorrelations Among Measures of Inter/Independence, South Asians

	DG (I)	DG (C)	TR	MOD	FAI	HER	NA
DG (I)	1.00						
DG (C)	0.76**	1.00					
TR	0.21	0.35*	1.00				
MOD	0.02	-0.12	-0.01	1.00			
FAI	0.15	0.36*	0.19	- 0.37*	1.00		
HER	0.36*	0.42*	0.32*	-0.03	0.50**	1.00	
NA	0.27	0.19	-0.07	-0.22	0.09	-0.02	1.00

Note. DG(I) – socialization goals individualistic; DG (C)- socialization goals collectivistic; TR – traditionalism; MOD- modernity; FAI – family allocentrism index; HER: maintenance of the heritage culture; NA = maintenance of the North American culture
*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$

For SA, I correlated the scores on various measures to their scores on the preference for maintaining heritage culture identity and their participation in the NA culture. I found that mothers who scored higher on maintenance of heritage culture identity were more traditional and showed more family allocentrism. They also rated both individualisitic and collectivistic socialization goals as being of high importance (see Table 10). However, none of these measures was correlated with scores on participation in the NA culture. That is, it is not that mothers who displayed higher family allocentrism or who endorsed more traditional (or modern) values were less (or more) involved in the NA culture. Thus, giving importance to family and tradition did not run counter to participation in the NA culture.

I also correlated percentage scores on individualism, relationality, and collectivism, as measured by the RIC scale, with other measures of inter/independence (Table 11). For Canadians, individualism was negatively related to scores on FAI (Table 12). For SA none of the correlations between scores on self-construal and other measures of inter/independence orientations were significant (Table 13).

Table 11

Correlations of Measures of Inter/Independence with RIC Scores

TOT	TR	MOD	FAI	DG (I)	DG (C)
IND	.16	.05	-.25*	-.05	-.06
REL	-.14	-.17	-.03	.05	.08
COL	.29**	.12	.26**	-.00	-.02

Note. TR = Traditionalism; MOD = Modernity; FAI = Family allocentrism index; DG (I) = Socialization goals (individualistic); DG (C) = Socialization goals (collectivistic)
*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

Table 12

Correlations of Measures of Inter/Independence with RIC Scores, Canadians

CAD	TR	MOD	FAI	DG (I)	DG (C)
IND	-.22	.10	-.37*	-.09	-.22
REL	.08	-.16	.28	.07	.26
COL	.18	.08	.11	.02	-.05

Note. TR = Traditionalism; MOD = Modernity; FA = Family allocentrism index; DG (I) = Socialization goals (individualistic); DG (C) = Socialization goals (collectivistic)
*p < .05

Table 13

Correlations of Measures of Inter/Independence with RIC Scores, South Asians

CAD	TR	MOD	FAI	DG (I)	DG (C)	HER	NA
IND	-.00	.11	-.13	-.03	.01	-.14	.13
REL	-.10	-.02	.07	.01	-.08	.06	.09
COL	.09	- .08	.03	.02	.07	.07	-.20

Note. TR = Traditionalism; MOD = Modernity; FA = Family allocentrism; DG (I) = Socialization goals iIndividualistic); DG (C) = Socialization goals (collectivistic)

The correlations between various measures of independence and interdependence orientations revealed that SA mothers' acculturation choices on maintenance of their ethnic culture were related to their scores on measures of interdependence. However, their participation in the North American culture was not related to any measure of inter/independent orientations used in this study. All measures of interdependence orientations covered some overlapping domains and scores on these measures were correlated. I also found that a higher score on interdependence orientations does not imply a lower score on independence orientations (for instance, scores on individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals were correlated). In the next section, I discuss the results of narrative data, to assess the endorsement of individualistic or collectivistic values by mothers in the two cultures.

Narrative Analysis

For each story, I counted the total number of words used including repetitions (word tokens) and the number of different type of words used (word types). The mean narrative length for children's stories was 76.10 word tokens per story (*SD* = 46.94) or 42.29 word types per story (*SD* = 18.30). A 2 (Culture) X 2 (Gender) ANOVA revealed that there was a main effect of culture and SA children told longer stories than Canadian children, F (1, 90) = 14.34, $p < .01$. There was no main effect of gender. There was no difference in the narrative volume of mothers' stories in the two cultures (see Table 14).

Table 14

Means (SDs) Word types and Word Tokens in Children's and Mothers' Stories by Culture

	Word Types		Word Tokens	
	CAD	SA	CAD	SA
Children	35. 95 (14.79)	48. 23 (19.39)	57.61 (31.24)	93.40 (52.59)
Mothers	49.21 (16.01)	46.71 (20.24)	90.36 (39.33)	92.01 (58.57)

The story length was not correlated with age of children (r = -.08 (Word tokens); r = -.12 (Word types)). I did not find any significant difference in scores of children on the various composite variables in their stories with the researcher or their stories with the mother, so I combined all the stories together for the purpose of analysis. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) that considered children's and mothers' narrative content (represented by 5 composite items' scores namely, social engagement, moral code, concern with authority,

autonomy, and aggression) was done as a function of culture and gender. It revealed a main effect of culture, F (4,86) = 5.51, $p < .01$. I compared mothers and children's scores on five composite variables, namely, moral code, social engagement, concern with authority, autonomy and aggression. The results are given in Table 15 and the results indicate that SA mothers and children manifested more interdependent orientations than their CAD counterparts. I also analyzed potential gender differences but there was no effect of gender. I discuss the results of participants on all five composite variables.

Table 15

Means (SD's) per Story for all Composite Variables

	Children				Mothers			
	CAD	SA	*t* (89)	p	CAD	SA	*t* (89)	*p*
Moral Code	.21 (.19)	.40 (.29)	3.55	.00**	.22 (.21)	.63 (.64)	4.10	.00**
Social Engagement	.58 (.30)	.67 (.28)	1.36	.18	.29 (.27)	.47 (.40)	2.61	.01**
Autonomy	.36 (.22)	.29 (.19)	1.69	.09	.08 (.12)	.06 (.11)	.800	.43
Authority	.24 (.16)	.37 (.26)	2.94	.00**	.08 (.13)	.12 (.21)	1.14	.26
Aggression	.15 (.09)	.14 (.13)	0.08	.93	.01 (.03)	.02 (.06)	1.72	.09

Note. ** $p < .01$.

Moral code. Studies that have compared stories in independent and interdependent cultures have shown that parents and children in interdependent cultures give more importance to moral correctness and appropriate social behavior in their stories (Miller, Sandel, Liang, & Fung, 2001; Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000). Since SA culture is an interdependent culture, I expected that if South Asian participants have not assimilated into the Canadian culture but

retained their ethnic culture, then they will score higher on moral code than CAD participants. Consistent with my expectations, I found that both children and mothers in SA group scored higher than their counterparts in the CAD group. Girls scored slightly higher than boys did on moral code, but this difference is scores was not significant. Both mothers and children talked about similar forms of moral behavior, such as the importance of sharing, maintaining harmony, manners, following rules, respecting authority, and being responsible.

Moral code was mentioned most often in stories that involved conflict between story characters, namely, the pig and the bear siblings story and the dog and fox story. Mothers and children in the two groups talked about how the story characters should solve the conflict by sharing or by taking turns. Several participants in both groups also talked about manners and appropriate behavior. For instance, one Canadian child said, “the bear should ask nicely” and a SA child said, “the bear should say please and thank you”. Moral code was also mentioned in other stories like the geese story or the monkey’s room story where participants talked about the protagonist’s responsibility to follow the instructions. At least a few participants talked about moral code in other stories as well, for example one Canadian child told in the favorite toy story, where parents get some presents for the child that “he should not be greedy because there are poor children who do not have any toys.”

SA participants also talked about the importance of respect for authority more often than their Canadian counterparts. Since respect for authority was specified as a moral responsibility here, I counted it under moral code. For

instance, one SA child while narrating the geese story said, “this happens to children who do not listen to elders and go alone”. However, SA participants also talked about roles and responsibilities of the older characters more often than the Canadian participants. For instance, one SA child said, “the elder bear should tell his brother to give the truck back to the pig. He is older and he knows better what to do”, and another one said, “the teacher should remember to be fair and not just praise one child” (art class story). One mother in the SA group said, “the elder geese should not leave her like this and they should teach her not to go”. In the grandmother house story, one SA mother said, “the grandmother should take care of the pig, so that he does not miss his parents”.

I found that mothers in the SA group more often used these stories to instruct the child about appropriate moral and social behavior. In the following example by a SA mother, the mother is narrating the geese story and she ends the story as follows:

MOT: “you know its like if you are going on a field trip with the school teacher you have to be in the group, so if you are going away from the group you will be lost and you cannot reach the place. If we are being in a group that will be safer and everybody will help in all of the dangers. That’s good. What do you understand by that is that you should follow the rules and regulations, whatever others are following, you can’t make your own decisions, ok?”

CHI: “ok”

Canadian mothers also talked about moral code in their stories but they did it less often and did not treat the story telling session as a means of instructing the child about moral code. Canadian mothers used story-telling as a fun activity with the child and gave their child freedom to lead the story and not necessarily learn something about moral code from the story. When the child did not talk

something about moral code in stories that involved conflict or inappropriate behavior, most SA mothers made sure that they discussed what is the appropriate moral behavior. A few Canadian mothers also talked about appropriate moral behavior, for example:

MOT: do you think that the little pig will be crying?
CHI: yeah he will cry because he took his truck. He cries uh uh
MOT: for a little while. What do you think could happen to make it better?
CHI: Just give back and just ask if he can borrow it
MOT: if he can have it back and they can just borrow it.
CHI: yeah
MOT: cause they can't just have it. It's not nice if they keep it. [Mother laughs]. Cause we have to make it so that everyone is happy. Right? Like with you and Mathew, you guys need to end up being happy. So do you want to finish the story now?

In the lost in the store story where the protagonist child gets lost in the store, most SA mothers and a few Canadian mothers, made sure that the child knows what do to when he/she is lost in the store. They asked their child whether he/she knows his/her telephone number and what the child should do in such a situation. A few SA mothers also talked about the importance of being autonomous, for example, in the pig and the bear siblings story when the child said that the pig will complain to his mother, his mother said, "he should solve his own problems, I think he is quite big".

Participants in both groups talked about the good behavior of the protagonist, especially in the race story and the art class story. For instance, in the art class story, where the teacher praises one child's painting, one Canadian child said, "the girl will feel a little sad because she wanted everybody's painting to be the best and she helps other children in painting." In the race story, one SA child said, "the white bunny (winner) goes to him and says good job because friendship

is better than racing". Mothers in the two groups also mentioned similar behaviors by the protagonist child. Several participants used the race story and the art class story to talk about the importance of persistent effort to be successful. Children and mothers in both groups talked about an instance of reparation, mainly in stories where the protagonist did something wrong and then got into trouble. In the geese story, one SA child said, "I am so sad and cold, I should have stayed with my mother and listened to her" and another Canadian child said, "I was so mad to go alone".

In the SA group there was a trend such that girls talked about moral code more than boys and mothers talked about moral code more to their daughters than to their sons. However, these differences were not statistically significant. This gender difference in talking about moral code was seen in all the stories and not in any one story in particular.

Overall, I found that SA mothers and children showed a higher concern for moral code in their stories. I also found that themes related to interdependence were mentioned more often by the SA participants, where they talked about the roles and responsibilities based on age, importance of maintaining harmony, and relationships with others. At the same time, SA mothers also gave importance to achievement and autonomy. Canadian participants also talked about various appropriate social and moral behaviors and the importance of maintaining positive relationships, sharing, manners, and responsibilities, though they talked about moral code less often than their SA counterparts in the study. SA mothers, unlike

Canadian mothers in the study, tended to use this story-telling activity as a medium of teaching appropriate social and moral behavior to their children.

Social engagement. There was no difference in the scores of CAD and SA children on social engagement . Though SA children mentioned social engagement more than CAD children did, this difference in scores was not significant. For mothers in the study, I found that SA mothers talked about SE more often than Canadian mothers.

Participants in both groups introduced friendly characters in their stories, and these were mainly introduced in stories where the protagonist gets into trouble, for example the geese story and the lost in the store story, where the protagonist gets lost and someone helps him/her in getting back to the group or parents. In the art class story a few children in both groups (but more SA than Canadian children) told that the child whose painting is praised by the teacher goes and shows his painting to his parents and then the parents encourage him. A few SA mothers also mentioned parents in the art class story. Only a few participants introduced friendly characters in other stories like the grandmother's house story where one SA child said, "the pig goes there and then his cousins also come there and then all of them play together".

In several stories, children and mothers in both groups talked about cooperation among the story characters. In stories involving conflict there was a tendency among both children and mothers to maintain harmony and end the conflict in a friendly way through sharing and cooperation. In the dog and fox story and the pig and bear siblings, around one-third children in both groups and

several mothers said that they would resolve the conflict by sharing or by deciding to take turns in a cooperative manner. Three SA children and one Canadian child also mentioned cooperation for a negative act, where the two brothers get together to steal the truck. Other instances of cooperation were mentioned in the art class story, doggy and dad story, and monkey's room story where the story characters worked together to do something. Several children mentioned that the monkey and his friend cleaned the room together or the doggy and dad did build something together when the doggy's mother had gone out. In the race story where two bunnies who are best friends are in a race together most children did not suggest a clear winner in the story and said that both of them will win or there will be a tie. One Canadian child said, "they both win the race and they both have two kinds of trophies and they were best friends and they always wanted to be together, and they were best friends." A SA child, while telling the story to the researcher said, "what if this bunny sit on this bunny and ride then both win". One Canadian mother said, "they have a tie! Maybe that's best when they are best friends that they have a tie". In the examples given in the race story, there was a clear emphasis on maintaining harmony and so I coded these as SE. In the art class story where the teacher praises one child because his painting is the best in class, several participants mentioned that the teacher praises other children as well and tells them, "their paintings are also good." Both children and mothers in the two groups mentioned this. In the doggy and dad story where the mother goes outside and doggy and dad are at home, a few SA mothers said that the

doggy and dad work together to do something for the mother that will make her happy, like cleaning the house, or cooking something.

SA mothers talked about positive relations more often than Canadian mothers in the grandmother's house story, where the parents go on a vacation leaving the little piggy at his/her grandmother's house. They talked about the positive relation between the grandmother and the little pig where the grandmother takes care of the pig and does things to make him happy. While similar instances of positive relations were also mentioned by Canadian mothers, these were more frequent in the stories of SA mothers.

In a few stories, participants mentioned instances where others helped the protagonist. In the geese story and the lost in the store story, where the protagonist gets lost, participants mentioned how other characters helped the protagonist in getting back to the group. In the geese story participants (especially SA) described the other geese as family members, like parents or siblings of the little goose who goes away alone. One Canadian child said, "the goose was lost in the desert and did not have water then the snake gave him water. The snake was goose's friend." There were few instances where the participants described how the protagonist helped the other characters in the story. In the art class story a few children and mothers in the SA group, but none in the Canadian group, mentioned that the girl (or boy) whose painting is the best helped the other children in making their painting so that they could also make better paintings. Responsibilities to help other family members is also stressed by SA mothers in the grandmother's house story where they mentioned that the pig will help the grandmother in doing

household work, such as cooking, and cleaning. SA mothers emphasized family relations in the stories that involved family members and the home context. For example, in the geese story, one SA mother said the following:

> "She is going to tell her sister, cause sisters understand each other and they share a lot in common. Her sister will tell her that it's not a good idea to go alone like that, cause parents will worry and besides you are not safe when you go alone. When you are with your family and friends, you can be cozy and warm and safe."

Overall, I found that there was no difference in the number of times social engagement was mentioned in the stories of Canadian and SA children. They also mentioned social engagement in similar contexts, like helping someone when in trouble, avoiding conflict and maintaining harmony. SA mothers talked about social engagement more than their Canadian counterparts. This difference in scores was due to higher focus on social engagement by SA mothers in family contexts for example helping and working together with other family members (grandmother's house and doggy and dad story), or family members helping the protagonist when he/she is in trouble. Mothers in both groups talked about SE similarly to their sons and daughters.

Autonomy. Autonomy and self-determination are characterized as important attributes of an individualistic self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Based on previous literature in the field of individualism and collectivism, I expected that Canadian children and mothers in our study would score higher on autonomy as compared to South Asian children and mothers. In this study, I did not find any difference on the scores on autonomy of between CAD and SA children. Mothers in both groups rarely talked about autonomy. Since mothers' scores on instances

of autonomy in the stories constructed are very low, I will mainly discuss children's responses related to autonomy in this discussion.

In addition to the scores on autonomy, I also counted autonomy in story telling, which is mainly the control that children retained during story-telling. Autonomy in story-telling for children was measured by counting the instances in which the child narrated the story as he/she liked even if the mother did not approve of it, or he did not follow the mother's instructions. I found that Canadian children exhibited much more autonomy during story-telling and their mothers also granted them autonomy in telling stories. For example in one instance, a Canadian child did not want to continue the story further so he started talking about something unrelated to the story. When the mother said, "tell me then what happens?" the child said, "he draws a picture on you." The mother laughed and let the child talk about something that was out of context of the story. Canadian children were also more likely than their Canadian counterparts to talk about things outside the conventional story line. In the grandmother's house story one Canadian child said that the pig parents are going to outer space and then the mother continued the story in that direction. In the SA group, most mothers ensured that the child tells a structured story. For instance, one SA mother said, "start the story like this. Once upon a time there was a piggy family" and for all other stories, she insisted that the child starts the story with the phrase, "once upon a time". When I included the instances of autonomy in storytelling to the autonomy scores of participants, I found a significant difference between CAD

and SA children's scores (*Mean* (*SD*): CAD = .49 (.26), SA = .33 (.20); t (89) = 2.97, p = .001).

There were several instances of autonomy where the protagonist retained personal control. In the monkey's room story many children in both Canadian and SA group said that the monkey will not clean the room and go outside because he does not like to clean the room. Instances of defying the authority figure, (the monkey's mother in this story) were seen more often in Canadian children's stories than in SA children's stories. In one story by a Canadian child when the monkey's mom asked him to clean the room, the monkey said, "you are not my boss". Another child said that the monkey's mother is very bad because she is not letting the monkey go outside and the monkey will "turn her into a banana and eat her". In stories of SA children, when the protagonist did not want to do something, he/she tried to negotiate with the mother, for instance, "the monkey argues with the mother and says that I will clean after coming back, because the bunny has to go home." I also coded similar instances of negotiation with the authority figure in Canadian children's stories as well. Children also talked about autonomy in the lost in the store story where the child gets lost in a store. Many children in both groups said that the child will look around for his mother and find her or he will play with the toys. One child (Canadian) said, "he is going to put something in the car and sneak out with the van, and then his mother sees him." In the geese story, while most children talked about how the goose who goes away alone gets into trouble, there were a few children in both groups who said

that the goose will go away and will reach south on his own before the rest of the group.

Children in both groups also talked about autonomy in the pig and bear sibling story, where the pig fights with the bears and gets back his truck. A few SA mothers also talked about the importance of being autonomous in this story. For instance, when one SA child said that “the pig will run to her mother”, the child’s mother said, “why will he run to his mother, I think he should be strong enough to stand and fight for his own rights. He will get the truck on his own”. A few children in both groups also mentioned personal rights in the dog and fox story as well. In all stories, a few children in both groups talked about autonomy.

Children also talked about likes and dislikes of the protagonist in a few stories, like the grandmother’s house story where the piggy’s parents leave the piggy at his grandmother’s house when they go on a vacation. Children mentioned what the child likes to do. Similarly, in the doggy and dad story children talked about what the doggy likes to do, for example, “the doggy really likes to play on the computer and so when his mom goes, he goes and plays on the computer. (RES: what does the dad do?) His daddy watches TV, a cricket game”. Similar to Wang and Leichtman (2000), I also counted incidents when the child expressed personal evaluations and judgments. I counted evaluations of both the protagonist as well as the narrator. In the art class story a few children in both groups evaluated the painting of the child in the story whose painting the teacher praised. One SA child said, “I don’t think that his painting is the best, the teacher is not fair.” In the art class story children also talked about how the other children

tried to make the best painting and they kept on trying to make the best painting ever. In the following narration by a Canadian child, he evaluates the child's painting as being best and also praises himself.

CHI: all the other kids tried to make their picture better than his, better than all the other ones.
MOT: Were they happy that his was the best?
CHI: nah!
MOT: no? so did they ever make better pictures?
CHI: nah!
MOT: so is it good that they tried hard? And did they take a long time
CHI: uh-uh, they never got it cause he was… the boy was the only one to be the best, not them. The other time they painted pictures he made
MOT: oh! I see
CHI: but they are wrong. He doesn't make the same picture every day. He makes different pictures
MOT: Oh he makes different ones and they are always the best
CHI : uh uh
MOT : Wow! That's pretty talented
CHI: yeah like me
MOT: [laughs]

Thus, I found that there was no significant difference between the autonomy scores of Canadian and SA children. However, in story-telling style I found that Canadian children were more autonomous than SA children. Nevertheless, SA children also talked about autonomy frequently in their stories. Instances of autonomy included episodes where the protagonist defied an authority figure's command or did something independently. The contexts in which autonomy was mentioned were similar for both Canadians and SA in the study. Mothers in both groups did not talk much about autonomy.

Concern with authority. I expected that SA children would demonstrate higher concern with authority than their Canadian counterparts in this study. I also expected that mothers SA mothers would emphasize 'concern with authority' in

their stories more than Canadian mothers in the study. I found a significant effect of culture, such that SA children exhibited a higher concern for authority in their stories. There were only a few instances where mothers talked about concern with authority and the difference in mothers' scores for concern with authority for the two groups was not significant. For both groups, concern with authority was mentioned in some stories more than the others, namely the monkey's room story, pig and the bear siblings story and dog and the fox story. In these three stories, two stories involved conflict and children introduced authority figures who helped in resolving the conflict. In the monkey's room story a monkey mother asks her son monkey to clean the room but the monkey wants to go out and play with his friend bunny. Concern with authority was demonstrated in instances of conformity or obedience by the child, and in retention of control by the authority figure. Most children in both groups said that the monkey will clean up the room, however some of them said that the monkey tries to negotiate with the mother so that he can clean the room after he comes back. Some children also said that he does not clean at first, but only when the mother scolds him or punishes him, he cleaned the room. In several stories of children in both groups one can infer that the protagonist followed the authority figure not because he/she thought that that is the right thing to do but just to avoid punishment. Children said that he would just hide everything so that the room looks clean and then he will quickly go out before the mother finds out that the monkey did not clean the room properly.

In the two stories involving conflict children said that the protagonist complains or takes help from an authority figure to solve the conflict. SA children

introduced more authority figures and in their stories mostly conflicts were resolved by authority figures. In the pig and the bear siblings, the authority figures were mainly parents and in the dog and fox story it was the teacher. In the school situation, many SA children introduced the school's principal who solved the problem in case the teacher was not able to solve it or if the story characters were fighting repeatedly. I also observed that SA children often introduced several authority figures, who talked among themselves to solve the problem. For instance, in the pig and bear siblings story, many SA children said that the pig's mother goes to the bears' mother and tell her about the bears. Even in other stories that involved school situations (like the art class story) children said that the teacher would tell the principal or parents about some bad behavior of the child.

Children in both groups mentioned several instances of authority approval for instance, in the art class story, many children said that the parents or principal praised the child for doing well in his class. Children also talked about incidents when the authority figures praised the good behavior of the protagonist, for instance in the favorite toy story parents complimented the child for taking care of his toys. A few SA children also talked about how the protagonist tries to gain approval and compliments from the authority figure, by reporting some good behavior or achievement to the authority figure or by other actions like drawing a card for the teacher. Many children in both groups talked about authority disapproval and how the authority figure punished the protagonist for not following a command or for bad behavior. A few SA children also talked about physical punishment for not following a command or in case of bad behavior. In

the following excerpt from the story of a SA child provides an example of authority disapproval and of communication among authority figures to solve a problem.

CHI: (the father said) just do something, but don't go to your friend's
RES: hmm
CHI: so he didn't listen to his father and went
RES: he didn't listen to his father, then what happened
CHI: Then he got slapped so much that he was… he cried
RES: who slapped him?
CHI: the father. So much that he cried and cried. Then mom came and she asked, "What happened here? He said, "I didn't want him to go to his friend's house." And then the mother said, "what? Why didn't you let him go? For four days he didn't go to his friend's place. What? Why didn't you tell me before?"
RES: hmm
CHI: and then he let him go to his friend's place for five-day sleep over.

In a few SA children's stories, I also found that children thought that authority figure's decision should be accepted without questioning. This was apparent in phrases like "children don't give instructions to their mothers" or "the principal wanted the child to understand that it does not matter what painting is good, whatever the teacher says is the best, is the best." Children and mothers in the SA group treated obedience to authority as a moral obligation. One mother said, "this is what happens to children who do not obey their elders, so one should always obey his elders."

Children in both groups expressed concern with authority in their stories, but SA children mentioned authority more than Canadian children. SA children introduced more authority figures in their stories and more incidents of compliance to authority. Mothers in both groups did not talk about their concern with authority much, but in some story beginnings that involved conflict, mothers talked about concern with authority if the child did not already talk about it. SA

mothers also gave some moral code statements about the importance of respecting authority.

Aggression. I expected that Canadian participants would talk about aggression more than SA participants. However, there was no difference in the amount of aggression expressed by the participants in the two groups. Children in both groups did not talk about aggression in most stories. Mothers in both groups hardly mentioned aggression in their stories, so I discuss the results of children's stories here. Mainly aggression was mentioned in stories that involved conflict situations (like the dog and fox story and the pig and the bear siblings story) or competition (like the art class story and the race story). In stories involving competition, children in both groups talked about how other characters get jealous of the protagonist. Some children mentioned a lot of aggression in their stories. I cite the following story (art class story) by a SA child is an example:

CHI: and then somebody gets jealous that she only said him and then they start making better ones better ones better ones
RES: ok and then what happens
CHI: and then when it's recess, they go outside and start like playing rough and when they come inside, he has a black eye.
RES: oh really! Then what happens
CHI: then the teacher is like "what happened?" she sends this guy and this girl to the office and then the next day he comes for recess he has two black eyes, and then they send him back to the office and then when they come back….. [Story continued]

A few Canadian children also described aggressive episodes in the art class story, for instance, one Canadian child said, "then some of the children make her all messy with the paint and they scribble on her painting". In the race story, one Canadian child said, "this bunny puts his foot in front of the brown bunny and

he falls and then he wins the race". In stories involving conflict in the story beginning itself, children talked about how the characters get into conflict, for example, "they snatch the truck from each other and then the truck breaks". Mostly aggression was mentioned in the context when some character is aggressive against the protagonist and there were hardly any episodes where the protagonist showed aggression without being provoked. The protagonist mainly engaged in aggression in order to defend his/her property or when provoked by the aggressive act of other story characters.

Overall, there were few instances of aggression and most aggressive acts comprised aggression towards the protagonist or aggression while the protagonist tries to defend himself or his property. There were no culture or gender differences in the amount of aggression expressed by children in this study. Mothers did not mention aggression in their stories much.

Summary of results from narrative data. The results comparing independence or interdependence orientations of children and mothers in story-telling situations were in tune with previous cross-cultural studies in this area. Even though I compared Canadian to SA immigrants rather than South Asians in the home country, I found that SA children and mothers emphasized interdependence more than their Canadian counterparts did. In addition to the story-telling episodes discussed here, there were a few other observations are relevant for this analysis. SA parents did not openly praise their child, but if their child did not respond well to the researcher or did not tell a good story then they tried to explain to the researcher that their child is capable of telling good stories.

For instance, in one family, while I and the child's mother were doing the story-construction task with the child, the child's father was present and seeing the activity. The child was not interested in the task and did not construct many stories. When I was leaving, the child's father, "she is quite smart and she has recently got two stars in her school work." Some parents also told their child that the researcher is from their school and so the child should tell a good story in front of her. Even if SA parents did not openly praise their child in story-telling situations, they wanted their child to perform well in front of an outsider. An emphasis on doing well in school was also reflected in a few story episodes by SA participants. For instance, after one SA child completed narrating the art class story, where he said, "this boy is her favorite", the researcher asked, "why is this child her favorite" and the child replied:

"because he is listening and not doing bad stuff, he asks questions when there is science, any subject. And in the gym he is given something he listens how to do it and in maths he does fast and he gets them all right. And in all subjects he gets all A's and he gets a trophy"

Canadian parents on the other hand, let the child narrate the story and complimented the child for telling a good story, even if it the story did not have a proper format or sequence. In the Canadian sample, even when the child talked about things that are not related to the story, their mothers let the child do so and even participated in the conversation with the child. When they tried to bring the child back to the story-line they did so using neutral expressions like, "you are naughty monkey" or "come let's finish this story first, I think it will be a lot of fun". SA mothers on the other hand were stricter in their approach and used expressions like "come on complete the story, or I am not going to take you to the

park in the evening" or "What will aunty (researcher) think that you don't know anything".

These differences in story-telling styles and content have implications for independent or interdependent self-construal. However, it is important to stress here that while I have discussed the general trends in story-telling in the two groups, there was a lot of within group variability. SA participants' stories resembled Canadian participants' stories in many ways and SA mothers also emphasized independence related traits in their stories. Similarly, interdependence and relatedness was also mentioned in most stories of Canadian participants.

The results from the narrative data reveal that SA mothers and children displayed more interdependent orientations than their CAD counterparts. Results from the questionnaire data reveal that SA mothers had not acculturated to the Canadian culture and gave importance to maintaining the ethnic culture. The results from narrative analyses of stories also show that SA mothers endorsed interdependent orientations more than CAD mothers. Though SA mothers stressed the need for development of independence when asked about the socialization goals for their children, they do not emphasize independence orientations in their stories to their children, compared to Canadian mothers. In addition, I did not find any relation between mothers' scores on measures used to assess their inter/independence orientations and encouragement of inter/independence in their narratives (see Table16 and Table 17). Perhaps SA mothers recognize the need to endorse both individualistic and collectivistic

values in their children but unconsciously primarily emphasize collectivistic values in their interactions with their children.

Table 16

Correlations Among Measures of Interdependence and Independence for Mothers and Composite Items from Story-telling Data, Canadians

CAD	IND	REL	COL	FS	TR	MM	DG (I)	DG (C)
SEC	-.12	.02	-.17	.14	.06	.01	-.13	.23
SEM	.34*	-.12	-.29	.05	.01	-.04	-.06	-.09
MC	.02	-.13	.14	.44**	.29	.11	-.15	-.18
MCM	.05	-.04	-.01	.22	.05	-.29	-.07	-.02
ATC	-.06	-.15	.27	-.01	.00	.02	.11	.00
ATM	.09	-.12	.04	-.01	-.19	.18	-.03	-.01
AHC	-.02	.07	-.06	-.05	-.01	-.12	.09	.17
AHM	-.22	-.16	.08	.18	.02	.11	-.11	-.06
AGC	.09	-.28	.24	.00	.02	.06	-.05	-.11
AGM	.13	-.08	-.07	-.01	-.27	-.05	-.08	.07

Note. SEC – Social engagement (Child); SEM – Social Engagement (Mother); MC – Moral Code (Child); MCM – Moral Code (Mother); ATC – Autonomy (Child); ATM – Autonomy (Mother); AHC – Concern with authority (Child); AHM – Concern with authority (Mother); AGC – Aggression (Child); AGM – Aggression (M); IND – Individualism score; REL – Relational score; COL – Collectivism score; FS – Score on family scale; TR – Traditionalism; MM – Modernity; DG (I) – Socialization goals (Individualistic); DG (C) – Socialization goals (Collectivistic).
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 17

Correlations Among Measures of Interdependence and Independence for Mothers and Composite Items from Story-telling Data, South Asians

	IND	REL	COL	FS	TR	MM	DG (I)	DG (C)
SEC	.01	.25	-.24	.10	-.01	.08	-.09	.09
SEM	-.02	.11	-.08	.03	-.03	-.18	.04	-.20
MC	-.08	.06	.03	-.17	-.11	.21	-.17	-.15
MCM	-.10	.06	.02	-.15	-.26	-.04	.17	-.15
ATC	.00	-.01	.01	-.26	-.18	.16	-.15	-.19
ATM	-.08	.21	-.13	-.20	.10	.08	.04	.05
AHC	.14	-.07	-.07	-.12	-.22	.10	.08	.07
AHM	-.02	.30	-.26	.01	-.14	.20	.10	.18
AGC	-.12	.36*	-.23	-.04	-.27	.07	-.08	.24
AGM	-.11	.23	-.12	.13	.06	-.24	.10	.12

Note. SEC – Social engagement (Child); SEM – Social Engagement (Mother); MC – Moral Code (Child); MCM – Moral Code (Mother); ATC – Autonomy (Child); ATM – Autonomy (Mother); AHC – Concern with authority (Child); AHM – Concern with authority (Mother); AGC – Aggression (Child); AGM – Aggression (M); IND – Individualism score; REL – Relational score; COL – Collectivism score; FS – Score on family scale; TR – Traditionalism; MM – Modernity; DG (I) – Socialization goals (Individualistic); DG (C) – Socialization goals (Collectivistic).
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

Traditionally Canadian culture is described as being more individualistic than South Asian culture (Hofstede, 1980). However, there has not been much comparative research on Canadians and South Asians. Research with immigrants in the United States of America has shown that South Asian immigrants have more collectivistic orientations than Americans (e.g., Dion & Dion 1996; 2004). There is little research on socialization practices in South Asian immigrant families in North America. In this study, I compared Canadian and South Asian immigrant mothers on their independence and interdependence and on their choices in socialization for independence or interdependence in their children using self-report measures. The measures used in this study assessed self-orientations in various dimensions like family relations, values, and socialization goals. In addition, I used observational data to assess mothers' encouragement of inter/independence in their children and children's inter/independence in a structured story-telling task.

Taking into account the encouragement of multiculturalism by the Canadian government, the high education and English proficiency level of the South Asian participants and the fact that most of them had immigrated to Canada by choice, I expected the South Asian mothers to adopt the acculturation strategy of integration (see Berry, 1997). Integration is shown to be the most adaptive acculturation strategy (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward, 1999). The South Asian immigrant mothers in this study scored higher on maintenance of ethnic culture

than on participation in the North American culture (Berry, 1997). Why do South Asian mothers score lower on participation in the North American culture? The sample for this study comprises recent immigrants to Canada and it could be that their participation in the North American culture will increase as they live in Canada for a longer time. However, time lived in Canada was not correlated with immigrants' participation in the North American culture. This lack of correlation could be because participation in the host culture increases significantly only after spending a certain number of years in the host nation. English language proficiency is shown to increase participation in the host culture (see also Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). There can be other factors that are not conducive for South Asian immigrants' involvement in the Canadian culture that have been ignored in this study.

The findings from this study lend further support to the bi-dimensional view of acculturation since maintenance of the ethnic culture and participation in the North American culture were unrelated to each other (see Ryder et al., 2000). Maintenance of ethnic culture was positively correlated with participants' scores on family allocentrism, Asian values, and traditionalism. I found that giving more importance to the family or maintaining Asian values can help in maintaining the ethnic culture but does not hinder participation in the North American culture. At the same time, having more modern attitudes is not related to participation in the North American culture or maintenance of the ethnic culture. Participation in the North American culture may be related to other factors that have not been covered in this study (see Berry, 2003; 2009, Bourhis et al., 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006).

Other than language proficiency, none of the demographic measures was related to immigrants' participation in the North American culture.

While South Asian immigrants displayed more interdependent orientations than Canadian participants in this study, they also showed independent orientations in some domains as much as (or even more than) Canadians. Across all domains, I found that South Asian immigrant mothers displayed more interdependent orientations in private domains like family relations than in public domains like employment. Previous research with South Asian immigrants in North America has shown that they strive to excel in education and employment. Thus, they may adopt the North American cultural values in public domains like education and employment while retaining their ethnic culture in more private domains like family relationships and marriage (e.g., Asher, 2002; Dion & Dion, 2004). The results of this study are in tune with a domain-specific view of acculturation of South Asian immigrants in Canada. Family is a private domain and South Asian mothers exhibit more interdependent orientations with regard to family roles and relations. South Asian mothers in this study score higher than Canadian mothers on family allocentrism and on Asian values. The Asian values scale also comprises several family related items. However, I do not have a comparison group of South Asians living in their home country, so it is possible that this pattern of inter/independent orientations in different domains is not an effect of acculturation but is also seen in South Asians living in South Asia. With increasing westernization in the urban areas in South Asia, there has been a change in people's way of living, attitudes and values.

The results of this study also show the inadequacy of a dichotomous classification of cultures as individualistic and collectivistic. Canada has been classified as an individualistic culture (Hofstede, 1980), but I found that both Canadian and South Asian participants score higher on relationality than on individualism or collectivism. Researchers have shown that women are more relational than men even in individualistic cultures (Kashima et al., 1995) and since the adult participants in this study are only women, most responses of participants in both groups are relational. It can also be that mothers are more relational than non-mothers in a cultural group.

Closely related to self-construal are the constructs of modernity and traditionalism. Modernization entails a change from normative collectivism, that is, giving more importance to one's ingroup above individual rights, to normative individualism, that is, giving more importance to individual rights and prerogatives (Kağitçibaşi, 1997). South Asian mothers gave more importance to both traditional and modern values than their Canadian counterparts. The results also demonstrate that modernity and traditionalism are unrelated to each other for South Asian participants. For South Asians there does not seem to be a conflict between traditional and modern values. They can be modern on ideas like democracy or scientific thinking but at the same time follow traditional family roles and family hierarchy. However, for Canadians, modernity and traditionalism were inversely related to each other. Perhaps coexistence of seemingly opposite constructs is appropriate only for people from some cultures, for example, South Asia, and may not apply to Canadians. The same construct can show different

properties in different cultures. Independence and interdependence are not inherently opposite to each other but can coexist, moreso in certain cultures than in others. Research done with university students in India also showed that the self-construal of these students can be best described as a combination of individualism and collectivism (Sinha & Tripathi, 1996).

When asked about what they think is most important for their children to learn, most mothers in both groups said that it is most important for their child to become independent. Mothers in both cultures had high expectations for their children for both individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals. It is likely that the socialization goals listed in the questionnaire are fairly common concerns for children at this age in all cultures. South Asian mothers gave importance to individualistic socialization goals perhaps because they think that it is important for their children to achieve individualistic goals in order to be successful in Canada. I also found that SA mothers who scored high on heritage culture maintenance also had high expectations for both individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals. So while South Asian mothers themselves participate less in the North American culture, they may want their children to be integrated and participate in the North American culture and they give importance to individualistic socialization goals. It could be that South Asian mothers aspire to be integrated and participate in the North American culture, but they are not able to do so due to other factors that restrict their choices.

While South Asian mothers value individualistic socialization goals, they may not actually pursue these goals in their socialization practices. South Asian

mothers' stories reflected their interdependent orientations in comparison to the Canadian mothers' stories and during story-telling they encouraged more interdependence in their children than Canadian mothers. Perhaps South Asian mothers unconsciously endorse interdependent orientations even though they recognize the importance of independence in their children. Parents understand that in order to be successful in the Canadian culture, their children should be independent but it could be that they do not realize that socialization occurs in day-to-day interactions and during story-telling mothers are unaware of the messages that they might be communicating to their children. In another study about the retention of minority language among South Asian immigrants in Canada, researchers found that SA mothers had positive attitudes about the maintenance of their minority language and wanted their children to learn the minority language. However, in they did not make much effort to expose their children to the minority language through media or other activities (Nagpal & Nicoladis, in press).

Independence is a broad construct and can be defined and developed in different ways. Giving freedom and autonomy to children in story-telling makes children independent thinkers and encourages them to think creatively. On the other hand, urging the child to tell a complete and structured story may also make them independent and autonomous story-tellers. While both Canadian and South Asian mothers might encourage independence in their children they can have different conceptualizations of independence and different views regarding what will make their children more independent. South Asian mothers emphasized that

the child should tell a complete story with a proper beginning and ending, perhaps because they expected their children to become independent story-tellers at a young age. South Asian children told longer and more structured stories than Canadian children, which is probably because of differences in the expectations of South Asian and Canadian mothers with regard to story-telling.

The results from the narrative data used in this study are consistent with the previous literature on differences in self-orientations between people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures living in their home country (e.g., Wang & Leichtman, 2000). This study included children between 4 and 7 years and even at this age one can see differences in inter/independent orientations in Canadian and South Asian children. These children will become more like Canadian children as they are exposed to more Canadian culture in school or other venues outside of home. Children in immigrant families may start to resemble the host nationals in their self-orientations and behaviors by the time they grow up. Only longitudinal data about children's self orientations as they continue to live in Canada can help identify the age at which the influence of the host culture starts to become more significant. In studies on learning of the host language, researchers have found that when children begin to go to school they start to speak the language in the host culture more than their native language (Castonguay, 1998). However, no longitudinal work is available to understand the acculturation process of children in immigrant families.

The results of this study demonstrate that in family roles and relationships South Asian immigrants in Canada display interdependent orientations. Private

domains, like family relations are more resilient to the influence of the host culture than public domains like education and employment. At the same time, similar to their Canadian counterparts, South Asian mothers want their children to become independent and they give importance to individualistic socialization goals along with collectivistic socialization goals. In practice however, they are more influenced by their own self-orientations and during day-to-day interactions, they might encourage interdependence in their children more than independence.

Future Directions

Acculturation is a complex construct that can be influenced by a number of factors (Berry, 1997). In the absence of much interaction with the outside culture, family socialization largely influences children's self-orientations. As children start to interact with the outside community in school and other activity groups, the influence of the host culture increases. In order to understand the process of acculturation and the influence of family and outside society in children's self orientations, we need to collect longitudinal data on various factors that influence acculturation. The process of acculturation can only be fully understood by following immigrant parents and children as they live in the host society for a longer time.

When we study immigrants we also need to have a comparative group of participants living in the home culture, in order to tease apart the effect of acculturation. With increasing globalization and communication in the last two decades, there have material and cultural changes in several nations of the world. For example, in India, with the opening up of the economy in early 1990s there

have been many changes in the lifestyle of people in urban India. In addition, there is increased exposure to western media. Having a comparative group of people in their home country can help to better understand acculturation in immigrant groups. Ideally, one needs to study immigrants before they immigrate and follow them up in the process of acculturation in the host nation. However, that may not be possible in research due to practical limitations.

In this study, I compare mothers mainly on measures of interdependence. The results on some measures indicate that South Asian mothers also score higher on independent orientations than Canadian mothers. I think that future studies should include more measures for independence in order to fully assess their independent orientations. With increasing globalization and communication among world cultures, studies in the area of acculturation and immigration are useful for organizing intervention efforts for successful adaptation of immigrants. Moreover, the sample size of this study is small and so we have lower power to detect group differences and correlations among various constructs. It will be useful to expand this study to a larger group of participants.

Conclusion

The findings from this study demonstrate the limitations of using a dichotomous classification of cultures into individualistic or collectivistic cultures. Independence and interdependence are more appropriately described using a domain specific approach. While South Asians were more interdependent than Canadians in some domains (such as family relations), they were similar to Canadians in other domains (such as education). This study also reiterates the

utility of a mixed methods approach to study cultural differences in people's attitudes or preferences. Observational measures can complement self-report data to provide a fuller understanding of people's attitudes and behaviors.

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APPENDIX 1

Background Information

Date: _____
Researcher: _____
Subject Code: _____

General information

Age:
Marital status: Married □ Widowed □ Other _____
Married since:_____

*Year or arrival in Canada: (Mother) _____ (Father) _____
Languages known
Mother Father

*Any previous country (or countries), other than India (or Canada), that you have lived in?

*Why did you immigrate to Canada?
- Employment
- Education
- Family immigration
- Other (specify)

*Your status in Canada
- Citizen
- Permanent Resident
- Work Permit
- Student visa

*Do you have any relatives in Canada?

*If yes, who?
_____
_____
_____
How often do you interact with your relatives in Canada?

Everyday □ Every week □ Every month □ Rarely □
How often do your child interact with your relatives in Canada?

Everyday □ Every week □ Every month □ Rarely □

*How often do you interact with your relatives in India?

Everyday □ Every week □ Every month □ Rarely □

*How often do your child interact with your relatives in India?

Everyday □ Every week □ Every month □ Rarely □

Highest educational achievement (or years of schooling):
Father: _____
Mother: _____
Occupation:
Father:_____
_____
_____
Mother:_____
_____
_____

Information about other family members living with the child:
Age of the child: _____

Age	Gender	Relation to the child

* I am proficient in English

Not at all		Proficient		Very proficient
1	2	3	4	5

* My child is proficient in English

Not at all		Proficient		Very proficient
1	2	3	4	5

What languages do the family members use in speaking with each other?
You can fill this table to explain

	Child	Mother	Father			
Child						
Mother						
Father						

Example:

	Child	Mother	Father	Younger sibling	Older sibling	Grandmother	Grandfather
Child	-						
Mother	Hindi	-					
Father	English	Hindi	-				
Younger sibling	Hindi/Eng	Hindi	English	-			
Older sibling	English	Hindi	English	English	-		
Grandmother	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	-	
Grandfather	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi	-

Which activity/activities does your child engage in outside the home

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

__.

* Which state in India did you come from?

How much time do you spend with your child on a normal week?

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
No. of hours							

What activities do you like to do best with the child?

_____
_____
____
_____
____

*Rate on a scale from 1 to five, whether you agree with the following statements:

	Not at all				completely
I identify myself as Indian	1	2	3	4	5
I identify myself as Canadian	1	2	3	4	5

NOTE: the items marked with * were used only for SA sample. A third form of the background information questionnaire had blank spaces for the country or origin and was used with participants from other countries like Bangladesh or Pakistan. These spaces were filled by the researcher before the questionnaire was handed over to the participants.

APPENDIX 2

Relational, Individualism and Collectivism Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000)

Please tick one out of the three statements given for each item that in your opinion describes you the best.

1. I think it is most important in life to

□ Have personal integrity/be true to myself (I)
□ Have good personal relationships with people who are important to me. (R)
□ Work for causes to improve the well-being of my group. (C)

2. I would teach my children

□ To know themselves and develop their own potential as a unique individual. (I)
□ To be caring to their friends and attentive to their needs. (R)
□ To be loyal to the group to which they belong. (C)

3. I regard myself as

□ Someone with his or her own free will. (I)
□ A good partner and friend. (R)
□ A good member of my group. (C)

4. I think honor can be attained by

□ Being true to myself. (I)
□ Being true to people with whom I have personal relationships. (R)
□ Being true to my groups such as my extended family, work group, religious and social groups. (C)

5. I would regard someone as a good employee for a company if

□ He or she takes personal responsibility for the task assigned. (I)
□ He or she gets on well and works cooperatively with other colleagues. (R)
□ He or she works for the development of the organization or the work group. (C)

6. The most satisfying activity for me is

□ Doing something for myself. (I)
□ Doing something for someone who is important to me. (R)

□ Doing something for my group (e.g., my school, church, club, neighborhood, and community). (C)

7. When faced with an important personal decision to make,

□ I ask myself what I really want to do most. (I)
□ I talk with my partner or best friend. (R)
□ I talk to my family and relatives. (C)

8. I would feel proud if

□ I was praised in the newspaper for what I have done. (I)
□ My close friend was praised in the newspaper for what he or she has done. (R)
□ A group to which I belong was praised in the newspaper for what they have done. (C)

9. When I attend a musical concert

□ I feel that enjoying music is a very personal experience. (I)
□ I feel enjoyment if my company (partner, friend, guest) also enjoys it. (R)
□ I feel good to be part of the group. (C)

10. I am most concerned about

□ My relationship with myself (I)
□ My relationship with a specific person. (R)
□ My relationship with my group. (C)

APPENDIX 3

Family Allocentrism Index (Lay et al., 1998)

Rate on a scale from 1 to 6 whether you agree with the following statements

			I Agree			
Not at all						*Completely*
1	2	3	4	5	6	

1. I resemble my parents very much.
2. My family likes me to work very hard.
3. I follow my own feelings even if it makes my parents very unhappy.
4. My family's achievements honour me.
5. The ability to obtain good family relations is a sign of maturity.
6. After marriage parents should keep out of vital decisions of their children.
7. My family's opinion is important to me.
8. To know I can rely on my family makes me happy.
9. I would look after my parents in their old age.
10. If a family member has a problem I feel responsible.
11. Even when I am not at home I consider the opinions of my parents.
12. I would be ashamed to refuse a favour to my parents.
13. My happiness depends on the happiness of my family.
14. I have obligations and responsibilities in my family.
15. There are a lot of differences between me and other members of my family.
16. It is important to get along with the family at any cost.
17. One should keep thoughts that could annoy the family to oneself.
18. My needs are different from that of my family.
19. When I leave my parents' home they cannot count on me any more.
20. I respect the wishes of my parents even if they are not my own.
21. It is important to feel independent from your family.

APPENDIX 4

Modernity and Traditionalism (Ramirez, 1991)

Please express your feelings about each statement below by indicating whether you:

Agree strongly (4)
Agree mildly (3)
Disagree mildly (2)
Disagree strongly (1).

1. Husbands and wives should share equally in housework

4 3 2 1

2. All institutions should follow a democratic process of decision-making

4 3 2 1

3. I prefer to live in a small town or a friendly neighborhood where everyone knows each other.

4 3 2 1

4. Women with children at home should not have full-time career or job outside of home

4 3 2 1

5. Students should not question the teachings of their teachers or professors.

4 3 2 1

6. I prefer to live in a large city.

4 3 2 1

7. Husbands and wives should share equally in child-rearing and child care**.**

4 3 2 1

8. In industry or government, when two persons are equally qualified, the older person should get the job.

4 3 2 1

9. It's hard to meet and get to know people in cities.

4 3 2 1

10. Women should assume their rightful place in business and in the professions along with men.

4 3 2 1

11. Laws should be obeyed without question.

4 3 2 1

12. You should know your family history so you can pass it on to your children.

4 3 2 1

13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in bringing up children.

4 3 2 1

14. Students should have decision-making power in schools and universities.

4 3 2 1

15. It does not matter to me if my job requires me to move away from the place where I have my roots

4 3 2 1

16. Husbands and wives should participate equally in making important family decisions.

4 3 2 1

17. With institutions, the amount of power a person has should not be determined by either age or gender.

4 3 2 1

18. I prefer the excitement of a large city to relaxed living in a small town.

4 3 2 1

19. Children should always be respectful of their parents and older relatives.

4 3 2 1

20. Traditional observances such as church services or graduation ceremonies add meaning to life.

4 3 2 1

21. Adult children should visit their parents regularly.

4 3 2 1

22. We should not let concerns about time interfere with our friendships ad interactions with others.

4 3 2 1

23. Children should be taught to be loyal to their families.

4 3 2 1

24. The biblical version of the creation of the universe should not be taught in schools.

4 3 2 1

25. Children should be encouraged to be independent of their families at an early age.

4 3 2 1

26. If you are not careful, people can cause you to waste your time and you will never get anything accomplished.

4 3 2 1

27. Most traditional ceremonies are outmoded and wasteful of time and money.

4 3 2 1

28. There is no doubt that the universe was created by a supreme being.

4 3 2 1

29. Children should be taught to always feel close to their families**.**

4 3 2 1

30. We get into such a hurry sometimes that we fail to enjoy life.

4 3 2 1

31. Everything a person does reflects on her/his family.

4 3 2 1

32. Eventually, science will explain all the mysteries of life.

4 3 2 1

33. A person should only be responsible to himself or herself.

4 3 2 1

34. No matter how many advances we make through science, we will never be able to understand many important things in life.

4 3 2 1

35. Most religions are primarily folklore and superstition.

4 3 2 1

36. When making important decisions about my life, I always like to consult members of my family.

4 3 2 1

37. Religion adds meaning to our mechanized and impersonal lives.

4 3 2 1

38. If my family does not agree with one of my major life decisions, I go ahead and do what I think is right anyway.

4 3 2 1

39. Traditional and ritual serve to remind us of the rich history of our institutions and our society.

4 3 2 1

40. Traditions limit our freedom.

4 3 2 1

APPENDIX 5

Socialization goals (Keller et al., 2006)

Now you will find a collection of opinions that relate to socialization goals that parents might pursue during the first 7 years of life.

Please express your agreement or disagreement spontaneously

	I agree					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	not at all					*completely*

1. learn to control emotions.
2. develop close personal relationships.
3. develop joy of life.
4. learn to understand the emotions of others.
5. develop independence.
6. develop self-confidence.
7. learn to obey the parents.
8. become assertive.
9. learn to obey elderly persons.
10. learn to care for the wellbeing of others.
11. develop the ability of enforcement.
12. develop a sense of self-esteem.
13. learn to help others (mother, siblings).
14. learn to cheer up others.
15. develop creativity.
16. develop competitiveness.
17. develop a sense of self.
18. develop attachment to the family.

APPENDIX 6

Asian Values Scale (Kim & Hong, 2004)

Please rate on a scale from 1 to 4 whether you agree with the following statements

	I agree			
	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Completely
One should be able to question a person in authority position				
One need not minimize or depreciate one's own achievement				
Younger persons should be able to confront their elders				
One need not remain reserved and tranquil				
One need not focus all energies on one's studies				
One need not be able to resolve all psychological problems on one's own.				
One should not make waves				
One should be discouraged about talking about one's accomplishments				
One need not follow the role expectations (gender, family hierarchy) of one's family.				
One need not achieve academically in order to make one's parents proud				
Family's reputation is not the primary social concern				

One should not deviate from familial and social norms
The worst thing one can do is to bring disgrace to one's family reputation
One should think about one's group before oneself
Occupational failure does not bring shame to the family
One's achievements should be viewed as family's achievements
Educational and career achievements need not be one's top priority
One need not control one's expression of emotions
When one receives a gift one should reciprocate with a gift of equal or greater value
One should consider the needs of others before considering one's own needs
One should have sufficient inner resources to solve emotional problems
One should avoid bringing displeasure to one's ancestors
Children should not place their parents in retirement homes
One should be humble and modest
Modesty is an important quality for a person

APPENDIX 7

Vancouver Acculturation Index (Ryder, Aldenm & Paulhus, 2000)

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling one of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.
Many of these questions will refer to your heritage culture, meaning the culture that has influenced you most (other than North American culture). It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background. If there are several such cultures, pick the one that has influenced you most (e.g. Irish, Chinese, Mexican, Black). If you do no feel that you have been influenced by any other culture, please try to identify a culture that may have had an impact on previous generation of your family.
Please write your heritage culture in the space provided: _____

Use the following key to help guide your answers:

1. I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2. I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3. I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4. I would be willing to marry a North American person

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5. I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6. I enjoy social activities with typical North American people

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7. I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

8. I am comfortable working with typical North American people

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

9. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10. I enjoy North American entertainment (e.g. movies, music)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12. I often behave in ways that are 'typically North American'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

13. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

14. It is important for me maintain or develop North American cultural practices

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

15. I believe in the values of my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

16. I believe in mainstream North American values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

17. I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18. I enjoy typical North American jokes and humor

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

19. I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

20. I am interested in having North American friends

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

APPENDIX 8

Story beginnings (Wang & Leichtman, 2000)

Grandpa's birthday: One day, it is grandpa's birthday. Bear's Mom and Dad take him (her) to Grandpa's house. Tell me what happens next.

Grandma's house: Piggy's Mom and Dad are going on a trip. They send Piggy to Grandma's house and say goodbye to him (her). Tell me what happens next.

Pig and the bear siblings: One day, the bear brothers (sisters) are playing together. They see a little pig playing with a really great truck. The younger bear wants this truck very badly, but the little pig doesn't want to give it to him (her). So, the younger bear grabs the truck form the little pig. Tell me what happens next.

Dog and fox: One day, at school, dog and fox are fighting for a toy truck. They don't want to share the truck with each other. Tell me what happens next.

The favourite toy: Here is a little boy (girl). His (Her) Dad and Mom have bought him all kinds of toys. Among these toys, he (she) likes his truck (pretty doll) best. Tell me a story about this boy (girl)

The Geese: Winter is coming. Wild geese are leaving for the South. Before they leave, the goose leader tells everybody that the journey will be full of dangers. So everyone should fly very close together. A little goose says to himself (herself), "Flying together will be very slow. I'd like to fly all by myself." So he (she) leaves the group, starting alone for the South. Tell me what happens next.

Art class: One day, in art class, the teacher praises the little boy (girl) because his (her) painting is the best in the class. Tell me what happens next.

A race: Brown Bunny and White Bunny are best friends. One day, they are running in a race together. Both of them want to win the race very badly. Tell me what happens next.

Doggy and Dad: Sunday morning Doggy's mom is going to the market. After seeing Mom off, only Doggy and his (her) Dad stay at home. Tell me what happens next.

Lost in store: One day, this little boy (girl) goes to the market with his (her) Mom. There are so many toys in the store! The little boy (girl) can't take his (her) eyes off them. Then he (she) gets lost and can't find his (her) mom. Tell me what happens next.

Monkey's room: One day, Bunny comes to ask his (her) friend monkey to go out and play. They are just about to leave when Monkey's mom stops them. "Monkey clean up your room first before you go out," Mom says to monkey. Tell me what happens next.

APPENDIX 9
Pictures Cards for story beginnings

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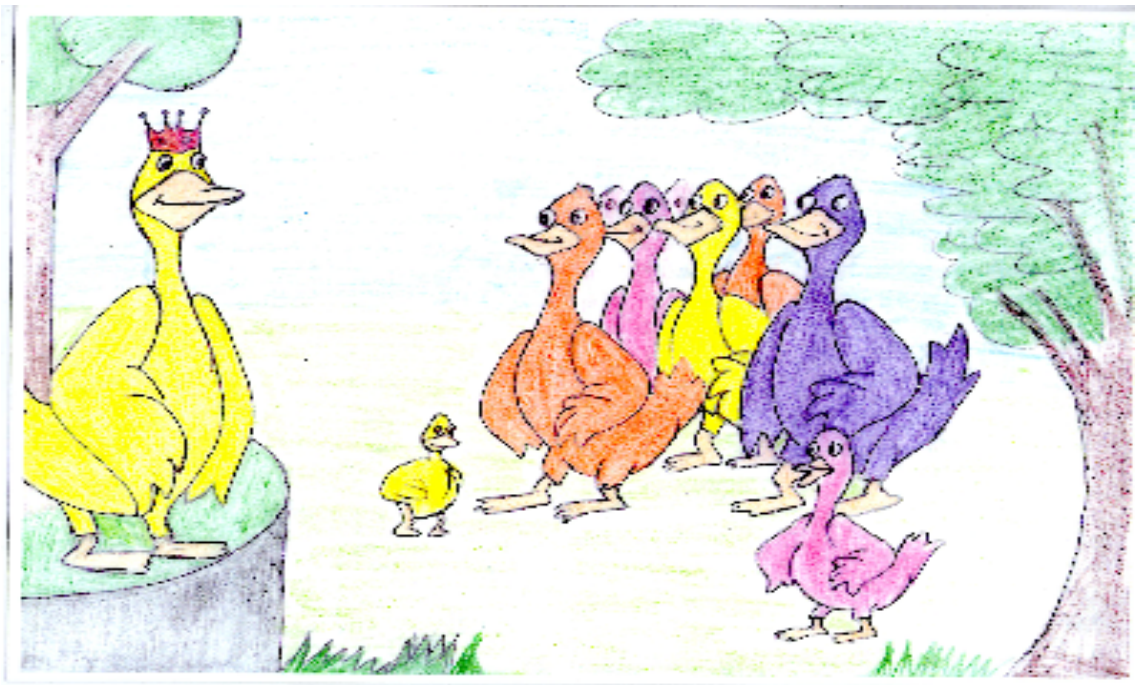

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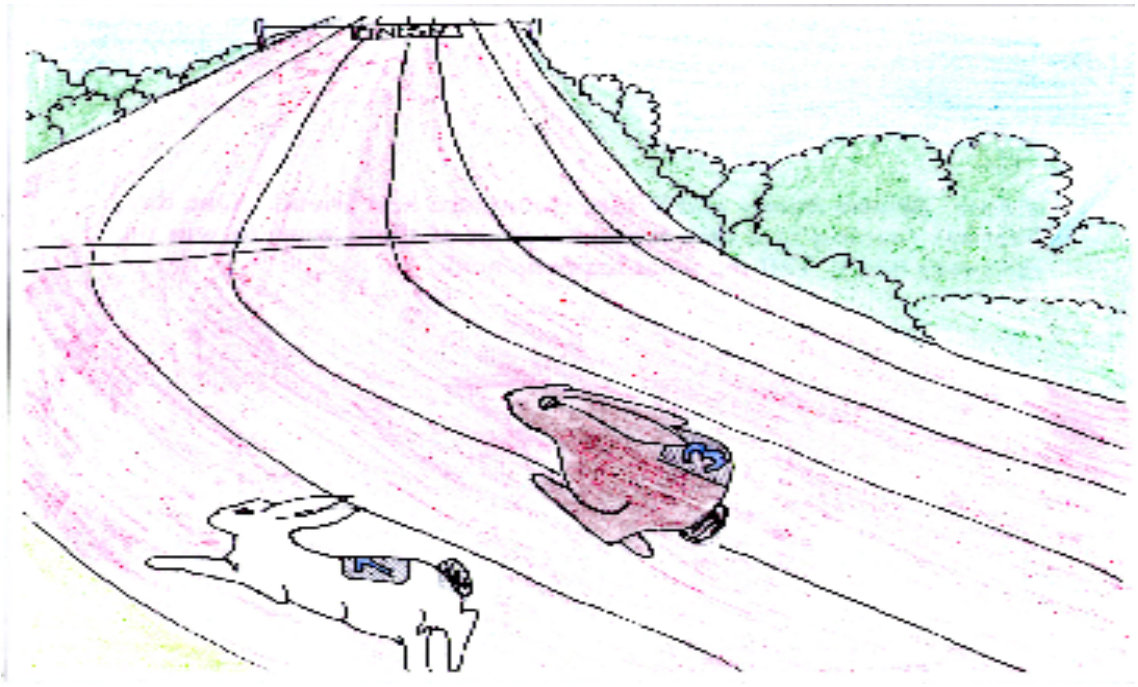

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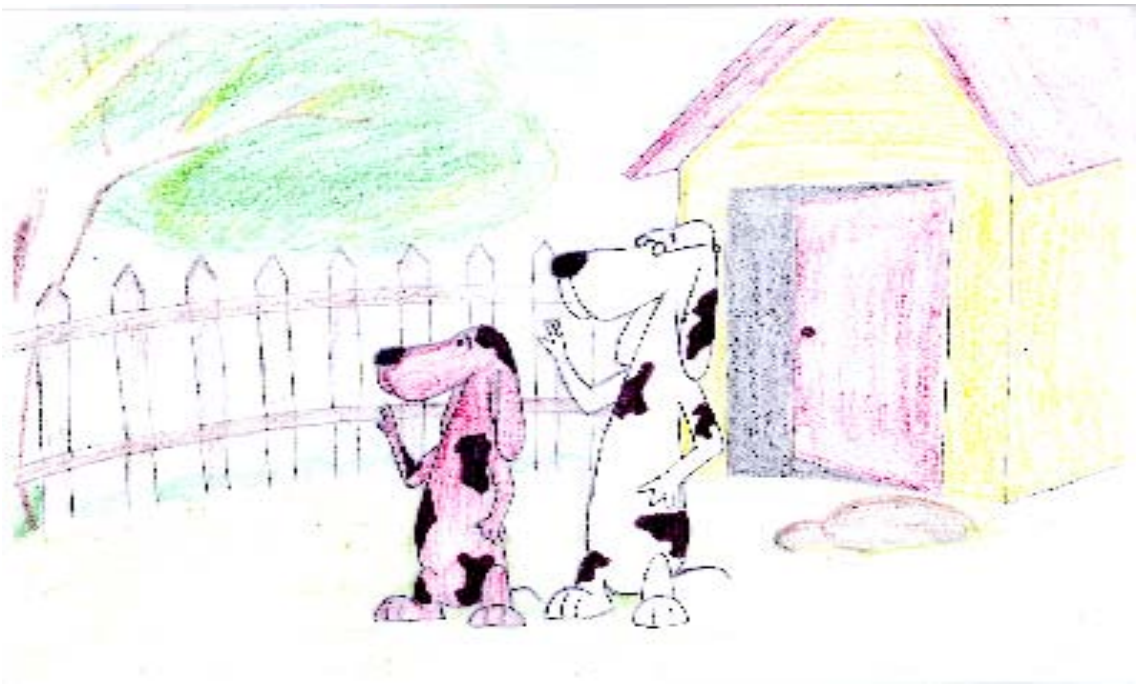

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