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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

TO BE INDIAN (HYPHEN) AMERICAN:
COMMUNICATING
DIASPORA, IDENTITY AND HOME

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

ARCHANA A. PATHAK
Norman, Oklahoma
1998
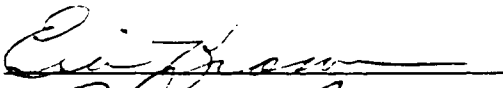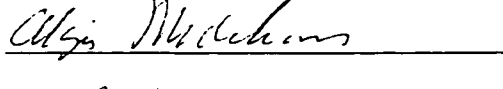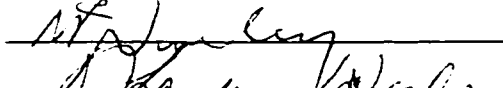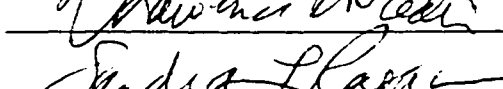
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COMMUNICATING
DIASPORA. IDENTITY AND HOME

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY

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Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to three individuals who passed away during my doctoral program. My great-aunt, Umiyagauri Pandya was a truly magical person. Her dedication to my family transcended time and space. Having Nancy Rach Fisher as a teacher, mentor and friend made me want to teach. I hope I can touch my students the way she touched me. Most importantly, my grandfather, B. M. Mehta, has always been my guardian angel. His love and faith has propelled me forward always and continues to do so.

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ABSTRACT

In this postmodern world, the notion of "identity" is defined as in crisis. This is because the way in which one defines identity is no longer limited by space or time. This crisis is most visible when one considers the growing use of the hyphen in the process of labeling self. Furthermore, though immigration into the United States continues, the type of immigrant coming into this country is continually changing. This change is redefining the notion of "Americanness" at the same time that it is changing the sense of one's original culture.

Focusing on the post-1965 immigrant experiences of Asian Indian-Americans, this dissertation serves to examine the notion of identity, diaspora and home. A multi-method study utilizing hermeneutics, ethnography, survey method and phenomenology, this work presents a theory of cultural fusion. Furthermore, this work serves to critique adaptation theory as it is presented in the intercultural communication literature.

Informed by a postcolonial perspective, this dissertation examines the notion of hyphenated identities and how identity is both preformed and communicated. Through observations, ethnographic interviews, and survey responses, it is clear that Indian-Americans do engage in cultural fusion, creating a culture in which both original cultures are continuously present and visible. Additionally, as culture is dynamic and continuously changing, the notion of "Indianness" and "Americanness" is continually being re-defined by and within the Indian-American community.

This idea of cultural fusion is best examined utilizing Jean Gebser's theory of civilizational expression. In his text, The Ever-Present Origin, Gebser explains the

structures of consciousness as ways of being and structuring perception. Utilizing

Gebser's work, this dissertation presents a historical hermeneutics of Indian-American

identity, examining issues such as the concept of model minority, frozen-in-time

memory, religion as a system of cultural preservation and the westernization of the

world.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

There is a two-directional nature to diasporic historicity: both past and future oriented within the history of the present. Overdetermined as it is by multiple histories, the postcolonial location feels like an intersection, fraught with multiple adjacencies.

<div align="right">

Diasporic Mediations
R. Radhakrishnan, 1996, p. xxvii

</div>

Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning.

<div align="right">

The Interpretation of Cultures
Clifford Geertz, 1973, p. 5

</div>

The study of culture has been a mainstay of the social sciences for decades. However, the ways in which culture is examined and which issues within culture are now considered important have changed with the post-modern turn. Furthermore, as the world changes and geographical boundaries fade away, what culture is and what defines it has also changed. One prime example of this change is the emerging awareness of new identities and the notion of identity based on culture, history and power rather than geographical location. These "new" identities are labeled in several ways, one of which is hyphenated identity. The notion of the hyphen has been examined in some of the literature on African-Americans, however, it has not been fully examined in regard to other cultures of the hyphen. Furthermore, hyphenated identities raise questions about one's sense of belonging and the relationship between one's identity and where one belongs.

There are several questions which are dealt with in this dissertation about the relationship between identity, the hyphen and "home." Specifically, how do individuals explain their identity when their labels are hyphenated? How do individuals label, define and discuss the notion of "home?" How do individuals negotiate between and among the various identities that define them? How do individuals work out both internal and external tensions that are inherent to the experiences of multiple identities? How are these questions different for Asian-Indians in America as compared to other groups which also carry hyphenated names? These questions are all based on a foundational premise that must also be understood. The focus of this work concerns how one communicates one's identity, to oneself and others, and how the self is shaped by the forces of culture, meaning and motive. In other words, the underlying goal of this work is to examine how identity is shaped by and a product of communication.

Many studies of immigrant behavior within the United States have been done. It is an area of study that social science has been fascinated with for many years. In regard to Asian-Indian immigrants in the United States, there are several key points which are vital and warrant attention. First, this is a group of immigrants that came to the United States voluntarily. This notion of voluntarism is based on United States immigration and naturalization office assumptions about what drives populations to leave their native lands and come to the United States. For post-1965 Indian immigrants, there was no external economic or political force driving them out of India. These immigrants were not economically, religiously, or politically persecuted. Furthermore, though India is a "third world" nation and an impoverished land, the post-1965 Indian immigrant was not an impoverished member of Indian society, nor was he

a political insurgent seeking protection. Asian-Indian immigrants are in some ways the quintessential immigrants in that they came to the United States to follow the "American Dream." This dream was an economic dream of their own making. It was a dream of even more than they already had; a dream of wealth according to Western standards. However, unlike previous immigrants, Indian-Americans carried none of the stigma attached to other immigrant groups. They were not the poor, unwanted, unsuccessful members of their own country who were looking for a place to start anew. Rather, they were the upper echelon of their own society, looking to further improve their lives. These Indians had economic and social security in their own society, however, they emigrated to the United States to further their personal economic strength and gain greater opportunity, educational and otherwise. Asian-Indians immigrated so that they could come to America, not so they could leave India.

A second element of Asian-Indian immigration into the United States is that most of the post-1965 immigrants have been very much an upper class population. Though the immigration demographics have changed in the past 5 to 10 years, this study is going to focus on the families that have been settled in the United States for the past ten to 25 years. The post-1965 population that came to the United States included upper class, terminally educated, wealthy citizens, with high social status. These individuals were the urban elite of India, members of its upper-middle class and upper castes. Their economic status was comparable to the middle class of the United States and their social class was comparable to the upper class of the United States. Because this group was the primary group to immigrate to the United States and made up the post-1965 immigration wave, this study is going to focus on that specific portion of the

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Indian-American population. India is a very diverse, complex cultural system and by no means can this study examine Indians or Indian culture as a whole. Furthermore, it is also misleading to assume that this work can extend to various other Indian populations, though certain aspects of the research may apply to other Indian groups. It is important then, to identify who and what this study is about.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine the issues of identity and home as they are faced by Asian-Indians in America. In specific, I am interested in the discourse of double consciousness, hyphenated identity and how Indian-Americans cope with the dissonance between the identity they rhetorically create and the identity that they embody. The notion of double consciousness originates in the writings of W. E. B. DuBois and will be discussed further in this chapter. Also, this sense of double consciousness leads to somewhat conspicuous differences between how Indianness is talked about by Indian-Americans and how Indianness is physically expressed.

This research will focus on upper class, upper caste Indian-Americans. The justification for examining specifically upper class, upper caste Indians is that the post-1965 immigration saw a large influx of upper class Indians. Most Indians that entered the United States in the post 1965 wave were either white collar employees with terminal degrees or students working toward graduate or terminal degrees. There are further, more complex issues of class, caste and economic status in relation to Indian immigration into the United States, however, in the interest of establishing parameters, this study will not specifically focus on these issues.

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Another unique element in studying the Asian Indian immigrant population in the United States is that this society is in the throes of its first complete cycle of immigrant behavior. Indian families are finally reaching a peak where their children are old enough to be active members of society. However, they are also young enough to either have been born in the United States rather than in India or been brought to the United States immediately following birth or in early childhood. This gives us a rare, but vital glimpse into the world of two generations, two worlds, two cultures simultaneously coming from one family. That is why this study is going to take an intergenerational approach to focusing on specific sets of attitudes. Here I define "parental attitudes" as attitudes most common among Indian-Americans who have spent their childhood and adolescence in India and came to the United States after completing their primary education. "Youth attitudes" are the attitudes most common among Indian-Americans born in the United States. Finally, there are attitudes that exist between these two positions. These in-between attitudes depend on when an individual immigrated to the United States and to what extent that individual received any secondary, undergraduate, or graduate education in the United States.

The idea that attitudes differ among Indians who came to the United States later in life versus those who came earlier in life or were born in the United States raises important questions regarding age and immigration. I posit that one's age when one immigrates to the United States greatly influences one's sense of identity and how one both rhetorically creates and physically embodies hyphenated identity. There is a relationship between a person's age at the time of immigration to the United States and their attitude toward Indian culture and American society. Similarly, there is a

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relationship between the number of years one has lived in the United States and her attitude toward Indian culture and American society.

Recent studies in neuroscience indicate that one is biologically more capable of learning earlier in life. Research shows that human infants have great neurological capacity to learn skills such as language, motor skills, and emotional expression while in infancy and early childhood. Nash (1997) explains that "the brain's greatest growth spurt draws to a close after the age of 10, when the balance between synapse creation and atrophy abruptly shifts." Nash (1997) continues by explaining that "among the first circuits the brain constructs are those that govern the emotions." Additionally, a child begins to tune into the melody of its mother's speech even before birth. Once born, the next six years will involve the child's brain setting up the circuitry needed to comprehend speech and language. Language skills and emotional expression are culturally bound. Hence, it is possible to then argue that it is much easier to learn culture earlier in life rather than later in life. In fact, the culture one is exposed to in infancy and early childhood can be such a powerful influence that, in many ways, it becomes like a "genetic code" in that engaging in those behaviors is reflexive rather than cognitive. Nash (1997) explains that the brain writes its instructions onto the synapses that charge through it like shots of electricity. This is where we "code" our experiences and store them. The behaviors and beliefs that we learn early in life are entirely a part of who we are. Studies further indicate that though learning is ongoing throughout the lifespan, it greatly diminishes in potency over time. Nash (1997) explains that "the ability to learn a second language is highest between birth and the age

of six, then undergoes a steady and inexorable decline. Many adults still manage to learn new languages, but usually only after great struggle."

Thus, the skills we learn later in life may always require greater effort on our part in order to achieve success. This would then indicate that the process of learning a new culture becomes more difficult later in life. Even if one were to successfully learn a culture, achieving a level of comfort would certainly be much more difficult to reach and maintain. This argument then brings into question specific assumptions in the intercultural adaptation model of Communication. If one's capacity to learn is diminished as one gets older, this would then indicate that length of time in a culture is not the greatest factor of adaptation. Rather, it is when one is first exposed to the culture that most influences one's ability to adapt successfully. The brain's flexibility is diminished as one gets older and learning, as well as emotional adaptation, becomes much more difficult. Thus, there may even be an ideal age at which to expose children to several cultures in order to secure their learning of those cultures (Nash, 1997).

Gender also appears to be a factor influencing cultural adaptation. Many older Indians tend to uphold a traditionalist attitude manifesting orthodox Hindu dharmic beliefs which constitutes a perception that India is a "better" place. These beliefs include the belief that women should be seen and understood in relation to the men in their lives. Thus, a woman is first her father's daughter, then her husband's wife and finally her son's mother. These attitudes are most clearly expressed in the closed and cloistered approach toward Indian women who are young adults. These women are usually not allowed to date anyone. They are also not allowed to go out at night unless they are with male members of the family. Such behaviors express a strong patriarchal

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system in India. This strong patriarchal system is upheld by both older Indian men and women in the United States. Young Indian-American men then who moved to the United States during adolescence tend to parallel their parents' views on specific issues such as women, marriage and family. However, these same men also tend to lean toward more Western attitudes about alcohol and pre-marital sex because of their exposure to American society. (see my work on arranged marriages. Pathak, forthcoming). Indian women, on the other hand, tend to be more drawn to the standards of western culture in regard to issues of women's rights and marriage. However, they tend to feel more angst about the loss of Indian cultural values and the need to make sure their children learn the Indian ways, especially concerning sexual behavior and drug and alcohol consumption.

For many immigrant groups, the question of identity is pervasive and ever present. Identity is an essential expression of who we are in relation to others. One's identity is informed by her or his interaction with others and the world around her or him, and, it is also a result of one's own ways of being in the world. The notion of identity is difficult to fully explicate and discuss due to how it changes for individuals as they find new homes and leave old homes.

This notion of immigrant identity and home is explored through the critical perspective of diaspora. Radhakrishnan (1996) defines diasporic location as "the space of the hyphen that tries to coordinate within an evolving relationship." This concept of hyphenated identity refers to how we label the forces that shape our identity. As geographical boundaries are being dissolved and the globe is easier to traverse spatially, people's identities easily become hyphenated. It is important to note that mobility has

bought hyphenation to the forefront. However, hyphenation is result of the expansion of one's own hermeneutic horizons. As boundaries break down, hyphenation becomes pervasive. This breaking down of boundaries is most visible through mobility, however, other forces such as technology also serve to break down boundaries. Thus, hyphenated identities have become pervasive in light of modernity and post-modernity as all levels of boundaries are continuously being broken. Additionally, as boundaries break down, there is an increased awareness of difference. This awareness then serves to illuminate one's hyphenated identity.

Diaspora embodies the quest of return and specifically how this quest shapes one's hyphenated identity. This quest of return is most commonly thought of in geographical terms. The term diaspora specifically refers to a geographical concept. However, in light of the continual breakdown of boundaries, the quest of return can also refer to a return in time. For example, there is an underlying theme in popular Republican ideology that focuses on the return to better times in society. The term diaspora was originally utilized to examine the experiences of the Jewish communities residing throughout the world. Toni Morrison (1989) also examines the diaspora of African-Americans. The notion of diaspora is best understood through example. Asian-Indians living in the United States are a primary diasporic population. They are from India, their homeland, and live in the United States, the location of their "permanent residence."

For immigrants, there is a sense of double consciousness. The notion of double consciousness was first explained by W. E. B. DuBois in his seminal work, The Souls of Black Folk (1937). He explains it as,

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense

of always at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's

soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.

One ever feels his two-ness - an American and a Negro; two unrecoiled

strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength

alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,

- this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double

self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the

older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America

has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his

Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro

blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it

possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being

cursed or spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of

Opportunity closed roughly in his face. (1937/1986, pp. 8-9).

DuBois's notion of double consciousness offers a salient approach toward examining

the experiences of Indian-Americans. Indian-Americans are often faced with two

identities, two worlds, two consciousness structures that they must negotiate within and

among; and, in these negotiations they must often try to be flawless as they are the

prime indicators of one's Indianness or one's Americanness. These immigrants are

then, often caught between their two worlds. The first world is the one they come from.

It is the place of their birth, the place of their mother tongue. The second world is the

place they go/come to. This is the place where they now reside, where they earn money, where they raise and educate their children. Even the language used to describe the experience reflects an element of movement and difference. The worlds exist in relation to each other. There would be no "home," as such, if there wasn't another potential location of residence. Home, like identity, has become thematized because of mobility. The notion of home and location is further complicated by the way each of the places is constructed. Because most immigrants have left home and come to the location of their residence several years ago, their notion of home stems from collective memories as they are not aware of the changes that have occurred and continue to occur in the location of home. The notion of location, the place of their residence is constructed in relation to the home of their memories. How this location is seen is established in how it is compared to home. It is essentially imaginal.

Home is this ideal other place that people of the diaspora strive to return to. It is the "better" place. Location is the place immigrants have come to in order to gain something that they couldn't achieve at home. However, these immigrants do not necessarily acknowledge that they are leaving their home of origin because it lacks something they want or need. So, there is dissonance for them. Home is ideal but not practically perfect. Yet, this dissonance is never addressed because addressing it would require positioning oneself for or against the home of origin. Thus, when young children ask their parents to explain why the family left India if it was such a great place, the parents are caught in the contradiction between their actions and their rhetoric. They are forced to face the dissonance they live with everyday. In this process, home becomes an ideological terrain over which families struggle to find space

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and place. The battle is constituted of questions such as where one belongs, who one really is and how much the physical place one is in shapes who one is. For the youth, America is home, physically and emotionally. This shocks the parents in that they have never accepted the United States as their "home" and cannot understand how it is that their children do.

For Asian Indian parents, location of the United States represents better opportunity, both educational and businesswise, for themselves and their children. This means a highly physical standard of living, but not necessarily a more psychologically satisfying situation. Indian-American parents come here with the presumption that the United States is merely a physical resource for them, but they fail to realize the ideological structures that frame American society allowing for the affluence they seek. Hence, Indian-Americans are then drawn into an ideological battle about living physically American lives and psychically Indian lives. Thus Indian-American parents see the United States not as an ideological concept, but rather as merely a physical resource. They believe that they can separate the physical success from the ideological influences of such a society.

Once believing that they can control the ideological influences of Western society, Indian-Americans turn to Indian culture for their ideology. They often believe that once they have taken advantage of the affluence of Western society, they will return home to India. Most Asian Indians uphold a myth of return. This myth is that they will return to India as an intact family once the children are educated. However, there are certain basic fallacies in this myth. First, the myth represents the original ideals of the elders of the family who moved to the United States halfway throughout

their lives. It is not representative of United States born children who essentially see

the United States as their home. At this point, we see the potential for home and

location being constructed differently within a single family. For many first and second

generation children, the United States is home and the native land of their ancestors is

the location which partially shapes them. Their perspective directly contradicts their

parents' perspective.

Additionally, because the generations do not agree about where home is, the

notion of "home" becomes ideological in that it is no longer about a geographical

space. Rather, it is an emotional concept and there is always a sense of flux over its

boundaries. Like most immigrants, Indian-Americans tend to situate home according to

the specific interaction. For example, for many Indian-Americans refer to India as

home when talking about their history and their cultural identity, however, when faced

with a direct question, most refer to home as their place in the United States. Second,

there is never a neat and clean break where one can say the children have been

educated. Once the children are educated the question of the grandchildren's education

becomes an issue. This myth offers an interesting point of entry for the examination of

the notion of diaspora and the cultural adaptation of immigrants in the United States.

At this point, I would like to clarify the questions I propose in this dissertation as

well as the how I choose to structure my examination of these questions. I am

interested in the notion of double consciousness as it relates to peoples of hyphenated

identity. In specific, I want to know how Asian-Indian people see themselves. I am

interested in how they narrate their identity. Is the rhetorical construction of that

identity congruent with their embodied identity, and, if it is not, how do they cope with

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the dissonance between their rhetoric and their actions. Furthermore, I am interested in

what shapes the differences in how Indian youth see themselves and how their parents

see themselves. In fact, in some families, there is even a "generation" gap between

older children and younger children, with the one child being markedly more traditional

in their behavior than the other. Thus, I question the influence of the following factors

on the overall adaptation of immigrants: one's age at the time of emigration, the

number of years one spends in India prior to immigrating and the total number of years

one has been in United States.

Post-Colonial Perspective[1]

Post-colonialism is one of the primary perspectives utilized in examining the

cultural experiences of most of the non-western world. Though relatively little research

has been done about Indian-Americans, the existing research is primarily from a post-

colonial perspective (see Ganguly, 1994). In the following section, I present the post-

colonial perspective as it applies to this dissertation and to communication research in

general.

In order to effectively utilize a perspective in examining any communication

phenomenon, it is vital to place that perspective within the field and understand how

that perspective shapes and informs communication. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin

(1995), use the term post-colonial "to represent the continuing process of imperial

suppressions and exchanges throughout this diverse range of societies, in their

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[1] There is some discussion about the use of the term "post-/" rather than the term "postcolonial." I utilize the term post-colonial much in the same way it is utilized by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995). They define the term (with the hyphen) as "resonant with all the ambiguity and complexity of the many different cultural experiences it implicates . . . ." (p. 2). By no means am I referring to a temporal event,

institutions and their discursive practices (p. 3). In more basic terms, post-colonialism can be considered a perspective that primarily questions and critiques the western imperialist perspective in social science. The aspect of the term "western imperialist perspective" refers to the driving political force which generated research that upheld the superiority of the West in relation to the world and reinforced the importance of Western control over large portions of the world, beginning with the subjugation (seeing others as "subjects" of study) and the objectification and categorization of other peoples. However, post-colonialism is not solely a critique of western imperialism. It is also an examination of future directions in the study of culture. Post-colonialism works to move identity past issues of singular nationalities to issues of hybridity and diaspora. The notion of diasporic identity is the concept of hyphenated worlds (Asian-American, African-American) and the continual negotiation of these several identities within individual worlds.

Shome (1996) articulates two primary questions for the post-colonial scholar: "how do Western discursive practices, in their representations of the world and themselves, legitimize contemporary global power structures; and to what extent [do] the cultural texts of nations such as the United States and England reinforce the neo-imperial political practices of these nations?" (p. 42) She continues by arguing that it is important to investigate these two questions because they "illustrate how, in present times, discourses have become one of the primary means of imperialism. Whereas in the past, imperialism was about controlling the 'native' by colonizing her or him

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limiting the definition to after colonization, nor do I necessary accept the various presumptions that underlie the more dominant postcolonialist theories.

territorially, now imperialism is more about subjugating the 'native' by colonizing her

or him discursively" (p. 42).[2] Today, geographical advantage and armament strength

are no longer the primary indicators of political superiority. Rather, those who have

access to information and control its flow are the ones in power. Thus, colonial strength

is in the ability of one nation to control the flow of information in or out of another

country.

It is possible then, to extend the function of these questions toward the

examination of a specific element of post-colonialism, diaspora. In regard to diaspora,

the primary questions could be framed as follows: how do western discursive practices,

in their representation of the world and themselves, shape the identities of individuals

attempting to negotiate between several worlds; and to what extent do the cultural

influences of such nations such as the United States and England reinforce a neo-

imperialist sense of cultural superiority within the world? Shome argues that

imperialism is now discursive rather than territorial. However, the geographical notion

of identity was already surpassed by the ideological aspect long before current

scholarship. Marx recognized economic class identities just as the ancient Greeks,

Romans and medievals had. I posit that neo-imperialism continues to be both territorial

and discursive, however, social science has once again directed its focus toward the

discursive nature of colonialism, rather than its territorial aspects. This direction of

focus is evident in the examination of identity. The notion of diaspora reinforces this by

pointing out that regardless of geographical boundaries and location, identity is often a

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[2] Here, Shome is incorrect in her facts. The discursive element of colonization can be seen throughout history. In fact, even with the Roman empire, there were specific laws regarding the practice of culture

rhetorically created notion and, among immigrants, usually a ground for ideological battles.

Having provided a basic definition of post-colonialism (that of a perspective that serves to critique western imperialist thought and examine the diverse range of societies), it is now necessary to examine how it fits into communication. Up until recently, most communication research has been either from a behaviorist perspective or a descriptive perspective. While both approaches served to advance communication as a field, much of social science has begun to move in a third direction, interpretive, critical research. In actuality, the move toward critical interpretive work is a return to some of the early 1900's social science. The post-colonial perspective in critical research began in the late 1950's and was a reaction to imperialistic assumptions in research. For example, post-colonialism questions and critiques the anthropological tradition of entering a culture and examining it through a western lens or assuming that the anthropologist could "go native" and see through the subject's lens. Much in the same way as post-colonialism questions anthropological traditions, post-colonialism also opens the door for communication researchers to actively question and critique the Western assumptions in their research. The notion of problematizing communication is essentially Western and thus, the presumptions underlying communication research reinforce a Western bias, to a certain degree. A prime example of this being the idea of individual perspective, i.e., "lens."

As with all perspectives, post-colonialism carries with it certain logical flaws that warrant attention and consideration. One of the primary presumptions of post-

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and religion in colonized lands. Despite this inaccuracy, Shome's ideas are salient and warrant attention.

colonial perspective that warrants attention is the seemingly uni-directionality of

colonialism. The dynamic relationship between colonizer and the colonized is

disregarded in post-colonial critique. Actually, the argument that a relationship

between the two parties can even exist is disregarded. Post-colonialism presumes that

the colonized is a victim of the colonizer and that there is no exchange between the two.

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) discuss this issue in terms of language and culture.

They explain that examining the silencing of cultures is an important point, however,

> [they] neglect the fact that for many people in post-colonial
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> societies the pre-colonial languages and cultures, although
>
> themselves subject to change and development continue to
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> provide the effective framework for their daily lives. Failure
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> to acknowledge this might be one of the ways in which post-
>
> colonial discourse could, unwittingly, become a "coloniser in
>
> its turn" [here, quoting a phrase from Ashcroft (1989, p. 218)] (p. 4).

As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin posit, and as history shows us, the colonized do have

an effect on their colonizers. In the case of India specifically, the British were greatly

effected by India and in many ways, India absorbed the British much in the same way it

had absorbed previous colonizers. It was not a case of the British " doing to" India and

India passively "being done to." Britain and the British were also shaped by the

influences they absorbed from India and Indians. Case in point being that a national

food of England is curry. More recently, with neo-colonialism, there is greater evidence

of a dynamic relationship between colonizer and colonized. For example, the ethnic

enclaves within the United States clearly impose their culture and ways of being on that

specific space and the people who engage in that space. The immigrant communities

have adapted their environment to their needs. With the increasing popularity of ethnic

cuisine, dress, styles of music, styles of dance, literature, and art it is clear that

colonized cultures shape their colonizers.

This argument is by no means a comparative one, stating that the colonizer and

the colonized have the same amount of power. Post-colonialism is vital in

understanding the imbalance of power between colonizers and colonized. Yet, post-

colonialism commits a logical error in positioning its argument as either/or. In

colonialism, one is not either colonized or colonizer. Rather, the relationship between

colonizer and colonized is a dynamic negotiation. In subtle, insidious ways, the

colonized shape their colonizer, changing them in irreversible ways. Culture is

transmitted whether the colonizer realizes it or not. Hence, in this regard, post-

colonialism defeats itself by buying into the colonialist perspective that the colonizer

does to the colonized without any effect on themselves. By arguing against

colonialism, the post-colonialist accepts the premise that colonialism is uni-directional.

In a similar vein, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995, p. 2) explain that "the

tendency to employ the term 'post-colonial' to refer to any kind of marginality at all

runs the risk of denying its basis in the historical process of colonialism." They further

remind the reader that " 'post-colonial' theory rejects the egregious classification of

'First' and 'Third' World and contests the lingering fallacy that post-colonial is

somehow synonymous with the economically 'underdeveloped" (p. 3) This position

suggests that the term post-colonial should not be used indiscriminately nor is it a mere

result of territorial occupation and traditional divisions of the world in terms of colonizing economic (or cultural or religious, etc.) forces.

Additionally, using Spivak's (1995) "Can the subaltern speak?" as a framework of understanding post-colonial/subaltern studies, there are certain issues that must be taken to task prior to utilizing this perspective for studying Indian-Americans, specifically. Though there has been controversy over the reading of Spivak's essay,[3] there is a salient point that emerges clearly. Indian nationalism (and "Indian culture") was a movement of the elite of India. Though seemingly basic, this point is crucial in examining Indian-Americans through the lens of post-colonialism given that Indian-Americans are primarily the urban-elites of India. Their process of naming "Indianness" is wrought with questions of power, neo-colonialism, class, and positionality of NRI's in India.[4]

Given these concerns, perhaps a more effective position would be to first consider how one labels the colonizer and the colonized and then focus on the interplay of the power between and among the colonizer and the colonized. This position continues to recognize the imbalance of power and the epistemic violence of colonialism and imperialism, without presuming that the status of the colonized is without power of its own. Additionally, I posit that, as post-colonialists, we must step outside the logical framework of colonialism in order to truly critique the presumptions

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[3] See Spivak's interview in the Spivak Reader (eds. Landry & Maclean) where she addresses the controversy surrounding her essay.

[4] NRI (non-resident Indian) is a relatively new term utilized to classify Indians who live abroad, but are a key source of wealth for the Indian economy. This group holds a unique place in the Indian political, racial, religious, and cultural system

of that position. As post-colonial researchers, we must position ourselves such that we transcend colonialist perspectives rather than react to colonialist perspectives.

Methodology and Method

Post-colonialism can serve to inform one's approach to communication questions, and it can also inform one's approach toward utilizing specific methods of research. To begin, for the critical scholar, methods are merely tools from which one can examine specific questions. However, tools are laden with specific assumptions that govern their usage. The data they generate bears the unmistakable stamp of the method used. Hence, statistical data is very different from ethnographic data. The very methodical process used has a profound impact known as privileging. It is naïve to believe that the problem exists only at the point of interpreting the data. At this point, it is too late and uncritical. More careful reflection reveals that the very way the data is generated always already shapes it.

One method that has recently been joined with post-colonial theory has been ethnography. Post-colonial ethnography offers a marriage of sorts between a specific method of data collection and an alternative epistemological foundation.

Conquergood (1991), points out three primary reasons why ethnography is an opportune point of entry for critical theory. He argues that ethnography is based on similar primary assumptions as those of critical theory. One, ethnography is an embodied experience, and like critical theory, it turns to the sensual experience as well as the cognitive. Unlike positivistic approaches, ethnography does not presume the mind/body split. Second, ethnography tends to migrate to the peripheral, and, like critical theory, give voice to those on the periphery rather than the center. Finally,

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ethnography tends to highlight the performance of culture, thus illuminating the dynamic and performative nature of identity.

Despite making several good arguments that are applicable to this work, there are vital flaws within Conquergood's work that must be acknowledged and dealt with if one is to utilize only certain parts of Conquergood's argument. Additionally, despite the potential for strong ties between ethnography and critical theory, certain issues about ethnography must be critiqued so that the researcher can be effective in her attempts to integrate critical theory and interpretive method. First and foremost, as Conquergood himself notes, written ethnography is a far cry from practiced ethnography. Published ethnographies tend to divorce themselves from the embodied experience and cloak themselves in the language of theoretical frameworks. Additionally, ethnography is a descriptive method in which values and questions of power are rarely addressed.

This is the point at which critical ethnographers radically depart from traditional ethnography. Geertz (1973) defines ethnography as an interpretive method in which one seeks to find meaning and motive. This perspective offers an excellent point of entry for the post-colonial scholar. Post-colonial ethnography begins with the assumption that it is the ethnographer's job to uncover the power structures that reinforce neo-imperialist attitudes. However, given the earlier critique of post-colonial perspectives, it is also important to not limit one's examination by solely focusing on power structures to the exclusion of illuminating the horizons that inform the participants' ways of being. Both the post-colonial perspective, and Conquergood, by

his self-identification as a critical ethnographer, fall prey to logical flaws in the arguments.

The ethnographer is clearly positioned in the ethnography and informs the emergence of themes, the interpretation of events and the interaction among and between participants and herself. Post-colonial perspectives reinforce the hierarchy they are supposedly attempting to eradicate by positioning themselves in relation to the colonizer and the colonized. Conquergood makes a similar mistake by talking around the fact that regardless of what perspective informs the researcher, he is still entering and disrupting the field. The ethnographer is, by virtue of the fact that he is observing and problematizing interaction, positioned with power over the participant. Thus, even the critical ethnographer can impose imperialist interpretations on the observed interactions from the field. In fact, the observations already embody the voyeuristic power that is prior to "interpretation." There is a power in being the one who is watching others. Thus, engaging in methodical behavior is already imperialistic.

Furthermore, the tone in both the post-colonial perspective and in Conquergood's work reflects a certain superiority that implies that the researcher can serve to enlighten the observed group by illuminating the power structures that shape it. This is an enlightenment view that presumes first, that the cultural group wants to know what power structures shape it; second, that the cultural group is unaware of the power structures that surround it; and third, that the cultural group is passive and does not inform the power structures that shape it. What is often ignored is that the observed have a power also. As researchers, we must go to them to interview them and they can reflect back on us and judge. Unlike molecules, which do not participate in the

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observation, participants are interactive members of the data making process. This interaction then shapes the data.

In this study I will utilize ethnographic interviewing to examine the narratives of Indian-Americans as they express their notions of identity. I will utilize the interview setting to illuminate the cognitive dissonance[5] in their experiences and attempt to have the participants discuss the dissonance within themselves.

This study will utilize a multi-methodological approach, combining several methods. The primary data will be collected utilizing ethnographic interviews with Asian Indian parents and their children. I will also utilize phenomenology and hermeneutics to examine questions of double consciousness and hyphenated identity as well as the historical, Vedantic influences on Indian identity. Finally, I will utilize survey data to examine the relationship between age of emigration, the number of years in each country, cultural preference and cultural self-identification.

The participants for the ethnographic interviews will be chosen based on their representativeness of the "typical" Indian family. Based on the demographics of post-1965, there is a representative family of Indian immigrants. This "typical" family immigrated to the U.S. between 1965 and 1979. The male came to the U.S. after finishing a terminal degree to obtain gainful employment or to finish a terminal degree and then obtain gainful employment. The man, if married, sponsored his wife and children, bringing them to the United States as soon as possible. This couple may have had one child already with the remaining children being born in the United States. If the man was not married when he immigrated, he most probably returned to India after

a few years to marry in the traditional manner. The women who immigrated to the United States with their husbands have an education that is comparable to their husband's. This means that they hold similar degrees, or, at least, the same level of degree as their husbands. These women may or may not have been educated in the United States.

The children in this family were either born in India and brought to the United States early in life or born in the United States after their parents had settled. These children of these post-1965 immigrants tend to take frequent trips to India and have friendship relationships with extended family members in India. These children are highly successful academically, have social networks in both the Indian and American communities, eat American and Indian food, but prefer American music and films. These children can speak English fluently and are anywhere from conversant to fluent in their mother tongue. The mother tongue is the first language spoken in the home and is usually an Indian language. Many of these youth are truly bilingual in that they learned and Indian language and English at the same time. Finally, many post-1965 immigrants have members of extended family, such as grandparents, who live with them, and aunts, uncles and cousins who may live with the family or live nearby.

For the ethnographic portion of this study, I utilized my insider status to gain entree with members of the Indian-American community in a part of southern California known as Little India. The individuals I interviewed were introduced to me by informants who knew me personally, knew me by my family name, or were members of my extended family. The inclusion of a participant in this study was based

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[5] Here, the term cognitive dissonance is not meant in the way that it is used by Leon Festinger, et. al.

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on the following two key criteria: when the person, or the person's parents immigrated to the United States; and, whether or not the person immigrated to the United States directly from India. No further criteria were established to avoid over-directing the sample. These two criteria were established in order to define the boundaries of the ethnographic portion of the study as an examination of post-1965 immigrants who immigrated directly to the United States. These boundaries serve to eliminate confounding issues such as other national identities, and other political influences. For example, immigrants who came to the United States via Great Britain or an African nation were not included because their identities are necessarily shaped by their years in those countries. Similarly, many of the immigrants who came to the United States much prior to the post-1965 immigration wave came as students, which also shaped their identities in various different ways.

The survey portion of this study was based on an existing data base of the Indian-American population. A random sample (n=2014) of households was chosen and two surveys were sent to each address, one for a male member of the household and one for a female member of the household. The original database was created from telephone book listing of Indians throughout the United States. Individuals were included in the data base based on their last name.

Conclusion

In this study, I propose to address several issues and examine key questions regarding identity, the hyphen, adaptation and the Indian-American community. These discussions will undoubtedly raise even more questions and issues for consideration. This examination is informed by post-colonial perspectives and utilizes various

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methods. Clearly, there is a need for critical examination of existing theories regarding immigrant adaptation. There is also a clear need for more in-depth examination of new immigrant groups, such as Indian-Americans. This dissertation is designed with the intention to address and attempt to meet these needs.

CHAPTER 2

A Critical Examination of the Literature

Despite the relatively short period of time that Indians have been immigrating to the United States and the even shorter period of time in which communication scholars have been studying intercultural communication, there is a substantial body of literature regarding both topics. This chapter is a critical examination of these separate bodies of literature. In reviewing the literature germane to the focus of this study, it is vital that the presumptions underlying the previous writings be addressed. Thus, the presentation of the literature review in this chapter will carry a distinctly analytic tone.

An Examination of the Literature on Asian Indians

There is a growing body of literature about Indians living in the United States. This body of literature tends to come from the anthropological and sociological perspective. It also includes popular literature. These perspectives carry with them presumptions that inform the research and how it is conducted. Titles such as The New Ethnics, An Immigrant Success Story, Indians in New York City, and On the Trail of an Uncertain Dream all express a certain perspective on the Indian immigrant experience. Much of this literature examines the Indian experience through a traditional anthropological gaze. The traditional anthropological gaze tends to problematize the notion of difference. Thus, much of this literature presents elements of the Indian community that tend to set that community apart from mainstream American society. By this, I mean that Indian communities are examined as living in vacuums separate from the American world. They are observed as outside the American world and apart

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from mainstream society. Though the literature about Asian Indians in the United States is not vast, recent years have shown an increase in the number of books written about Indians. Additionally, there have been singular texts about Indians since the first significant immigration wave of Punjabi Sikhs in the 1890's. In order to understand how the social sciences have viewed this segment of the United States population, I offer an examination of a representative portion of the literature on Asian Indian-Americans.

The literature about Asian Indians has been through several phases. The first set of literature was primarily missionary literature, written in what was to become the classical anthropological tradition. The focus of this literature was primarily the Sikh community that had come to Northern California to work the land for the Mexican landowners. The most noted observation about this community was how they tended to remain separate and held onto their culture. The Sikhs, predominantly men, continued to dress in native garb, which included turbans, eat traditional food and speak in their mother tongue, the language of their homeland. However, some of these men did not return to India to marry and ultimately married the daughters of Mexican landowners. The majority of these Punjabi Sikh immigrants settled in north central California, specifically Yuba City. As was the tone at that time throughout the United States and Canada, Asian Indians were also targeted by anti-Asian sentiment and were the focus of discriminatory immigration laws, such as 1907 Asiatic Barred Zone, which strongly limited Asian immigration into the west (Muthanna, 1982, p. 728).[6] In fact, the previously named Japanese and Korean Exclusion League changed its name to the

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[6] Also see Lisa Lowe's text, Immigrant Acts (1996).

Asiatic Exclusion League to include Indians, then referred to as "Hindoos," or the "tawny subjects of Great Britain" (Muthanna, 1982, p. 730). One key discussion focused on the classification of Indians in light of they being subjects of the Royal Crown. There was some argument by the Indians themselves pushing to be labeled as whites, considering that they were British subjects. In response, the United States immigration office recognized that Indians were not white, nor were they like any other Asian population. However, they were regarded as a threat.

In addition to the literature about Punjabi Sikhs, there was also a large body of literature about the Ghadar Party. As India chafed under British rule, and underground surges of revolution began to crest, a strong sense of nationalism became powerful among non-resident Indians in England and United States. *Ghadar* literally means "mutiny" and the party was headquartered in San Francisco. Interestingly, the resentment toward Britain by this group was due in part to Britain's unwillingness to intercede on behalf of its subjects who were being mistreated in America and Canada. However, as nationalism began to take hold in India, it became clear that Indians in England and the United States were in the unique position of helping their counterparts, the Indian revolutionaries, to meet and plan future revolution. The Ghadar Party was active in raising funds for India's freedom, publishing seditious literature and advocating violent action against the British. All of this political movement occurred during the first two decades of the twentieth century and was connected with several other revolutionary movements that were rising throughout Europe at the same time. There were corollary organizations to San Francisco's Ghadar Party in England and Germany. As mentioned earlier, much of the revolution against the British was fueled

by Britain's unwillingness to be an advocate for her subjects in the United States, who were victims of racial discrimination, violence and anti-Asiatic immigration policies. Additionally, as Chandrasekhar (1982, p. 54) points out, the Ghadar movement offered a sense of ethnic identity for Indians in America and Canada. The movement served as an expression of identity. By affiliating with the revolutionary movement in India, Indians in the United States were able to feel connected to India rather than to the ethnic problems that were predominant in the United States at that time. The intense nationalism of the Ghadar party provided Indian-Americans a strong sense of ethnic identity that helped them face the hostile environment in the United States.

At the same time that Indians in the United States were politically active, there was also a small, but remarkable contingency of Indian swamis, priests. Primarily, the Vedanta Ramkrishnan missions had been established, and following the visit of Swami Vivekananda, Ramkrishnan mission's leader, there was an influx of swamis. The presence of the saffron robed religious men further reinforced a very specific image of Indians. Muthanna (1982, p. 730) cites the well known passage from the Missionary Review:

> in the little college town of Claremont, there are about forty "Hindus" and as many Koreans, but the contrast between them even as they walk the streets, is startling. They have come to America for widely different purposes. The "Hindus" come merely for the sake of two dollars a day ranch wages: the Koreans come for education, secular and religious. The Hindus. . . . . cling to their distinctive clothes and to all the insignia of their cult - the turban of white, pink, yellow

or black, and the long hair. . . . . . They learn only enough English

to make a living. They harbour terrible grudges and are frequently

in the local courts for stoning each other. They are shrouded in

superstition, dead to American thought, dead to everything save

the glitter and clink of two dollars a day.

This quotation presents the sentiment of the time and reflects the intensely negative

mindset toward Indians in the United States. However, this pre-1965 history also

illuminates other vital points about post-1965 Indian immigration into the United States.

Indian-Americans have always kept a certain distance apart from the mainstream

culture when immigrating to the United States. Whether by choice or force may not be

clear, however, it does set up an interesting precedent for Indian-American

communities. Furthermore, there is also an indication of racial identity with regard to

political identity being negotiable for Indians. Even in the early 1900's, the Indian

community looked to identifying with mainstream "whites" rather than other minority

groups in the United States. They envisioned themselves as a part of the dominant

group because they saw themselves as British, unlike other minorities who did not

consider themselves to be anything like the mainstream. This also sets up an interesting

precedent for post 1965-immigrants. Finally, the use of political affiliation with India

as a way of building ethnic identity is also present in post-1965 immigrants, however,

now it is a much more fundamentalist movement.

The anti-Asian sentiment in the United States combined with the swelling

revolution against Britain in India worked together to solidify an almost impenetrable

ban against Indian immigration into the United States. The United States government

had no ties with India in order to support their British ally and US/Indo ties only began to emerge in the 1940's with President Roosevelt. The next two decades, marked by Indian independence and the establishment of India as a democracy, slowly turned the tide. US/Indo relations began to strengthen, reaching an apex with President Kennedy's visit to India. In 1965, the Asian immigration ban was lifted and the post-1965 immigration movement began. This marked the beginning of the greatest influx of Indians into the United States and also marked the emergence of a whole new body of literature about Asian Indian-Americans.

Post-1965 immigration into the United States brought with it some very specific types of Indians. Much of the experiences of the first wave of immigration has been well documented in literature about the Indian immigration experience. Chandrasekhar (1982) offers a collection of essays that presents the vital statistics of Indian immigration. Once the immigration ban was lifted, Indians began to enter the United States by the thousands. In addition to relocating to the United States, many also brought with them family members who visited regularly. Between the years of 1971 and 1975, 66,650 Indians were admitted into the United States. This more than doubled the number of Indian immigrants entering the United States in the previous decade and totaled more than the number of Indians admitted to the United States since 1870, the first documented year of Indian immigration in the United States. Furthermore, the majority of these immigrants were of either professional, technical and kindred workers or housewives, children and others with no occupation reported.(Chandrasekhar, 1982, p. 90) This indicates that most of the immigrants were white collar workers who immigrated with entire families. However, this number may also include the members

of the Indian community known for their hold on the hotel service industry. Once given

entry into the United States, these immigrants went to primarily urban areas such as

New York, Chicago, California, New Jersey, and more recently Texas. This pattern of

migration led to the establishment of Little India consumer hubs in many of these states.

It also created strong urban enclaves of Indian communities reinforcing strong ethnic

bonds. However, it is important to note that these enclaves are somewhat dissimilar to

the previous European enclaves of the 1800's. Little Indias mostly tended to be

business centers with large concentrations of merchants providing Indian necessities

such as food, clothing, jewelry, media, and services. Still today, Little Indias are not

necessarily neighborhoods where only Indians live, as was common with European

immigrant communities.[7]

This immigration from India was a startling and difficult experience for many.

Many of the women who immigrated came over primarily to accompany their husbands

and had no specific desire for immigrating to the United States. Though the language

was not as severe a problem for immigrants from India; India has English medium

schools and many of the immigrants attended schools where English was a required

course, there was some discomfort in using the language with non-Indians. The

enclaves provided a comfort zone where one could act as though they were back in

India. These initial experiences of immigration were documented in a body of literature

that emerged in the late 1970's and continued throughout the 1980's and early 1990's.

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[7] It is important to note that the Indian community in the United States is rapidly changing. Even as this research is being done, the community is reshaping itself to fit with western society. Though the Indian community has traditionally been a "community in being" (using Goffman's term), there has been a recent rise in more traditional enclaves in the past five to ten years. Areas such as Flushing, New York; Jackson Heights, New York; Bergen County, New Jersey and Arlington, Texas are rapidly becoming dominant Indian neighborhoods.

Much of the literature about Indian immigration focuses on the primary

differences between the cultures and how those differences are negotiated. Most of the

literature comes from a case study perspective and focuses on a few typical examples of

Indian immigrants. (Dasgupta, 1989; Saran, 1985; Saran & Eames, 1980; Helweg &

Helweg, 1990)

There are several pervasive themes throughout this body of literature that serve

to enlighten the reader about what it means to immigrate to the United States. But, it

also serves to set a very specific image about the Indian community in general. In

presenting these themes, I posit that one underlying result of the Indian immigrant

literature was the rise of the notion of "model minority." Model minority is a term

coined by the Republican Party that refers to acceptable immigrant groups. The concept

of "model" refers to immigrants who behave in a appropriate manner, are financially

secure, and serve to support the political agenda of the Republican Party. Model

minority tends to perpetuate a certain "whitewashing" of American society.[8] It rewards

behaviors and attitudes that support an elite white minority, while using certain minority

groups as yardsticks of measure over other minority groups, without taking into

consideration significantly different immigration histories.

I also posit that the Indian immigrant literature served to reinforce the sense of

cultural preservation and cultural continuity within the spectrum of acceptable

American society. Saran and Eames (1980) began this wave of literature with their text,

The New Ethnics. The text is a collection of essays serving to define the Indian

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[8] Here, I use the term whitewash to mean that the cultural difference of a group is glossed over and erased in a manner that serves to homogenize the group so that they seem to be one the dominant society.

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immigrant in the United States. Saran's next work, The Asian Indian Experience in the United States (1985), focused on ten case studies of typical Indian families. Another such text is An Immigrant Success Story (1990) by Arthur and Usha Helweg. This text follows the process of immigration from the first decision to the situation of the immigrated family in today's times. Dasgupta's On the trail of an uncertain dream is also a case study analysis in which she reviews the experiences of several immigrant families.

Much of this literature presents variations of specific themes. To begin, there is a strong profile of the typical Indian immigrant. Saran provides the description of such a typical immigrant:

> . . . . . it is a relatively young population, the majority of them
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> coming from urban and upper caste backgrounds in India. The
>
> average family size is not more than four or five. The most
>
> unique characteristic of this population is its high level of
>
> educational and professional attainment. Its income is high,
>
> more than 50 percent live in their own homes, and they are
>
> savings and investment oriented. In terms of their behavior
>
> patterns [after immigration to the United States] we find that
>
> while they have the potential for acculturation because of their
>
> knowledge of and proficiency in English, basically their behavior
>
> is more in line with the Indian ethos (1985, p. 46-47).

This is done for comfort; it is never truly possible to become a member of the dominant group in the eyes of the dominant group.

This description provides a sense of where the Indian immigrant fits into the milieu of American society. Furthermore, such a profile establishes a standard by which Indian-Americans measure themselves and each other. It sets up its own version of keeping up with the Jones.

In addition to this profile, the primary theme for Indian-Americans is the importance of culture. Many of the participants cited in the literature discuss the importance of not losing their culture. The quotations revolve around the individuals' needs to show that their culture is the most important part of their identity and that it cannot be compromised regardless of where he or she is living. Additionally, the culture is upheld as the foundational structure on which these families build their lives. In the Indian immigrant literature written by non-Indians, this theme is presented in a positive light, reinforcing the power of the joint family, the amazing level of linguistic retention, and the seemingly smooth obedience of the next generation, regardless of any earlier conflict. In fact, if the conflict between the generations is addressed, the focus is more on the parental concern over the child's success rather than on questions of identity that many second generation immigrants face. It also focuses on the ultimate acquiescence of the youth to follow family set plans.

Regardless of the value of these patterns of behavior, this type of description does serve a specific political agenda. The value of good placed on the notion of cultural preservation serves to reinforce the separateness of Indians from the mainstream society. However, in seeming contradiction of that separateness, Indians are touted as model minorities because of their economic standing in United States society. It is often noted that despite being wealthy and actively participating in

American society, these people have managed to keep their culture intact. However, as Dasgupta (1989) notes, this economic standing is exactly the force that allows the Indian-American population the freedom from pressures of assimilation. By having an already established status in American society (monetary status) Indian-Americans do not need to culturally assimilate to show their closeness to mainstream society. Thus, unlike other ethnic groups, there is not as great a pull to "be white." Their difference is seen as acceptable. This is true for Indian-American individuals who came to the United States later in life. However, as further chapters will show, Indian-American youth born and brought up in the United States face a very different experience in regard to their ethnic identity. Indian-American youth do often feel that their two worlds (of Indian and American) are extremely far apart and extremely difficult to merge. They see their worlds as two worlds that are separate: Indian at home and American outside the home.

The notion of culture that is touted by Indian-Americans is rather unique to the Indian community in the United States.[9] Saran & Eames (1980, pg. 178) explicate that much of the organization of Indian communities in the United States is based on language and religious affiliation. Though this is not uncommon in India also, there is an essential difference between Indian-Americans and Indians in India. The notion of fundamentalism underlies the division of Indian communities in the United States. This difference will be discussed in Chapter 3.

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[9] Though there is a good amount of research on Indian immigration into other parts of the world, I have chosen to not discuss that body of literature here. The communities of Indians in England, Africa, The Far East, and the Caribbean are at different points in the cycle of immigration and are somewhat dissimilar to the Indian population in the United States. Much of the literature indicates that United States immigration is unlike other Indian immigration, with the exception of perhaps Canada.

Regardless of this essential difference, the notion of culture is the central theme throughout all the literature about Indian-Americans. Dasgupta (1989) indicates that for most Indians, the Indian and American cultures provide a polarity by which to measure behavior. For most Indians, all things good are Indian. However, this does not necessarily mean all things bad are American. In regard to the prioritizing of values, the literature indicates that many Indians see Americans as lacking morality, specifically in regard to sex, being self-centered and extremist in all regards. Though there is no need to test or question these values or the hierarchy of these values, this polarity does present a very specific image of Indian-Americans and their values.

Dasgupta (1989) refers to this prioritizing of cultural values as cultural selectivity and further indicates that this is a key survival mechanism for Indian-Americans. However, this is not conformist adaptation. Additionally, this value hierarchy reflects something much more than a functional selection of behavior. It serves to reinforce a sense of separateness between "Indian" and "American." This separation serves as a way of reinforcing one's place in the larger matrix of society. Dasgupta (1989), Saran (1985), and others have all found that most Indians feel that they can act and interact in America without becoming American. Furthermore, rather than facilitating a sense of adaptation, this sense of separateness keeps Indians from viewing themselves as members of American society.

The literature (Saran, 1985; Saran & Eames, 1980; Dasgupta, 1989; Helweg & Helweg, 1990, Takaki, 1989; Melendy, 1977) highlights the intense cultural efforts by Indian-Americans to preserve their culture. The literature indicates that most Indian-Americans feel that preservation of their culture is of the utmost importance and it

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should be passed onto children. This is best achieved by joining Indian organizations, participating in religious activities, socializing with other Indians and traveling to India. Even more moderate, western couples turn to traditional practices with the birth of their children. It is also achieved by marrying only within the Indian community. Though interracial marriages do exist in the Indian-American community, they are not common or easily accepted.

Though this may not seem much different than most immigrant communities that have come to the United States previously, there are certain dynamics to this group that add certain dimensions to this intense effort of cultural preservation. First and foremost, the economic standing of this community grants its members the freedom to establish cultural centers, interact primarily with other Indians and afford the requisite travel to India. As mentioned earlier, by having economic status, the Indian-American community is exempt from seeking cultural affiliation with the mainstream. Furthermore, the value hierarchy mentioned earlier reflects a strong political leaning in the United States. In keeping with the notion of "family values" as presented by the Republican Party, many Indians find that there is a sense of fitting in for them politically and economically. This is what then gives rise to the notion of "model minority", as defined by the Republican Party.

In the tradition of political and cultural hegemony, Indian-Americans, along with other model minority groups, are rewarded for their sense of separateness. This reward is then seen as acceptance into the mainstream. As explicated earlier, the typical post-1965 Indian immigrant fit into the mainstream of American society in many ways. However, what is often lost is the notion that these individuals are still immigrants,

regardless of their economic and educational profiles. What is, in actuality, rewarded is the separateness Indian-Americans tend to hold onto. The very fact that the culture is kept within the community creates a sense of Indian-Americans knowing their place within the mainstream society.[10] The community thus, then creates the very environment in which they feel the discrimination that hampers their complete success in American society.

There has been more literature about Indian-Americans from sources other than those mentioned above. This literature has taken a somewhat different tone. First, some of the more recent research done in the Indian-American communities has been done by social scientists utilizing the re-emergent qualitative paradigm (Bacon, 1996; Fisher, 1980). These texts utilize an urban ethnography perspective. However, they tend to focus more on the issues of Indian-American families and intergenerational questions rather than the history of Indian immigration and lifestyles of Indian-Americans. Much of the focus of this literature is on the issues facing Indian parents and their children. The seminal text in this area is Priya Agarwal's (1991) Passage from India: Post-1965 Indians Immigrants and their children: Conflicts, Concerns and Solutions. Written from an insider perspective, Agarwal focuses her interviews with her participants solely on questions of negotiating the two cultures. There is much discussion about the negotiation of rules in the family over issues such as food habits (vegetarianism), clothing, hair, friends, dating, marriage, proper respect for elders, attitudes toward gender and treatment of family members. Though this literature illuminates some key problems in the Indian-American community, it also serves to

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[10] By the phrase knowing their place, I am reffering to the public and definite sense of the race and ethnic hierarchy in the United States. Though not as blatant as the "knowing their place" expected of

further polarize the two cultures, creating a sense that one can only be Indian or American and that children will be lost unless great care is taken in their upbringing. Bacon (1996) focuses several of her questions on how culture is preserved and maintained and how it is transmitted to the next generation. Such research carries with it assumptions that inform the results of the study. The primary assumption in this body of literature is the problematizing of identity and the polarizing of the two cultures. The questions are based on the assumptions that families see the two cultures as being in conflict and each negotiation results in one culture winning over the other. This serves to further create the sense of two worlds that must be kept separate. However, as my study will show, though Indian-Americans tend to talk in terms of two worlds and there are many problems between the generations, both generations have managed to achieve a way of interacting in the world by which both cultures work in sync with each other.

Finally, in the past five years, there has been a new body of literature focusing on the growing sense of hyphenated identity. The two best known titles are Our Feet Walk the Sky and Contours of the Heart. These texts are primarily anthologies that focus on the peoples of the South Asian diaspora. There are short stories, essays, poetry and autobiographical sketches that present the continuing experiences of people who are living in the space of the hyphen. In addition to this literature that focuses on the notion of multiple identities, there is an another literature from a more traditionalist perspective that approaches the notion of the hyphen as a threat to losing Indian culture. Williams (1992), in his text: A Sacred Thread, focuses his collection of essays on the techniques that are utilized to preserve Indian culture in the United States. Primarily, the text focuses on the building of temples and the function of temples and temple activity in

African-Americans, there is a specific "place" for Indian-Americans and other Asian-Americans.

Indian-American communities. However, this book is clearly informed from a specific perspective. First, there is a tendency to present the move to preserve Indian religion and culture as being in crisis. It also presents Indian religion and culture as homogenous. Second, it is posited that Indian youth turn to questions of religion and culture (i.e. taking college courses in it) because they do not see themselves as belonging to that world, yet, they know that they are not a part of the mainstream society either. This perpetuates the sense that American born Indians are confused about who they are and where they belong. However, the presumptions that guide this text become clear when the publisher is noted. This text comes from the publishing house of Bochasanwasi Swaminarayan Sanstha, one of the largest temple organizations within India and the largest Indian temple organization outside of India. The Swaminarayan movement is an organization that exists primarily for Indians outside of India. It has branches throughout the world and serves as a religious organization, philanthropic organization, and a social network for Indians. It is highly fundamentalist in its interpretation of Hinduism with practices such as the complete separation of the sexes. However, the Swaminarayan sect only represents the religious practices of a small portion of the Gujarati community. However, the Gujarati community is the largest portion of the Indian community in the United States and accounts for a preponderance of the religious practices of Indians in the United States. Issues concerning this fundamentalist movement and its relationship to the Indian-American community will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Though the literature about Indian-Americans has evolved to a certain degree, the predominant themes of typical Indian identity and cultural preservation are still the

mainstays of the preponderance of literature about Indian-Americans. Sheth (1995)

provides even more specific information about the typical image and practices of

Indian-Americans that partially constitute the Indian-American stereotype. Sheth points

out that, according to the 1990 census, Indians are the largest minority group

represented in the medical profession. Additionally, many of the Indians who are not in

professional occupations are often people with higher degrees who were unable to

obtain comparable employment in the United States. Here, he is specifically referring

to the growing number of Indian-Americans who are small business owners, taxicab

drivers, newsstand owners and members of the hospitality industry. Sheth also notes,

however, that New York City and its surrounding areas are the primary location for

many of these Indians. The ethnic enclaves in this area are relatively new and represent

the newest sub-group of Indian immigrants.

The bias in the literature about Indian-Americans was perhaps an attempt on the

part of authors to show the success of this immigrant group. However, as future

generations of Indian-Americans come of age, we begin to see a different image of the

Indian-American experience. The notion of culture and adaptation among immigrants

appears to be very different as time passes and the type of immigrants coming to the

United States change. The existent theories of cultural adaptation warrant examination,

especially as the face of immigration changes.

The Adaptation Model of Intercultural Communication

The issues of double consciousness, hyphenated identity and immigrant identity

are perhaps the most influenced by notion of adaptation. Gudykunst and Kim (1992),

argue that the decision for immigrants to adapt in a new culture and to make "the host

society their second home . . . . is dependent largely on the degree of permanence of the new residence" (p. 214). Gudykunst and Kim further argue that immigrants approach the host culture as permanent, thus, they strive to function within it as natives do. However, observation contradicts this assumption. Immigrants are never seen, or see themselves as "natives." Rather than genuine adaptation, plausible imitation may be a more accurate description of what is actually occurring. Basic trends support the argument that immigrants rarely ever identify themselves as natives. For example, Indians in this country who have permanently settled tend to remain socially segregated and see themselves as Indians merely living here, not as natives. Furthermore, the "natives" do not see Indian-Americans as natives either.

Research on adaptation is driven by primary assumptions that warrant attention. In light of the notion of double consciousness, the question of adapting to a culture becomes much more complex than simply a question of functionaling in a society. According to Gudykunst and Kim (1992, Kim, 1988), the issue of ultimate importance in adaptation is the ability to behave appropriately in the culture. They argue that,

> A well-adapted person, therefore, can perform the required
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> social roles without having to formulate a mental plan of
>
> action in accordance with the cultural rules and norms of the
>
> host society. This means that the person has internalized many
>
> culturally patterned behaviors , and the performance of these
>
> roles has become automatic and largely unconscious. Insofar
>
> as these automatic actions are executed successfully, they increase
>
> the probability for strangers to experience satisfying social inter-

action and a sense of control (p. 220).

Though Gudykunst and Kim argue that the ability to perform well in a culture is vital for an individual to have a sense of control, I question the connection between successful performance and a sense of satisfaction and complete adaptation. Many Indians, though behaviorally successful in the United States, still tend to seek social satisfaction in primarily Indian settings. Indeed, the number of little Indias, the number of Indian festivals, and the preponderance of Indian only gatherings indicates that even though Indians have lived in the United States for many years, they prefer their cultural system to the host cultural system. Furthermore, despite their "behavior patterns" they are never accepted by natives as native. Indian-Americans may be comfortable, but others may not be comfortable with them. The process of adaptation has to do with the other as well as the self.

Additionally, this tendency to continue to connect with other Indians also brings to question the assumption that length of time in a host society is indicative of successful adaptation. Though these adults have been in the United States for what is often several decades, they still keep primary connections with other Indians, rather than with Americans. Indian-Americans give priority to their culture of origin. And, in fact, the others around them do not let them completely forget their culture of origin. Their origin is often a salient part of their everyday conversation as when one is asked "where are you from," "tell me about that place." Identity clearly, is not based on behavior alone. The self does not have control over identity; others do. Hence, the argument that successful adaptation over time is indicated by the foreigners' increasing comfort in the host culture. (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992 p. 222) is directly contradicted.

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How comfortable one is or is not in a host culture is a result of dynamic interaction, not singular behavior. Furthermore, comfort is not necessarily a result of adapting to the host culture. Rather, it may be a coming to terms with one's difference within the larger matrix of the host culture.

Gudykunst and Kim (1992) also argue that there is a process of deculturation that occurs as acculturation is occurring (p. 215). This process of deculturation is the unlearning of certain behavioral patterns from the culture of origin.

As resocialization takes place in the course of adapting to a

new culture, some unlearning of old cultural patterns occurs,

at least in the sense that new responses are adopted in situations

that previously would have evoked different ones. This process

of unlearning of the original culture is called deculturation (p. 215).

However, it is perhaps more accurate to state that one begins to layer behaviors and increase one's repertoire from which to choose appropriate behavior. This statement also comes with its own set of assumptions. The assumptions here are that there is still a sense of discomfort when acting a certain way, even if one is capable of acting that way well. It also presumes that one is highly conscious of the choices one is making and that one recognizes the need to perform in a given situation. It is possible to be comfortable with the need to perform and not to be comfortable with the performance. Adaptation theory's notion of deculutration implies that one can no longer be of the culture of origin since that particular system is left behind. I posit that instead of simply losing a culture or building onto the number of choices one has for behaving, there is a sense of cultural fusion that occurs in which a person finds ways in which to behave

appropriately within both or all cultures (Kramer, forthcoming). For example, much like a Venn diagram in which circles overlap, individuals of hyphenated identities are situated in the space of the overlap where they can perform all parts of their identities at once. This is somewhat like the notion of a third created culture, however, it carries more complexity. It is not a taking of parts from other cultures and creating a third. Rather, it is the emergence of a culture that reflects the essence of all the cultures present. Also, in this third culture, the other cultures are completely recognizable and visible to other members of those cultures. As Gebser (1985) would explain, the origin is ever-present. Hence, an Indian-American is not someone who takes parts of Indian culture and parts of American culture and creates a third culture of hyphen. Instead, it is a person who is completely both and can negotiate the dance of cultures at a reflexive level. They tend to be much more aware of culture per se than natives who have exclusive presence in any one culture. This process is not merely a process of people adapting to the environment. Nor is it a process of adapting the environment to people. It is both and more. We strive to make the physical environment an extension of ourselves.

Conclusion

Literature about the Indian-American community serves several purposes. This served to examine the existent literature and its various underlying presumptions. Furthermore, this chapter served to critique the current mainstream communication theory of intercultural adaptation. Given the earlier critique, the following chapters serve to examine a more complex, accurate image of Indian-Americans and how these

immigrant communicate their identity. Specifically, Chapter 3 examines the

hermeneutic horizons of Indian-Americans.

CHAPTER 3

A Hermeneutic Examination of Indian Identity

Introduction

In examining culture, there are several factors that influence and shape our understanding. Despite traditional anthropological approaches to culture, it is not possible to fully understand a culture by merely studying its behaviors and practices. It is vital that we put culture into a context and a frame of reference. In fact, the notion of culture is irrelevant unless it is examined in reference to another culture. One cannot name the world unless and until one sees another world (Kramer, 1996). Hermeneutics offers a way in which to understand culture and place it into a context and frame of reference. There are two key approaches within hermeneutics. The first approach, known as historicism, is best represented in the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher. Historicism presumes that one can understand and interpret a text by simply understanding its history. Shleiermacher argued that in order to effectively interpret the Bible, it was necessary to understand the lives of its authors, their intentions, the times they lived in and their experiences in those given times. Though useful, in many ways, this approach is reductionistic and fails to provide accurate insight into a given text. Also, the notion of attempting to identify author's intent was rejected by Friedreich Nietzche's insistence on the viability of perspectivism. Nietzche argued that one cannot escape one's own perspective, so one can only know another's perspective through one's own (Nietzche, 1974).

The other key approach in hermeneutics is the examination of horizons.[11] In this approach, the scholar works to identify the horizons that inform and shape the text and its readers. In this approach, history plays a vital role along with other forces that shape one's horizon. Furthermore, history is seen as an operant now rather than in the past. It is a living, breathing force, because we are our history. History changes as we change. This does not mean that one history is correct and another history incorrect. All histories are correct in their given horizon. Author Jean Gebser provides an efficient approach to hermeneutics.[12] His theory of civilizational expression is an examination of consciousness structures as horizons. These structures are ways of being. Much like history, they are continually present and dynamic. Furthermore, Gebser brackets all meta-physics (value systems, ideologies). Thus, as with history, there is no right and wrong, no good and bad. The structures are simply ways of being, of structuring experience. They are the horizons that inform our understanding of civilizational expressions, and all other terms, such as right and wrong, are within the context of a particular horizon.

Horizons in the Indian-American Community

This chapter is an examination of the horizons within the Indian-American community, utilizing Gebser's structures of consciousness. In the hermeneutic sense, horizon is not a thing among things. Horizon is not a physical element that remains fixed and static. One's horizons are continually changing and expanding. Furthermore, our horizons are necessary to perception in that they are what shape our perception.

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[11]   This discussion of horizons is taken from Hans Georg Gadamer (1997) as adapted by Kramer (1995).

[12]   It is important to note that in his writings, Gebser presupposes Husserl in his writings.

They are the sense-making tools with which we perceive the world. Horizons also constitute the ways in which we are in the world. Horizon is an opening for and a limiting of perceptual and interpretive options. Gebser (1985) presents various structures of consciousness which are ways of being in the world. These structures are hermeneutic horizons. These structures serve to illuminate the ways in which Indian-Americans are in the world and with hermeneutics, multiple horizons are also illuminated. However, because of the continual sedimentation of multiple consciousness structures throughout one's ways of being, the Indian-American world is extremely complex and intricate. Each individual's horizons are obviously different, however, it is possible to find and identify trends within the horizons of a cultural group.

Historical Horizon

Despite this possibility, there are also forces that complicate the emergence of common horizons among Indian-Americans. In the Indian-American community, individuals' horizons are effected by when a person came to the United States, how long they have been here, why they came to the United States, where in India they came from and their gender. Thus, in examining the experiences of Indian-Americans, one finds multiple layers that are intertwined and sometimes contradictory. At the very least, there are several confounding horizons that can be identified.

Indian history is rich and varied in ways that are virtually impossible to document fully. Regardless, modern Indians carry with them vital elements of their history that confound the nuances of the many layers of their identity. The previous literature about Indian-Americans provides a specific view of Indian-Americans.

However, much of the historical context as well as the ancient traditional contexts of Indian identities have been ignored and/or disregarded primarily because the effort to take them into account is daunting. This chapter serves to examine the various levels and nuances of Indian history and tradition as they interplay with modern Indian-American identities.

Gebser utilizes the "method" of transparency to examine hermeneutic horizons. It is his approach toward examining civilizational expression. Transparency refers to the capacity to "see" several structures at once. This does not simply mean physical seeing. Rather, it is consciously knowing that there are several structures operant at the same time. There are five structures of consciousness presented in Gebser's work. These structures are space/time structures in the Kantian sense; they are inevitable conditions for the possibility of perception. These cosmological structures, as space/time contexts wherein all events and things are understood, are neither in one's head nor are they "out there." They are modes of perceiving. All the types of communication or ways of being are ways of perception. For none of these is perception inside/outside. There are three kinds of communication: one dimensional magic/idolic communication, two dimensional mythic/symbolic communication, and three dimensional perspectival/signalic communication. These structures/kinds of communication are the hermeneutic horizons which inform one's way of being and perceiving. Gebser's five structures of consciousness will be presented in detail throughout this chapter. Gebser posits that though these structures are presented in a linear fashion, they actually exist at the same time. In actuality, there is no sense of time. All time collapses on itself. As will be explained later, the duality of time and

space is actually a construct of the mental-rational structure. Thus, applying a framework of time is inappropriate when examining the structures of consciousness. In other words, time is a mental construct which can be bent and shaped. Gebser posits that the origin is here and now, not just an element of the past.

In order to comprehend Gebser's theory, there are three key points that one must understand. First, the structures of consciousness are not historically layered, nor are they time and space bound. At the surface, it may appear that one structure dominates and exists by itself. Thus, Gebser offers the process of diaphany to illuminate the seemingly hidden structures and systasis to illuminate how the structures interact and integrate. Realizing this integration of structures then gives us integral reality. Second, though it appears that the structures are progressive in that with each structure, man becomes more disassociated from nature, it is important to remember that each structure continually traces the origin. By this I mean that the origin is present in all structures and each structure embodies the origin and is the origin while also being a separate structure itself. Thus, the structures do not exist singularly. Gebser's work suggests that "there are vast periodic transformations of awareness that restructure human modes of perceiving, conceiving, and interacting" (Mickunas, 1994, p. 6). But, as Mickunas further explains, these "mutations yield not only novel structures of awareness, but also integrate and position other modes of awareness within the requirements of a predominant structure." Hence, it is our goal then to achieve transparency. Third, the goal of Gebser's method is not to present a new image of the world. This would merely be a creation of a new myth. Rather, the attempt is a new

interpretive perception; one in which all structures function integrally. "Integral reality is the world's transparency" (Gebser, p. 7).

Understanding these premises of Gebser's work, it is possible to now examine the origin and the consciousness structures. The origin is sedimented in and with all the structures. The origin is explained by Gebser in the archaic structure. The archaic structure is "the structure closest to and presumably originally identical with origin" (Gebser, 1949/1983, p. 43). Gebser further explains that this is similar to the Biblical reference to paradise, the garden of Eden before the fall, as it were, into time and space. The archaic structure is defined as "a time where the soul is yet dormant, a time of complete non-differentiation between man and the universe" (Gebser, 1949/1983, p. 43). As will become evident, the levels of differentiation will change as each structure emerges. Transparency is the method of illuminating all structures as they interplay in the moment.

As Mickunas (1994, p.7) explains, "Gebser does not posit a dualism where in one would have an external view toward one's culture." Hence, transparency is not the method of "looking in" from an omnipotent point of reference. Diaphany, the attempt at rendering transparent is the process of perceiving the world as truth (Gebser, p. 7). Diaphany is the process of examining civilizational expressions in a manner which renders them transparent, making all the structures of consciousness and the origin co-present. The interplay among the structures is also integrative. This is integral awareness. Gebser then uses the term systasis to articulate the ways in which the structures of consciousness integrate. Mickunas explains that the integration is not a static whole, rather it is an incessant integrating that continually traces the origin (1994,

p. 8). The term "origin" means a mode of "awareness" that does not differentiate between human and cosmos. Above all, it cannot be seen as some entity or a supreme entity from within which "reality" comes.

One primary aspect of Indian history is that India is a country which has a long history of absorbing the effects of its colonizing forces. Beginning with the early moghul invasions and continuing through the modern era of British colonization, India has managed to continue to absorb the cultural influences of her colonizers. However, the current trend toward Westernization throughout the world is different from the previous influences on India. One primary difference is that Indians are now willingly traveling out of India and are often the ones who bring difference back with them. For Indian-Americans, the inclusion of American society into the make up of their cultural identity provides a completely new added dimension to the notion of Indianness. This chapter serves to examine the hermeneutic horizons within the Indian-American community and how a sense of Indian identity is achieved among Indian-Americans.

Though India has always been defined as a land of many cultures and many peoples, since its freedom from British colonial rule, there has also been a strong singular nationalist identity in India. Interestingly, this move toward homogeneity and monolithic Indian identity is strongest among Indian-Americans. Despite there being several different Indian groups in the United States, there are strong regional ties and highly homogenous affiliations among Indian-Americans. This sense of a singular Indian identity appears to be totally contradictory to the logic of various predominant Indian teachings. It is possible to argue that the one coherent aspect of India is that

there is no singular coherence to its culture. However, this is only one of the many

confounding positions held by Indian-Americans in the United States.

There are many confounding sets of beliefs, practices, and behaviors within the

Indian-American communities. These beliefs, practices, and behaviors are confounding

in that they seem to contradict each other at times. Also, as they are layered upon each

other, the results seem to negate each other. First and foremost, it is important to

recognize that, just as in India, there are many different types of Indians and many

varieties of Indian communities within the United States. However, of all of the Indian

communities in the United States, there are a few that are more visible. This chapter

focuses on the image of the most visible of the Indian-Americans. A sub-section of the

Indian-American community that serves as the focus of much of this work is the upper

class, white collar Indian-American community.

One primary characteristic of the post-1965 Indian immigrant was his economic

potential. Most immigrants of that era were college educated and had come to the

United States to either continue with graduate school or gain white collar employment.

Of those, many went into business for themselves. Hence, one of the primary

characteristics of this immigrant population is upper middle class status.[13] The second

flux of immigration into the United States (immigration since the early 1980's) included

lower class Indians, however, this is a distinctly different group of immigrants. This

second batch of Indians are members of the lower castes and not always college

educated. The educational system of India confers associate's certificates after two

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[13] Though not addressed in this work, there is a clear need to examine issues of class and status in regard to culture. Is it possible to transfer class and status from one's culture of origin? Also, what are the indicators of class and status among Americans? Is it possible for immigrants to ever achieve upper class status in the United States?

years of junior college and this is the most common level of education among this second wave of immigrants. Many of these "new" Indian-Americans tend to settle in the ethnic Indian enclaves in large cities. These enclaves resemble the original ethnic enclaves of earlier European immigrants. The most well known of these enclaves are Queens and Flushing, New York. There one can find total Indian neighborhoods reminiscent of old Italian, Polish, Russian and German neighborhoods of the early 1900's. It is interesting to note that these "new" immigrants are not highly visible to the early Indian immigrants. Much like the rest of America's poor, this group is also somewhat invisible, even to other Indian-Americans.[14]

As discussed earlier, the lower class Indians who are newer immigrants are not a part of the already existent Indian-American network in this country. The earlier immigrated Indian-Americans do not identify with the new immigrants and actually had indirectly worked to curb the influx of these new immigrants into the United States. The post-1965 immigrant represents a specific caste and class of Indians and I posit that these immigrants do not want an influx of lower caste Indians into the United States. In fact, current immigration law (December 1997) is being changed to curb family chain immigration, the system most effectively used by Indian-Americans to migrate to the United States. The family chain immigration system is a process of one individual or one nuclear family immigrating to the United States, gaining citizenship and then sponsoring various extended family members for immigration. The post-1965 immigrants utilized this system effectively and then voted with the current Republican

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[14] Underlying these two groups is a group of Indian international students, a separate group with distinct characteristics. This group is not discussed in this particular work.

congress to place stringent controls on that very system. The specific control that was placed requires the individual sponsoring the family member to show a minimum $25,000 yearly salary and proof of life-long financial support for the incoming family member. This effectively decreased the opportunities for lower class Indians who now want to immigrate to the United States.

To begin, the Indian communities in the United States tend to present a predominantly North Indian heritage. The 1990 census report indicates that of every 1000 people, 102 speak Gujarati and 331 speak Hindi (Urdu) (U.S. Census bureau, 1997). No South Indian languages were reported. Though there are many South Indians in the United States, numerically the Northern Indian regions are more strongly represented and most Indian holidays that are publicly celebrated are either North Indian holidays or celebrated in the styles of the Northern traditions. For example, the festival of lights celebrated in October or November is known as Diwali (this being the Hindi term), though there are various other names for the holiday. Though Hindi is the language of government for India, it belongs to the Indo-European language group. India's languages are primarily either Indo-European or Dravidian based languages. The languages of the South are primarily Dravidian. Historically, there has been a strong bias toward the Indo-European languages of the North.

To some extent, this Northern bias reflects the Northern bias also present in India. The North/South bias has a historical base. Thaker (1987) explains that with the geographical make up of the Indian sub-continent, the Indus river valley region of India served to be the site of the greatest empires and that the southern portion of the

peninsula was often ignored by historians. The North/South bias has been an issue in

India in regard to economy, development and culture.[15]

However, in many ways, this bias is a greater problem here in the United States.

Though there may be a Northern bias in India, it is difficult to forget half of an entire

sub-continent. In the United States, however, Indians tend to present themselves as a

homogenous group without the obvious presence of other Indian groups to offset the

sense that all Indians are the same. Shukla (1997) explains this presentation of singular

identity through her examination of an Indian cultural festival in Edison, New Jersey.

She explains that Indian immigrant groups work to "retain broader imaginative

possibilities of 'India,' as an integrated whole, in a world where nations and cultures are

deeply fragmented (p. 298). Hence, there are "Indian" organizations throughout the

United States, yet these organizations have distinct regional divisions. Indians here

define themselves as Indian, yet the term "Indian" tends to mean region of origin rather

than the entire country of origin. This sense of identity is also layered with another

confounding identity. There is a visible, powerful nationalistic rhetoric that Indians of

all regions share. Though most Indians tend to identify with their specific regions,

when talking about their affiliation with non-Indians, the rhetoric reflects a strong sense

of Indian national identity. When asked by non-Indians, most Indians identify

themselves as Indian nationals, all children of their motherland. This tendency to move

outward among the circles of identification is understandable when one examines the

context in which one is communicating identity.

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[15] Most of India's urban centers are in Northern India, and approximately 80 per cent of all development
in India is in the North. It is important to note that oftentimes the western region of India is considered
the North and the eastern region of India is considered the South in discussions of North/South bias.

By moving outward, I am referring to the levels of familiarity between people.

For example, in a gathering of Indians, one may refer to the region of India from which

he or she originates, and among non-Indians, one may simply refer to herself or himself

as Indian, presuming that the person asking the question has little or no knowledge of

India. However, it is interesting that even among Indians who have no social ties (i.e.

Indians who may meet through professional networks), the tendency is to first show

national affiliation and then, as the relationship builds, show regional affiliation.

Despite this tendency to affiliate as Indian nationals, these individuals then belong

primarily to specific regional groups, which reflects intense regionalistic community

ties. Furthermore, though affiliations are with regional organizations, most Indians

identify themselves as Indian (and this usually means region, not entire country). Thus,

it would seem that the terms "Indian" and "region" seem to be interchangeable at times.

However, despite this interchangeablity, regions other than one's own are not openly

recognized as Indian. Shukla (1997) provides an example in which a Sikh man was

forcibly removed from the "Indian Cultural Festival" because, as the Gujarati security

guard explained, "'the police had been notified that if they saw a turban, they were to be

extremely observant.' The guard continued to explain that Sikhs were ruining Indian

unity" (p. 309).

This tendency toward regionalism is perhaps exacerbated by the fact that the

largest number of Indians in the United States are Gujaratis.[16] Gujarat is in the

northwestern part of India and is known for its clannishness and resistance to

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[16] Among Gujaratis there are two distinct groups, Patels and non-Patels. The primary division is one of caste, though not class. There are several nuances among these divisions, however, those with the last name Patel are usually grouped together by other Indians and, more recently, in research studies. This group is known for its business sense and its stronghold in the American hotel service industry.

Westernization. Interestingly, despite their expressed dislike for Westernization, Gujaratis usually migrate entire families to the United States. Most Gujaratis in the United States are organized under Gujarati organizations that are often specific to the point of sub-caste. For example, there are directories documenting various Gujarati Brahmin sub-groups. Another predominant group of Northern Indians in the United States is the Punjabi community. As indicated in Chapter 2, this community has a longer history in the United States and has been known for its unique and conspicuous cultural practices, such as wearing turbans, growing beards and carrying a small knife, all required covenants of Sikhism, the predominant religion of the Punjabi community.

The Horizon of Identity

Another confounding set of identities within the Indian community centers around the question of what it means to be Indian. Though many of the Indians living in the United States claim to be Indian and only Indian, their lifestyles reflect a strong Western bent. Many engage in "non-Hindu" practices such as non-vegetarianism and drinking alcoholic beverages. They engage in the "American Dream" and seek to build their fortunes in the typical American tradition. Indians work to amass fortunes and use those fortunes to show their success to others. This modification of behavior is in no way a problem as such, nor is my addressing it a judgment of the community. The problem however, is that the insistence of being Indian illuminates a powerful contradiction between the rhetoric of the community and the actions of the community. As will be addressed later in this chapter, this contradiction then affects Indian youth, who are seen as becoming too American to their parents, yet, they are not American enough for mainstream American society.

The quest for the American dream presents its own set of confounding identities within the Indian community. Though many Indians say they are not American and are merely immigrants within this country, there are clear qualitative differences between Indians and other immigrants. Many Indians tend to identify with the white elite minority of wealthy Republicans in the United States. Shukla (1997) explains that "class ascendancy has a discursive correlation with whiteness" (p. 311). She continues to explain that Indian-Americans "in effect, opt out of racial hierarchy to cash in on their class privilege" (p. 312). Due to the economic privilege of this community as a whole and the native land status of most Indian immigrants, many Indians see themselves as most like the upper class and conservative. Thus, they tend to identify with the largely Republican Party, Caucasian community than the other immigrant or minority groups (see the works of such authors as Dinesh D'Souza, 1991). Yet they continue to argue that they are not Americans. Indians feel that their ideology is best reflected by the upper class of the United States and that the Republican Party doctrines best serve their needs as a community.

However, this could not be further from the truth. In the racial politics of the United States, Indians have been placed in the purgatory of "model minority" status by the white mainstream conservatives. The notion of model minority is a conservative mindset which is utilized by politicians to pit minority groups against one another. In it, Indian-Americans are seen as an ideal minority because of their economic success and their contributions to American society. Many Indians see this acceptance as equivalent to parallel social and economic status in the United States. However, this is not as clearly correlated as one would believe. In fact, many Indians do not recognize that in

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supporting those who are seemingly supporting them, they may be digging their own graves. Additionally, Indian-Americans also do not recognize that they are conforming to the very system that they claim to dislike so greatly.

For example, recently the Governor of California Pete Wilson made a "sovereign national borders" speech in which he called for the closing of national borders in hopes of retaining national sovereignty. Many of the Indians in California supported Governor Wilson in his speech and his election because they perceived the tone of the speech to be about the influx of Hispanic immigration. What they did not realize was that the closing of borders is not a selective process. By decreasing immigration, Indian immigration is also limited.

Another reason that Indians are so "liked" and have been labeled "model minorities" is that they are seen as not forcing themselves on American society. They are seen as a quiet, well-mannered group that works to maintain the status quo and to achieve a place within that society. This aspect of model minority is further reinforced by a rather nostalgic image of Indianness. Mohanty (1995) discusses this concept in her personal essay about self-definition. "Any purely culturalist or nostalgic/sentimental definition of being 'Indian' or 'South Asian' was inadequate. Such definition fueled the 'model minority' myth. And this subsequently constituted us as 'outsiders/foreigners' or as interest groups who sought or had obtained the American Dream" (p. 354). This idea of model minority is utilized to set up a hierarchy of acceptable behavior among immigrants. This often serves to pit certain immigrant groups against each other (a classic divide-and-conquer technique). Toni Morrison (1988), in her work, discusses the need for many immigrant groups to disassociate from the Black-American

community. For many Indians, like other Asian immigrant groups, there is a powerful need to disassociate from Black-Americans and Mexican-Americans. There is this sense that Asian immigrants are more like upper class whites in this country than like other immigrant groups and the Asian immigrant groups work to perpetuate that similarity. This similarity to Anglo Americans is fostered by showing the dissimilarity between Asian immigrants and other minority groups such as Black Americans and Mexican-Americans. This need to disassociate is further fostered by the model minority system in the United States. What is lost in this disassociation is that the issues of minority rights in this country are not based on which minority one is, and, when laws restricting minorities are passed, they often also affect the Indian community. In the classic colonial setup, the American government has utilized first tier minorities, such as Asians, to control other minorities. Due to their economic status, model minority groups are touted as being "on the right track" and "like true Americans," creating a sense that mere hard work will give them the social status of Caucasians. However, what is not realized is that they will never be mainstream Caucasians, thus, they never receive the rewards of that social status. Regardless, these model minority groups are held up as example of potential success to other minority groups because they are better off than the average American both economically and educationally.

The argument is made that these model minority groups have been here for far less time and have still managed to rise far above other minorities. Additionally, it is argued that this success among model minorities is achieved without any complaint or anger about inequality on the part of the minority. What is not recognized is the

historical experiences of these groups. Most "model minorities" came to the United

States after the 1960's and the civil rights movement. They do not share a history of

racial inequality and thus buy into the myth that there is no difference between them

and the upper class elite Caucasian community, and thus, they face no issues of racism

or discrimination.[17] Additionally, model minorities enter the United States with a

much more stable economic base than other minorities have in the past. Thus, the

comparison between "model minorities" and other minorities is an inaccurate one.

Underlying all of these issues of race in the United States are the issues that are

integral to the identity of Indian-Americans. For many Indian-Americans there is a

deep-seated fear of Westernization. However, this fear is a reactionary response on the

part of many Indian-Americans. They are afraid of being Western/American yet that is

part of what they are. Indian-Americans are driven by a fear. They name this fear the

fear of losing their culture and losing their children to the West. Yet, this fear is

actually a response to the Cartesian psychic dualism. The fear is a manifestation of the

Indian-American's need to say that she is not one or the other, rather is all and

everything at once. This concept of being several cultures at once is best explained by

the concept of cultural fusion (Kramer, forthcoming). This notion of fusion will be

explored later. However, this struggle to be seen as many rather than one is

contradicted by the continual rhetoric of "being Indian." Most Indians in this country

fight very hard to express to everyone that they are Indian, not American. This rhetoric

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[17] Regardless, when discussing issues of race, most Indians clearly state that they prefer doing business with other Indians to assure their fair treatment. It seems to be a question of what the threshold of discrimination is. The position is that: when comparing themselves to American society in its entirety, Indians are no different than the upper class whites of this country; however, when compared to the upper class whites of this country, Indians are somewhat better.

illuminates the Indian-American's own dualistic mindset. They cannot, or choose not, to grasp the fusion that they manifest, both behaviorally and in attitude. This mindset is perhaps the most American part of the Indian community, and it is the one aspect of themselves they cannot see clearly.

Additionally, they do not see how this linear thinking is an aspect of what makes them so successful in American society. The success of Indians in America shows their ability to think and act like "Americans." They have the ability to grasp and think with the linearity of the Western mind. Indian-Americans are American by the mere fact that they are an integral part of American society. They pay taxes, they own businesses, and they participate in the political process, the economy and the multicultural variety that is "America." They have unwittingly bought into the white racist notion that "real" Americans are white Anglos. Just as they sometimes speak of a singular Indian National identity, they also perceive that America is a singular identity other than the polyglot that it is.

However, this myth of essential "Americanness" is often ignored and, when addressed, denied. This push and pull of American versus Indian is amplified in the relationships between Indian-American parents and their children. I posit that the issues Indian-American parents face with their children are mere reflections of the ways in which they live in the United States. Indian youth are merely responding to the ways in which their parents live. The physicality of Indian families is extremely American. Success is measured by Western standards of wealth and material goods. This is not to say that there is no materialism in India or that Indians in India do not seek wealth. However, there is a vital qualitative difference. In India, wealth and material success is

not what defines an individual's Indianness. The wealth is merely a mode of functioning within the society. It is a class identification, not a racial or ethnic one. Clearly, it is a definitive element of the Indian community, but not of racial or ethnic identity. However, in the United States, the quest for educational and economic success and the process of wealth accumulation is what defines the Indian community and there is no other definitive expression of Indianness that is similar to the identity of the dominant mainstream community.

Furthermore, there is another layer of confounding identities regarding economic gain among Indians. Indians tend to see the notion of economic advancement as primarily Western. However, as one of the oldest civilizations in the world, India and Indian culture has a rich history of commerce and economic advancement. Yet, this aspect of Indian history is forgotten, and economic advancement is labeled as an American trait. Indian children are then told that they should work hard to advance like the Americans. Good Indians are those who take advantage of the opportunity of advancement available in the United States. Indians have accepted the American equation of education with economic success that may not exist in traditional India. Hence, economic success becomes a criterion of Indianness, and it is seemingly both contradictory and complimentary to other definitive elements of Indianness.

In actuality, what is happening is that the notions of Western modes of success are being utilized to define the Indian community both by the masses and by the Indian community itself. To be a model minority is defined not racially or ethnically but economically and educationally. These two variables are correlated to race, national origin and ethnicity by comparative thinking. Hence, it is believed that economic and

academic success has something to do with being Indian, and this belief is internalized by the Indian-American community. For example, at the Indian Cultural Festival in New Jersey, the Swaminarayan Temple (the organizers of the festival) utilizes the story of Ekalavya to express what is the Indian way. Ekalavya is an ideal student who is rejected by an archery school. Despite this rejection, he works hard and becomes the best archer in all of the land. Thus, Ekalavya represents concentration, hard work and faith. Shukla (1997, p.305) utilizes this example to explain that "work, concentration and perseverance are important code words in the language of capitalism, and also in the language of ethnicity; here, the capitalist values *were* Indian." Furthermore, this is a internalization of the criteria of model minority.

These modes of success are then embodied by the Indian youth and are extended throughout their modes of being because they have no other sense of Indianness from which to define themselves, unlike their counterparts in India, who have a rich blend of qualities that make up Indianness. Indian-American parents also have a limited horizon from which they identify appropriate Indianness. Thus, these youth come across as American, much to the consternation of their parents.

Another set of confounding identities arises from the attempt that Indian-American parents make to offset this Americanization of their children by exposing them, often forcefully, to Indian culture including religion, art, language, ritual and practice. This is a clear attempt at magic identity.

As Gebser explains, "the magic world is also a world of *pars pro toto*, in which the part can and does stand for the whole. For example, Indian communities in the United States do become little Indias for the members of that community. Through

these few streets, geographical space is transcended and, for the people living there, these Little Indias are India. This reinforces the sense of unity for the Indians here with the Indians in India. The magic world is a point like world in which the points can be interchanged for each other. But, this is also the point at which the magic breaks down. Little India is a mythic image. It cannot be interchanged with India.

The magic world is also the world in which the human first realizes that she has will and that that will can confront nature. At this point nature becomes something to be fought and mastered. As Gebser explains, "Here, in these attempts to free himself from the grip and spell of nature, with which in the beginning he was still fused in unity, magic man begins the struggle for power which has not ceased since; here man becomes the maker" (1949/1983, p. 46). In the magic epoch, there is a sense of spacelessness and timelessness. These elements are not the restrictive boundaries as we know them. All things are intertwined and work with each other. Thus, one can commit an act in this moment and this space and it is perfectly natural for the act to occur in another time and space. Gebser uses the example of the depiction of the hunt being the actual hunt. For Indian-Americans, the doing of Indian activities in modern day America is the same as being in the India of their recollection. In the way that Indian-Americans see it, they are true Indians, whether they are born in India or not. Their identity as Indians has nothing to do with the amount of time they lived in India, if ever or whether they are there or not. By engaging in Indianness through religion, ways of interacting, thought processes, social networks and by being born to Indian parents, regardless of where they are also born, one is Indian. To have once engaged in being Indian in India or being born to an Indian person who engaged in being Indian in

India makes the person here Indian. To be like Indians from India is to be Indian. Magic comprises "identity with" and being that to which one identifies. Furthermore, Indian is a blood/semen based magic identity. Even if the behavior that one engages in is strange, one is still "Indian." The problem for parents (and Indians in India) is that their children look Indian but act so strange.

Gebser further explains, "all magic, even today, occurs in the natural-vital, egoless, spaceless, and timeless sphere. This requires-as far as present-day man is concerned-a sacrifice of consciousness; it occurs in the state of trance, or when the consciousness dissolves as a result of mass reactions, slogans, or 'isms'" (1949/1983, p. 48-49). This sacrifice of consciousness is evident when one looks to the Indian immigrant community. The sense of being Indian is invoked and not questioned. It is the mantra that supersedes any and all other possibilities of identity. The collectives of the Indian community shape and feed this identity. By living in enclaves, a sense of unity is perpetuated and Indianness becomes a pervasive force. There is clearly a magic identity as those individuals who are born in the United States claim "Indianness" by their mere existence. The presence of "Indian" blood. Indian names, Indian parents makes them Indian. Indian-Americans see no symbolic difference between themselves and Indians in India. Thus, they claim a cultural identity that they may not geographically be able to claim (Kramer, 1992, xvii).

This exposure to Indianness is based on the collective memory of the immigrant parents. This collective memory reflects an India of the past (this frozen-in-time memory will be discussed in detail later). Hence, the Indian youth of America are highly traditional in a way that their Indian counterparts in India are not. Thus, the

Indian youth of America are both typical Americans and antique Indians at the same time. They represent a sense of cultural fusion that is a total integration of two worlds in which the point of connection is invisible (much like the blending of two liquids, once mixed the process of separation becomes impossible and the ability to "see" two distinct liquids is also impossible).

As has been noted in the previous paragraphs the sense of being Indian is a crucial element of identity for the Indian-American community. It is important to consider how this notion of "Indian" is defined and from where it comes. Much of the sense of Indianness that the immigrants call upon is a type of frozen-in-time memory based on the collective recollections of the older immigrants. For example, the typical Indian immigrant is a man who came to the United States in the early 1970's, from a wealthy, upper class, upper caste family. He was in his mid- to late-20's when he arrived and is now in his late 50's. His cohorts come from remarkably similar backgrounds economically, socially, culturally, and religiously. They tend to socialize primarily with others like themselves rather than integrating socially into the pre-established "mainstream" community. This is the person whose memories then serve to establish what it means to be Indian for the next generation of Indians here in the United States.

It is important to note that this recollection of India is in no way false or inaccurate, however, it is greatly limited, both by time and knowledge. This recollection of India is based on an India of the 1940's and 1950's, culturally, socially, and economically. Furthermore, as with any form of nostalgia, the recollections are highly selective in nature; the positiveness of all practices is recalled and the

negativeness is non-existent. For example, these men often remember how strong their parents' marriages were and how their mothers treated their fathers. They also remember the positive relationship between themselves and their parents. However, the essential differences in their lives and the lives of their parents are masked for these Indians. First and foremost, the social infrastructure which supported all interpersonal relationships while they were in India does not exist in the United States. This social infrastructure shielded them from any marital difficulties their parents might have had and kept them from overtaxing their relationship with their parents. However, because this infrastructure was a taken for granted force that was tightly woven into their lives, only its results are recalled.

The Horizon of Religion

In addition to the memories of past lifestyles, religion is also a cornerstone of Indian-American identity. Though India is home to many religions, and historically, many groups suffering religious persecution have settled in India due to its tolerance of other religions, Indian-Americans tend to present a monolithic attitude to religion also. Hinduism (or Sikhism or Jainism) is used synonymously with Indian national and cultural identity. Furthermore, the Hinduism that is most often called upon is specific in its regional origin. As discussed earlier, the Hinduism practiced in the United States is usually limited to a variety from Northern India. Another vital problem with the religious practices within the United States is that the source of these practices are based on the recalled practices of the immigrants, most of whom are not trained in ancient Hindu philosophy.

Hinduism is a complex composite of myths that has relied on its strong oral

tradition to disseminate its multitude of often contradictory values. In actuality,

Hinduism is better described as a framework of values, philosophies, laws, and

practices that serve to offer potentialities for approaching life. Some of the multiplicity

and contradiction becomes clear after one has spent years of study on Hindu ancient

texts.[18] Most Indians recognize the sense of multiplicity and contradiction, but usually

cannot address or explicate it. This "lack" of knowledge is considered natural because

the religious exploration in the form of reading Hindu scripture is reserved for the

fourth phase of life, the phase of ascetic life. Any teachings of Hinduism for the family

are left to family elders and family gurus. Thus, parents are not responsible for passing

on the more esoteric teachings of religious belief. They are only required to teach the

physical practices of the religion.

Most of the Indian immigrants who came to the United States were only in their

late twenties and had no knowledge of the esoteric teachings of their religion and little

knowledge of the physical practices. In addition to this lack of knowledge, the United

States did not provide an already established infrastructure of elders and priests to cover

the gap in teaching Hinduism to future generations. Thus, the sense of multiplicity and

mystery of Hinduism is lost among most Indian-Americans. However, there was a

desperate need for religion within the Indian-American community. This need was

actually a need for a sense of culture that was familiar in such a foreign land. The

establishment of organized religion reinforced the sense of community that Indian-

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[18] These texts are the results of oral histories having been written down. For example, in the beginning
of the Mahabharata, Lord Ganesh is described as the scribe who writes the story as he hears it being told
to him. Additionally, it is believed that the written stories are intended to be spoken or sung aloud to gain
their complete meaning.

Americans were trying to establish for themselves. Without an available, established system of leadership, the Indian immigrant community relied on their own memories of how religion was practiced. Worship was conducted by Indian gurus who had remained in the United States after the 1960's movement of eastern religions. These gurus and the temples they had established managed to serve the immediate needs of the Indian community, such as weekly hymnals, monthly full moon celebrations, and specific services in which temples are necessary, such as baby naming ceremonies, and rites of passages for children. However, they failed in the long run due to fundamental differences in practice. Most of the gurus' preachings and the temples created in the 1960's catered specifically to a Western audience and, though based in the same religion, were markedly different from what Indian-Americans had known as children in India. The spiritual teachings were more openly performative in a manner that seemed foreign to many Indian-Americans. Thus, most immigrants relied on their own memories of religious practices and established a strong system of orthopraxy in the United States. By orthopraxy I mean that rituals are carried out with physical accuracy, but lack the magic and mythic invocations that provide meaning. Also, by the time that Indian-Americans began craving a more "authentic" form of religion, they were in a stronger financial position to build their own temples and call upon numerous gurus in India to come to the United States in order to provide religious teaching and leadership. However, this was not as simple an answer as it may seem.

Religion soon became an economic issue within the Indian-American community. Gurus from India were sponsored by wealthy Indian-Americans who provided everything from airfare to lodging to audiences for these gurus' sermons.

Obviously, the religious preferences of those providing the funding were favored. Additionally, the type of guru who was enticed to come preach in the United States was very specific. First and foremost, they tended to be younger gurus who could withstand the rigors of extended international travel. Also, they were extremely charismatic, in order to hold the attentions of vast, diverse audiences. It is important to recognize that spiritual realization in India is a highly personal experience. One is not necessarily forced to sit at the feet of a guru until one seeks to learn on her or his own. However, in the United States, the Indian community was confined to the dictates of travel schedules and availability. Also, the path of spirituality is highly personal and sacred. It is a path which is privately negotiated between the guru and disciple. However, with a dearth of gurus and publicness of those who did come to the United States, this privacy was lacking. Religion had become a form of modern mass communication.

These America bound gurus also reflected the linguistic imbalance in the United States. Most of the popular gurus who have set up large religious organizations throughout the world tend to preach in North Indian languages, usually Gujarati. Finally, these gurus served the need for religion in a unique way for the Indian-American community. This need was accompanied by a heightened sense of wanting tradition to offset the glaring lack of Indian tradition in their lives. Indian culture is steeped in centuries of tradition, and this tradition is the filter through which most Indians engage in their daily lives. However, not until they leave India do they realize the integral role that traditions play for them in their everyday lives. Thus, Indian-Americans turn to their religious leaders to instill a sense of tradition that they require to feel anchored. However, in the United States, the traditional practices need to be much

more ancient and clearly defined in order to create a sense of preservation. Also, the need for tradition is based on allaying the fears of Westernization that many Indian-Americans are continuously fighting. Thus, many of the traditions that are instilled in the Indian-American community are even more antiquated than the traditions practiced in India today. The Indian-American community cannot afford the flexibility within tradition that is present in India because they see the role of tradition as the primary weapon against Westernization. Innovation in practices is not as tolerated in the United States as it is in India. The third and final role these gurus serve is to reinforce a sense of belonging to their country for many of these Indians. This provides a physical referent for Indian-American identity. Most of these gurus do this by directing charitable organizations through their temples and raising money for charity in India. Two examples of the America bound gurus who have gained immense popularity are Swaminarayan Sanstha and Morari Bapu (see Shukla, 1997).

Once a religious system was set up in the United States, Indian-Americans began to utilize that system to disseminate culture among Indian-American youth. Indian-American parents worked under the same assumptions as their parents. They presumed that by teaching their children how to practice ritual and by taking their children to temple, a sense of Indian identity would be instilled along with religious understanding. However, this does not work as well in the Indian-American religious community as it does in India. First, the sense of timing that is crucial is not so easily achieved. There is a moment of awakening in which one desires the more esoteric knowledge of spirituality and, in that moment one seeks a guru. This is possible in India where these gurus are on the periphery of one's life from the beginning and thus

seem instantly available when the need arises. However, because of the monochronic nature of the United States culture, temple attendance became a Sunday afternoon activity, unlike in India, where temples are plentiful and available at all times. Indian-American youth had to go to temple with their parents and receive the teachings of gurus when the gurus were available. Also, the sense of private communion between guru and disciple was lost. Most of the gurus traveling to the United States were called upon by Indian parents to serve as authority figures brought here to correct a perceived lack of Indianness in Indian-American youth. This led to a power struggle among the youth, their parents and the gurus. Finally, once the youth became interested in the deeper, esoteric issues within Hindu doctrine, there was nowhere for the parents to direct them for guidance. Thus, Hinduism became a tool of control which was used to define "right" and "wrong" Indian behavior without the deeper teachings to provide authentic and authoritative explanations.

These memories of lifestyle and religious interpretations then serve as the lore which is used to enculturate the children of immigrants, establish Indian enclaves and build a sense of community among the Indian-Americans. What Indians in the United States fail to consider is that the sense of Indian culture that they so strongly hold on to existed primarily in the India of their childhoods and no longer exists in today's India. India is not a static state, rather it is a dynamic multiplicity of cultures that is continually evolving and changing. And this change is accelerating with modernization in India. This change is not realized by the Indian-American community and thus, not incorporated into their definitive sense of Indianness. Hence, the Indian-American community seems much more "Indian" than Indians in India because their sense of

culture is based on a time past and thus tends to be more traditionalistic and conservative.

The Expanding Horizon of India

The changing face of India also poses many problems for the Indian immigrant community. One tactic of preserving culture often utilized by Indian-Americans is the perennial return trip to India, which often includes entire families. This poses an interesting set of problems for Indian-Americans. First, the parents are highly uncomfortable in the "new" India. The "home" of their memories no longer exists, and they often feel let down. Additionally, they are unaware of or unwilling to recognize the steady cultural fusion that has been occurring within themselves. Thus, they find themselves having less tolerance for the rhythm of Indian society because they have become accustomed to the cadence of Western society.

Also, despite the fact that these immigrants left India to settle in the United States, they disdain the Westernization that is visible in India. There is a clear contradiction in the mindset of Indian-Americans regarding Westernization of Indians and India. On one hand, the modernization of India is heralded as a great advancement for the nation. On the other hand, the Americanization of India is seen as a loss of culture and a possible downfall of the society. This reflects the mindset that one should take the "good" from America and leave the rest. As Shukla (1997) explains, "culture [is] about values in the Indian-American community" (p. 305). The "good" is defined as advancement, wealth, technology and development. The "bad" is defined as loose morals, individualism and disrespectfulness. Again, there is an obvious dualistic mentality. What is not acknowledged is that it is not possible to take the material

advancement of a society without also taking the ideology of those systems (Gouldner, 1976).[19] Technology is a cultural construct. It is steeped in a way of being that permeates those who empower it. Technology is the manifest result of behavior patterns, needs and motives. The values integral to modern technology are efficiency, control, standardized dissemination, and singularity. These values in many ways contradict the values of traditional Indian society. Kramer, (1996, xix, xx; 1-10) provides the example that the notion of singularity is present in technology in that any one who can work a computer can gain access. This directly contradicts the hierarchy of age present in Indian culture. Furthermore, there is a sense of power that is ascribed to the technology itself, and it becomes "truth." Thus, the ability to engage the technology becomes defined as true knowledge. Knowledge in the utilitarian modern West is identical to power. All knowledge has value only so far as it can be applied. Only technology has value and reality. Only power is real. Thus, in the process of gaining technological advancement, India and Indians are also gaining a cultural system.

This cultural system directly contradicts certain dominant elements within the Indian cultural system. One primary example is the issue of religion. The quest for the deeper understanding of Hinduism is scoffed at now even by urban elites in India because there is no direct applied result of such contemplation. Another example is the attraction to applied careers. The notion of studying to learn or to seek deeper knowledge is considered impractical. Careers that are not economically advanced and

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[19]   Other scholars such as Habermas, Gebser and Mumford have discussed this notion in detail.

carry no direct application (such as teaching and the arts) are viewed as unnecessary and a waste.

By subconsciously taking on a cultural system, another set of confounding identities among Indian-Americans is revealed. In actuality, this cultural system was first taken on by urban elites in India once they were exposed to it by the British. I posit that Indians tend to hold a rather Victorian, British image of themselves. Indian-Americans have internalized a highly western based image of "Indian." This internalized image is then the source of conflict in regard to what is considered appropriate Indian behavior. For example, Indians tend to buy into the belief that Indians are merely spiritual people and not "caught up" in economic success. It is important to note that in internalizing a western image, the presumptions of those images are also accepted. This is a prime example of double consciousness, as discussed in Chapter 1.. Indians see themselves as inferior (through British eyes) and have been striving to measure up to British standards ever since. In keeping with the sense of psychic dualism, most western images are presented with a presumption of either/or. Thus, it is assumed that one who is spiritually advanced cannot also be capable of economic advancement. So, when Indian-Americans achieve economic success, it is presumed that economic success is a result of their ability to take the good from American culture. Here, the good is economic opportunity and this is the Indian evaluation, not the American one. Indian-American children see this as an example of dichotomous behavior because they do not have an accurate hermeneutic horizon about economic success in Indian history.

Another powerful example of this issue is the notion of "good" children in the Indian-American community. Predominantly based on the western image of Asian families, there is an overly strict sense of acceptable behavior. Though it would be inaccurate to say that there is no difference between the behavior of Indian-American children and the behavior of Indian children, I posit that the issues of parent-child conflict are compounded by the internalized western image of Asian children, the noted change in behavior as Indian-American children engage in a unique form of cultural fusion, and the frozen-in-time memories of Indian-American parents about how they interacted with their parents.

Often, when Indian-American children engage in behaviors that are not stereotypically Asian, it is seen as a major transgression. In contrast, among parents in India, such behavior may not garner such a severe reaction among parents in India. An obvious example is the issue of career choice. As discussed earlier, even parents in India are seduced by high money careers such as medicine and engineering due to the growing power of technology throughout the world. However, in the United States, this attraction to "science" fields is twofold. This attraction is a combination of the pervasiveness of the cultural system of modern technology and an internalized image of Indians as science- and math-minded. Indian-Americans have bought into the western image that Indians have a predisposition to math and science and thus work only in careers based on either math or science.[20]

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[20] There is also an image of Indian-Americans in the hotel service industry which is based on the large number of Patels who own motels throughout the United States. This image reinforces the stereotype that all Indian-Americans are business people who are continuously seeking wealth. A discussion of these stereotypes is not appropriate at this point because the images have more to do with Indians who live in America rather than with "Indians" per se.

The behavior of Indian-American youth also seems strikingly different to Indian-American parents because it is unlike the way they behaved as children. First, there is the obvious generation gap. The mere change in the decades since the parents were children results in different behavior. Second, and more importantly, is the fact that Indian-American children are not just Indian. These children have created a cultural fusion that allows them to interact in either world at any given moment. They have incorporated both cultures in ways that allow them to interact in either world effectively. Thus, their behaviors do not reflect either pure Indianness or pure Americanness. Regardless, the children themselves do not recognize this blend because they have also internalized a western image of what is "Indian" and cannot see the authentic Indianness in their behaviors.

Horizon of the Hyphen

Central to the discussion is the underlying tensions and interplay of identities associated with the hyphen. Though I originally intended to focus on the notion of home as the primary element of the Indian community, as I more closely examined the experiences of Indian-Americans, it became clear that the hyphen is where identity is located for many Indian-Americans. Ironically, this is seemingly contradicted by the fact that the hyphen is so greatly ignored by so many Indian-Americans. Perhaps this denial of dual identity is a primary indicator of how central the hyphen is to them. First, it is necessary to examine the actual hyphen itself. Visually, on the page, it falls between the words Indian and American. It fills a space that serves to both bifurcate and unite the two cultures. It is as though the two cultures do not, cannot, meet yet, they are inextricably connected. This visualization is reinforced in the minds of people.

They see the two worlds as different. They see the two worlds as separate and basically unable to meet. Indian-Americans have bought into the argument in which language has set up a system in which cultures can see similarities among them and also see differences, but they cannot meet. Furthermore, the word American is tagged onto Indian. This also provides a hierarchical judgment. It says, "I am Indian first. American second." American is a secondary identity. Interestingly enough, as my analysis will show, this question of which comes first is not about birth place, citizenship or nationality. It is about an instinctive identity. A reflective core that ties itself to a tradition rather than a place. Gebser identifies this as the mythic structure.

Gebser points out that in order for this structure to exist, there must be at least a basic consciousness of time. This is due to the human need to place events in a particular "order." This consciousness of time is also a growing consciousness of soul. Recall that in the magic structure, there was the beginnings of the battle between humans and nature. In the mythical structure, the coming-to-awareness of nature is complete and people begin to see the connections between humans and nature. These connections are visible in the creations of constructs such as time and soul. Hence the primary characteristic of the mythical structure is the growing awareness of soul.

The mythical structure is marked by the notion of two-dimensional polarity. Polarity means the presence of one event, feeling, or image that requires the presence of another event, feeling or image. At this point, we see the emergence of a temporality. The mythic structure brings with it the realization of the perpetual polar cycle. Hence, the mythical structure is both silent and oral in that man can only understand one when given the other. In fact, the notion of a hyphenated identity is a mythical structure. It is

an image, an icon. The hyphen indicates that one cultural identity cannot be there without the other cultural identity. To claim oneself as Indian instantly invokes one's Americanness also. Both require the other to provide a complete meaning for each.

Gebser further explains that myths are the "collective dreams of nations formed into words. Until expressed in poetic form, they remain unconscious processes" (Gebser, p. 68). Among the Indian-American community, the myth of Indianness gives voice to an identity that came into awareness only with the realization of non-Indians and other ways of being.

For many American born Indians, identity is a crucial point at which they attempt to find a place where they can achieve a sense of belonging. Though they are comfortable with the actions and behaviors of people in the United States because it is the culture that is most inscribed on their bodies, they are clearly aware of their difference, both in regard to Americans and Indians.

Much as Gebser's conscious human becomes aware of the "I" as differentiated from the "other" and being further disassociated from nature as the structures continue to mutate, the immigrant becomes aware for her identity becoming differentiated from those in her native land and feels further disassociated from her cultural identity as she travels away from her native land through space and not just time. Distance is a mental concept. Space and time are moods for the mythic human, i.e. homesickness. Disassociation leads many immigrants to desperately cling to their natal identity. Yet, they are painfully aware that they are in some way changed and the natal identity is no longer representative of who they are. This then leads to the need for a hyphen.

This difference is even more poignant in a perspectival society that tends to place ethnicity on an dualities of model minority, black/white, majority/minority or immigrant/native leaving ethnic groups such as Indians without a place. Indeed, it is possible to argue that one of the criteria for being a model minority is not being Black. Furthermore, unlike their parents who have economic status, and thus social status, in American society, many Indian-American youth are involved in a culture that desperately seeks ethnic identity. As participants in a politics of race that is dominant in the United States, many Indian-American youth seek their Indian heritage as providing them a space to claim in the ethnic wars. "A story of nation [is narrated] because in order to have authority, immigrant Indians must have a usable and defined past" (Shukla, 1997, p. 307).[21] However, this speaks to a much deeper issue, that of the "true" American identity. I posit that there is no "American" identity. American identity is contingent upon a narrative of immigration, a reference to earlier generations that came from elsewhere. Thus, one cannot claim only an American identity; there needs to be an underlying structure of native identity to provide substance and a sense of history.

For many Indian-American youth, the sense of struggle they feel is the result of their ability to be of both worlds in a world that is hyper-perspectival. In this world, it is not possible to be wholly of more than one world at a time. Thus, it is not possible to be both Indian and American. The problem of today's mental rational structure is that to invoke a culture, there must be a geographical tie. The premise is that one must have a logical, physical tie to a place to claim that particular ethnicity or race. Hence, there is

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[21] Also see Bhabha's Nation and Narration (1990) for a in-depth discussion of this issue.

a continually renaming as groups shift which place they are from, while still attempting to hold ties to lands of origin. Hence, Indians from India find Indians in America to be "confused." "How can these U.S. born people who look like us racially be Indian anything when they have no geographical tie?" yet, in the same breath, Indians from India show anger that Indian-Americans are not Indian enough and should be more connected to their homeland. This is the pull of the evident similarity; homophily. This is a reflection of the fragmentation and reversion to self perpetuating myth. As Gebser explains, magic consciousness is at the level of identity. Kramer (1992) explains that in magic-vital awareness, the human has no specific ecological identity or psychological self. In magic, there is no symbolic distance. For many immigrants, identity must be at this magic level. This way of understanding their identity is clearly a deficient mode in that they are reverting back to a culturally dominant structure of consciousness in hopes of salvation in the face of the current, powerful mental-rational structure. Additionally, this mental-rational structure is one of hyper-perspectivity, virtually suppressing the presence of all other consciousness structures. This does not mean that the other structures are not present, however, they are not recognized for what they are. Indeed, true recognition of these structures indicates the conscious move toward the integral structure. The structures are recognized but defined as "deficient." They are actively suppressed, even demonized. For example, consider how Asians are described in academic literatures even up to today (see chapter 2).

Glimpses of this integrality are evident in the everyday interactions of Indian-Americans; it is clear that Indian-Americans are both Indian and American at the same time. As one participant explained, "it is like a layering of everything on top of each

other." However, this same participant, when asked, claims to be Indian and only Indian. Through this constant negotiation of several worlds, a clear and separate world emerges which presents an integral image of the many identities. This integral image is a product of cultural fusion (Kramer, forthcoming). I posit that, rather than negotiating culture from the presumption of cultural hierarchy, cultural fusion creates a blending of cultures in which metaphysics is bracketed and the blending occurs reflexively. One does not engage in a cognitive process of defining which behaviors are better or worse within each culture, rather, we absorb the ways of being in various cultures and utilize them as necessary for survival. The premise that one takes the good from every culture is in actuality an *ipso facto* argument. Only after the behavior is realized, do we then find an argument for or against it. For example, in the Indian-American community, the common theme is that one should take what is "good" from American culture and leave the rest. However, the standard of good has changed over time. Additionally, as is true for most people, the notion of good is often self-serving.

Cultural fusion is a total connecting of several worlds in a way that is seamless. There is no possible way in which to draw boundaries around behaviors such that one can identify the "Indian" part or the "American" part. Cultural fusion is the connecting of various cultures in a manner that once incorporated, the original culture then becomes a defining part of the other cultures. The cultures co-constitute each other. There can be no "Indian" culture without the reference of "American" culture. This is not to say that there is not an already existent Indian culture per se. However, what makes it "Indian" culture is co-constituted by "American" culture. Thus, one must embody both cultures in order to interact in either world. Thus, it is possible to be one

hundred per cent Indian and one hundred per cent American at the same time, even though, at the surface, these may seem like contradictory identities.

Kramer (1993) explains this creation of culture and its function as co-constitutional genesis. Using Gebser's structures as a framework, Kramer explains that "culture is that which is not natural" (1993, p. 42). The moment in which the distinction is created, both nature and culture are also created. Culture, then, is used to control uncontrollable nature. It is also used to create a sense of co-dependency between culture and nature. Culture expresses our vital need to control nature. Furthermore, co-constitutional genesis is the process of placing one's self in time and space. Elaborate systems of culture provide privileged points of reference, such as birth of a savior, from which we can then locate and identify ourselves as either B.C. or A.D., for instance. For Indian-Americans, the continual reference to Indian culture, the practice of Indian rituals, the strident return to Hinduism (or Jainism or Sikhism), the ability to identify one's caste and sub-caste all serve to place these individuals into a larger cosmic scheme. Thus, Indian culture serves to place one in the larger scheme of other cultures and, as Kramer explains, it provides "identity and signification" (1993, p. 42).

Perhaps Gebser would argue that the hyphen is the space where the various consciousness structures meet and negotiate a shared space; a meeting ground of sorts where they can both exist. The hyphen merely offers a form with which one can express a non-linear identity utilizing language in a perspectival world. The hyphen provides a manner in which to react to the insistence of singular identity that is a

symptom of the mental-rational world. The hyphen is a mental-rational expression which cannot articulate fusion as such. Which identity comes first is vitally important.

Conclusion

The factors that inform and shape Indian-American identity are vast and inextricably intertwined. Heightening the complexity of this intertwining are the multitude of influences that shape and inform the hermeneutic horizons of these individuals. This chapter attempted to describe and identify all the forces and the manners in which the interplay. By utilizing hermeneutics, one is able to gain a more complete, meaningful context in which to place Indian-Americans. Given this context, it is now possible to examine specific questions about this community.

CHAPTER 4

Method and Methodology

Introduction

Method and methodology reflect various presumptions and ontologies that underlie how one shapes the questions to be asked, what questions are deemed worthy, and in which way one approaches seeking answers to the questions proposed. When engaging in a specific method, it is imperative that one recognize the epistemological premises of that method, the limitations of its premises and the effects of these limitations. The data gathered is already interpretive in that the data are consequences of choices. Different methods yield different data. Furthermore, as researchers, we are informed by various methodologies that shape our own epistemologies and ontologies. It is also vital that we recognize our own methodological bent and how it informs our research. This chapter will serve to examine the methods which are utilized to answer the questions I ask.

Method

As with all research, the questions I have asked throughout my study shaped and guided which tools, or methods of research were utilized in generating data. Participant observation and ethnographic interviews were utilized to gain insight into the Indian-American community. Furthermore, since research on Indian-Americans is still relatively new and lacking a strong base, some of my research questions focused on examining the community as a whole. Thus, a survey instrument was designed which addressed basic demographic information. This survey instrument was also used to

answer basic questions regarding the self-reporting of identity. Design and dissemination of the survey will be discussed further in this chapter. Additionally, ethnography was utilized to gain richer access to the Indian-American community and examine the meaning and motives behind commonly occurring events within the community.

As social sciences are influenced by the post-modern movement, several issues regarding research begin to overlap and intersect. Specific to this research, the question of researcher and researched is vital and warrants attention. In traditional ethnography, the prime goal has been to describe and present a clear view of a culture, its peoples and its rituals. As we begin to examine the intersection of cultures, this goal becomes somewhat more difficult to achieve. When examining a "culture" which carries with it a hyphen, the research questions inherently presume questions of the boundaries as well as the center. The questions "which culture? where? and when?" focus the research on the boundaries of a culture rather than being focused solely on cultural acts, as has been common in past traditional ethnographies. Additionally, movements within research such as feminism and post-colonialism bring to the forefront questions about the researchers' motives and politics. These movements focus on and critique the politics and power of social science itself and strive to illuminate those power structures so that the reader is aware of the researcher's biases within the research. It is important to note, however, that the intent here is not to call ethnography itself into question. Rather, we call into question ethnographic authority and the inherent power structures of fieldwork which are most often ignored (Marcus, in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 565).

As researchers, it is imperative that we are aware of and make clear our positionality and subjectivity in our research. Specifically in participant observation, there is a need to acknowledge the role the researcher plays in "creating" the results. For example, as an Indian-American, my position as researcher co-constitutes the field in a very specific way. The rhetoric and interactions I observe and report are engaged in by the participants with me. As a researcher, I am not an invisible filter through which actions are seen. I, with the participants, co-constitute the field, the interaction and the rhetoric which I then "report." Geertz (1973, p. 9) explains this as "that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to. . ." He continues to explain that "there is nothing really wrong with this, and is in any case inevitable."

This does not imply in any way that it is not possible to engage in meaningful research. Rather, it is an indication of what is necessary for one to engage in meaningful research. The positionality and subjectivity of the researcher is as much a part of the field as observations and interviews. Given this premise, it is now possible to examine the method of participant observation and ethnographic interviewing as one of the primary methods utilized in this study.

Ethnography has long been a popular method with which to study culture and offers a broad scope through which to examine cultural practices. Geertz (1973) presents his method of thick description of ethnography. Geertz borrows this term from Gilbert Ryle. In explaining thick versus thin description, Geertz relies on Ryle's example of two young boys and the movements of their eyelids. Though at a phenomenalistic level, a wink and a twitch are the same movement, thick description

incorporates motive and meaning of the actual action. Thin description would take the

position of being a camera, reporting mere movement without examining beyond that

movement. Thick description is the examination of the communication that is occurring

with and by the specific movement. The move from movement to gesture is the focus

of thick description. Geertz explains that point between thin description and thick

description lies the object of ethnography: "a stratified hierarchy of meaningful

structures in terms of which twitches, winks, fake-winks, parodies, rehearsals of

parodies are produced, perceived, and interpreted, and without which they would not in

fact exist, no matter what anyone did or didn't do with his eyelids" (1973, p. 7). Thus,

ethnography is an interpretive method, one which takes thin description to thick

description; one that examines meaning and motive, not mere behavior.

Participant observation adds yet another level to thick description. Spradley

(1979) explains participant observation as the process of engaging in fieldwork while

engaging in the actually observed phenomena. Spradley explains that "ethnography is a

culture-studying culture" (1979, p. 9). The function of ethnography is to provide a

systematic approach for examining culture from the participant's perspective. This

makes ethnography an ideal method for intercultural communication. Spradley

continues by echoing Geertz's contentions regarding meaning. Spradley (1978)

explains that merely observing cultural acts is not an accurate approach. One must

understand the shared meaning behind the act to understand its true nature.

This position reinforces the motive and drive behind participant observation. In

participant observation, the researcher engages in the culture along with the

participants. This engaging in the participants' culture can occur in one of two ways.

The researcher can gain access through already existent insider status. The researcher can also gain access by working toward higher status and greater trust with the observed cultural group. As the researcher shifts from observer to participant observer, meaning and motive is illuminated and can be examined at more levels. The researcher can both observe the participants and infer meaning from their actions and she can reflect on the meaning she derives from the actions she herself is engaging in. When done effectively and with consideration to issues of researcher positionality, the power and subjectivity of the researcher can offer rich data, thick description, and powerful insights into a culture.

However, in engaging in ethnography, one presumes to answer questions with depth rather than breadth. Both depth and breadth are needed to provide a comprehensive understanding of any cultural group. Thus, this study also incorporates statistical analysis of survey data. The function of such data is obviously different from the function of ethnographic data. The purpose of survey research is to draw larger pictures of cultural groups by examining their surface tendencies. Frey, Botan, Friedman, and Kreps (1991, p. 179) explain that survey research is used to "describe characteristics of both the respondents and the populations they were chosen to represent." For this study, survey research was utilized to describe the basic demographics of the Indian-American community and measure preliminary attitudes about home, identity and culture. Frey et. al. (1991) continue to explain that survey research primarily uses correlational designs to examine the relationships between variables at one point in time.

This study utilized descriptive statistics as tools of analysis. The first tool used was frequency distribution. This is nominal data that served to inform the researcher about common trends within the Indian-American community. Frey, et. al. (1991) further explain that frequency counts "can also be used to assess predictions derived from theory." Frequency counts were utilized in this study to assess the accuracy of the description of the "typical Indian immigrant." They were also utilized to assess the accuracy of commonly held beliefs about the demographics of this population.

The second statistical tool used was correlation coefficient. This tool measures variables that are on interval/ratio scales. The specific procedure used was Pearson product-moment correlation. This was used to measure the relationship between the variables based on pre-established hypotheses. This statistical tool allowed for analysis of the direction of the relationship between two variables and the strength of that relationship. This study examined the relationship between all the variables, however, the focus was on the demographics and how they related to cultural tendencies. All of the statistical analyses were done using the SAS software package.

The Process of Method

As is indicated in previous sections of this chapter, this study is divided into two primary parts. The first is the survey and the second is the ethnographic interviews and observations. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in order to approach the questions asked from various levels. This section of the chapter focuses on the development of the survey instrument and the interview guide.

Survey instrument design and dissemination

The survey instrument went through several revisions prior to its final draft.

Face validity was measured in three stages. In the first stage, the instrument was tested

for easy readability, facilitation of choices, and linguistic choice in the questions. At

this stage, the format of the survey was modified. All response choices were preceded

by a line which provided space for the response. For all the questions, the choice of

"other" was modified to include a line which allowed respondents to clarify their

answer. Furthermore, because of the large number of choices for each response, the

choices were put into three columns. This was done to increase visual ease for the

reader and to conserve space. In the question regarding beauty, the wording was

changed to read "who is more attractive?' rather than to read "who is more beautiful?"

This was done to insure proper word usage, to clarify the question, and to reflect the

language most often used in communication research regarding the notion of beauty.

The second stage of face validity included two steps. First, I chose to

incorporate the questions of caste and economic status. These questions were

incorporated to gauge where the respondents fit into the larger spectrum of post-1965

immigrants. At this point, the surveys were also given to Indian international students

from various regions of India to verify if the major languages of India were represented

and each language was spelled properly. The students also provided names of famous

Indian actors from which one name was chosen as an option for the question of who

was more attractive.

The final stage of face validity involved showing the survey to older Indian

immigrants to gauge the facility of response for them. Based on the comments from the

individuals, two main changes were implemented. First, questions regarding marriage

and travel to India were clustered by using indentation to indicate which questions were parts of a previous question. Also, the names of the Indian actors were changed to names of older actors who have been in Indian films for a longer period of time and are more recognizable. Also, the questions about cultural preference were shifted toward the middle of the survey. This was done because they were considered too difficult for the beginning of the survey. Once the face validity of the instrument was established, decisions regarding the material presentation and dissemination were made.

The survey was printed in booklet form with three pages front and back (see appendix). The cover page indicated whether the survey was to be filled out by a male or female member of the household. The inside cover began the survey questions. There was a middle insert page and the inside back page was the end of the questionnaire. The back cover thanked the participants for their time and cooperation. As two surveys were sent to each location (to be discussed in the "participant" section of this chapter), the surveys were color coded to correspond with the sex of the participant. The colors were chosen to be aesthetically pleasing and carry positive associations for the Indian population.

Decisions regarding presentation and dissemination of the instrument were informed by Dillman (1978). The surveys were tri-folded and the third flap of the survey was attached to the second survey. The two surveys were then connected to a cover letter printed on department letterhead. The final package also included a self addressed stamped envelope with an identification number handwritten on it. The identification number corresponded with the participants number on my master list. According to Dillman, the individual pieces within the packages were folded and

interconnected so as to assure that when the participants opened the envelope, all pieces would come out together, giving the impression of less paper.

Ethnographic Interviews

The second portion of this study consists of ethnographic interviews and observations. Utilizing Taylor & Bogdan's (1985) in-depth interviewing and Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) active interviewing, an interview guide was designed. As with all ethnographic research, the guide served as just that, a guide. It was expanded and refined throughout the interview process. For example, one specific question focused on the social networks of the participants. However, by the end of the first few interviews, it became clear that the term "friend circle" elicited a more complex response. In this case, the language of the interview guide was modified to mirror the language of the participant group. Also, the order of the questions was slightly modified after the first two interviews. I found that by asking key questions (what is your identity? Who are you?) again at the end of the interview reinforced a sense of fundamental identity. Despite the time spent focusing on the issue of identity and offering extremely cognitive responses about identity, when confronted with a direct question at the end, there was a strong emotional response. Finally, after the first interview, it became clear that I would be required to leave time for me to respond to the very questions I posed to the participants. I added the question "is there anything you would like to ask me?" to the end of the interview. (See appendix).

Interviews were collected over a twelve day period. The interviews took place in a large Indian enclave in Southern California, due to my already existent entrée into that community, and also because it is one of the largest Indian enclaves in the United

States. Twenty-seven interviews from 21 households were collected. The interview

data is coupled with my ongoing observations of the community and the participants

both during the time of the interviews and throughout my time in the field. The

interviews were then transcribed and transcriptions were utilized for analysis.

Participants

There were two distinct participant groups for this research project. Both groups

are reflective of the Indian-American community.

Survey participants

For the survey portion of the study, the participants were randomly selected

from a convenient sample. I obtained over 2,500 household addresses from a data bank

specifically cataloging the Indian community in the United States. In effort to catalog

all possible members of the Indian community, this data base is derived from telephone

directories and membership lists of Indian organizations. This method of cataloging

poses certain problems. This process only ultimately catalogs those who are literate and

inclined to put their names in phone books. Phone books also tend to list those who

have established residences, thus excluding a large student population that may not list

itself in community phone books, rather, only in university phone books. Also, by

utilizing membership lists of Indian organizations, this limits the selection to those who

are active participants in the Indian community. Finally, since the identification of

Indians is by last name, this process excludes those who do not have recognized Indian

last names as well as those who marry exogamously and have non-Indian last names.

This final point regarding the last names is also a point of favor for this method

however. Since Indian last names are easily recognizable, most Indians do list

themselves in phone books and often peruse phone books to find other Indians. Since names denote region, caste and sub-caste, they provide a wealth of information for Indians and are used to provide a family a "place" in the Indian system that exists here in the United States. Thus, the phone book tends to generate a relatively large pool of Indians.

2,519 names were randomly selected from a data base of over 200,000 Indian households. This first randomization was computer generated. No levels of stratification were identified. I then randomly selected 2,015 cases by eliminating every fifth case from a random start point on the list. This was done to bring the list down to a manageable size. Once the 2,015 names had been selected, two surveys were sent to each household. This was done to compensate for the fact that the original data base only listed names by household rather than by person. This was done to increase the chance of having an equal number of responses from both sexes. Participants who had not returned surveys or whose mailings had not been returned by the post office due to mailing error (forwarding order expired, insufficient address) were then sent a reminder post card approximately three weeks after the survey had been mailed out.

Ethnography Participants

Participants for the ethnography portion of the study were obtained through my connections in the community and through connections and introductions from other participants in the study. I began the ethnographic interviewing by first approaching individuals who were introduced to me by various members of my family. Though this may appear unorthodox in some ways, as an insider in the community, I relied on the system of networking native to the Indian community. The notion of family is of

primary importance among Indians. Family name, best connoted through surnames, is a calling card of sorts within the community. Additionally, as a single woman in the community, gaining access through an elder member of the family procured a stronger sense of credibility and legitimacy for me. Thus, I began by interviewing individuals who are colleagues of my parents. Some of these individuals were people I had no previous contact with. Additionally, I also asked the various people I interviewed to introduce me to friends of theirs, thus expanding the network. I obtained several interviews in that manner. All interviews were precluded by my introduction through my family name, whether in reference to my family's position in India or here in the local United States community.

I approached 22 separate households for interviews, of which, only one person refused the interview. From these 22 households, 27 interviews total were taken. Though I had not intended on interviewing several people from each house, once the topic was introduced, many people offered to be interviewed. The one interview that was denied was from a merchant who asked to be interviewed at his grocery store. I was given an introduction through a family member who is also a merchant. This individual was extremely busy when I arrived and was not cooperative in setting up an alternative time for the interview. When I indicated that I understood if he was too busy, he replied that it may be better if I didn't interview him. I chose to not re-approach this participant. This resulted in there being 21 households represented and 27 total participants. All other participants were willing to answer questions and most suggested others whom I could talk to.

Sampling

As with all research tools, there are several limitations to the approaches I have chosen to utilize in this dissertation. I will first discuss the general limitations of the methods and then examine the specific limitations of the various approaches to disseminating the survey instrument.

First and foremost, it is necessary to consider the limitations of both the sample for the survey instrument and the ethnographic interviews. The survey sample is limited in several ways. First, those who answered my questions were proficient in English. This indicated a certain amount of adaptation already. These individuals have also adapted enough to be open to answering questions in the English language. Second, the survey sample was limited in that it only included those who chose to participate in a larger Indian society. It did not include those who are not involved in Indian society as all of my approaches toward disseminating the survey presumed that the participants have access to the Asian Indian-American community. Combined, these two approaches present an overarching limitation to the study. By its nature, the survey sample was of those individuals who are literate, primarily near Asian-Indian community hubs, and willingly interact with members of their own community. Additionally, the nature of the questions may have only be appealing to educated individuals, as they are highly self-reflexive and lead the participant to contemplate issues embedded with dissonance. Having presented the general limitations of my survey sample, it is now necessary to examine the specific limitations of each dissemination approach.

There were several possible approaches for disseminating the survey instrument. These approaches all presumed that I would provide free postage to have

the surveys returned to me. Each possible approach had its own limitations. Each will be discussed in turn. The first possible approach was to place the surveys in Indian grocery stores, Indian clothing shops, Indian restaurants, and Indian temples throughout the United States and have shopkeepers/temple caretakers provide the surveys with the goods or offerings as people leave the stores or temple. The limitations of this approach are as follows. First, those receiving the survey would be the family members who willingly venture into the host culture. This would only incorporate mainstreamed Indians, thus, excluding what I believe is a large marginal group of Indians, those who do not feel comfortable in the host world. Additionally, I would be only receiving survey responses from one member of each family, presumably an adult who serves as the "front" person for the family. This is the person who engages in the primary external interactions for the family. For example, in my family, the person who would most probably get a copy of the survey would be my father. This introduces another possible limitation. The male members of the household may not be interested in the survey enough to respond to it. In the same vein, the female members of the household may not see a "problem," thus dismissing the questionnaire.

The second approach to disseminating the survey would be to place it as a filler in an Asian Indian-American newspaper, such as India Abroad, L. A. India, Little India magazine or India West. The limitation of this approach is obviously that the sample would be limited to the newspaper's readership. The third approach would have been for me to pass the surveys out in Little India's throughout the United States This may have biased the responses as my presence would have influenced the participants. The fourth possible approach to disseminating the survey was to put it on the Internet.

Again the limitations of this approach are evident. This sample would have only

included those who are computer literate, surf the net and have the time to download a

file, respond to the survey and e-mail it back.

The final approach toward disseminating the survey was the approach that was

ultimately utilized. I obtained a data base of names from an organization currently in

the process of cataloging information about all Indian-Americans. There are also

several sampling concerns with this sampling method. Foremost, the compilation of this

data base is skewed. The list is made up of names from phone books from all over the

United States. The names are included in the list if they appear to be Indian. This

approach presumes that all Indians are listed in the phone book. It also presumes that

the members putting the list together are aware of all possible Indian names and can

accurately access who is or is not Indian based on the name. Also, this method excludes

any members of the Indian-American community who have spouses with non-Indian

names and Indian Christians who traditionally have European last names. Finally, this

method of collecting names of Indian-Americans is actually a collection of Indian-

American households and this skews the gender ratio of participants. Thus, this data

base is not a random sample of the Indian-American population. However, the sample

that I received from the larger data base is a random sample of the data base. I

controlled for the gender ratio by sending two surveys to each household, requesting

that one female and one male answer each survey.

There are also limitations to the ethnographic interviews. The primary

limitation is that the participants will reflect a somewhat narrow population. This is due

to the fact that I will be gaining access to my participants through my connections in the

community, and my connections are limited to a specific "type" of Indian, from a specific region of India and of a specific socio-economic class.

Conclusion

In many ways, method drives our research and shapes the results of that research. Thus, it is vital that researchers focus on and bring to question the epistemologies of their tools. Additionally, researchers must continually be reflexive in their analysis, engaging in an on-going conversation between method and analysis. This chapter provides the premise for such a dialogue for the researcher. Having presented the study design and process of method, an examination of the research results follow.

CHAPTER 5

Results of Survey Data

The survey portion of this dissertation focused on basic demographics of the

Indian-American community as well as on preliminary questions of cultural preference,

immigration patterns and individual's self-reported identity. Two specific statistical

tests were utilized to analyze the results: basic frequency and Pearson's product moment

correlation. As this is a preliminary study of the Indian-American community, only

basic descriptive statistics were utilized. This was done to identify possible directions

for future analyses. This chapter is a presentation of the results of the two statistical

tests. The primary purpose of the survey was based on the following research

questions:

RQ$_1$: What is the relationship between age of immigration to the United States
and cultural preferences?

RQ$_2$: What is the relationship between number of years in the United States
and cultural preference?

All frequencies are all reported because they provide valuable information about the

demographics of this community and answer preliminary questions about how notions

of identity and home are communicated. The results of the correlations were reported

based on the research questions and significance of results.

Surveys were sent out to 2015 households, with 373 households responding. Of

the 2015 surveys sent, 466 were returned undeliverable due to potential participants

having moved without leaving a forwarding address or incorrect original addresses.

This leads to a response rate of 24.1%. Of the 371 households, 368 households were used. Of the five not used, three were surveys that were returned, but the participants targeted were not Indian by race. One survey was returned by an individual who was house sitting for the intended subject. One household returned the surveys unanswered with a note indicating that the members of the household were now divorced. Of the 368 households that were used for analysis, individual participants not meeting the population criteria were omitted. Any respondent indicating that he/she was not Indian by race was eliminated. This eliminated Caucasian spouses of Indians. Also, there were three cases of interracial respondents. These cases were also eliminated. However, all respondents of the Diaspora were left in the data set. This included those who reported being born in non-partitioned India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. In the 368 households, there were 576 individuals who met the population criteria. Having established the N and its origin, it is now possible to report and discuss the statistical analysis.

Description of Statistics

Frequencies

Frequency as a tool provides the researcher with a comprehensive picture of what the data pool looks like. This tool provides a way in which to identify the make-up of the participant population and gauge overall trends in the responses. Frequencies were run on all variables in the survey. These frequencies are reported and discussed in this section. Of the 576 individuals, 568 responded when asked their age. The age range of participants in the survey was 9 to 86 with a mean age of 43.68 (SD = 11.85). Three hundred and fifteen of the respondents were male and 261 were female. A large

majority of the participants reported that they were married (91.8%, 529). Only a few participants reported that they were single (7.1%, 41).

Insert Table 1 about here

One percent (6) of the respondents did not respond to the question. Participants were also asked how they met their spouses. The largest percentage (65.3%, 376) reported that they met their spouse by arrangement. A few (12.3%, 71) reported that they met their spouse through friends. Several participants (8.9%, 51) did not respond to the question; this includes the 41 participants who reported that they were not married. The remainder of the participants reported as follows: 7.1% (41) reported that they met their spouse through school; 3.8% (22) indicated "other" without providing a specific source; and 2.6% (15) reported that they met their spouse through newspaper advertisements.

Insert Table 2 about here

When asked their spouse's nationality, a majority of the participants (77.1%, 444 individuals) reported that their spouse was Indian. Some reported (10.9%, 63) that their spouse was American. The same number (8.9%, 51) who did not answer how they met their spouse also did not answer this question. (This includes those who skipped the question because they were unmarried). The remainder answered as follows: 1.7% (10) reported that their spouse was Asian; 0.3% (2) were Bangladeshi; 0.2% were either African, other-non-diaspora, or Sri Lankan.

Insert Table 3 about here

This information serves to complete a demographic picture of the participant pool. For the age of the participants, it is possible to ascertain that the participants are old enough to either be post-1965 immigrants or the children of those immigrants. Also, this group overwhelmingly stays within their own race in regard to marriage. This indicates that there is still a high level of group affiliation and group cohesiveness because participants turn to their own group for marriage. Choices such as marrying an Indian and doing so by traditional Indian means communicates a clear sense of Indian identity among the participant group. This Indian identity is further communicated by the participants when one examines the responses to the next question.

Participants were also asked whether they would consider marrying a non-Indian person. This question was utilized to measure participants' openness to people of other ethnicities. It was also used to measure degree of cultural affiliation. Marriage outside of one's race is a strong indicator of either low ethnic affiliation or high openness to others. Instructions on the survey indicated that only unmarried respondents should answer the question. Thus, the largest percentage reported (74.1%, 427 individuals) was of those who did not respond to the question. However, this number is lower than the number of married respondents (n=529), thus some married respondents did answer this question. The greatest response (63.0%, 94) indicated that participants would not consider marrying a non-Indian. A few (36.9%, 55), however, indicated that they would consider marrying a non-Indian.

Insert Table 4 about here

This indicates that despite the range of how long one has stayed in the United States, these participants have a strong sense of ethnic identity and view marriage

within their race as important part of their identity. The questions regarding age and marital status provide some basic demographics of the data population. The questions about nationality of spouse and willingness to marry a non-Indian were asked to see how strongly participants aligned with their ethnic group. Marrying with one's race and expressing a tendency to stay within one's race when considering a spouse are indicators of strong ethnic ties.

Participants were also asked their place of birth to ascertain if the participant qualified for the study and to establish how many of the participants were immigrants versus children of immigrants. The majority of participants (93.8%, 540 individuals) were born in India. A small number (2.6%, 15) were born in the United States. The remainder were reported as follows: 1.6% (9) were born in Pakistan; 0.7% (4) were born in non-partitioned India and Bangladesh each; and, 0.5% (3) were born in Sri Lanka.

Insert Table 5 about here

Taking into consideration India's history, the identification of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and non-partitioned Pakistan as birthplace was separately defined. These categories are reflective of the politics of Indian independence and the historical identity of these participants. Bangladesh and Pakistan are political entities with similar cultures to India. Reference to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka as part of the cultural make-up of the Indian sub-continent is utilized in most South Asian diaspora literature. The reference to non-partitioned India reflects the politicized nature of these places. Additionally, there were participants who reported being born in Pakistan, however, the birthdate indicated that it was non-partitioned India at the time of their

birth. This information serves to contextualize how the participants identify themselves within the history and politics of their motherland.

Of the 556 individuals born outside of the United States, 519 reported how long they had been in the United States. The range of time in the United States of the participants, was from 1 year to 50 years with a mean of 17.09 (sd=9.20). Also, of the 556 individuals born outside of the United States, 510 participants reported at what age they arrived in the United States. The range of age arrived in the United States of the participants was 1 year old to 72 years old with a mean age of 26.08 (sd=9.08). These questions were asked to establish the immigration pattern of this community. These data further indicate that most participants are of the post-1965 immigration wave. Complete tables and breakdown of age of arrival and time in United States will be provided later in this chapter.

Further demographics of this group were also ascertained. Level of education and income was asked to identify the predominant socio-economic class of the participant population. When asked their level of education, participants reported that a few (4.0%, 23) had 0-10 years of education; some (5.6%, 32) had 10-12 years of education; and some (16.1%, 93) had 12-15 years of education. The majority of the participants had anywhere from 15 to over 20 years of education. Over a quarter of the participants (26.4%,152) had 15-18 years of education; about a quarter (25.2%,145) had 18-20 years of education; a little less than a quarter (22.4%, 129) had over 20 years of education; and, two participants (0.3%) did not respond.

Insert Table 6 about here

The levels of education reported fulfill the image of the educated Asian. Over one half of the participants hold graduate degrees and over three quarters are college educated. This, along with the incomes reported, completes the demographics of the post-1965 immigrant being a white collar worker with a terminal degree. Additionally, the levels of education further reinforce the motive for coming to the United States, as most holding graduate degrees have been in the United States long enough to have obtained the degrees here.

In reporting their income, participants noted their income as follows: 6.9% (40) earn less than $10,000; 8.0% (46) earn between $10,000 and $20,000; a tenth of the participants (10.2%, 59) earn between $20,000 and $30,000; 8.9% (51) earn between $30,000 and $40,000; 8.0% (46) earn between $40,000 and $50,000; 9.4% (54) earn between $50,000 and $60,000 or $60,000 and $70,000; 4.7% (27) earn between $70,000 and $80,000; 4.2% (24) earn between $80,000 and $90,000; 3.3% (19) earn between $90,000 and $100,000; and a largest number of participants (18.9%, 109) earn over $100,000. Under a tenth of the participants, (8.2%, 42) did not respond.

Insert Table 7 about here

Income also shows us that the average Indian-American is economically better off than the average American. Unlike other ethnic groups, this immigrant group has managed to achieve high levels of economic success in relatively short periods of time. It is important to note that these participants who report high incomes are the same participants who report only having been in the United States for 20 to 40 years.

Participants were asked to report their religious affiliation, their travel to India, plans for remaining in the United States and various cultural preferences. These

questions were asked to establish with whom this group identified and what forms of cultural preservation are common within the Indian-American communities. Participants were asked what religion was practiced in their homes. Religion is a primary indicator of cultural preference. The greatest percentage (79.3%, 457 individuals) reported that they practice Hinduism. Some (8.7%, 50) reported that they practice Sikhism. A few (5.6%, 32) reported that they practice Christianity. The remainder reported as follows: 4.0% (23) do not practice a religion in their homes; 3.1% (18) practice Jainism; 1.0% (6) practice Catholism; 0.7% (4) practice either Buddhism, Judaism, Islam, or their own religion; 0.3% (2) practice Zorastrianism; and 0.2% (1) practices either Ismaili or Vaishnavism.

Insert Table 8 about here

Religious affiliation also reinforces regional affiliation. It is common sensical that Hinduism is reported as the most practiced religion among the participant group given that it is the predominant religion of India and it is often considered a common term for Indian religions in general. Sikhism is the religion of Punjab; Punjabis make up a large portion of Indian immigrants to the United States. Christianity/Catholicism are more predominant in Southern India and Vaisnavism, Zorastrianism, and Jainism are Hindu sects from Gujarat. The numbers reflect the make up of the Indian-American community in the United States.

In addition to religion, participants were also asked to indicate cultural preference by selecting a choice from sets of cultural items with choices of American and Indian. The categories were: food, dress, music, actress and actor. The first four are standard indicators of culture. The actress/actor choices are representative of

images of beauty. Also, these choices test one's tendency to choose ethnically similar names over ethnically different names. The choices given were Indian equivalents and American equivalents. These categories were established to be reflective of the two cultures. The logical premise of "A - not A" was presumed. Thus, responses were coded to fit given choices. For example, if someone wrote in "Italian food" for the American food choice, the response was coded as American food, since it was not Indian food.

Cultural preferences were asked in order to gauge participants' group affiliation. Indian food, music, film video and dress are unique, distinct aspects of Indian culture that are utilized to set Indian-Americans apart from other immigrants and to create a sense of group affiliation. Thus, watching Indian film videos and listening to Indian music are considered indicators of Indian identity among Indian-Americans. These cultural indicators also reflect participants' comfort zones. Though living in the United States, a good number participants tend to prefer Indian food and dress.

When asked about food, participants reported that most (83.7%, 482 individuals) preferred Indian food; some (7.3%, 43) preferred both Indian and American food; a few (6.4%, 37) preferred American food; and 2.6% (15) did not respond to the question. When asked about films, participants reported that half of the participants (50.0%, 288 individuals) preferred English films. Of the remaining half, over a third (35.1%, 202) preferred Hindi films; some (8.7%, 50) preferred both English and Hindi films; and 6.3% (36) did not respond or indicated they preferred neither. The terms English and Hindi were used for grammatical accuracy. They are also commonly used to refer to American film and Indian film. Some participants wrote in their own native language

in place of Hindi. This was coded as Hindi film. When asked about clothing, participants reported that almost half of the participants (43.9%, 253) preferred Indian dress and almost half (42.2%, 243) preferred Western dress. Of the remainder, 9.9% (57) preferred both Western and Indian dress; and 4.0% (23) did not respond to the question.

When asked about musical preference, participants reported that a majority (72.0%, 415 individuals) preferred Indian music; some14.6% (84) preferred American music; a few (8.9%, 51) preferred both Indian and American music; and 4.5% (26) did not respond or responded that they preferred neither type of music. When asked about which actors were favored, participants reported that almost half (49.8%, 287) preferred the Indian actress Hema Malini; about a third (30.9%, 178) preferred American actress Julia Roberts; some (17.9%, 103) preferred neither or did not respond; and 1.4% (8) preferred both actresses. Almost half of the participants (45%, 259 individuals) preferred American actor Tom Cruise; a little over a third, (35.2%, 203) preferred Indian actor Amitabh Bachan; less than a quarter (18.2%, 105) preferred neither or did not respond; and 1.6% (9) preferred both actors. Again, if other actors or actresses names were written in, the equivalent category was coded.

Insert Table 9 about here

Another key indicator of cultural affiliation and cultural preservation is the amount of travel and attachment to India. This indicator was tested by asking questions about plans for return and travel to India. When asked how often they traveled to India, participants reported that, on an average, a few (3.5%, 20) go more than once a year; 8.5% (49) go once a year; about a third (29.0%, 167 individuals) go every two years;

15.3% (88) go every three years; 18.6% (107) go every four years; 6.4% (37) go every five years; 5.4% (31) go every six years; 1.4% (8) go every seven years; 1.7% (10) go every eight years; 1.2% (7) go every nine years; 5.0% (29) go every ten years; 2.1% (12) reported never having gone; and, 1.9% (11) did not respond.

Insert Table 10 about here

In regard to length of these visits, participants reported that, on an average, 1.7% (10) stay for one week; 9.5% (55) stay for two weeks; about a quarter (23.1%, 133) stay for three weeks; almost half (40.1%, 231) stay in India for one month; 14.9% (86) stay for two months; 4.0% (23) stay for three months; 1.6% (9) stay for four months; and 1.0% (6) stay for six months. Those who did not respond to the previous question (n=12) or indicated that they never go to India (n=11) did not respond to this question (4.0%, 23).

Insert Table 11 about here

The questions about amount of travel to India and length of stay in India reflect a unique aspect of this immigrant community. Unlike previous immigrant groups, Indian-Americans though relatively new to the United States have achieved enough economic stability to afford continuous travel to India. Based on the number of times traveled and the length of stay, these trips seem to be trips specifically for vacation. These statistics indicate that these participants are wealthy enough to travel frequently; they can afford the international airfare and are able to leave their employment for relatively long periods of time.

Participants were also asked about future plans for remaining in the United States. Participants reported that a vast majority (76.4%, 440 individuals) plan to remain in the United States permanently; 17.9% (103) do not plan to remain in the United States; 4.2% (24) did not respond to the question; and 1.5% (9) reported that they did not know what they planned to do.

Insert Table 12 about here

Participants were then asked where they would go if they did not stay in the United States. Those who indicated that they would remain in the United States permanently were instructed to skip the question. In addition to the 440 who indicated that they would stay in the United States permanently, 35 other participants also did not answer this question. Thus, 82.5% (475) did not respond. Of those who responded (N=101), the majority (94.0%, 95) reported that they would return to India; a few (0.5%, 5) reported they would go to another, unspecified country; and one participant (0.009%) reported that he/she did not know where he/she would go.

Insert Table 13 about here

The number of people indicating that they would remain in the United States is interesting because it points to a contradiction of identity for the participants. Most participants identify themselves as Indian, yet fully intend to remain in the United States. Also, this contradicts the myth of return that many Indian-Americans uphold. However, those who indicate that they will leave the United States do uphold the myth of return by indicating that they would return to India.

Another way in which cultural identity was measured was by asking participants to name a country of their choice to live in. When asked if they could live anywhere in the world with the guarantee that all their needs would be met, where would they live, participants reported the following: about half (44.6%, 257 individuals) would live in India; about half (42.2%, 244) would live in the United States; 7.3% (42) did not respond; 4.7% (27) would live in another, unspecified country; 0.7% (4) would live in both India and the United States; and 0.3% (2) did not know where they would live.

Insert Table 14 about here

By ascertaining where participants would live given all material comforts and eliminating confounding issues, it becomes possible to examine the motives of immigration. What this information tells us is that Indian-Americans did not leave India for the most common reasons for immigration. This suggests that India is still considered a viable place to live if material desires were met.

Certain variables were reconfigured to provide more meaningful information and are reported separately in the following paragraphs. These variables include caste, nationality, where one is from, where one's family is from, where one's home is and why one came to the United States. Due to the large number of questions based on language and the complexity of variables centered around language, these variables will also be discussed separately.

In order to achieve a more discrete analysis, the following variables were collapsed into a smaller number of categories. The variables age, age of arrival in United States, and number of years in United States were collapsed into sets of five year intervals (i.e. 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, etc.). Participants indicated that 1.4%

(7) arrived in the United States between the ages of 5 and 9; 2.2% (11) arrived between the ages 10 and 14; 2.0% (10) arrived either between the ages of 15 and 19; 6.7% (34) arrived between the ages of 20 and 24; about a third (31.0%, 158 individuals) arrived between the ages of 25 and 29; a little less than a third (27.6%, 141) arrived between the ages of 30 and 34; 13.3% (68) arrived between the ages of 35 and 39; less than a tenth (7.5%, 38) arrived between the ages of 40 and 44; 4.1% (21) arrived between the ages of 45 and 49. Ten (2.0%) participants arrived between the ages of 50 and 54; six participants (1.2%) arrived between the ages 55 and 59; three (0.6%) arrived between the ages of 60 and 64; 0.4% (2) arrived between the ages 65 and 69; and, one (0.2%) arrived between the ages of 70 and 74.

Insert Table 15 about here

The numbers indicating participants' ages of arrival in the United States reflect the post-1965 immigration demographics. A majority of the participants arrived between the ages of 25 and 34. This is consistent with the claim that Indians who immigrated came to the United States to continue their education and settle their families here. The majority of the participants indicated that they have been in the United States between 10 and 30 years. This information reinforces that Indian immigration is still continual and that the Indian-American community continues to grow.

In reporting the number of years in the United States, the participants noted that 7.5% (39) had been here one and four years; 16.6% (86) had been here between 5 and 9 years; 17.0% (88) had been here between 10 and 14 years; the most participants (20.0%, 104 individuals) had been in the United States between 15 and 19 years; 14.1% (73) had

been here between 20 and 24 years; 16.4% (85) had been here between 25 and 29 years; and, 5.8% (30) had been here between 30 and 34 years. Ten participants (1.9%) had been here between 35 and 39 years; one participant (0.2%) had been here between 40 and 44 years; two (0.4%) had been here between 45 and 49 years; and one (0.2%) had been here between 50 and 54 years.

Insert Table 16 about here

Participants were also asked to report caste. Caste has traditionally bee a central aspect of Indian culture. It is highly indicative of education, class, region of origin, and sometimes career or trade. Being able to name one's caste reflects, at least, an acknowledgment of that ancient system and, at the most, a strict adherence to caste system laws and regulations. Caste is a unique indicator of cultural affiliation among Indian-Americans. By being able to name one's caste, one is communicating one's knowledge of lineage, one's knowledge of the Indian system of social hierarchy and one's place in that hierarchy. It also reflects a degree of cultural practice. The degree of cultural practice can range from simply being able to recalls one's caste name without understanding what that name indicates to knowing enough about the caste system that knowing one's caste reflects that the person follows the strict rules and regulations that are an essential part of the caste system. For example, by saying I am Brahmin, at the very least, I am communicating my place in Indian social hierarchy. It can also mean that I follow the rules and regulations that apply to the Brahmin caste. Some participants indicated highly specific terms when noting their caste. This can be considered an indication that these individuals consider caste an important part of their

lives. The participants can use caste to communicate their affiliation to their Indian culture.

The variable caste was decreased by collapsing sub-castes into their larger caste categories. For example, all sub-caste Bhramins were included in the category "Brahmin." However, if distinctly different references were used in naming castes that were in actuality same as other castes, the researcher did not correct for such errors and participants' original responses were left intact. Also, no assumptions were made regarding responses that were in any way ambiguous. Thus, certain categories are not, in actuality, castes at all. This was done because the intent of the question was to account for how participants recall and utilize caste. The question was not intended to actually reinforce caste identification or test the participants' knowledge of caste. In reporting caste, 38 castes were indicated. When asked what one's caste was, participants responded as follows: about a quarter (21.9%, 126 individuals) identified themselves as Bhramins; about a quarter (21.5%, 123) identified themselves as Hindu; 11.6% (67) identified themselves as Patel; 11.1% (64) did not respond; 6.3% (36) identified themselves as Sikh; 4.3% (25) identified as Bania; 3.5% (20) identified themselves as Vaishya; and 2.4% (14) identified themselves as Christian. Ten (1.7%) identified themselves as Kayashtha; nine (1.6%) indicated that they did not know their caste; eight (1.4%) identified themselves as either Hindi, Rajput, or Kshatriya. Seven (1.2%) identified themselves as Reddy; six (1.0%) identified themselves as Muslim; five (0.9%) indicated that they did not believe in caste; five (0.7%) indicated that the question was either not applicable or responded none; and three (0.5%) self-identified as Nair. Of the remaining castes, two participants each (0.3%) chose one of the

following: Maidu, Iyer, Kamma, Madiga, Gujarati, Midaliar vegetarian, Zoarastrian, Gujar, Agarwal or Maratha; and 0.2% (1) choose one of the following: Hindi, Raidya, Nadar, Punjabi, Asian, Bengali, Ramgaria, Bhumitar, Tantuleai, or listed more than one caste.

Insert Table 17 about here

Once basic demographics, cultural preferences and cultural practices were measured, participants were asked questions about identity. These included identification of citizenship and nationality. Correlation between these two variables was not assumed, as one's citizenship does not always reflect one's national identity. Participants were asked to report both citizenship and nationality. In reporting citizenship, participants noted that over half (62.2%, 358 individuals) were U. S. citizens; and over a third (35.4%, 204) were Indian citizens. Five (0.9%) were citizens of Great Britain; and three (0.5%) were citizens of Canada or indicated either other-not specified, or provided no response to the question.

Insert Table 18 about here

Though asked to report only one response in regard to nationality and where participants and their families are from, some participants chose to mark several responses. This was accounted for by establishing dummy variables. These variables accounted whether participants indicated they were from the United States and either India or Asia. This was done in keeping with the parameters of the study. It also allowed for more than one response to be counted.

When asked to identify their nationality, participants reported that over half (64.1%, 369 individuals) were of Indian nationality; over a third (36.5%, 210) were of American nationality; 4.7% (27) were of both Indian and American nationality; and 2.8% (16) were of Asian nationality. Three (0.5%) were of Bangladeshi nationality; two (0.3%) were of Sri Lankan nationality; and, one participant (0.2%) marked both Asian and American nationality.

Insert Table 19 about here

Participants were also asked questions regarding home and identity. These questions were intended to explore one's connection to a specific place. Also, by identifying where home is, participants are communicating to others how they see themselves. When asked to identify where they were from, an overwhelming majority of the participants (94.3%, 543) reported that they were from India. A few (3.3%, 19) reported that they were from the United States; four (0.7%) reported that they were from Bangladesh; two (0.3%) reported that they were from Sri Lanka; one participant each (0.2%) reported that she/he was from Pakistan or from both India and the United States.

Insert Table 20 about here

When asked to identify where their families were from, again, an overwhelming majority of the participants (96.7%, 557 individuals) reported that their families were from India; only six participants (2.1%) reported that their families were from the United States; three (1.0%) reported that their families were from both India and the United States; two (0.5%) reported that their families ere from Bangladesh and one

participant each (0.2%) reported that his/her family was from either Africa, Pakistan or Sri Lanka.

Insert Table 21 about here

Finally, in reporting where home was, participants responded that for over half (58.2%, 335 individuals), home was the United States; for less than half (42.9%, 247), home was India. For 4.7% (27) home was both India and the United States; for four (0.7%), home was Bangladesh; and for one participant each (0.2%), home was either Pakistan or Africa. It is interesting to note that so many of the participants continue to consider India home despite having been in the United States for so long. These results prove that identity and home are results of what one communicates to others. One can be from one place even if one's home is elsewhere. Thus, identity is named through communication.

Insert Table 22 about here

Participants were also asked why they had come to the United States in order to ascertain motives for immigration. They reported that over a third (36.3%, 209 individuals) came for educational advancement; about a third (31.1%, 179) came for economic advancement; and about a third (30.4%, 175) came to be with family. Some (6.9%, 40) came for children's education; 6.6% (38) came to be with their spouse; 6.4% (37) came to fulfill parents' desire; 4.0% (23) came because their friends were in the United States; and some (3.1%, 18) came due to job transfer; Ten (1.7%) came for other, unspecified reasons; nine (2.6%) came for freedom; seven (1.2%) came for medical reasons; six (1.0%) came to see the world; three (0.5%) came to visit and

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remained; and two participants each (0.3%) came either for comforts or to see the United States.

Insert Table 23 about here

There were also several questions regarding language. In India, language is highly indicative of region of origin. Thus, responses to questions about one's mother tongue serve to gauge what part of India participants are from. Responses to what language is spoken in the home reflect what linguistic groups are most represented in the United States. Finally, responses to languages spoken indicate the multi-lingual tendencies within the Indian-American community. Furthermore, research indicates that the more languages one speaks, the higher one's cognitive complexity. By knowing the language usage within the Indian-American community, it is possible to gain understanding of the complex structure of this community and examine the role of language in cultural preservation.

Participants were asked to report one mother tongue, all languages spoken in the home, and all languages that they speak. First, all languages were given their own separate codes. Next, all non-Indian languages with the exception of English were collapsed into a category labeled "non-Indian languages." These were grouped because they did not reflect any regional identity, nor were they the official language of the United States. Participants were asked to mark all possible answers regarding languages spoken in the home and languages spoken. Third, new dummy variables were created to indicate whether or not a person spoke a particular language. This was done to ascertain frequency of each language spoken since several responses by each participant were possible. Once language spoken was coded, the eight most common

languages (chosen based on frequency) were selected. These were combined with English to see which languages were used in homes simultaneously with English. This was also done to cull out respondents who indicated that they did not speak English in the home. Thus, a set of dummy variables was created to see if participants spoke English and one of the eight most frequently spoken languages in the home. Finally, a variable was created to capture the total number of languages spoken. The mean number of languages spoken was 3.14 (sd= .895). Participants reported that slightly over half (51.9%, 299 individuals) speak three languages; less that a quarter (22.0%, 127) speak four languages; 18.2% (105) speak 2 languages; 4.0% (23) speak five languages; and 1.9% (11) speak 6 languages. Ten participants (1.7%, 10) speak one language; and one participant (0.2%) did not respond to the question. This indicates a greater level of cognitive complexity within the participant population. It also indicates that there is continual negotiation occurring to facilitate one's communication in a given environment.

Insert Table 24 about here

The following report of languages spoken and languages spoken in the home are results of multiple answers to single questions. Thus, the percentages equal more than 100%. Of the languages spoken, participants reported that almost all the participants (98.1%, 565 individuals) speak English; a large majority (84.2%, 485) speak Hindi; a little less than a half (45.5%, 262) speak Gujarati; 16.0% (92) speak Punjabi; 11.5% (66) speak Marathi; 9.7% (56) speak Urdu or Tamil; 9.5% (55) speak Bengali; 6.6% (38) speak Telugu; 5.7% (33) speak Malayalam; 5.2% (30) speak non-Indian languages; and 5.0% (29) speak Kannada. Eleven (1.9%) speak Konkani; nine (1.6%) speak

Sindhi; seven (1.2%) speak Maithili; and six (1.0%) speak Sanskrit. Two participants

each (0.3%) speak either Assamese or Marwadi; and one participant each (0.2%) speaks

either Oriya or Kutchi.

Insert Table 25 about here

Participants were asked to report one mother tongue, and a total of nineteen

mothers tongues were reported. The greatest number of participants (39.9%, 230)

reported that Gujarati was their mother tongue; 12.2% (70) reported that Punjabi was

their mother tongue; 11.5% (66) reported that Hindi was their mother tongue; 6.6% (38)

reported that Bengali was their mother tongue; 5.9% (34) reported Telugu; 5.2% (30)

reported Tamil; 4.3% (25) reported Malayalam; 3.8% (22) reported English; and 3.3%

(19) reported Marathi. Eight (1.4%) reported either Sindhi or Konkani; seven (1.2%)

reported Kannada or Maithili; four (0.7%) reported Marvadi; three (0.5%) reported

Urdu; and one participant each (0.2%) reported Sinhalese, Multani, Assamese, or no

response.

Insert Table 26 about here

There were also nineteen languages reported as spoken in the home. Almost

three quarters of the participants (74.1%, 427 individuals) reported that they spoke

English in the home; slightly less than half (42.2%, 243) reported that they spoke

Gujarati in the home. Slightly less than a third (32.1%, 185) reported that they spoke

Hindi; 13.0% (75) reported that they spoke Punjabi; 6.4% (37) reported that they spoke

Bengali or Telugu; 5.2% (30) reported that they spoke Marathi; 4.3% (25) reported that

they spoke Malayalam; and 2.1% (12) reported that they spoke Urdu or Kannada. Eight

(1.4%) reported that they spoke Sindhi or Konkani; four (0.7%) reported that they spoke

Maithili; three (0.5%) reported that they spoke either Marwadi or a non-Indian

language; and one participant each (0.2%) reported that they spoke either Sanskrit,

Assamese or Kutchi in the home.

The high number of participants speaking English in the home indicates that

regardless of how these participants identify themselves, there is a good deal of cultural

fusion occurring. The high use of English in the home indicates that these families are

invloved in the society surrounding them and that they are not a separated from

mainstream society as they claim to be.

Insert Table 27 about here

Frequencies were also run on various combinations of languages spoken in the

home. The combinations were done between English and the eight most dominant

languages. Participants reported that about a third of the participants (31.9%, 184

individuals) spoke either English only or English and one of the non-dominant

languages in the home; slightly less than a quarter of the participants (21.0%, 121)

speak English and Gujarati at home; 17.0% (98) speak English and Hindi; 9.5% (55)

speak English and Punjabi; 4.7% (27) speak English and Telugu; 4.5% (26) speak

English and Marathi; 4.0% (23) speak English and Tamil; and 3.6% (21) speak English

and Malayalam or English and Bengali.

Insert Table 28 about here

Correlation Results

Once frequencies were run on all 29 variables, a 29 by 29 factorial design was

used to establish correlation among the variables. This was done to measure the

relationship between the variables and test for any emergent trends in the relationships.

According to traditional social scientific standards, significance is determined at .05

(p=<.05) with a Pearson's r of .60 or greater. Due to a large N, the resulting

correlations were at times statistically significant, but small. However, from the

existent results, it is possible to illuminate certain trends which warrant attention in

future studies. The following section of the chapter is a report of the correlations. The

results are first reported based on the given research questions for the study. Next, the

results are grouped according to statistical significance. Significance was determined at

.05 (p=<.05) and Pearson's r ranges from .2 to .60. Each set of correlations will be

discussed separately.

Research question one (RQ$_1$) centered on participants' cultural preferences and

age of immigration. Research question two (RQ$_2$) focused on the relationship between

cultural preference and number of years in the United States. Cultural preferences were

measured using food, film, dress, music, actors and actresses. These variables

correlated with several other variables.

Insert Table 29 about here

The order of preference was 1 = Indian preference; 2 = American preference; 3

= both. Preference for food was positively correlated with marital status (r = 0.26779, p

= 0.0001); how often one goes to India (r = 0.25808, p = 0.0001); how long one stays

in India (r = 0.19819, p = 0.0001). This indicates that married individuals tend to prefer

both Indian and American food; those who travel to India more often and those who stay in India longer tend to also prefer both Indian and American food. Preference for food is negatively correlated with speaking Gujarati in the home (r = -0.07674, p = 0.0657); speak Gujarati (r = -0.09394, p = 0.0242). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati in the home and those who speak Gujarati tend to prefer Indian food over American food.

Preference for film was positively correlated with correlated with marital status (r = .15711, p=0.0002), how often one goes to India (r = 0.14134, p = 0.0007), and how long one stays in India (r = 12517, p = 0.0026). This indicates that those who are married, those who travel to India most often, and those who stay in India longer tend to like both American and Indian films/videos instead of preferring one over the other. In other words, they marked both categories instead of just one. Preference for film was negatively correlated with speak Gujarati (r = -0.08326, p = 0.0458). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati tend to prefer Indian films only.

Preference for dress was positively correlated with marital status (r = 0.20723, p = 0.0001), how often one visits India (r = 0.18060, p = 0.0001), and how long one stays India (r = 0.11101, p = 0.0077). This indicates that those who are married, those who travel to India most often and those who stay in India the longest tend to like both western and Indian dress. Again, this was indicated by marking both categories rather than only one category. Preference for dress was negatively correlated with speak Gujarati in the home (r = -0.10379, p = 0.0127) and speak Gujarati (r = -0.11884, p = 0.0043). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati and those who speak Gujarati in the home tend to prefer Indian dress. This is interesting because it points to accuracy of

the premise that Gujarati Indian-Americans are a distinct group, separate from other Indian-Americans. This raises interesting questions about examining the degrees of difference in these responses among the participants from several regions of India.

The preference for music was positively correlated with marital status ($r = 0.17292$, $p = 0.0001$), how often one visits India ($r = 0.17923$, $p = 0.0001$), and how long one stays in India ($r = 0.16257$, $p = 0.0001$). This indicates that those who are married, those who travel to India most often, and those who stay in India the longest tend to like both Indian and American music. Preference for music was negatively correlated with speaking Gujarati ($r = -0.08204$, $p = 0.0491$) and speaking Gujarati in the home ($r = -0.08478$, $p = 0.0420$). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati and speak Gujarati at home tend to prefer Indian music.

Actress preference positively correlated with marital status ($r = 0.12252$, $p = 0.0032$) and how often one visits India ($r = 0.09883$, $p = 0.0177$). This indicates that those who are married and those who visit India often tend to like both Indian actresses and American actresses. Preference for actress was negatively correlated with speak Gujarati in the home ($r = -0.14012$, $p = 0.0007$) and speak Gujarati ($r = 0.16923$, $p = 0.0001$). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati and speak Gujarati in the home tend to prefer Indian actresses. The preference for actor was only negatively correlated with speak Gujarati ($r = -0.13228$, $p = 0.0015$) and speak Gujarati in the home ($r = -0.11175$, $p = 0.0073$). This indicates that those who speak Gujarati and speak Gujarati in the home tend to prefer Indian actors.

Insert Table 30 about here

Discussion

The purpose of the frequency test is to create a clear image of the participant pool. The frequency test results from this data provided an interesting picture of the participant population. First and foremost, the assumptions about the post-1965 immigrant were met. The vast majority of the survey participants were born in India, came to the United States in their mid to late twenties for educational purposes, are upper class, economic wise, with terminal degrees, and have been in the United States for about 20 to 30 years. Additionally, the census claim that the majority of Indians in the United States are Gujaratis was also proven true. As this was an approximate random sample, it reflected the demographics of the group population.

The survey results also reflect many of the confounding sets of identities discussed in chapter 3. Perhaps the most interesting result was the frequency of nationality in relation to the frequency of citizenship. Though 62.2% of the participants reported being United States citizens, 64.1% reported that their nationality was Indian. This indicates clearly that national identity is not tied to one's citizenship and that United States citizenship does not include a sense of American identity for those who are citizens.

Another key point that emerged from the data was the specific reference to immigration for marital reasons. Not included as a choice in the survey, the response "followed spouse" as a reason for immigration was written in by several participants. Additionally, all but one of the participants who responded as such were women. This indicates that immigration in and of itself was not a reason for coming to the United States for many female participants. Further questions regarding this finding could focus on whether these women (or their families) picked their spouses because they

were United States green card holders or citizens. Also, it would be interesting to consider how happy these women are and how immigration informs their sense of self. Some aspect of this issue is addressed in the ethnographic interviews.

It is also interesting to note that though the United States is home to over half of the participants (58.2%), an overwhelming majority of them (94.3%) state that they are from India. This is even more interesting given that over three-quarters of the participants have been in the United States for over ten years. Clearly, regardless of how long one stays in a country, one does not necessarily identify with that county. However, despite not identifying with the United States, a majority of participants acknowledge that they plan to remain in the United States permanently. Also, despite the length of time in the United States, the participants show clear cut preferences for all things Indian. They also reflect Indian practices such as Indian religion and marriage within the community by means of traditional systems. A vital point of interest however is, if when in India, is one's citizenship or permanent residency a status symbol? Thus, does one identify with their American status, but only when in India and it switches back and forth (depending on whether they are in India or the United States) just as the semantics of binary opposition would predict?

These results serve to draw a clear image of the Indian-American community. This immigrant group has achieved much of what is considered success in America. They are economically above average and have achieved high levels of education. In addition to these American successes, this group also attempts to maintain a level of Indian success, such as maintaining native languages, practicing native religions, and continuing to utilize native systems of dress and food. Here, there is clear sense that

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identity is communicative. The sense of Indian identity within this group is communicated by their actions, practices and rhetoric. The participant group does not rely on facts of identity to claim their own identity. For them, identity is a result of their narratives, not a result of geography. Thus, it is perfectly normal to be a citizen of one country while "being" from another country.

In examining the correlation results, one must understand the process of making meaning of these numbers. The significance of the statistics can be defined mathematically ($r => .60$, $p = < .05$). However, social science is by no means a mathematical science. Thus, one must establish an applicable approach for gaining meaning from statistical results. Furthermore, in explaining these results, it is important to recognize their true meaning. The standard of significance is established based on the relationship between the r value and the p value. Though the p value is significant at the .05 level, this cannot be considered a reliable correlation unless the r value is high.

There are several points that can effect the r value. First, a large n guarantees a certain amount of significant correlation. The more data one has, the more likely there will be similarity between the numbers. Second, with a large number of variables in the study, the r value is decreased. Thus, a surface examination of the numbers does not result in an accurate understanding of the relationship between the two variables. Thus, it is necessary to examine these results in greater depth.

There are very few correlations that achieve significance in this study, however, they do still provide vital information about the Indian-American community and provide directions for further analysis of the data. It is perhaps more accurate to state

that these results provide certain direction for understanding the Indian-American community. Though the correlations between Gujarati language and cultural preferences are not highly reliable, the trend indicates that there is a relationship between speaking Gujarati and cultural preference for Indian culture. This indicates a specific direction for more thorough investigation of the survey results. There is a clear difference between the Gujarati community and other Indian linguistic communities. Thus, it is necessary to examine Gujaratis as a distinct group. Furthermore, the correlations reinforce the premise that Indians immigrated to the United States in order to come to America, not in order to leave India. The responses indicate that the participants continually strive to uphold aspects of their lives that seem Indian to them. Thus, there is a strong correlation between cultural preferences and religion, travel to India, where one is from, and reasons for immigration. The underlying premise that emerges from the survey data is that being Indian is not limited to being in India. It is about one's behaviors, actions and how one communicates one's identity. Thus, self report responses show us how the participants see themselves.

CHAPTER 6

An Examination of the Themes from Ethnography

Thematic Analysis of Ethnographic Data

In writing traditional ethnography, one is called upon to present a problem that is then addressed throughout the analysis of the field experience. Van Maanen (1988) offers several ways in which to approach the writing of a chosen problem. As he explains, there are several tones which one can adopt when presenting daily interactions observed. Referring to these various tones as types of tales, Van Maanen provides explication of the roles that a researcher plays when reporting about her time in the field. Of these tales, the one most commonly used in contemporary ethnographies is the realist tale. In this, the researcher establishes her authority as she presents the research design and then proceeds to "report" results, attempting to be as true as possible to the naturally occurring events. Other tales, such as the confessional tale call upon the researcher to expose her methods of obtaining information and utilizing those confessions as the framework for presenting the naturally occurring events. However, regardless of the tone adopted, certain assumptions of writing ethnography must be addressed. Though the social sciences have entered the post-modern era, traditionalist perspectives still tend to dominate. It is imperative to note that in "reporting" findings from the field, language is utilized to co-construct certain realities.

I am not proposing a constructivist view at this point, however, I warn against any sense of omnipotent reporting in the writing of ethnography. As discussed in the chapter on method, as researchers, we must call to question the inherent power structures within the field, especially when a researcher interferes with the field. Also, it is vital to acknowledge the researcher's subjectivity as a part of the interactions observed. As an Indian-American woman born in India, raised in the United States, I present a unique position to my participants. In many ways, I am one of them, yet, I set myself apart by having the power to "give them voice." Though as a researcher, I do not establish myself as a giver of voice, for my participants, the fact that I will take their private thoughts outside of the Indian community establishes my power over them. Also, as an Indian-American, I am the very element of the community that I am studying. As participants see me, I embody the issues that I ask them to discuss. To older Indian-Americans, I am representative of the youth culture to which their children belong; to Indian-American youth, I am an older Indian-American that may have gone over to their parent's side. Finally, it is necessary to consider and present my own subjectivity regarding these issues. Being a product of the phenomena that is being examined, I carry with me my own biases about what is best for the community and my own presentation of self informs my participants of my own experiences. For example, when I interview older Indian-Americans, they see a young girl who probably came to the United States early in life or was born here and was educated in the American school system. They probably assume that I am western in my thinking (an assumption reinforced by the research project I have undertaken), and I have rather American views on life. Similarly, I approach these participants as people of a specific generation in

which there is a clear cultural history of colonialization and a sense of cultural preservation. A similar experience occurs with younger Indian-Americans. The commonality with these groups is their assumption of the power I have in the interview process. As someone who will take their thoughts outside of the Indian-American community, I am seen as having a power that they may not necessarily trust. This clearly informs the entire fieldwork process. Thus, the structure of the following narrative informs the reader's understanding of Indian-Americans in a way unlike any other. The elements of power along with my subjectivity position me as an insider in the community and as an informant about the phenomena. Furthermore, my "position" as an insider/informant illuminates some nuances while masking others; providing a co-constituted reality of Indian-American life in the United States. Given this position, this chapter will serve to examine some of the predominant themes that emerged from my time in the field and from interviews with participants.

Description of the Field

As with most ethnographic studies, the time spent in the field yielded an immense amount of information. The "field" was a large urban area on the west coast with a large Indian-American population. Specific parts of the field included an area known as little India. This area is a three mile stretch of street that is dominated by Indian merchants. Beginning at the north end of the street and extending through the next two miles, there are stores such as Indian grocery stores, sari shops, jewelers, restaurants, and snack shops. There are also general stores that carry electronics supplies, electronic products that can be used in the United States and in India, luggage, kitchen supplies, etc.

These stores specialize in products that can be taken back to India as gifts. These gifts include impostor perfumes, watches, kitchen knives, campstove lighters, rolls of film, razor blades, etc. The premise behind which items are considered "good" gifts for visits to India is based on the quality of the product and cost of the product on the Indian black market. Most items such as the ones mentioned above are now available in India, however, they lack quality and/or are extremely expensive on the black market.

The field comprised of a much larger setting, however, there was not necessarily a physically defined space. Utilizing Goffman's (1959) terms, the Indian-American community can be defined as a community in being. The sense of community among Indian-Americans is not necessarily defined by a physical unit. Rather, the sense of community is reinforced by the gathering of Indians. Thus, Indian communities seem to exist in the most unlikely places, such as Jackson, Mississippi and Davenport, Iowa. However, as the community of Indian-Americans continues to grow and the post-1965 immigrants reach a higher level of stability, actual physical communities, such as the Little India in Southern California, are also becoming visible. These communities serve the general physical needs of the community and also provide a physical space which Indian-Americans identify with. Often, jokes are made that soon Indians will begin to identify themselves as "the Nagars from Alhambra" rather than referring to their place of birth in India.[22]

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[22] In identifying oneself to a person of the same linguistic background, naming the town or village of birth or family origin explicates the person's caste and sub-caste. For example, when I introduce myself to another Gujarati, I say that I am a Pathak from Bhavnagar, the village of my families' origin. Then, I would continue to clarify where my family may have lived since then. This provides the listener a geographical reference, a caste reference, and a familial reference.

Description of Participants

Twenty-seven interviews were conducted with individuals representing twenty one households. Observations were also made during the interviews and throughout my time in the field. The participants all live in Southern California within driving distance of the Little India that was the primary ethnography site. Of the 27 participants, 16 were female and 11 were male. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 82. A majority of the participants, (20) were Gujarati; some were Punjabi (4), one was Malayali, one was Konkani and one was Sindhi. Except for the Malayali and Konkani participants, all were North Indian. In fact, even the Konkani participant had lived most his life in the north in Bombay. All participants are given pseudonyms to protect their privacy. Background about each participant will be provided as direct quotations are utilized from their interviews. Those who are not directly quoted will be discussed at the end of this chapter. All participants were invited to complete the survey that had been mailed to households after the ethnographic interviews were completed. Twenty-five of the 27 participants completed the surveys. The two participants who did not complete the surveys were of the same household. They requested extra time to complete the survey so that they could provide comments, however, they did not return the surveys, despite numerous follow-ups.

Of the participants who did return the surveys, 11 participants were college age students. Of these 11 students, all but one participant were born in the United States. The one participant born in India came to the United States at age five. Three participants were newly married women in their early thirty's, two of whom had young children. All three of these women were born in India. Ten participants were older

adults with families who had been settled in the United States for at least 13 years. In fact, all but two of these ten participants had been in the United States for over twenty years. One participant was a senior citizen who came to the United States after retiring from a medical career in India. He has been here for 13 years.

Of all the participants who were past college and had been in the United States for more than five years, income was predominantly reported at $50,000 a year or higher. One male participant reported his income as $50,000-$60,000 a year. He is an owner of one of the Indian stores in Little India. One male participant reported his income as $70,000-$80,000 a year. He is an engineer. Four male participants reported their incomes as over $100,000 a year. They are: an insurance agent, a dentist, an engineer and a pharmaceutical company manager. The female participants tended to report lower incomes. This may be due to the question specifically asking the individual's income, not family income. One female reported her income as less than $10,000 a year. She is a part-time librarian. One female participant reported her income as $50,000-$60,000 a year. This was a report of family income, as she is a stay-at-home mother. Her husband is a salesperson at one of the jewelry stores in Little India. One female participant reported her income as $60,000-$70,000 a year. She is a medical HMO administrator. One female participant reported her income as over $100,000 a year. She is a dentist. One female participant did not respond to the question. She is also a stay-at-home mother.

These demographics point to a very specific sub-population within the larger Indian-American communities. As discussed in chapter 2, there are several different Indian communities throughout the United States, however, the most visible of these

communities is the wealthier, white collar community. This research focuses on this community as it is still the most dominant group among Indian-Americans and it is the community I have access into. By dominant, I mean the group that is most represented in the census and is also the most visible Indian-American community. As discussed earlier (chapter 2), lower class Indians have only recently begun immigrating to the United States and are largely invisible, much like the poor of this country. A truly comprehensive study of Indian-Americans would require an examination of this lower class community as well. However, this upper class community is in many ways representative of Indian-Americans in that it has an established place in the United States' ethnic framework. These are the Indian-Americans that fulfill the current criteria of model minority. They are also the ones who are at that point in the immigration cycle where they are now facing the coming of age of their children in a new world. Their children represent the voice of the second generation which is found in the latest trend of South Asian Diaspora literature, discussed in chapter 3. The experiences of both the parents and the youth will clearly inform the experiences of the newer Indian immigrant.

Culture as a physicality: inscription and extension

The first and most dominant theme that warrants attention stems from my observations throughout my time in the field. I was intrigued by the apparent confounding identities among Indian-Americans. As I spent more and more time in little India and with my participants, it became obvious that much of the confusion that individuals expressed was not necessarily reflected in the physical extensions of themselves. It was clear that a sense of cultural fusion had been inscribed on the bodies

of the participants. Additionally, there was a clear extension of cultural fusion in the participants' surrounding environments. Though both of these elements are deeply integrated, I would like to examine each separately and then together.

To begin, it is important to note that, though, the discourse of Indian-Americans reflects a crisis of identity, my observations indicate that this community has managed to find a way to effectively interact in dominant American society. There is a sense of cultural fusion in which Indian-Americans have adapted their surrounding to their needs while also shifting their needs to reflect a sense of fusion among the two cultures. It is also interesting to note that a blending of cultures is uniquely visible on the bodies of the participants. It is clear that Indian-Americans have not necessarily "adapted" to the mainstream culture, rather they have created a way of being and interacting that reflects all the elements of both cultures. This integration is not reflective of the trite "melting pot" metaphor, nor is it an aspect of the "mosaic" metaphor. Unlike the "melting pot" pot metaphor, this cultural fusion is not a thorough blending in which the uniqueness of either culture is lost. Also, unlike the "mosaic" metaphor, the two cultures are not kept within rigid lines that separate them from each other, in a separate but equal formula which allows no blending to occur. Rather, cultural fusion results in a mixing of cultures in which each culture is evident and integrates with the other culture. Both cultures seem completely as their original form in that the participants have made the cultures as such. Though participants of all ages have the sense of inscribed culture, it is best to examine how this is achieved by looking at two specific groups, parents and youth.[23]

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[23] By inscribed culture, I am referring to the notion of one's identity being an extension of oneself. Culture is literally "written" on one's body and is an extension of the self. This notion is somewhat

As an insider in the Indian-American community, I found that to a certain degree I was forced to step outside myself when observing the community. However, soon I found that stepping outside myself was impossible. The very notion I was attempting to observe was inscribed on my body. My efforts to observe were merely an exercise in reflexivity. I carried with me a specific identity that spoke certain assumptions to my participants and effected the outcome of the "interview." For this reason, I often found myself being interviewed as much as I was interviewing the participants. Eventually, it became evident that I was engaging in the very phenomena I was observing. I was engaged in the process of cultural fusion and negotiating the hyphen. My presentation of self was the result of my own fusion and that fusion was evident to the Indian-Americans I spoke to, though I am not necessarily aware of it at all times.

I began my research by approaching several informants to ask for introductions to members of the local Indian-American community. Utilizing my family ties in the community, I actually began the process of research by calling upon a widely used tradition within the community. I used my family name as a marker of my status and position which afforded me access and trust among participants. I called upon various family members who are well established in the community and asked them if I could use their names as references when talking to others in the community or for them to introduce me to others in the community.[24] Thus, all of my interviews had a

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similar to the performance studies literature in communication, specifically the literature about the performative turn. See the works of Joni Jones, Judith Hamera, and Dwight Conquergood. This body of literature has inspired my work, but I do not necessarily agree with all of its presumptions.

[24] In Indian languages, last names indicate caste, language, region and lineage. Thus, by using one's name as a base of introduction, I was placing myself in the matrix of society. In a more general sense, by

component to them in which the participant and I discussed who I was, who my family was and why I was examining this particular issue. In keeping with another common tradition of including food and philosophy as key components of social interaction, there was a small segment of social time either before or after the interview that involved the participant's family members at times. So, often after the formal interview was completed, I would sit down to eat a snack with the participant and assorted family members. At this time, an informal "interview" was continued which often incorporated the participant or his family members interviewing me. Though it was difficult to not get into lengthy discussions about the topic of culture prior to conducting my interviews, I was able to keep the informal exchanges to a minimum before the formal interviews took place. It was my goal to not let my views unduly influence my participants.

In this process of interviewing my participants, I began noticing that the surroundings were not reflective of the identities my participants were claiming. The lives these individuals led did not seem to reflect their feelings of detachment from the United States or their sense of not belonging. Instead, the surroundings reflected a strong sense of connection to the United States and affluence. For example, there was a tone among the older participants that they were in the United States not because of personal desire, but, rather they had come to fulfill their duty to children and family. There was a sense of America still being that foreign land we have to come to if our children are to get the best education possible; if we are to better our families' lives; if we are to earn our worth, which can then better the families' economic position. Yet,

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providing a common reference, one is also strengthening the sense of connection between interviewer and interviewee.

all of these participants owned expensive homes, businesses and appeared to be quite settled, fitting into the upper middle socio-economic class. These financial investments, such as real estate and businesses, indicate a sense of permanence of lifestyle. Furthermore, these homes reflected strong "American" features. As will be detailed in the next paragraph, the homes were decorated with a mix of cultural artifacts, and with expensive items. In fact, it could be said that if one were to engage these particular Indian-Americans in the race of keeping up with the Jones's, they would quickly win.

Of the participants interviewed in their homes, all had homes in wealthy neighborhoods and the homes were in the higher range of real estate. In fact, three of the households were located in a well known gated community where homes range from $400,000 to $1 million. All of the homes were elegantly decorated consisting of components from both traditional Indian art and contemporary Western art. For example, in one household, the two living rooms were decorated in distinctly different styles. The formal living room in the front part of the house was ornately decorated with traditional Indian furniture. The furniture was teakwood, the carpet was a traditional Persian wool, and there was a stuffed tiger mounted on a teakwood stand. The more commonly used living room toward the back of the house was decorated in casual American style with cream leather sofas, an oak and glass coffee table with newspapers strewn everywhere. Interestingly, the formal interviews with the participants from that household were conducted in the formal living room and the social time afterward was spent in the breakfast nook attached to the informal living room. Another home where I conducted interviews had been professionally decorated in a modern, minimalist style. However, in the kitchen and in each of the bedrooms

there were small pictures of deities. Furthermore, a large walk-in closet at the front of the house had been designated specifically as a temple. The owners of the home explained how they had specifically designed the lighting in that space to best suit the temple. A third home had more of a blend in that each room had elements of both Indian and American artifacts. In the family room, the furniture was casual American, however, there were Indian objects de art placed throughout the room and the remainder of the house.

Most of the sites where interviews were conducted had some sort of temple or images of Indian gods and goddesses visible. Along with these temples, there was modern western furniture throughout the rest of the locale. Even in the business places where interviews were conducted, there was a small temple space visible. For example, in the office of the participant who is an insurance salesperson, there was a small temple high on the side wall. It was mounted in the same way in which television sets are mounted in hospital rooms. However, the temple was barely one foot by one foot and it was in the furthest corner of the room, out of the direct line of vision. The rest of the office was decorated in modern chrome and glass decor. One interview was conducted at a dental facility. The participant was the primary dentist at the facility. Here, the temple was set near the dentist's desk, in a small cubicle. Indian businesses located in Little India where interviews were conducted had temples behind counters and, in some instances, in plain sight of the customers. Some interviews were conducted at student dorms. There was no clear evidence of temples at these residences, however, several of the participants had small pictures of gods on their night stands or desks.

What is of interest is the seemingly confounding sets of beliefs that are presented. In keeping with the mainstream Hindu tradition, it is a sin to eat meat because it requires the killing of the animal, thus devoiding a soul of its temple. The making of leather furniture also requires the killing of an animal[25], however, that is seemingly unimportant as temples and images of gods are placed near such items. Additionally, the homes exude an aura of conspicuous consumption, representing the finest quality materials, expensive objects de art, and the most exquisite craftsmanship. It is also important to note that the items of Indian culture in these homes are items that would not necessarily be found in homes in India. Many of these items are "palace items" that were traditionally found in the palaces of India rather than in the homes of its middle class. For example, many of the homes have complete sets of teakwood furniture, large bunches of peacock feathers, large sandalwood sculptures and some ivory items. Teakwood and ivory are no longer exportable items. Peacock feathers and sandalwood are extremely expensive and difficult to transport. This is the Indian version of the American dream of a man in his castle. Also, many of these items are chosen because they "look" Indian according to the Western interpretations of what is Indian. These items are not necessarily representative of the region that the participants come from. These pieces are not chosen as nostalgic references to childhood homes. Rather, they represent the western notion of Indian culture. Indian-Americans have appropriated the American version of India, just as previous generations of Indians appropriated the British version of India. Many of the pieces, such as the teakwood furniture, are actually remnants of previous invasions by moghuls and other empires.

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[25] I cannot be for certain whether the furniture is real leather or not, however, that it is meant to appear to be leather is what is important in this case. the presumption made by those who see it is that it is real

However, regardless of the history of the pieces, the function they serve is to represent the Indian ancestry of the family and their connection to their culture. This representation of ancestry is a reflection of western notions of Indianness.

This blending of two cultures extends onto the bodies of the participants also. The blend is most evident on the bodies and in the physicality of the youth. I posit that this is merely due to fact that these youth are not yet settled and do not own a space which can be considered their own. For their parents, it is possible to express a blend of identities in and on places other than their bodies, such as at their homes. Furthermore, the degree of fusion is different in the parents than in the youth. The older Indian-Americans physicality is more reflective of their upbringing in India, whereas the physicality of the youth is more reflective of their upbringing in the United States. This will be examined in detailed later in this chapter. Also, most of the younger participants interviewed were born in the United States and know only how American homes or Indian-American homes are decorated. Regardless of having lived their entire lives in the United States, the participants all embodied a sense of cultural fusion. One primary evidence of this cultural fusion was again in the form of religious icons. All of the young women interviewed wore some sort of religious pendent. All the young women had on gold chains with one or two religious pendants attached.[26] All of the young women wore these necklaces on the outside of their clothing, as though they were merely jewelry and not religious amulets. The older women interviewed also wore a

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leather and thus expensive.

[26] Indian tradition dictates the wearing of gold by daughters, since both gold and females represent the goddess Lakshmi. The pendants are usually of the primary god figure worshipped in the home. They can include, but are not limited to Lord Ganesh, the goddess Lakshmi or Durga, or the religious symbol Aum. Some wear a tiny capsule, known as a tavij or madaliu in which ashes from religious sites are

combination of jewelry. For example, one woman, a medical administrator was dressed in a professional suit; her make up was applied in a clean, professional manner, using colors most often used by American beauty consultants; but she wore both American and Indian jewelry. She had on mabe pearl earrings and an Indian ring. She also had on a necklace with a pendant, however, her chain was much shorter than the one worn by the younger girls and the pendant was usually hidden under her collar.

Mostly everyone interviewed was dressed in western dress. One woman who worked at a grocery store in Little India was dressed in the traditional Indian salwar kameez and one of the young men I interviewed was dressed in a pajama kurta but that was because he had just finished performing at his university's India Night talent show. His clothes were in the essence of costume. Other than these two cases, the participants were dressed in western dress ranging from casual shorts and tee shirts to professional suits. The women who were interviewed outside their work place wore casual slacks and shirts. The shirts tended to be long and reached to the top of their thighs. The woman interviewed at her dental clinic was dressed in a long skirt and long blouse with a lab coat on top. This mode of dress points out the level of comfort that these participants have reached in the United States. Though many of the women talked about their hearts being in India, they appear to physically fit into the society here. It is important to note that the older, married women's dress was not reflective of popular American style. I posit that in keeping with the more conservative mentality of Indian culture, these women wear attire that essentially covers their bodies. The traditional sari is a wrap that effectively covers the entire body. There are two layers across the

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kept. These capsules are usually gold or silver. These capsules can also hold the person's personal mantra.

chest (a blouse is worn under the sari) and the lower body (a skirt is worn under the sari). Though the stomach is at times visible in the sari, the method of wrapping serves to conceal a woman's body rather than expose it. Also, the traditional salwar kameez is a pant and top suit designed to cover a woman's stomach, back and thighs with two layers, the pant and then the top. Though the women dressed in Western clothes, they achieved the same effect by wearing tops that were longer and reached their thighs.

The younger women were dressed more according to the current Western fashion, or in clothes that modeled a more western mode of dress. For example, two siblings who were interviewed were dressed the same. Both sisters had on baby tees (tight short tee shirts of thin cotton and rayon material) baggy, oversized jeans, Nike Air Jordans, and Nike jackets. This look is called the "L.A. look" or the "gangsta look," referring to the dress code of Los Angeles gang members. The look has become less affiliated with gangs and more affiliated with the city in general. Both of these young women (age 18 years) also had pagers attached to their belts. The mother informed me that both sisters had a car and car phone, seen as a necessity in Southern California. Most of the other young women interviewed were in jeans and tee shirts. One young woman was interviewed while she tended the cash register at the family store in Little India. she also wore the L.A. look. She was dressed in a tight baby tee, the newer style bell bottom pants and 2 inch high platform shoes. Another of the young women interviewed was in shorts and a tee shirt. The difference here that warrants attention is the displaying of the body rather than the covering of it. Though none of the young women were displaying their bodies in a provocative or overly obvious manner, they seemed nonetheless, more comfortable with their bodies than the older women. Their

presentation of self was more physical and relaxed. They did not have the demureness of the older, married women. The American born women had a larger comportment; used larger, more physical gestures; and, carried themselves with a more outward show of confidence. The older, Indian born women and the newly married Indian born women had a smaller comportment, carried themselves in a more confined manner and held their bodies in a way that seemed to deflect conspicuous attention rather than attract it.

There were also distinct differences in the use of cosmetics by the women. With the exception of the one woman interviewed at her job as a medical administrator, most of the other older women did not wear any visible American cosmetics. Most had some powder on their faces and kohl lining their eyes.[27] The younger, college aged, single women wore their cosmetics in a much more western style. Those who wore make-up mimicked the application styles of fashion models. Their cosmetics matched their L.A. look. The young women interviewed at college did not wear much make-up, keeping with the college student look.

The differences among the men were less obvious. Two of the participants interviewed were students at a local four year university. Both of these young men also sported the "L.A. look." They wore large baggy jeans, shirts hidden under large sports jackets and chic haircuts. The older men wore western clothes that were more conservative. Most had on slacks and casual dress shirts. Three of the older men were

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[27] Kohl is used in India from an early age. It is put on in a manner that outlines the person's eye and looks like American eyeliner, however, it is an all natural product that is said to have qualities that strengthen eye muscles and improve vision. It is also said that the process of massaging the eye during application of kohl reinforces the shape of the eye. Furthermore, a small dot of kohl is placed on a the side of the child's forehead or front of the ear to ward off the evil eye. For those who use both kohl and eyeliner, it is easy to tell the difference.

interviewed at their place of business or immediately after they returned home from work. These three were dressed in suit slacks, a dress shirt and tie. One man was interviewed at his sari shop in Little India. He was dressed in slacks and a shirt, however, he had Indian sandals on his feet.

As part of my time in the field, I attended the India night celebration hosted by a local four year university. This evening offered keen insight into the degrees of cultural fusion and cultural dissonance within the Indian-American community. The show was planned to coordinate with the Indian holiday, Holi.[28] The university's Indian-American student club had rented a local theater facility and charged admission. Events such as this are the club's primary funding sources. The show consisted of performances by students from this university and other schools in the surrounding area. The show was three hours long and extremely well attended. Over 1200 people attended, 500 of whom were students. The remaining attendees were members of the local Indian community. There was an equal blend of college youth and parents. At this function, all degrees of cultural fusion were visible. The dress ranged from classic traditional Indian garb for both men and women to what is commonly known as Seattle grunge. I would like to focus on the various representations among the college students. As mentioned earlier, what is most notable about the differences in physicality between Indian-American youth and their parents is based on the overt physicality of the Indian-American youth. Though many of the college students attending the show were dressed in traditional Indian garb, the way in which they presented their bodies was very

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[28] Holi is celebrated in the spring. It is a day on which Holika Mata is worshipped by lighting bonfires. These fires symbolize the burning of our sins and release from our karma. On this day, people bury their pasts and put aside old differences. It is also believed that the change of climate from winter to spring carries the greatest illnesses and the burning of bonfires cleanses the atmosphere.

different then the way in which the parents presented their bodies. For example, one young woman was dressed in a traditional ghagra choli. This outfit is a long skirt that reaches the floor with a top that can be of varying lengths, depending on the style of the season. Sometimes, a shorter version of a sari is wrapped around both these pieces or a long scarf called a dupatta is added. Both the top and skirt are decorated with pearls, mirrors, colorful threads sewn in intricate patterns, shells, etc. The unique element of this ghagra choli however, was the design of the top. Extremely heavily decorated in gold thread and pearls, the top was fashioned like a dog collar around the woman's neck and her back was entirely bare save the one string that tied around her waist. As is common with these outfits, because the set was heavily decorated and the top reached the woman's waist and barely any stomach was showing, there was no mini-sari or dupatta added. Another young woman was dressed in the traditional Indian sari. The uniqueness of her outfit was that the entire sari and blouse was black with silver threads for decoration. Black is considered an unlucky color and rarely worn, especially in saris. Additionally, the sari was made of chiffon, a clingier material that tends to hug the body and the manner in which the sari was wrapped and pinned left the woman's stomach bare. These outfits indicate two specific points that warrant attention.

First, the fact that these outfits are available, indeed are the current highest fashion, shows the clear western influence on high fashion in India. The modernizing of India can be seen through its clothes. Women's dress is now designed in way that is provocative in a Western cultural sense. The notion of women as sexual and sexually provocative is an integral part of Indian culture, however, there is a difference in what is considered provocative. Ancient Indian imagery focused on the woman's sensuality

rather than blatant sexuality. Modern notions of provocativeness are more direct and focus on overt sexuality. Second, these outfits are examples of how Indian-American youth have taken their culture and molded it in a manner in which it fits their bodies. Similar trends are also visible among Indian youth in India as modern culture becomes a part of their world. However, there are still strong qualitative differences.[29] It was interesting to me that as I watched the college students, both male and female, dressed in traditional Indian garb, there was a sense of incongruity in how they carried themselves and the clothing. Though the dress was of a culture in which women carry themselves with more restraint, these American born Indians carried themselves with strength and confidence. This strength and confidence was visible through their non-verbal communication. They walked with longer strides, held their heads high and made direct eye contact with other people in their path. There was also a similar incongruity in how the students dressed in western clothes carried themselves. For example, several young women were dressed in tight baby tees with belly buttons showing and pierced eyebrows, yet they did not seem to express the "in your face" attitude most often associated with this type of dress. They also did not seem to be trying to force their sexuality on others, as is also often associated with this type dress.

I posit that Indian-American youth have taken what is traditional (as defined by their parents) and used it as an extension of their identities, which are neither Indian or American; rather, are both. Thus, they are presenting Indianness in an American manner which embodies their identities. Utilizing Gebser's terms, the origin (in this

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[29] An examination of the modernizing and Westernizing of India warrants its own dissertation, however, it is important to note that the move toward cultural fusion is not limited to American culture. The primary qualitative difference, however, is that the process of breaking out of traditional culture is much

case Indian identity) is continually being referred to and emerges throughout the other prevalent structures. Thus, for Indian-American youth, what they define as Indian is as Indian as their parents' definitions of what is Indian. Their way of presenting the physical incorporates both worlds and creates a sense of integration in which neither world is lost. Furthermore, there is not a separate third culture that emerges. The fusion that occurs is uniquely a result of the two cultures incorporated and reflects only those cultures. The cultural fusion relies upon and is informed by the two primary cultures and ultimately becomes those primary cultures. Thus, the way that Indian-Americans are is becoming the current definition of American and Indian.

The older Indian born Indian-Americans also carry themselves somewhat differently than their counterparts in India. However, the differences are not as obvious as those displayed by Indian-American youth. Regardless, the fusion of two cultures is clearly visible to Indians in India. In fact, there is a new, distinct category in India for Indians who have left, yet return regularly and are involved in India, despite geographical distance. The term, NRI (non-resident Indian) is a somewhat derogatory term that reflects not only one's residence status, but also one's cultural identity. There is now a distinct market for NRIs and when traveling through India, these individuals are easily visible to Indian residents. Shops specifically cater to NRI needs and many cultivate relationships with their NRI customers. Indeed, most of these stores in India have mailing lists and send catalogs, greeting cards and sample products to their overseas customers. Interestingly, what makes these individuals so easily visible is their seemingly extremely old world behavior. These individuals seem like they've

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different in India and the cultural fusion is occurring only among the urban elite and not among India's masses by any means.

stepped out of a time machine set back several decades. These individuals don't seem to fit in modern India.

The dissonance at this point then emerges in the rhetoric that Indian-Americans engage in. This rhetoric actually reinforces their Americanness. As mentioned in chapter 3, much of being American is based on the necessity of an immigrant narrative. To be American is to have ethnic pride of some sort. This ethnic pride is evidenced by the participants' explanations of what is American and what is Indian. Furthermore, the notion of what is Indian is presented from a western gaze. Indian-Americans tend to have an internalized western explication of Indianness. Indian-Americans have appropriated an American definition of what is Indian. In a conversation about two young siblings returning to India for college so that they could know their culture, one of the siblings explained:

> P: I think that we'll need to know, like knowing our
>
> Culture and especially like . . . when I get married
>
> you know, I want my kids to like, not not knowing
>
> anything, you know I want to teach them our language,
>
> our culture, our religion, everything.

Here, the participant buys into the presumption that Indian culture is out there in India and that the life she lives here is not Indian also. The participant's sibling also explains:

> P: some Indian kids are confused because although
>
> they're parents aren't, they're telling them don't have
>
> boyfriends, don't do this, don't have sex before marriage,
>
> but they're seeing it the American way and they think,

okay, go ahead and have sex before marriage, or have

boyfriends at school, you know? They have that American

mentality.

I: and that's American to you, then? Dating and

        having sex before marriage?

P: uhm, yeah, basically that's where you're getting

        it from. Only if you're in America or what you're

        getting from America.

Here, a distinct dualism is clear, placing American and Indian as binary opposites. This

binary opposition also reflects the opposition of good - bad, with American being bad

and Indian being good, in this case. Despite stating that they need to learn their culture,

these participants identified themselves as Indian. One participant was specific that she

was not even Indian-American.

I: In regard to nationality, how do you see yourself?

P: Indian

I: Indian?

P: I've always . . . I wouldn't say like Indian-American

        because people think, oh, uh, American-Indian or

        Indian-American and I'm going, what's the difference?

        I mean, when they say Indian-American that makes me

        more, like, how are you American, girl? You were just

        born here, it doesn't mean you're like . . . I mean, I don't

        see where they can say Indian-American. You're not really

American. I mean, you're Indian, but just because you were

born in a different place.

In an another interesting contradiction, this participant also talked about how she only

learned of the many parts of India and the various regions after she began participating

in the Miss LA India competition.

Many of the youth indicated that they are proud to be Indian. At the talent

show, there was a blatant showing of choosing Indian over American (meaning Anglo).

One of the dances that was performed centered on this theme. There were several

couples on the stage dancing. The women were dressed in traditional ghagra choli and

the men were dressed in pajama kurta. The men were attempting to flirt with the girls

who were deflecting their advances. Suddenly a young woman dressed in a skin tight

formal western dress came onto the stage. The men immediately turned to her ignoring

the Indian women. The men chased the "American" girl without any real success. At

the end of the song, the men returned to the "Indian" women. The audience participated

by sending out catcalls when the "American" woman came on stage and then cheering

loudly when the men returned to the "Indian" women. It is interesting to note how

"American" and "Indian" is defined. The "Indian" girls deflected the flirtations of the

men and dressed traditionally and the "American" girl welcomed the advances, but

ultimately ignored the men and dressed in western clothes. The irony of this imagery is

that many of the girls who were depicting "Indian" women normally dress western and

engage in the flirting game on a regular basis. In this dance, the youth have seemingly

bought into their parents' notions of "American" and "Indian." This is also an

appropriated identity. Indian-Americans have appropriated a Victorian image of Indian

women. A version of this scene was played out in less an obvious manner outside the theater as well. Here, however, there were several Indian-American couples in plain sight in the lobby of the theater. Traditionally, dating in the American manner is taboo in the Indian culture, however, seeing youth behaving as couples did not seem to shock the older Indian-Americans. In fact, these couples were rather blatant about the sexual nature of their relationships. At one point, one couple was standing in the middle of the foyer engaged in intimate kissing while several older Indian-Americans walked around them. The point here is not that one would expect anyone to interrupt the couple. Rather, the youth do not seem to feel a sense of taboo when behaving in this manner. Another interpretation of this behavior may be that they are willing to rebel against the specific rule of dating. This rebellion indicates that dating is acceptable if the individuals conduct themselves in a discerning manner. The rebellion, then, is against being discrete rather than against dating. The current tone seems to be that dating is now acceptable as long as the person one is dating is also Indian. This is reflective of the emerging mentality toward dating in urban India as well. This emerging ethnic pride will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter.

What is American? What is Indian?

Another predominant theme emerged from two specific questions asked. All the participants were asked what is "American" and what is "Indian?" These questions became a focal point for explaining several different concepts throughout the interviews. All the respondents focused on the specific notion that there is no specific "American" culture and that became the premise on which they based the importance of Indian identity for themselves. As mentioned in chapter 3, there was a strong sense of

ethnic pride prevalent throughout the interviews. This expression of ethnic pride will be described in detail throughout this section.

For all of the participants, there was nothing specific that was identifiable as American culture. Adults and college aged participants expressed this same idea in different ways. Among the older participants who had migrated here during their mid and late twenties, most of the comments reflected that America lacked its own culture. Once this comment was made, the participants provided their Indian identity as the source of cultural identity for themselves. Most of the definitions about what is American or Indian were explained in relation to the other. Kramer's (1993) notion of co-constitutional genesis is best exemplified here. The issues of what distinguished the participants as Indian were direct responses to what American is not, according to the individuals.

For example, several older participants discussed the strong family ties in Indian culture. One participant explained, "from what I know, American kids leave home when they're 16 or 17. We don't do that." Another participant defined Indianness as "strong family values, that Americans don't have." The same participant explained that her daughter's desire to care for her parents in their old age is what made her daughter Indian. Though the participants do not recognize the relationship between being Indian and American, for the participants, their Indian identity is a response to what they perceive as American. The definition of each culture is based on the contrast between the two cultures. One participant defined American as materialistic. Although he also recognized this trait among Indians, he managed to distinguish between the two:

P: "American is being more materialistic, I guess. Not that

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Indians are less materialistic."

I: explain that to me. you say Americans are more

        materialistic?

P: that's right

I: than Indians are?

P: not that Indians are less materialistic, you know, but with

        an Indian background, your materialistic attitude is, I think,

        a little different."

I: how is it different?

P: uh. . . . if we have it we are happy, but if we don't, achieve

        what we want. We still take it in stride, you know, we

        won't make our lives miserable. It's not a must that you

        should have a fancy car or fancy home.

The notion of what makes one Indian is based on one's attitude and how that effects

their behavior. The sense of Indianness encompasses that which is seen as lacking in

America: morals, values, a sense of right and wrong, family ties, religiosity and self-

control. Another participant explains:

I: Tell me, for you, what does it mean to be Indian?

P: um, ... culturally, family-oriented.

I: family oriented?

P: you know, you see my parents are here. And we have

        our differences, but still, you know, we respect and we

        love each other, and um, and when I came, it was very

obvious over here that that did not exist in this country as

much, you know, I mean, 16 years and the kids wanted to

move out and the parents wanted them to go . . . uhm, that I

think, family love and bondage is Indian culture. Um,

believing in uh, God, you know, they also believe, I mean, I

don't deny that, but Jesus Christ was probably also and of God,

like you know, Ram or Ganesh or whatever. Uhm, but you still,

you know, I think our cultural, you know, bondage, I see that as

being Indian. Um, traditionally, you know, uh, putting kids through

school, you know, and uh, trying not, trying for them not to worry

about and go make your own living and then do that. I see that as

being Indian. My parents did that for me, and I'm surely, as much

as I can afford, I will go that for my kids.

Similarly, the underlying tone when explaining what is American was also about

what was lacking in Indian culture. Though none of the participants directly stated that

Indian culture was lacking in any way, what was identified as American pointed to a

clear gap in the Indian culture. The one predominant feature defining Americanness

was the notion of freedom. However, this sense of freedom is specifically defined as

the ability to make one's own choices. One participant explained that he came to the

United States so that he could lead an independent life. Another participant explained

being American as:

P: you have a lot of exposure uhm, to different things where

you can explore, uh, your potentials, being able to make

decisions independently rather than, rather than being forced,

you know, in that respect. Um, ... a lot more freedom,

you know?

I: So being American has to do with freedom, having freedom?

P: Well, having you know, the uh, ability and the freedom to

       make decisions on your own and live with them.

Another participant also talked about the freedom in America providing her access to
worlds she would not have seen in India.

I: What does it mean to be American?

P: Freedom

I: Freedom? What kind of freedom?

P: Freedom from . . . . freedom to do whatever you want to

       do, and whatever you desire to do. . . still Indian culture

       would boundary you, but as American I feel that nothing

       can hold you up.

The participant continues discussing freedom during her conversation about why she
considers both America and India home.

I: Where is home?

P: Both places [California and India]

I: what's that like?

P: I feel great that I have two places to be, two place to feel

       is my home.

I: Okay, um, so are you glad to be here?

P: in some broad sense, yes.

I: How?

P: I miss my family but I make my family here, and I .... I feel

        that nobody can replace nobody, but still I enjoy the people

        and I get to meet so many people. If I was in India, I would not

        meet this many people. Different culture, different, uh, people,

        and ... that really make me more wide angle .... my daughter,

        that's what I feel feel that, if I were to, when I was thinking of

        myself as my daughter, I had so much freedom, but still my

        idea being vegetarian was like that, oh, you cannot eat this,

        that somebody has cook egg in that pot and pan, I will not eat,

        because I was so much particular about it, leaving India and

        coming here, to survive you have to eat, and then it become

        the habit of eating, and then now I don't have a that kind of

        uh, attitude that oh, somebody has cooked meat in it. As long

        as it's clean, as long as it's vegetarian, and as long as somebody

        wants to, somebody wants to offer me, I would enjoy it.

I: so you feel that America has given you a chance to be more

        open?

P: Yes

This sense of freedom is contrasted by the sense of familial unity practiced in many

Indian extended families. By coming to the United States, many of the participants

were able to break away from continual involvement of family elders and pre-set

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societal expectations. One participant discussed the image of his profession in India versus the image in the United States. He explained that one primary motive of coming to the United States was to be somewhere where dentists weren't seen as failed medical doctors and were given respect and facilities to practice their skill. In India, there is a clear hierarchy of profession, with medical doctors being the most prestigious. In fact, entrance into medical school is only given to those with the highest one's scores in the year-end high school exit exams. Other professions are selected as one moves further down the scale. Thus, dentists have high scores, but not necessarily high enough to make it to medical school.[30]

The participant's comments about his profession reflect the general attitude about what brings many of these participants to the United States. The implication is that the participants come here because the United States affords them freedom to exist outside a rigid cultural system and still be members of that culture. Furthermore, by coming to the United States, these participants have the freedom to practice the culture in a manner they choose. This is best reflected in the upswing of fundamentalist Hinduism practiced throughout the United States (see discussion in chapter 3). One participant explains how his sense of Indianness compares to Indians in India.

P: I see myself as an Indian.

I: As an Indian.

P: Yeah, I do. I mean, even though I have been living here

       for so long, I still see myself as a, an Indian. Actually, this

       fact is renewed every time I go back there, uhm, ... I have

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[30] It is presumed that if one scores high enough, he or she would have gone to medical school. thus, those who willingly chose other professions despite qualifying for medical school are not believed when

lost 20 years of touch over there and the culture and

development which have westernized surprisingly a lot. And uhm, I

see my-self more backward in that society now because I was

bought up for 20 years plus over there and instilled with all the

Indian culture in me, uh, and then I more here and obviously this

was a culture shock at the time, of all things that were, you know

available around you.

Here, the participant is referring to the moment in which his memory was frozen

in time. He remembers an India of his memory and that memory was solidified when

recalled in the face of America and what he saw here. Later on, after this interview was

formally completed, the family talked about how it was easier to be Indian in America

now, compared to India. The participant talked about his family members in India who

were struggling with issues of children dating out of the community, the numerous

disco clubs in his hometown and the way Indian women are dressing there. Another

participant discusses openly that it is easier to be Indian in America. This portion of the

interview is a continuation of this participant's discussion of freedom in America.

I: So is that what it means to be American - to be more open?

P: um, I was open in India, too, though. But, then I will have

meet only Gujaratis or Marathis because I was living in that

area. I living in Bombay and I have so many friends and family

will be there so I will not have a time to visit any other friends.

When I came to here, I know even more about India than I knewed

when I was India. I have uh so many South Indian friends, so

_____

they claim to like their professions and had no interest in medical school.

many North Indian friends, so many culture to know what was

going on South, and what was going on in North and that, one

thing, is not I'm open because I'm in America, but that

opportunity I definitely I know that if I was in India I would not

have got it.

I: do think you can be more Indian in America that you can

in India?

P: Definitely.

I: How?

P: That way I come to know more people, Indian culture, more

Indian, different cultures because I'm here. If I was back home
in India, then I would have known only my relatives and my

family, and uh, there is nothing wrong either way, but this one

give me more opportunity to learn something more.

Clearly, the sense of freedom is closely tied to the desire to engage in Indian culture

without the restrictions of family and society.

For many of the Indian-American youth, their sense of Indian identity provides

them a sense of belonging. As mentioned in chapter 3, Americanness is founded on an

immigrant narrative and for Indian-American youth, their cultural heritage provides

them a space in the racial matrix of the United States. The terms most often used to

describe what it means to be Indian were: nice culture, long traditions, strict, good

values, family, pride in what we are. One participant explained that "being Indian is a

sense of who I am." Though this participant is an American born, United States citizen, she still defines herself as Indian.

I: you're an American citizen?

P: ummhmm.

I: doesn't that make you an American?

P: it does, yeah. but, I still classify myself as Indian, because

        I'm proud to be one. I don't think anyone should be ashamed

        of who they are. I mean, I may classify myself as American

        to some people, but I still consider myself Indian, too. Some

        people out there are American and Indian, you know? But, I

        mean, like Indian in the sense of who I am, and American in

        the sense of where I've grown up and my personality and

        beliefs.

Another participant also talked about pride as the primary indicator of Indianness.

I: what does it mean to be Indian?

P: if they, you know their culture and they . . . . follow the

        beliefs, believe in the, you know, whatever beliefs you believe

        in, if they just have pride. Indian pride.

The Indian-American youth also talked about the sense of commonality they have with Indians as a part of their Indian identity. Two participants discuss this commonality. However, the second participant then complains that anyone can be American, yet this is not a positive commonality trait. The references to commonality seem to be references to a specific type and degree of commonality.

P: Being Indian is having your own culture, having your

own history, having your own heritage . . . um, it's like,

you're saying, what is Indian? We're all one like . . . .

what am I trying to say? We're not like America.

We're one by ourselves. You know? Have our own, like,

identity, you know? Like have our own India. like Indian

is having our own culture, own history, own heritage.

Here, the discussion is about belonging to a specific group that is united under one

history, heritage, culture. However, this is not at all indicative of India. This sense of

commonality with other Indians reflects the strong nationalistic rhetoric within the

Indian-American community. However, there are confounding elements to this sense of

nationalism. For many of the Indian-American elders, their sense of national pride is

still regionally based. They identify with Indians from all over India, yet there is a

greater tie to those from their own region. However, for Indian-American youth, their

sense of national pride is based on an India that is a geographical location, a home to a

race. Thus, Indian is no longer a regional identity among Indian-Americans. This is not

the ideal result many Indian-American elders strove for, yet, are willing to accept.

For the Indian-American youth, Indian is an ethnic group with which they feel

tied by cultural heritage, racial features, history. The original divisions of region and

caste are virtually non-existent. The only possible exception to this is linguistic

commonality. Many of the youth indicated that it would be nice to have a spouse who

spoke the same language, but it was not necessary. Linguistic commonality is easily

reachable with urban Indians from India who often speak four or five languages. For

Indian-Americans, the quest for linguistic commonality is an added advantage but not requisite.

Furthermore, it is now popular to be able to identify with an ethnic group, to be able say "I'm Indian." Much of the younger generation's reaction is a guilt reflex in many ways because they fought that part of their identities during high school. They denied their personal attachment to Indianness and oftentimes felt embarrassment about the Indian aspects of their lives. One participant talked about how she used to be embarrassed by her mother, who would come to school in a sari, but now, she feels that it doesn't matter; we should be allowed to dress however we want. Many of the youth talked specifically in the language of ethnic pride. One Indian-American male young adult stated, "I feel pride about being Indian."

Despite a sense of pride in being Indian, there is confusion about what is acceptable Indianness. Parents claim Indian identity, yet they tend to use a western description of Indianness as their referent point. Both parents and youth claim ethnic pride. However, the behavior for expressing that pride is radically different. Indian-American youth express their pride in ways common to American society. Hence, they have Indian clubs, Indian gangs, in-group language, group specific music and dance, group exclusive relationships and group exclusive events, such as parties and culture shows. For the Indian-American parents, ethnic pride is expressed in re-enacting memories, performing rituals, invoking various elements of a shared history, and magnifying identifiable traits, such as language, dress and comportment. The disagreement occurs because the parents want their children to be Indian, but, in actuality, they want their children to embody a specific memory of Indianness. The

process of sending children back to India to gain cultural exposure, encouraging

children to explore Indian history, religion and philosophy, and advocating friendships

with other Indians as ways to reinforce a sense of Indianness tends to backfire. The

India these children visit is steeped in modernity; Indian history, religion and

philosophy are fraught with multiplicity; and, friendships with other Indians lead to a

breakdown of regional identity. Furthermore, Indian-Americans are the urban elite of

India and thus, when they travel to India, their time is spent in large cosmopolitan urban

centers where being American is much more in vogue than being Indian. Therefore,

these youth are exposed to a western, urban India. Regardless of being urban or not,

Indian-American youth are completely modern Indian, yet, their parents are concerned

over the lack of Indianness in their children.

This lack of Indianness is not evidenced in the words of Indian-American

youth. In a previous quotation, one participant claimed that being Indian was having

"our own identity." Another participant continues this theme by explaining that Indian

is who he is.

> P: I consider myself Indian, because, I mean, politically,
>
> yeah, I am on my passport, or you know, it says, American
>
> citizen. Yeah, I . . . but now that you see other people like,
>
> who are off in India, who are from Africa, getting American
>
> citizenship because it's easier for them to travel or easier for
>
> them to, you know, if they want to vote or something . .
>
> yeah, that comes in good handy, but yet, India, or like, Indian
>
> is what I am . . I'm not American. Yeah, it helps me to you

know, to vote or you know, get around trouble a lot or some-

thing like that, but it's . . it's not who, what I am.

Again, we see Indian as being defined in relation to what is/is not American. Both of these identities co-constitute each other. Also, American is a functional tool rather than an identity. Indian is a core essence of being for this participant.

Furthermore, this notion of ethnic pride is western in and of itself. Only when the difference became obvious did there become a need to identify. Ethnic pride is a result of the duality of mental-rational consciousness. In claiming their Indianness, Indian-Americans are showing their western selves. One does not have to prove one's Indianness unless it is threatened in some way. The intensity of performance increases as one feels the sense of identity shifting.

The Unspoken

In writing about the Indian-American community, there are several points that demand clarification. Though I am an insider, I, too was given a powerful, rhetorically savvy party line in many ways. Underneath this veneer of balance and integration, battles still brew. But, now, these battles are no longer merely issues of this culture or that culture. Rather, they are the deeper battles of boundaries breaking down and identities clashing in the greatest of Hindu epic traditions. In many ways, the battles that Indian-Americans are fighting are also being fought by Indians in India. There are deep contradictions that are often results of a sense of historical amnesia, of sorts.

For Indians raised in India under the dawn of independence, the move toward modernization is a move that many of their elders heralded as India's saving grace when first suggested by then Prime Minister Nehru. For Indian-Americans, the notions of

breaking tradition and conquering new worlds seems to be forgotten by the migrant generation. Malwani (1996) in her editorial in <u>Little India</u> magazine gives the example a young Indian-American offered during an interview. That woman told the story of her mother, who was nurse, who broke free of the limitations put on women to leave her home town to seek employment and then came to the United States and supported her family on her income. That same mother is distraught over her daughter's desire to strike out and seek her own success. The young woman asks why her mother is enforcing on her the same values and limitations that she rebelled against as a young woman in India. This is a question that resonates through the rhetoric of many Indian-American youth. They invoke the stories of their parents and the difficulties they suffered to come to the United States and succeed. Yet, there is much left unsaid; that these youth are also striking out to broaden the definition of what it is to be Indian. It seems to be forgotten that many of the immigrants that came from India were renegades, breaking free of a world that stifled them. Specifically, women who sought out employment were clearly seeking a sense of independence that the culture did not always afford them. One participant talked about her daughter and what made her American.

> P: she has more freedom of speech. She's outgoing. She's
>
>   not afraid to try different things, very adventurous. She
>
>   can mix with all different cultures, or American culture
>
>   better than us. She's a little strong about ideas which
>
>   you know, basically are American influence.

With exception of the last comment, all of these descriptions also fit the participant, a woman who came to the United States, leaving her only child behind to forge a new life for her husband, child and extended family. In fact, even the comment about being strong minded applies to this particular participant in certain contexts. When I arrived at her workplace to conduct the interview, the participant was arguing quite sternly with a salesperson regarding a dispute over an appointment. She was firm in her resolve that she was right and the salesperson was wrong. She commanded respect much in the same way the participant claims her daughter commands respect.

Another example of unspoken tumult is the role and position of women in the Indian-American community. Though the notion of woman in the Indian community is never directly addressed in my particular interviews, there is an underlying tremor of struggle in the language of my participants. In one interview, I asked why a couple had chosen to become citizens. The man answered that he did it to facilitate travel. The woman concurred. Her husband then said to her, "or for your security. You did it for your security, yeah?" she replied yes, but when I asked her what that meant, she refused to elaborate. In another interview with a young college age man, I asked directly if Indian-American women had it rougher. He commented, "definitely. They're [parents] a lot easier on me because I'm a son." Another participant explained that she is only friends with other Indian-Americans because they understand what each other must go through. During this discussion, the issue of gender is central.

I: What kind of things is it that Indians go through?

P: mostly parents, I think. Like at our age [18] like, ...
         like, the Indian parents, they think girls, no, stay home,

guys, yeah. you know, they kinda have that, you know,

like order . . . . girls can't go out late at night,   they

can't drive at night, but guys of course. They can go, you

know? Guys don't have curfews, girls do. You know girls

have to wear this, make sure they look nice, oh guys can wear

jeans. They really don't . . we as girls put ourselves a little bit

higher and have to take care of ourselves a little bit more, but

like, we can't go to our Indian parties in just jeans and a sweater

because everybody would just be like, what? You know? But

if like Indian boys did that, nobody noticed. They go, you know,

he's a boy, he can get . . . you know.

All the younger women I talked to commented on earlier difficulties that had

been resolved. However, having access to many of their extended families, I also know

that this again was a rhetorical strategy in many ways. For many of these women, the

families have reached an uneasy truce in which both sides present political civility in

order to defuse intense battles in the home. In many cases, resolution was a result of the

young woman going away to college and being out from under parental dictates on a

daily basis. Though these women talk about knowing their identities and being

comfortable with their hyphenated identities, most of them live in two separate worlds.

They live one life away at college and another when they visit home.

This separate life is also perpetuated by parents in many ways. Youth are

encouraged to live and behave in a manner that allows them to excel in school and

American society, yet, at the age of independence, parents begin to enforce boundaries

that are contradictory to earlier boundaries. The primary example of these contradictory

boundaries is the boundaries regarding acceptable marriages. Parents often insist on

Indian marriages, often to the point of specifying region of origin and caste. For youth,

this is seen as taking away of already given privileges. Relationships with American

members of the opposite sex are acceptable and allowed within certain limitations, yet,

none of these people are viable choices for marriage. In many ways, the demands of the

parents are viewed as claims stating that Americans are only acceptable to a point. This

becomes even more problematic in that these youth are also American and see this

unacceptability as an rejection of themselves as well.

 This living of separate lives is equally true for young men. For example, one of

the young men I interviewed talked about being Indian and enjoying that aspect of his

life, yet, several times we were interrupted by his roommates asking him if he was

going out drinking with them that evening. He was at ease describing himself as a

Hindu and also going out drinking that night, yet, that ease was facilitated by the fact

that one side of his life is masked from his family. I am by no means arguing that

Indian-American parents are necessarily blind to their children's alter egos, however,

they do not confront that side of their children and thus aid in the separation that occurs.

In reality, as parents, they are at some point unable to enforce any dictates on children

who may be studying many miles away, even if the children do not hide their American

lives from their parents. Indeed, many parents believe that once college is over and the

children return home, these issues will fade into the background. However, this does

not ultimately prove to be the case. These issues do not fade away nor do the children

necessarily return home and, obviously, those who do return are not the same children who were sent away.

Cultural fusion is occurring, yet, there are still strong and forceful battle lines drawn. Perhaps the rhetoric I heard was a reflection of the questions I proposed. No group, no matter how fraught with problems, wants to express a sense of crisis. Finally, the tone of the crisis has also changed as time has given the Indian-American community a chance to grow. Now, there are other Indian-American families for parents to turn to when their children shatter expectations, or worse yet, live up to them. Youth have the benefit of being of legal age and the freedoms inherent to a college education on their side.

Conclusion

Though many themes emerged from the ethnographic work, the three themes explicated in this chapter were the most powerful. It is clear that the hyphen is a space in which worlds are negotiated and created. Both the unification and bifurcation through the hyphen is seen in how Indian-Americans present themselves. Their bodies, and their extended physical space, are inscribed with the continual shifting between and among two worlds. Their bodies and their extensions are also clearly inscribed with the cultural fusion that occurs. Though the rhetoric of this community still reflects a state of crisis, their bodies reflect a continual effort to transcend crisis. However, regardless of cultural fusion, some crisis still remains. This crisis is masked by the defiant rhetoric of ethnic identity and cultural pride. In many ways, the crisis is the usual growing pains of any given group. In other words, the crisis is reflective of the deficient structures of consciousness and hyper-perspectivity. A clear underlying thread is the struggle against

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a system of modernity which has already consumed the community. Indian-Americans

fight against Westernization, yet, they are deeply ingrained in its roots of Cartesian

duality.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

According to the mid-1995 census, there are over one million Indian-Americans in the United States. Since the re-opening of America's doors to immigrants from Asia, people of the South Asian diaspora, namely Asian-Indians, have been coming to the United States in order to gain better education for themselves, provide better education for their children, acquire better business opportunity, gain greater economic strength and various other reasons. As current demographics also show, Indian immigrants have clearly met their goals. Indian-Americans are economically better off than their American counterparts who also immigrated to the United States. They are the largest minority group represented in the American Medical Association; and, their children are likely to attend college. However, these immigrants are finding that achieving these goals brings with it other aspects of American life, Western ways of behaving, modern attitudes, and a seemingly strident sense of individualism. Hence, the struggle for cultural identity and preservation of culture and tradition begins.

Indian-Americans are by no means the only ones facing such a dilemma. The encroachment of modernity throughout the world is evident. The struggle for identity is a reflection of a hyper-perspectival world. The threat of boundaries breaking down is what has highlighted these very boundaries. This increasingly powerful awareness of boundaries and difference is what then leads to ethnic clash, strident fundamentalist efforts to preserve cultural purity, and the continual differentiation between groups. It is vital need in people to be able to say "we are not like them." Identity is named by

how one communicates his or her identity. In today's world, it is not enough to ascertain identity from one's physical characteristics. Identity is a communicative act in which one's verbal and non verbal communication create, build and engage one's identity within the world. The notion of difference is only existent in the exchange. Thus, when discussing identity, it is vital for individuals to communicate their difference and this difference then becomes a foundational aspect of their identity. In the case of Asian immigrants, this differentiation manifests in the "model minority" game, as they attempt to not be like Black and Hispanic immigrants. This dissertation served to examine how the phenomena of hyphenated identity, home and diaspora are communicated. This dissertation also serves to examine what forces inform how one communicates his or her identity. These concepts are all elements of the growing awareness of difference and boundaries. All three notions reflect a conscious effort to place oneself in a larger scheme of the cosmos while maintaining a clear sense of uniqueness. Here, we see the inherent struggle between the need to belong and the need to recognize uniqueness. Concepts such as home and diaspora are the result of groups attempting to communicate their difference and their place in society. The hyphen is a manifestation of how these immigrants attempt to integrate their different ways of communicating so that they can present themselves as they are without losing either culture. Having examined these concepts utilizing various methods, it is now possible to attempt to integrate the emergent themes.

Throughout this dissertation, certain images are powerfully clear. The Indian communities in the United States have created a unique space in which to express their culture. Though Indian-Americans continue to struggle at times to find a place between

and within the two cultures, aspects of cultural fusion are visible. There are Indian-Americans in most major white collar industries in the United States. Their cultural identity is worn like a badge of honor depicted by: car license plates professing religious fervor, the presence of large Indian festivals in the New Year where streets are literally closed down as Indian-American crowds celebrate with dance and music and, the growing number of Hindu temples, Sikh gurudwaras, and Muslim mosques. Additionally, the presence of Little Indias throughout the United States indicates that this community in being has begun to stake out a physical identity.

This sense of Indian identity that emerges is reflective of the immigration to and away from home. Though the actual practices have been modified to fit western society, the fervor of cultural identity is even stronger among Indian-Americans than Indians in India. In the actions, rhetoric and experiences of Indian-Americans we can clearly see the multiple adjacencies Radhakrishnan (1996) speaks of in his work. Hyphenated identity is unique in that it is a negotiation of two worlds and more. The hyphen is not simply a way of segregating and linking two worlds. Rather, the hyphen communicates the existence of a fusion between and among one's worlds. This fusion is comprised completely of the two worlds it is based on and it is a "new" world that incorporates and goes beyond the other two. In this "new" world, however, the origin is continually traced in that both original worlds are visible and real. Much like mixing milk and water, the third world holds the properties of the original two worlds and one cannot see the two worlds separately. Furthermore, as Gebser states, the origin is continually traced and ever-present in this new world. Indian and American are both visible and integrated throughout the new world of the hyphen. Even beyond being

visible, as this community continues to grow, the idea of what is Indian and what is American is being redefined. Indian-Americans are no longer attempting to be either/or. What they are is what is. The two cultures co-constitute each other (Kramer, 1993). This is the very essence of cultural fusion.

Another predominant theme in this work is the emerging and expanding of one's hermeneutic horizons. The growing awareness of horizons and the interplay of that awareness with one's dominant consciousness structure reflects the move toward an integral consciousness. One cannot be just mental-rational anymore. Just as the two cultures co-constitute each other, we can see a larger, greater integration. In the current perspectival world, the mental-rational consciousness structure seems dominant, yet, as Gebser (1985) posits, there is a nascent shift toward change. The meeting of two cultures in the space of the hyphen is indicative of a larger meeting of various consciousness structures. The singular dominance of one structure is decreasing as all structures are illuminated. In this illumination, the origin is ever-present and can be continuously traced. This can mark the beginning of the integral structure of consciousness. However, the quest for identity also indicates the unwillingness to recognize the potential of all consciousness structures. There is still a tendency toward categorization and difference that expresses a mental-rational consciousness structure in a perspectival world. Thus, integrality is not yet achieved. It is important to note that integrality is never achieved. It is a web of continual doing. This continual doing is seen clearly in the ways in which Indian-Americans express their identities through the hyphen.

Also, this work serves to clarify essential aspects of the notion of cultural identity. Cultural identity was once defined in spatially limiting ways. To belong to a culture is not about a geographical space. In many ways, identity is magic consciousness. To carry certain blood, to have pure bloodlines makes one Indian, regardless of where one is born. Interestingly enough, achieving that magic identity is more achievable for Indian-Americans than for Indians in India because Indian-Americans live in a "culture" which perpetuates their sense of difference, thus, building a deeper sense of community among them. Furthermore, identity is not an objective thing that can be studied separately. It is continually being constituted by and within the interaction. It is a fluid dynamic. Identity is communication in that like communication, it exists in the exchange and emerges in relation to others. It is interactive and co-constituted. Identity expresses and defines one's place in the more complex system of society.

In addition to emergent themes throughout this dissertation, this work also served as an exercise in method. As Gebser (1985) notes, method is merely tools. Yet, it is vital that researchers recognize that these mere tools are already interpretive in that they create and shape the data they are intended to "collect." By utilizing various methods, it is possible to approach a concept from varying ways of being in the world. Furthermore, when one does this, there is a greater capacity to identify salient issues that are invariant in the experience, rather than being results of the method used.

Additionally, there were also several issues of research ethics in my experience with this project. The issues examined and the topics of focus for this work are highly emotional and problematic for many Indian-Americans. I faced several concerns

regarding the psychological impact of my intrusion into the lives of my participants. The responses I received bore out some of these concerns. In the survey portion of the research, I allowed for open-ended comments at the end of the survey. The commentary I received was as varied as the participants, however, there were two dominant threads. Many participants were highly supportive of my work and were glad that someone was finally conducting research about their community. Much of this was a sense of ethnic pride. One participant wrote, "I responded because you are a comrade." The other thread that dominated was one of anger. Many participants felt that the questions I chose to ask were irrelevant to the issues of cultural identity and that I had missed the boat about what was important for the community. Those who chose to tell me what was important according to them, categorically responded that the true issues were preserving culture and raising children to know their culture. Also, some participants felt that this research was reminiscent of the research done by the British to categorize their subjects. The participants were specifically offended by the question regarding caste. Despite their sentiments, most participants responded to the question about caste. I posit that this reaction is reflective of an internalized western ideology of post-colonial liberalism. Many Indian-Americans have bought into the belief that they are victims of colonization and the problems in India stem directly from the colonizing of the British era.

In the ethnographic portion of the dissertation, I faced several concerns regarding the negotiation of my insider/outsider status and how that would shape my results. As my experiences in the field continued, it became clear to me that my Indianness was co-constituting the experiences I was observing. This was more than

the usual notion that one should use different rhetoric based on different audiences. In explaining insider/outsider, the Aristotelian argument is often presented that participants express experiences differently based on who the audience is. My experiences indicate that this is a rather limited view of insider/outsider. The experience of being that which is being researched is much deeper than mere rhetoric. For example, to present myself as a survivor of rape and use that position as the premise from which I gain access to rape survivors and conduct interviews about the experience is different from becoming an insider by spending time with these people and gaining a shared identity with them. For example, often when I spoke of the notion of duality in identity and asked participants to explain these concepts to me, I often received quizzical looks. The participants could not understand how I did not already understand their feelings and thoughts. I actually had to engage in a reverse process of becoming outsider to justify my asking certain questions. The process of problematizing everyday interaction requires estranging ourselves from the experience. Ultimately, this estrangement effected the responses I received. Many of the youth I interviewed were unwilling to open up and express their true feelings because they saw me as denying my own issues of duality and thus belonging to their parents' generation. In the same way, the parents I interviewed saw me as completely unconnected to the culture because I was asking them to describe experiences they knew I should have had if I had been raised in a traditional home. Granted, some of these experiences have to do with the cultural attitudes of Indian-Americans toward social science and research. However, it was interesting to note that when I approached the issue by engaging in my narrative along with the participants narrative, there was much more open communication. However, it

is important to note that my narrative then inevitably shaped the participants' narratives. Thus, in attempts to address this, I often spent time after my interview being interviewed by the participants and as I told my story, they opened up and told me more honestly how they felt about the issues I had been questioning them about earlier.

Part of positioning oneself as insider requires the researcher to present herself as perceiving the world in the same way in which the participants perceive the world. However, the process of research overlaps a specific system of perception that informs our way of being in the world. According to Gebser, the process of scientific research belongs predominantly to the mental-rational structure, the perspectival world. However, in studying cultures, the archaic, the magic, the mythic, and the integral structures clearly emerge. For the researcher then, the process of explaining behaviors becomes undoable in that the researcher is approaching magic or mythic or archaic behaviors from a mental-rational perspective. The sense making process cannot fathom the meaning behind the action. For example, let us examine a ritual in which young boys are initiated into manhood by wearing a string across their bodies. The position of the researcher is to describe the process and use the actual events as symbolic behavior, but it is actually idolic behavior. The researcher's mistake reflects a mental-rational bias. However, for the people engaged in that ritual, the children literally become men in the moment that the string is placed on their bodies. It is magic. The chanting and the doing invokes a new identity for the boys/men. The researcher misses this point due to her position in the perspectival world. The description is void of any and all meaning that permeates the ritual, because it is not merely a sensual experience. Researchers who approach research as insiders first, must step into the mental-rational world in

order to make sense of the behaviors in scientific terms. Hence, being an insider is a much deeper issue than one of rhetorical strategy.

In ethnographic work, the degree of insiderness is based on the researcher's belonging to the group that is the focus of the ethnographic observation. Thus, as an Indian-American, I can be considered a complete insider. However, it is possible for a researcher to "go native." This is the point at which the researcher goes beyond the boundaries and becomes a complete insider to the point where she can no longer problematize daily interaction.

This notion of "going native" presents two problems. These problems are best explicated by examining the presumptions that underlie the notion. There are certain contradictions that must be addressed. As ethnographers, it is our job to gain entrée and build trust among our participants. However, there is a fine line, that of going native, that should not be crossed. Yet, in certain cases, being native is what provides the access to the truer information in the field. Another primary presumption of going native is that the process of "going native" takes away the researcher's capacities to effectively engage in research. The argument is, if the researcher begins to see the world in the ways of the natives, she won't be able to present that world in a descriptive, methodical sense. I posit that in describing the daily interactions of participants from a detached position, we are merely overlaying our framework as a sense-making tool. I believe that our purpose should be to present observations from the position of the participants' sense-making tools. However, this possibility is negated by the presumption that "going native" has negative results.

Finally, going native is viewed as a negative experience, implicitly setting the argument that the participants are acceptable to study, but not necessarily a group one should become a part of. This presents a rather patriarchal, omnipotent position for the researcher, creating an implicit power structure. This power structure is then reinforced by the presumption that researchers give voice to any specific group. Even the language of critical cultural studies presents a certain degree of power. Critical cultural studies is an enlightenment ideology. Critical cultural studies resides in a highly mental-rational structure and imposes such structure on various cultural groups. Cultural groups that reside in magic or mythic worlds may not perceive their experiences in the way that researchers do and in using mental-rational tools of sense-making, the researcher is imposing a consciousness structure that may not be one that participants choose for themselves. These were several of the issues I negotiated as I engaged in the ethnographic experience.

Much of this research was informed by various theories from the social sciences, specifically communication. Intercultural communication has been a mainstay in developing the concept of adaptation and acculturation. However, as explicated in earlier chapters, adaptation theory warrants serious critique. The underlying presumptions of this theory reinforce several logical flaws and thus, seminal issues regarding adaptation are disregarded. A more true understanding of the experiences people have as they move from the land of their origin to a host culture is presented in the theory of cultural fusion (Kramer, forthcoming). Cultural fusion better explicates the notions of identity and culture as they are negotiated by individuals. Similarly, the post colonialist perspective also informed this work. Despite the clear dualistic

presumptions underlying post colonialism, certain aspects of this perspective proved vital in understanding the Indian-American community.

There is a clear underlying theme throughout this discussion on method and theory. The very notions of method and theory are highly mental-rational, thus, inherently creating an already interpretive position on the part of the researcher. This is best addressed by continually reflecting on one's stance as a researcher and theorist and continually questioning what is being overlaid on the experience and what is the invariant structure within the experience. In this study, I utilized several methods and theories, all which had strong underpinnings of western imperialist science. Regardless of these underpinnings, the methods and theories served a purpose in this work. As the researcher, it was my responsibility to continually critique these assumptions and not fall under them as I explored how home, identity and diaspora are communicated.

Future Research

As with all research, as the proposed questions were being answered, several others questions were raised. There has been very little comprehensive research done about the Indian-American community. Thus, this study served as a pilot in many ways. First and foremost, it facilitated a better understanding of what the Indian-American community is and of whom it is made up. Perhaps the first project that stems from this work is an examination of the lower class, lower caste Indians who are a growing part of the larger community. Also, it would be interesting to examine how the various Indian-American classes see themselves and each other. As the Indian-American community grows more heterogeneous, it will be interesting to see how the different subgroups of this community interact with each other. What will happen when

India in its entirety exists in the United States? Furthermore, specific entree into Indian-American social organizations, religious groups, and professional organizations would offer richer insight into this community. Additionally, though the results of the survey data supported the premise that the Gujarati Indian-American community is a distinctly different group, it is necessary to examine this specific group and see if this premise truly bears out. It is also necessary to see if such differences exist in India also in order to ascertain the validity of these presumed differences.

Another vital aspect of this work is the question of cultural preservation and perpetuation of culture. This manifests for Indian-Americans in the marriages of their children. As more and more Indian-Americans marry outside their race, the questions of culture and cultural identity become central. Though not specifically addressed in my work, the questions of marriage and marrying outside the race were indirectly commented on by most participants. For many older Indian-Americans, there was a greater concern about how unbiased their children were toward other races. This sort of naïve racism is reflective of the community's position as model minorities and the upper caste status of many of my participants. This opens the door to interesting research regarding the development of racism within certain groups and how one communicates that racism in relation to one's own identity.

Finally, I posit that the experiences of Indian-Americans are in no way unique only to that group. The hyphen is common in the identities of many post colonial cultures and the negotiating between many worlds is inevitable for everyone as boundaries continue to break down. Discussions of being of two worlds at once can be found in the narrative of women CEOs who see their work as business people as

contradicting their femininity. The issues discussed are salient and reach across cultural boundaries. It is important that these issues be examined in various groups. The idea that identity is communication warrants attention especially in the area of intercultural communication. As the world develops in a manner in which boundaries are continuously disintegrating, people's sense of themselves will continue to depend on how they communicate who they are. Also, as these boundaries continue to break down, the need for duality will be met primarily by how one communicates. For example, as more and more cultures blend and racial purity lessens, the hyphen will become common place and rhetorical strategies such as the ones utilized by Indian-Americans will be used by many other groups.

Who I am is a result of what I tell others. My identity as an Indian-American is continually shifting and growing. My identity also changes given the setting and the purpose of my communication. Regardless, both worlds exist in how I define myself. It is not possible to categorize specific aspects of myself as either/or nor, is it possible to point out a specific way in which I adapt to my world. My identity is what I communicate to others and my "adaptation" to my host culture is in actuality a fusing of the cultural worlds that I reside in.

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Tables

Table 1: Frequency Table for Marital Status

Marital Status	Percent	Frequency
Married	91.8%	529
Unmarried	7.1%	41
no response	1.0%	6

Table 2: Frequency Table for How Spouses Met

How did you meet spouse?	Percent	Frequency
Through arrangement	65.3%	376
Through friends	12.3%	71
no response (includes unmarried participants who were instructed to not respond)	8.9%	51
Through school	7.1%	41
Other, no specific response	3.8%	22
Through newspaper ads	2.6%	15

Table 3: Frequency Table for Spouse's Nationality

Spouse's nationality	Percent	Frequency
Indian	77.1%	444
American	10.9%	63
no response (includes unmarried participants who were instructed to not respond)	8.9%	51
Asian	1.7%	10
English	0.5%	3
Bangladeshi	0.3%	2
African Other, non-diaspora Sri Lankan	0.2%	1

Table 4: Frequency Table for "Would you marry a non-Indian?"

Would you marry a non-Indian?	Percent	Frequency
no response (includes married respondents who were instructed to not respond)	74.1%	427
NO	16.3%	94
YES	9.5%	55

Table 5: Frequency Table for Birthplace

Birthplace	Percent	Frequency
India	93.8%	540
the United States	2.6%	15
Pakistan	1.6%	9
non-partitioned India Bangladesh	0.7%	4
Sri Lanka	0.5%	3
no response	0.2%	1

Table 6: Frequency Table for Level of Education

Education	Percent	Frequency
0 to 10 years	4.0%	23
10 to 12 years	5.6%	32
12 to 15 years	16.1%	93
15 to 18 years	26.4%	152
18 to 20 years	25.2%	145
over 20 years	22.4%	129
no response	0.3%	2

Table 7: Frequency Table for Level of Income

Income	Percent	Frequency
Less than $10,000	6.9%	40
Between $10,000 and $20,000	8.0%	46
Between $20,000 and $30,000	10.2%	59
Between $30,000 and $40,000	8.9%	51
Between $40,000 and $50,000	8.0%	46
Between $50,000 and $60,000 Between $60,000 and $70,000	9.4%	54
Between $70,000 and $80,000	4.7%	27
Between $80,000 and $90,000	4.2%	24
Between $90,000 and $100,000	3.3%	19
Over $100,000	18.9%	109
No response	8.2%	47

Table 8: Frequency Table for Religion Practiced in Home

Religion	Percent	Frequency
Hindu	79.3%	457
Sikh	8.7%	50
Christian	5.6%	32
No Religion	4.0%	23
Jain	3.1%	18
Catholic	1.0%	6
Buddhist Jewish Own religion Muslim	0.7%	4
Zoarastrian	0.3%	2
Ismaili Vaishnav	0.2%	1

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Table 9: Frequency Table for Cultural Preferences

Cultural Preferences	Percent	Frequency
Indian food	83.7%	482
Both American and Indian food	7.3%	43
American food	6.4%	37
No response/neither	2.6%	15

English films	50.0%	288
Hindi films	35.1%	202
Both English and Hindi films	8.7%	50
No response/neither	6.3%	36

Indian dress	43.9%	253
Western dress	42.2%	243
Both Indian and Western dress	9.9%	57
No response/neither	4.0%	23

Indian music	72.0%	415
American music	14.6%	84
Both Indian and American music	8.9%	51
No response/neither	4.5%	26

Hema Malini	49.8%	287
Julia Roberts	30.9%	178
No response/neither	17.9%	103
Both actresses	1.4%	8

Tom Cruise	45.0%	259
Amitabh Bachan	35.2%	203
No response/neither	18.2%	105
Both actors	1.6%	9

Table 10: Frequency Table for Travel to India

How often do you go to India?	Percent	Frequency
More than once a year 00	3.5%	20
Once a year 1	8.5%	49
Once every 2 years	29.0%	167
Once every 3 years	15.3%	88
Once every 4 years	18.6%	107
Once every 5 years	6.4%	37
Once every 6 years	5.4%	31
Once every 7 years	1.4%	8
Once every 8 years	1.7%	10
Once every 9 years	1.2%	7
Once every 10 years	5.0%	29
No response	1.9%	11
Never	2.1%	12

Table 11: Frequency Table for Length of Stay in India

How long do you stay in India?	Percent	Frequency
One Week	1.7%	10
Two Weeks	9.5%	55
Three Weeks	23.1%	133
One Month	40.1%	231
Two Months	14.9%	86
Three Months	4.0%	23
Four Months	1.6%	9
Six Months	1.0%	6
No Response	4.0%	23

Table 12: Frequency Table for Remaining in U.S. Permanently

Do you plan to remain in U. S. permanently?	Percent	Frequency
YES	76.4%	440
NO	17.9%	103
No response	4.2%	24
Don't know	1.5%	9

Table 13: Frequency Table for Where One Would Go After Leaving U. S.

Where do you intend to go?		
No response (includes those who intend to stay in U. S.)	82.5%	475
India	16.5%	95
Other	0.9%	5
Don't know	0.2%	1

Table 14: Frequency Table for Country of Choice

If you could live anywhere with all needs met, where would you live?	Percent	Frequency
India	44.6%	257
United States	42.2%	244
no response	7.3%	42
Other	4.7%	27
Both India and the United States	0.7%	4
Don't Know	0.3%	2

Table 15: Frequency Table for Age of Arrival in the United States

Age of Arrival in the United States	Percent	Frequency
Between ages 5 - 9	1.4%	7
Between ages 10 – 14	2.2%	11
Between ages 15 – 19	2.0%	10
Between ages 20 – 24	6.7%	34
Between ages 25 – 29	31.0%	158
Between ages 30 – 34	27.6%	141
Between ages 35 – 39	13.3%	68
Between ages 40 – 44	7.5%	38
Between ages 45 – 49	4.1%	21
Between ages 50 – 54	2.0%	10
Between ages 55 – 59	1.2%	6
Between ages 60 – 64	0.6%	3
Between ages 65 – 69	0.4%	2
Between ages 70 - 74	0.2%	1

Table 16: Frequency Table for Number of Years in the United States

Number of years in the United States	Percent	Frequency
Between 1 - 4 years	7.5%	39
Between 5 - 9 years	16.6%	86
Between 10 - 14 years	17.0%	88
Between 15 - 19 years	20.0%	104
Between 20 - 24 years	14.1%	73
Between 25 - 29 years	16.4%	85
Between 30 - 34 years	5.8%	30
Between 35 - 39 years	1.9%	10
Between 40 - 44 years	0.2%	1
Between 45 - 49 years	0.4%	2
Between 50 - 54 years	0.2%	1

Table 17: Frequency Table for Caste

Caste	Percent	Frequency
Bhramin	21.9%	126
Hindu	21.5%	123
Patel	11.6%	67
no answer	11.1%	64
Sikh	6.3%	36
Bania	4.3%	25
Vaishya	3.5%	20
Christian	2.4%	14
Kayashtha	1.7%	10
don't know	1.6%	9
Hindi Rajput Kshatriya	1.4%	8
Reddy	1.2%	7
Muslim	1.0%	6
don't believe in caste	0.9%	5
none, not applicable	0.7%	4
Nair	0.5%	3
Naidu Iyer Kamma Madiga Gujarati Midaliar vegetarian Zoarastrian Gujar Agarwal Maratha	0.3%	2
Hindi Raidya Nadar Punjabi Asian Bengali Ramgaria Bhumitar Tantuleai more than one caste listed	0.2%	1

Table 18: Frequency Table for Citizenship

Citizenship	Percent	Frequency
the United States	62.2%	358
India	35.4%	204
Great Britain	0.9%	5
Canada Other No response	 0.5%	 3

Table 19: Frequency Table for Nationality

Nationality	Percent	Frequency
Indian	64.1%	369
American	36.5%	210
Indian and American	4.7%	27
Asian	2.8%	16
Bangladeshi	0.5%	3
Sri Lankan	0.3%	2
Asian and American	0.2%	1

Table 20: Frequency Table for Self-Report of "Where are you from?"

Where are you from?	Percent	Frequency
from India	94.3%	543
from United States	3.3%	19
from Bangladesh	0.7%	4
From Sri Lanka	0.3%	2
from Pakistan from U. S. and India	 0.2%	 1

Table 21: Frequency Table for Self-Report of "Where is your family from?"

Where is your family from?	Percent	Frequency
from India	96.7%	557
from United States	2.1%	12
from U. S. and India	1.0%	6
from Bangladesh	0.5%	3
from Africa from Pakistan from Sri Lanka	 0.2%	 1

Table 22: Frequency Table for Self-Report of "Where is Home?"

Where is Home?	Percent	Frequency
the United States	58.2%	335
India	42.9%	247
India and the U. S.	4.7%	27
Bangladesh	0.7%	4
Pakistan Africa	0.2%	1

Table 23: Frequency Table for Reasons for Coming to the United States

Reasons for coming to U. S.	Percent	Frequency
educational advancement	36.3%	209
economic advancement	31.1%	179
to be with family	30.4%	175
children's education	6.9%	40
to be with spouse	6.6%	38
parent's desire	6.4%	37
friends were in U. S.	4.0%	23
job transfer	3.1%	18
other	1.7%	10
freedom	1.6%	9
medical reasons	1.2%	7
to see the world	1.0%	6
visiting and stayed	0.5%	3
for comforts to see the U. S.	0.3%	2

Table 24: Frequency Table for Number of Languages Spoken

Number of Languages Spoken	Percent	Frequency
3 languages spoken	51.9%	299
4 languages spoken	22.0%	127
2 languages spoken	18.2%	105
5 languages spoken	4.0%	23
6 languages spoken	1.9%	11
1 language spoken	1.7%	10
no response	0.2%	1

Table 25: Frequency Table for Languages Spoken

Languages Spoken	Percent	Frequency
English	98.1%	565
Hindi	84.2%	485
Gujarati	45.5%	262
Punjabi	16.0%	92
Marathi	11.5%	66
Urdu Tamil	9.7%	56
Bengali	9.5%	55
Telugu	6.6%	38
Malayalam	5.7%	33
Non-Indian language	5.2%	30
Kannada	5.0%	29
Konkani	1.9%	11
Sindhi	1.6%	9
Maithili	1.2%	7
Sanskrit	1.0%	6
Assamese Marwadi	0.3%	2
Oriya Kutchi	0.2%	1

Table 26: Frequency Table for Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	Percent	Frequency
Gujarati	39.9%	230
Punjabi	12.2%	70
Hindi	11.5%	66
Bengali	5.8%	38
Telugu	5.9%	34
Tamil	5.2%	30
Malayalam	4.3%	25
English	3.8%	22
Marathi	3.3%	19
Sindhi Konkani	1.4%	8
Kannada Maithili	1.2%	7
Marvadi	0.7%	4
Urdu	0.5%	3
Multani Assamese other non-Indian languages no response	0.2%	1

Table 27: Frequency Table for Languages Spoken in the Home

Languages spoken in the home	Percent	Frequency
English	74.1%	427
Gujarati	42.2%	243
Hindi	32.1%	185
Punjabi	13.0%	75
Tamil Bengali Telugu	6.4%	37
Marathi	5.2%	30
Malayalam	4.3%	25
Urdu Kannada	2.1%	12
Sindhi Konkani	1.4%	8
Maithili	0.7%	4
Marwadi non-Indian language	0.5%	3
Sanskrit	0.3%	2
Assamese Kutchi	0.2%	1

Table 28: Frequency Table for Combined Language Usage in the Home

Combined lang. in home	Percent	Frequency
English only or English and non-dominant language	31.9%	184
English and Gujarati	21.0%	121
English and Hindi	17.0%	98
English and Punjabi	9.5%	55
English and Telugu	4.7%	27
English and Marathi	4.5%	26
English and Tamil	4.0%	23
English and Malayalam	3.6%	21
English and Bengali	3.6%	21

Table 29: Correlation Analysis for Preferences and Selected Variables (significant p values in bold)
.... Pearson Correlation Coefficients/Probability/Number of Observations

	marital status	marry a non-Indian	how often visit India	how long stay in India	speak Gujarati in the home	speak Gujarati
Food preference	0.26779 0.00001 576	0.02970 0.4768 576	0.25808 0.0001 576	0.19819 0.0001 576	-0.07674 0.0657 576	-0.09394 0.0242 576
movie preference	0.15711 0.0002 576	0.05986 0.1513 576	0.14134 0.0007 576	0.12517 0.0026 576	-0.04753 0.2547 576	-0.08326 0.0458 576
dress preference	0.20723 0.0001 576	0.02161 0.6047 576	0.18060 0.0001 576	0.11101 0.0077 576	-0.10379 0.0127 576	-0.11884 0.0043 576
music preference	0.17292 0.0001 576	-0.00438 0.9164 576	0.17923 0.0001 576	0.16257 0.0001 576	-0.08478 0.0420 576	-0.08204 0.0491 576
actress preference	0.12252 0.0032 576	0.01724 0.6797 576	0.09883 0.0177 576	0.04385 0.2934 576	-0.14012 0.0007 576	-0.16923 0.0001 576
actor preference	0.06996 0.0934 576	0.04595 0.2709 576	0.06344 0.1283 576	0.03412 0.4137 576	-0.11175 0.0073 576	-0.13228 0.0015 576

Table 30: Correlation Analysis for Preferences and Selected Variables (significant p values in bold)
....Pearson Correlation Coefficients/Probability/Number of Observations

	From the United States	From India	Family from the United States	Family from India	Home is the United States	Home is India
Food preference	**0.12194** **0.0034** 576	**-0.42425** **0.0001** 576	**0.14290** **0.0006** 576	**-0.49382** **0.0001** 576	0.02029 0.6271 576	**-0.16348** **0.0001** 576
movie preference	-0.01200 0.7739 576	**-0.22968** **0.0001** 576	-0.00707 0.8656 576	**-0.31677** **0.0001** 576	0.01859 0.6561 576	**-0.12407** **0.0029** 576
dress preference	0.01745 0.6760 576	**-0.22995** **0.0001** 576	0.01948 0.6409 576	**-0.28929** **0.0001** 576	0.05265 0.2070 576	**-0.16561** **0.0001** 576
music preference	0.03983 0.3399 576	**-0.27287** **0.0001** 576	0.03408 0.4143 576	**0.32990** **0.0001** 576	-0.01884 0.6518 576	**-0.10048** **0.0158** 576
actress preference	0.06735 0.1064 576	**0.15887** **0.0001** 576	**0.16000** **0.0001** 576	**0.21908** **0.0001** 576	-0.04530 0.2777 576	**-0.08277** **0.0471** 576
actor preference	**0.12113** **0.0036** 576	**-0.17510** **0.0001** 576	**0.12036** **0.0038** 576	**0.18144** **0.0001** 576	**-0.14357** **0.0005** 576	**-0.14266** **0.0006** 576

Table 31: Correlation Analysis for Preferences and Selected Variables (significant p values in bold)
.... Pearson Correlation Coefficients/Probability/Number of Observations

	Number of years in the US	Age of arrival in the US	Hinduism practiced in home
Food preference	**0.12370** **0.0048** **519**	-0.04427 0.3184 508	**-0.17102** **0.0001** **576**
movie preference	-0.07692 0.0800 519	-0.06165 0.1645 510	**-0.15042** **0.0003** **576**
dress preference	**0.10467** **0.0171** **519**	-0.05177 0.2432 510	**-0.14217** **0.0006** **576**
music preference	**0.11698** **0.0076** **519**	-0.06825 0.1237 510	**-0.17965** **0.0001** **576**
actress preference	**0.09340** **0.0334** **519**	-0.00812 0.8549 510	**-0.25417** **0.0001** **576**
actor preference	0.07712 0.0792 519	-0.05617 0.2054 510	**-0.23090** **0.0001** **576**

Table 32: Correlation Analysis for Preferences and Selected Variables (significant p values in bold)
.... Pearson Correlation Coefficients/Probability/Number of Observations

	Food preference	Movie preference	Dress preference	Music preference	Actress preference	Actor preference
Immigrated for economic opportunity	-0.06870 0.0995 576	**-0.09682** **0.0201** **576**	-0.02916 0.4849 576	**-0.09535** **0.0221** **576**	**-0.10865** **0.0091** **576**	-0.06998 0.0934 576
Immigrated to be with family	**-0.10615** **0.0108** **576**	**-0.13452** **0.0012** **576**	**-0.08974** **0.0313** **576**	-0.04131 0.3223 576	**-0.09131** **0.0284** **576**	**-0.11237** **0.0069** **576**
Immigrated for education	-0.01447 0.7290 576	**0.09831** **0.0183** **576**	0.01623 0.6975 576	-0.02105 0.6142 576	0.04119 0.3237 576	0.02949 0.4799 576
Immigrated for kids' education	-0.03385 0.4175 576	-0.05112 0.2205 576	-0.05323 0.2021 576	-0.06138 0.1412 576	**-0.08735** **0.0361** **576**	**-0.10020** **0.0161** **576**
Immigrated for freedom	0.01271 0.7608 576	**0.09347** **0.0249** **576**	-0.04101 0.3258 576	0.03148 0.4508 576	0.08119 0.0515 576	-0.07984 0.0555 576
Immigrated at parent's desire	-0.00772 0.8534 576	-0.05863 0.1599 576	-0.00177 0.9661 576	-0.03443 0.4096 576	0.02789 0.5041 576	0.00793 0.8494 576
Immigrated because friends did	-0.02364 0.5713 576	-0.06185 0.1382 576	-0.03382 0.4178 576	-0.02974 0.4762 576	-0.00797 0.8486 576	-0.00490 0.9066 576
Immigrated to follow spouse	-0.03035 0.4672 576	0.00527 0.8996 576	-0.03712 0.3739 576	-0.02452 0.5569 576	-0.02648 0.5259 576	-0.05229 0.2102 576
Immigrated for comfort reasons	**0.17725** **0.0001** **576**	**0.10541** **0.0114** **576**	**0.13294** **0.0014** **576**	**0.11453** **0.0059** **576**	0.04472 0.2840 576	0.04193 0.3152 576

Appendix A: Survey Instrument

April 8, 1997

Dear Sir/Madam:

Hello, my name is Archana A. Pathak. I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma. Under the guidance of Dr. Eric Kramer, I am currently doing research on issues of culture for the Asian Indian community in the United States. I would like to thank you in advance for your time and attention to our letter.

Your name was randomly selected from the Asian Indian population in the U.S. Though there are over one million Asian Indians in the United States, very little research is done about our community. For this reason, it is very important that you and your spouse each fill out the included surveys. Both surveys are completely identical and are color coded for your convenience. It is very important that Asian Indians participate in research about their community and your input is extremely valuable.

The survey is completely confidential. Please do not sign your name to the study. Dr. Kramer and I are the only individuals aware of who the surveys have been sent to. The identification number at the top right hand corner will permit us to send out results of the survey to those requesting them and does not jeopardize your confidentiality in any way. Once all surveys are returned and the final results have been sent out, the mailing list will be deleted.

Though the survey may appear to be long, it is less than twenty questions. Again, your input is extremely valuable and we humbly request that both you and your spouse return the survey to us in the enclosed return envelope within the next two weeks. It is extremely important that we generate as representative a sample as possible, thus it is vital that men and women answer the survey separately. The survey should only take a few minutes to complete and your response is essential toward the completion of this project. At the end of the survey, there is space available for you to add any personal comments and to mark if you are interested in the results of my dissertation work.

Again, thank you for your time and efforts in completing the enclosed survey.

Sincerely,

Archana A. Pathak   Dr. Eric Kramer
Doctoral Candidate   Associate Professor of Communication

Survey

<u>to be filled out by a Female member of the Household</u>

SURVEY

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Date of Birth: _____

Location of
Birth: city:_____ state:_____ country:_____

Caste: _____

What is your mother tongue? (check one)

____	English	____	Marathi	____	Tamil
____	Gujarati	____	Sindhi	____	Bengali
____	Hindi	____	Punjabi	____	Telugu
____	Urdu	____	Malayalam	____	Kannada
____	other (specify_____)				

What language is spoken in your home? (check all that apply)

____	English	____	Marathi	____	Tamil
____	Gujarati	____	Sindhi	____	Bengali
____	Hindi	____	Punjabi	____	Telugu
____	Urdu	____	Malayalam	____	Kannada
____	other (specify_____)				

How many languages do you speak? _____
What languages? (check all that apply)

____	English	____	Marathi	____	Tamil
____	Gujarati	____	Sindhi	____	Bengali
____	Hindi	____	Punjabi	____	Telugu
____	Urdu	____	Malayalam	____	Kannada
____	other (specify_____)				

What nationality are you? (check one)

American	_____
Indian	_____
African	_____
Asian	_____
British	_____
Other	_____ (specify _____)

Where are you from? (check one)
      America   _____
      India   _____
      Africa   _____
      England   _____
      other   _____ (specify_____)
Where is your family from? (check one)
      America   _____
      India   _____
      Africa   _____
      England   _____
      other   _____ (specify_____)
Where is "home"? (check one)
      America   _____
      India   _____
      Africa   _____
      England   _____
      other   _____ (specify_____)

When were you born? day _____month _____ year _____

Where were you born? city _____state _____ country_____

If born outside the U.S., how long have you been in the U.S.? _____
    At what age did you come to the U.S.?_____

Why did you come to the U.S.?
    economic advancement   _____ job transfer   _____
    to be with family   _____ religious freedom   _____
    educational advancement   _____ parents' desire   _____
    medical reasons   _____ friends were in U.S.   _____
    children's education   _____ other (specify)_____

Which do you prefer? (check one from each pair)

A. ____ Indian food?   B. ____ Hindi films?
    ____ American food?   ____ English films?

C. ____ Indian dress?   D. ____ Indian music?
    ____ Western dress?   ____ American music?

Who is more attractive? (check one from each pair)

____ Julia Roberts?   ____ Tom Cruise?
____ Hema Malini?   ____ Amitabh Bachan?

Are you, or have you ever been, married? yes_____   no_____

    If YES: What nationality is/was your spouse? (check one)

        American   _____
        Indian   _____
        African   _____
        Asian   _____
        English   _____
        Other   _____ (specify_____)

        How did you meet your spouse? (check one)
        through arrangement   _____
        through friends   _____
        through school   _____
        other   _____ (specify_____)

    If NO: Would you consider marrying a non-Indian?   yes_____   no_____

Do you plan to remain in the States permanently? yes_____   no_____
    If NO: Where do you intend to go?   _____
           When do you intend to go?   _____

On an average, how often do you go to India? (check one)
    more than once/year _____   once every year   _____
    once every two years _____   once every three years _____
    once every four years _____   once every five years _____
      once every six years _____   once every seven years _____

    once every eight years _____   once every nine years _____

    once every ten years _____   never   _____

On an average, how long are your visits to India? (check one)
    one week   _____   two weeks   _____
    three weeks _____   one month   _____
    two months _____   three months _____
    four months _____   five months _____
    six months _____   more than six months _____

What religion is practiced in your home? (check all that apply)
    _____ Hindu   _____ Christian
    _____ Jain   _____ Catholic
    _____ Muslim   _____ Buddhist
    _____ Sikh   _____ Jewish
    _____ none   _____ other (specify_____)

If you could live anywhere with the guarantee that all your needs would be met:
(health care, education, economic stability, strong community) In which country would you
choose to live? (name one country)_____

Of what country are you a citizen? (check one)

_____ the United States
_____ Canada
_____ India
_____ Great Britain
_____ an African nation
_____ other (specify_____)

How many years of education have you completed?

_____ 0-10 years   _____ 10-12 years   _____ 12-15 years
_____ 15-18 years   _____ 18-20 years   _____ over 20 years

What is your annual income? (check one)

_____ less than $10,000   _____ between $60,000 and $70,000
_____ between $10,000 and $20,000   _____ between $70,000 and $80,000
_____ between $20,000 and $30,000   _____ between $80,000 and $90,000
_____ between $30,000 and $40,000   _____ between $90,000 and
$100,000
_____ between $40,000 and $50,000   _____ over $100,000
_____ between $50,000 and $60,000

Comments: (feel free to use back pages for more writing space)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

CHECK HERE IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING RESULTS _____

Thank you again

for your time and cooperation

Appendix B: Ethnographic Interview Guide

In regard to nationality, how do you see yourself?

What does it mean to be Indian? What does it mean to be American?

Is it possible to be from two cultures at once? why or why not?

Where is home? Why is that place considered home?

What brought you to the U.S.? Do you intend to stay here?

Are you glad to be here?

Do you consider yourself American? why or why not?

Do you intend to stay here?

Do you keep property or business in India?

Who are your friends? What nationality are they?

What types of food are eaten/prepared in your home?

Are you an American citizen? Doesn't this make you an American? Why or why not?

How do you feel about your citizenship?

What is your identity? Who are you?

Appendix C: Ethnography Informed Consent

Informed Consent: An Examination of the Phenomena of Home
A Research Project from the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus

This study is designed to gain insight into about issues of identity and home as they are faced by the Asian Indians in America. In specific, I am interested in the double consciousness of hyphenated identity and how Asian Indian-Americans cope with the dissonance between the their many identities. In this research, I hope to examine the stories of several Asian Indians as they discuss the issues of identity that are important to them.

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate in this study, I will ask you to participate in an hour long interview, which will be audiotaped and videotaped for purposes of analysis. You will have the right to refuse to answer any questions, decline videotaping and/or audiotaping, and may withdraw from the interview at any time without any penalty or loss to you.

The research team, which includes university faculty overseeing my project, the individual transcribing the audiotapes and I, the researcher, will have access to the video and audio tapes. Final written text of the project will be modified with the use of pseudonyms to ensure your confidentiality. Transcripts of the interview and videotapes will be kept in my possession for analysis.

For answers to questions about the research project or the rights of the participants, you may contact my faculty sponsor, Dr. Eric Kramer at (405)325-2349. You may also contact me, Archana A. Pathak at either (310)402-5603 or at (405)447-0980.

I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in the final project as stated above. I agree to participate in this project. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____Date_____
(Signature of Participant)

_____Date_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____Date_____
Signature of Researcher

Appendix D: IRB Approval

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

March 19, 1997

Ms. Archana A. Pathak
Department of Communication
University of Oklahoma

Dear Ms. Pathak:

Your research proposal, "An Examination of the Phenomonology of Home," has been reviewed by Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, and found to be exempt from the requirements for full board review and approval under the regulations of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research Activities.

Should you wish to deviate from the described protocol, you must notify me and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes. If the research is to extend beyond twelve months, you must contact this office, in writing, noting any changes or revisions in the protocol and/or informed consent form, and request an extension of this ruling.

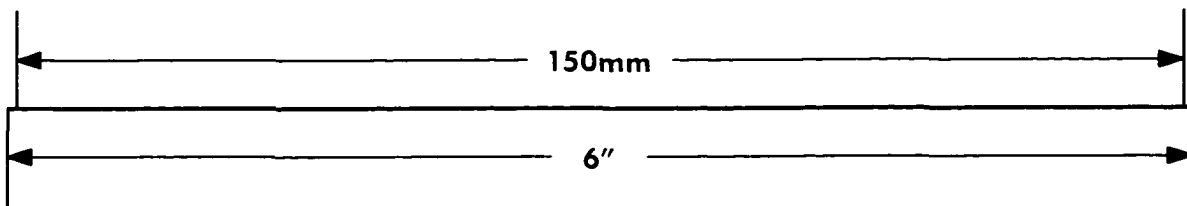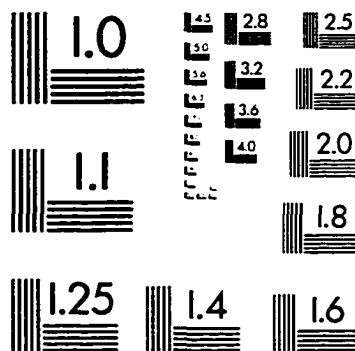If you have any questions, please contact me.
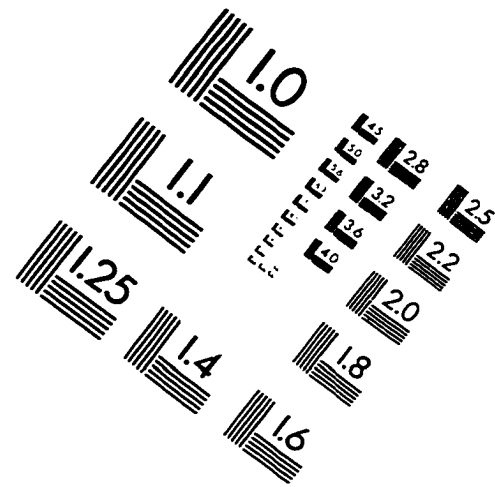
Sincerely yours,

Karen M. Petry
Administrative Officer
Institutional Review Board

KMP:sg
97-131

cc: Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair, IRB
       Dr. Eric Kramer, Communication

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

150mm

6"