COMING TO AMERICA: THE IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION AND CULTURAL

IDENTITY ON THE PREFERENCE FOR ARRANGED VERSUS LOVE MARRIAGE

AMONG INDIAN HINDUS RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

While marriage is a social institution that has been well-established and well-studied by scholars from various fields over the course of human history, the customs, traditions, rituals and even styles of marriage change within cultural groups over time due to various factors like time, socio-cultural differences, population migration and overall changes in societal norms. The Hindu culture within the United States is one such cultural group that seems to be undergoing tremendous changes in its marriage style, as more immigrants are opting not to get involved in arranged marriages. The goal of this study was to examine how various changes that happen due to migration impact individuals' decisions between an arranged marriage and a love marriage in the United States.

Participants were 247 Hindu immigrants living in the United States recruited via social networking sites, and e-mail advertisements to various Indian-American organizations throughout the United States. They completed various measures of acculturation, cultural identity, attitudes towards arranged marriage and love marriage and various demographic variables. Results revealed that individuals' acculturation strategies did in fact have an impact on whether they preferred arranged marriage or love marriage. Cultural identity did not have an influence on the type of marriage individuals preferred. These findings suggest that psychological and socio-cultural changes that occur due to events such as migration have a long-term impact on individuals' personal decisions such as mate selection. Further research in this area seems to be essential both in terms of theory development and in terms of practical applications of these findings to various domains in life.

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Introduction

The Republic of India is the second most populous nation in the world. Over the course of history, its peoples dispersed to every continent and several islands in the world, most notably the United States of America. These dispersed Indians can generally be categorized into three groups based on their residency status: a Non-Resident Indian (NRI) - a person who holds Indian citizenship but does not reside in India; a Person of Indian Origin (PIO) – a person who has Indian citizenship at birth but subsequently obtains citizenship in another nation; and, a Person of Indian Ancestry (PIA) – a person of Indian heritage who is born and raised outside of India. These dispersed Indians generally adhere to one of three religious traditions: Hinduism, Islam or Christianity. Over 80% of Indians identify themselves as Hindus, while less than 20% identify themselves as either Muslim or Christian (Mullatti, 1995). Furthermore, while India is comprised of a variety of cultures, values, and traditions, the social and familial infrastructures of the Indian community as a whole are saturated with values of Hinduism (Kallampally, 2005). For this reason, this paper will be limited to Hindu NRIs, PIOs and PIAs.

According to Shreshta (2006), the United States Census Bureau and the Department of Homeland Security, there are currently an estimated 1.6 million NRIs and PIOs, and another half a million PIAs residing in the United States. This makes Indians the third largest Asian immigrant group in the nation. A quick review of the size and distribution of the group suggests that, of the 1.6 million NRIs and PIOs nearly half live in California, New Jersey, New York and Texas and about 40% of them immigrated to the United States after 2000. Nearly three-quarters of them are working adults who are at

least 20 years of age and have at least a bachelor's degree; over one-third of the employed women work in the field of information technology, management, business or finance; over one-quarter of the employed men work in the field of information technology. According to the American Association of Physicians with Indian Origin, there are currently close to 35,000 doctors with medical licenses. Indians own 50% of all economy lodges and 35% of all hotels in America. Several Indians are members of state and federal government, and serve as members of the Congress, the Senate, and various other bodies of the government, the most notable examples being Bobby Jindal, who is currently serving as the Governor of Louisiana and former actor Kal Penn, who is currently serving as the Asian-American liaison to the White House under President Obama's administration. In the 2007-2008 academic year, 15% of all immigrants admitted into the United States with student visas were Indian. Within the social realm, different Indian sub-cultures have developed into a complex network of regional, cultural, historic, political, religious, and philanthropic communities. Today, almost every major city in the United States contains several Hindu temples and several Indian restaurants. Specifically, there are more than 200 Hindu temples in America; three-quarters of them built in the past three decades.

Asian-Indians are the largest Asian-American ethnic group in the Midwest, with a population of over 400,000. They are also the largest Asian-American ethnic group in 20 states in the United States. With such large numbers, it is no surprise that they affect the economy of the country. Asian-Indians have the highest annual median household income--$61,322--among all the Asian-American ethnic groups in America. They also have the highest per capita income--$26,415 --among all the Asian-American ethnic

groups. They have a combined disposable income of $88 billion U.S. dollars, and an estimated annual buying power of $20 billion U.S. dollars.

Currently, half of all the H1-B work visas issued by the United States government are given to Indians. An additional 26,000 Indians enter the United States every year on student visas. Ultimately, over two-thirds of the Asian-Indian population in America is foreign-born. With increasing number of NRIs, PIOs and PIAs in the schools, work place, and other aspects of the American life, it becomes necessary to study this group of people as a separate culture. The study of the acculturation and adjustment processes that immigrants go through from the moment they enter the United States reveals how the Indian and the American culture influence each other, shaping the cultural identities both on the individual and group level. Lately, several fields such as medicine, sociology and even psychology have begun focusing on the Indian culture and have been trying to examine the formation of the Indian-American individual's cultural identity (Kurien, 2005). A cursory search for scholarly literature on "Asian Indians" reveals a whole spectrum of research in the medical field, focusing on genetic and biological differences between Indian populations and other populations in different geographical regions in the United States. While it is extremely important to understand the genetic and biological differences between Indians, Indian-Americans, and people of other ethnicities, and their implications for individuals' physical health, it is also important to broaden our perspective and create a more complete profile by including the psychological, social, and environmental processes that affect individuals who are bi-cultural or multi-cultural.

Within the social sciences, research has examined the mental health and attitudes of adolescents who are either first or second-generation Indians. This research has

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focused on individualism-collectivism, conformity, and acculturation, and has attempted to dissect the Indian-American teenager's mindset (Kwak & Berry, 2001). Research has also attempted to probe into the perceptions, attitudes and values of this newly formed identity, especially in immigrant children, and first- and second-generation Indian-American youth (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). Several researchers have argued that the generation gap between Asian-Indian parents and children is greater than in the average American family because of acculturation differences (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). There is a scarcity of research however, to assist us in understanding the implications of the different acculturation strategies employed by adult immigrants. With the Asian-Indian population increasing every year, understanding the psychological and social consequences of adults' multi-cultural identities and experiences is crucial as more and more American-born Indians reach adulthood. It is just as important to understand the differences between foreign-born Indians and Indians born in the United States to understand the complexities inherent in multicultural environments. As the numbers of Indians grow, understanding the processes affecting this segment of the American population could have tremendous implications for almost all aspects of life – social, religious, economic, political and cultural. There is a need in the field of psychology to understand this culture and to understand its impact on all aspects of the American society.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how the interplay of the Indian and American cultures and lifestyles creates multicultural identities which in turn affect crucial life decisions among Hindus residing in America. Through the framework of

acculturation this study proposes to examine how cultural identity influences individuals'

decisions on an important commitment – marriage. In this study, I first hope to identify

the different strategies that adult Indian immigrants use to acculturate into the American

culture, and to compare these strategies to those of Indian immigrants who have already

gained permanent residency, and to Indian-Americans who are born in the United States

with limited exposure to the Indian culture. Then, I hope to examine how these

acculturation strategies affect their social adaptation to the mainstream American culture

and in their cultural identity formation. Finally, I hope to examine how this entire process

of transformation affects immigrants' decision on choosing a mate, particularly in

deciding between a traditional Indian arranged marriage and a more Western love

marriage. While the scope of this research can be used to examine any crucial life

decision such as career choice or residency choice, this study proposes to only focus on

how the processes of immigration specifically affect individuals' choice between a love

marriage and an arranged marriage.

This paper is broadly organized into six sections. The first section contains a

discussion of historical and modern theories of research prevalent in the field of mate

selection. This section reveals the existence of two distinct systems of marriage -

arranged and love. The second section details the history of the Hindu arranged marriage

system, while the third section details the history and transformations of marriage in

America. This section explores the formation of the current "love marriage" system

prevalent in most of the Western world. Since the basis of this study is in the interactions

that occur when the Hindu culture and American culture come into contact with each

other, the fourth section of this paper details a history of Indian migration to America.

The fifth section contains a review of the relevant literature that has examined two constructs affected by intercultural contact – acculturation and cultural identity. Finally, the sixth section will outline the hypotheses and research questions proposed in this study, the methods of participant recruitment, procedures for administering the various measures, and, the design and analyses proposed for the data collected in this manner.

Mate Selection

Mate selection is generally considered one of the most important tasks in human beings and all other species whose members depend on sexual reproduction for their species' survival (Miller & Todd, 1998). It is a decision that is influenced by the amount of energy that an individual is willing to invest in looking for a mate; an individual's perceived values of his or her own life as a potential mate (Kenrick, Groth, Trost, & Sadalla, 1993); and an individual's perception and expectation of a potential mate's immediate and long-term mate value (Buss & Schmitt, 1993). The amount of energy that individuals invest in finding a mate determines the number of potential mates they encounter, and it determines how selective individuals can afford to be in making this decision (French & Kus, 2008). This selectivity in turn serves to maximize the reproductive quality of the individual in terms of his or her fitness, health, life expectancy, fertility, status, intelligence, parenting skills and styles, and numerous other variables (Ellis, 1992). On a group level, mate selection is ultimately responsible for the genetic makeup of our species. Individuals who carry the genes for a good mate selection mechanism are likely to find mates of higher quality, leading to offspring with a greater chance of survival and fitness. Individuals who carry the genes for bad mate selection mechanisms may find lower quality mates and usually produce lower quality offspring

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with a lower chance of survival and decreased fitness. In this manner, lower quality mates with bad selection mechanisms become extinct in a few generations, making room for better mates and better mechanisms that serve to maintain and improve species survival and fitness (Miller & Todd, 1998).

Over the past few decades, several theoretical frameworks examining the different processes of selection have been formulated, guiding research in the formation and development of intimate relationships which may be short or may lead to a deeper engagement and a long term bond (Bergstrom & Real, 2000). These frameworks examine mate selection via behaviors that individuals engage in during the pursuit of a mate (Sassler, 2010), traits preferred in mates (Stewart, Stinnett, & Rosenfeld, 2000), processes that enhance or obstruct the formation and maintenance of intimate relationships, and factors that affect the type of union that individuals choose to enter into (Sassler, 2010). For instance, exchange theories consider mate selection to be a cost-benefit analysis of the rewards between partners and the costs associated with the mutual involvement. Equity theories are used to study relationship progression, satisfaction, and stability (Sprecher, 2001; Hatfield, Rapson, & Aumer-Ryan, 2008). Attachment theorists examine behavioral and emotional aspects of mate selection with an emphasis on the initiation and development of the bonds between partners (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Historically, frameworks in social psychology focused on the importance of geographical proximity, physical attractiveness, and similarities in interests between people. Geographical proximity was thought to be one of the most influential factors of mate selection. A combination of the mere-exposure effect and the increased accessibility of potential mates were thought to be responsible for a greater chance of finding a mate

closer to an individual's area of residence (Festinger, 1951; Hatfield & Rapson, 1996). While propinquity may have been highly influential in the past, modernization and the availability of several economical travel options have probably reduced the salience of this factor and several other factors such as parental involvement, and increased the salience of other factors such as physical attractiveness and similarities in interests and values (Miller & Todd, 1998).

More recent theories have taken a more inter-disciplinary approach, combining evolutionary biology, cognitive psychology and game theory. This line of research focuses on decision-making strategies-perceptions, attitudes, and inferences-that an individual uses (Hastie, 2001), and, on external environmental factors such as observable cues, environmental signals, and the availability of local mating pools, courtship customs (Spiro, 1999), and hidden traits of potential mates. Several theories in the field of mate preferences and choices espouse a sequential model of decision-making in which all the available cues are integrated in order to make the decision. Individuals use sexual cues-observable physical and psychological traits in potential partners-as and when they are available. Physical cues which include height, facial symmetry, kindness, male jaw size, and female waist-to-hip ratio (Singh, 1993) can be perceived immediately and are used to consider future decisions (Gangestad, 1993). Physical cues affect the decision to initiate, accept or reject courtship proposals, to continue or terminate a relationship. Non-physical cues require longer time to assess; traits such as kindness, arrogance or intelligence require prolonged contact before they can be assessed (Johnstone, 1997).

Research indicates that the decisions on mate selection cues and strategies are highly dependent on the answer to one question: who makes the final decision in

selecting a mate – an individual, or her or her family? The answer to this question creates

the parameters within which the mate selection process occurs. Several different pieces of

literature argue that the criteria for mate selection will differ between a love match and an

arranged one. Among societies in which extended families are the norm, and a high level

of familial involvement is expected, arranged marriages are the preferred form because

marriage is a decision that impacts the entire family and its infrastructure (Fox, 1975).

Arranged marriages are considered to have many beneficial consequences for the

individuals involved and society as a whole, including the preservation of the

stratification of that society, preservation of control over family members, the facilitation

of political and economic alliances in between families, and the preservation of family

assets and properties within the larger kin group (Goode, 1959). Still predominant in

several cultures around the world, familial selection of spouses tends to de-emphasize the

husband-wife relationship and to emphasize instead an individual's responsibility to the

man's natal family and his offspring. This does not mean however that love is not a factor

in arranged marriages. Social scientists who study motivations for marriage believe that

love may play one of two roles in marriage. Cultures with arranged marriages view love

as an uncontrollable, explosive, impulsive emotion that is neither logical nor practical.

Love poses a threat to the stability of the family since one may fall in love with and wish

to marry someone who is not suitable for the family (Fox, 1975). Cultures which

predominantly have love marriages - Western cultures - on the other hand, have an

entirely different notion of marriage based on an entirely different perspective on love.

These cultures view love as the glue that binds two individuals together into one cohesive

unit (Greenfield, 1965). Thus, the process leading to marriage in these cultures requires

several encounters with potential mates, prolonged contacts with those individuals that are deemed compatible, possibly leading to dating, and the initiation and termination of relationships. In short, individuals are expected to explore in great detail potential possibilities with potential mates until two individuals gradually settle into a stable relationship based on love that leads to marriage (French & Kus, 2008).

Regardless of cultural impact, the social goal of mate selection is to ensure a bond between two individuals through the institution of marriage. Marriage is one of the most fundamental and intimate interpersonal relationships that an individual can enter into. Most people rank the maintenance of a good marriage as one of the most important goals in their lives. Research shows that a satisfactory marriage is the strongest predictor of individuals' health, happiness, and well-being (Glenn, 1999). This institution is based on the natural affinity between two individuals who enter into a voluntary contract that binds them together legally and culturally (Kallampally, 2005). A stable marriage provides individuals with a sense of identity and purpose, and generally increases individuals' happiness over time (Orbuch & Custer, 1995). It promotes and protects the welfare of the individuals in the relationship, but it also imbues a sense of security in society as well. It is precisely because a marriage has consequences for not just the individuals involved but for society as well, most cultures have elaborate ceremonies to legally and religiously mark the union (Cheal, 2005; Sheela & Audinarayana, 2003). While marriage seems to be universal, the philosophies, doctrines and laws dealing with it are highly influenced by the culture in which they are created. Therefore, before literature is reviewed, the history and characteristics of both arranged marriage in Hindu India and love marriages in the United States will be discussed.

History of Hindu Marriage

Hindu marriages are traditionally extremely elaborate religious and cultural rituals spanning several days and are based on the hierarchy of the caste system; therefore to understand a Hindu marriage it becomes necessary to examine the past and the present of its caste system.

The Hindu Caste System

The origin of the caste system can be traced back to the oldest Hindu scripture – the *Rig Veda*. Hymn 10:90 of this scripture describes the dismemberment of the Primal Person in sacrifice (Apte, 1978). The different dismembered parts turned into four different classes of people. The mouth of the Primal Person turned into a priest, creating the Brahmin caste. The arms turned into warriors, creating the Kshatriya caste. The thighs created the Vaishya cast as they turned into farmers, and the laborers, or the Shudra caste were formed from the soles of the Primal Person's feet. These four classes were collectively called the *varnas* – color (Johnson, 2010).

While the *varnas* were based on ancient scripture and ideology, Indians in reality used a different classification system called '*jati*' (birth) which dictated their language and their occupations. As Stanley Wolpert discusses in his book *India: Fourth Edition*, *jatis* are "kinship groups much larger than families, although not as self-sustaining as tribes or as unrelated as classes" (Wolpert, 2009, p. 111). So while there were only four *varnas*, the number of *jatis* was more numerous and was based on a complex combination of castes, sub-castes and sub-subcastes. The different *jatis* were not allowed to co-mingle but the *varnas* transcended linguistic and occupational boundaries. It was essentially a hierarchy system based on the idea of purity of occupation. An individual

was a member of a caste from birth until death, and nothing could be altered by a change of occupation or geographical region. Thus the Hindu caste system as we know it today originated as a mixture of the *varna* and *jati* classification systems.

When the Aryans invaded India, they brought with them a fully structured and socially stratified class system in which the priests were highly revered, but the warriors, farmers and artisans also had an importance (Apte, 1978). This merge of the indigenous *jatis* and *varnas* and the Aryan social system allowed the Aryan conquerors to incorporate the subjugated indigenous peoples into the Shudra caste. The Brahmin priests dominated society and protected their status and power by introducing elaborate norms and rituals that were supposed to maintain ceremonial and social purity. They particularly enforced any norms that dealt with intermarriages happening between castes, as this would compromise the purity of the different castes. Deviating from these norms was supposed to lead to the destruction of society as a whole. Over time, a fifth class of people, the "Untouchables" emerged, consisting of people involved in menial labor which exposed them to disease and death in jobs such as barbering, laundering, and the disposal of corpses. The Untouchables were so low on the social hierarchy that they were considered to be outside of the caste system and hence caste-less, but they were a necessary part of society as the complementary and functional opposites of the three upper castes and the Shudras (Johnson, 2010).

The caste system was legally abolished from the Indian society in the middle of the twentieth century. However, this has brought about no change in the divisions between the different castes. Because of its history, the caste system is just as prevalent among Hindus worldwide today, as it was centuries ago in an ancient society. In fact, the

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most common Hindu explanation given for the caste system today is of an efficiently functioning social system connected by divisions of labor that are based on natural human traits and that provides all the services necessary to sustain society. This system is culturally and religiously enforced to this day in almost all aspects of life and definitely in the area of marriage.

Hindu Marriage

Hinduism describes human life as a complex hierarchical relationship between the four aims of life – the four "*purusha-artha*s": *dharma, artha, kama,* and, *moksha*. *Dharma* according to Hindus is a type of cosmic truth; it includes duties including marital responsibilities, religion, religious merit, morality, social obligations, rituals, the law and justice. These rules and regulations were stipulated in several ancient texts called the *dharmasastras* including the text of *Manu*. *Artha* is money, power and success. *Kama* is pleasure and desire – both sexual and more broadly sensual encompassing all pleasurable aspects of life. Perhaps Hinduism's most famous contribution to global culture is the second or third century C.E. text written by Vatsyayana called the *Kama-sutra* – a manual teaching the art and science of maintaining harmonious intimate relationships. *Moksha* is the fourth aim of life. It means ultimate salvation from the Hindu cycle of reincarnations, and it can only be achieved through a shift away from the material world, and by leading a life of renunciation and asceticism (Doniger, 2009; Apte, 1978; Lipner, 1994; Wolpert, 2009).

Based on the above descriptions it becomes apparent that for many individuals the first three aims of life would seemingly conflict with the fourth and final aim. Hinduism's solution to this conflict is the four stages of life, with each stage having a corresponding

aim. The first stage of life is *brahmacharya* – the life of a chaste student; the second stage is *gruhasta* – the life of the householder; the third stage is *vanaprasta* – the life of a forest dweller who has begun to renunciate worldly pleasures; and the final stage is *sanyasa* – the life of complete renunciation and asceticism. Ancient Hindu texts describe the four stages as being lifestyle options that are independent from each other, however, over time, the four options became sequential stages that led to the ultimate salvation of the *atma* or soul (Doniger, 2009). During each of these stages, Hindus are expected to fulfill their *dharma* by fulfilling certain responsibilities or *samskaras* (sacraments).

According to Hinduism, the most important of all the sacraments is marriage, which bestows upon two individuals the right to perform the household duties proper to the *gruhasta* (Klostermeier, 1994). The Sanskrit word for marriage *'vivaha'* literally means taking the bride away from her father's house. Ancient Aryans seem to have had "love" marriages in their society as evidenced by folklore stories from the time but these relationships were considered unrighteous and dangerous to society (Orsini, 2006). However, as the Hindu culture evolved from its beginnings in the Aryan society, arranged marriages became the preferred form of marriage among Hindus. According to Hindu philosophy, people had a responsibility to marry, procreate and preserve patriarchal blood lines. Marital customs were considered important mechanisms in the preservation of family stability and honor (Netting, 2010).

The proper Hindu marriage, especially in the upper three castes, was arranged by the groom's parents and elders in conjunction with priests and astrologers who interpreted horoscopes to determine the auspiciousness of the match. Ancient Hindu texts, such as the *Laws of Manu*, elaborate eight different types of marriages that are

possible. The most ideal type of marriage – the *Brahma vivaha* – is one where the father

of the bride gives away his daughter as a free gift to a groom educated in the Vedic

system. *Daiva* (Divine) *vivaha* happens when the father of the bride gives away his

daughter as a fee to the officiating priest who is performing a ritual sacrifice. The third

type of marriage is the *Arsha* (Seer) *vivaha* in which the groom gives a gift of livestock to

the bride's father in exchange for her hand in marriage. The fourth type of marriage –

Prajapatya vivaha – happens when the bride and the groom are brought together for the

purposes of performing their *dharma* or religious duty. The exact nature of this *dharma* is

not specified in the texts. The *Asura* (Demonic) *vivaha* involves payment of money to the

bride and all her relatives in exchange for her hand in marriage. The sixth type of

marriage is the *Gandharva vivaha* in which the bride and the groom mutually desire a

marriage without the express content of their parents and elders, and the couple expresses

this desire of the union through sexual intercourse before marriage. This type of marriage

is probably the closest description of the Western idea of a "love" marriage that is

detailed in the Hindu culture. The last two types of marriage are actually considered

illegal since the *Rakshasa* (Fiendish) *vivaha* involves forcible abduction of the bride, and

the *Paisacha* (Ghoulish) *vivaha* involves marriage as a consequence of a secret rape of a

sleeping, intoxicated or deranged woman. Over time the *Brahma vivaha,* which was

originally meant only for the Brahmin caste, developed into the norm for all the castes

even in present day Hindu culture (Doniger, 2009; Johnson, 2010).

The Hindu Marriage Process

The traditional Hindu arranged marriage process starts with the parents searching

for potential partners for their son. This search is conducted either by a traditional

matchmaker, or more recently via several matrimonial service websites available on the internet. Caste hierarchy is very salient in this part of the process due to the "skin-color" specifications imposed by all parties. The ancient Aryans assigned a color to each of the *varnas*, and the term that was used to refer to the indigenous people who were invariably in the lowest castes was *dasa* which means slave, but also means black or dark. This discrimination is still present in current day tradition as parents generally prefer fairer skinned women as a spouse for their son, and can be seen in the majority of the matrimonial advertisements posted online or in the Indian newspapers (Nanda, 2000; Diwan, 1957).

Once a potential partner has been found, the parents of the bride are approached in the most discreet way possible, the father of the bride chooses a righteous husband from a reputable family. The wedding only happens after an arrangement between the two families is in place. The Hindu marriage arrangement is built on the basis of caste – both bride and groom should be from the same one – and the *gotra* (the line of descent) – the bride and the groom should be from two different *gotras* as marrying someone from the same *gotra* is considered a marriage between blood siblings. The bride and the groom's horoscopes, education and wealth are also important factors that influence the arrangement of the marriage.

Most arranged weddings follow a pattern based on religious tradition and ceremonial rituals. The wedding starts with the groom's family leading a procession to the bride's house. They are ritualistically welcomed by the bride's family, following which the father of the bride gives his daughter away to the groom. Amidst the recitation of various chants over a few hours, the couple circles a fire built in the altar seven times,

and the ceremony culminates in the groom tying the *mangalsutra* or a thread of auspiciousness around the bride's neck to signify the start of their life together as a married couple. The wedding ceremony symbolizes different things for the bride and the groom. For the bride, the ceremony is a rite of initiation into womanhood. She is no longer considered a child, and she is expected to uphold her religious duty to her husband, her new family and ultimately to God by producing a male offspring with her husband. For the groom, the ceremony symbolizes a transition from the *brahmacharya ashram* – the celibate student's stage of life – to the *grihastha ashram* – the stage of life of a householder. His responsibilities change drastically as he shifts from celibacy to sexual intercourse for the purpose of producing offspring as this is the only way the caste can perpetuate into future generations (Lipner, 1994).

These marriage traditions which originated in ancient times persist even in present-day Indian families (Mayer, 1991). The vast majority of marriages in India today are still parentally arranged (Mullatti, 1995). Today, families still use personal connections, caste directories, newspaper ads, and internet matrimonial sites. When proposals containing photographs, resumés and horoscopes are available, the potential bride or groom and parents discuss them together. Once all the undesirable matches have been eliminated, the next step involves a formal meeting between the families where the potential bride and groom meet for the first time. At this point, the match can be turned down without dishonor. If both the bride and groom and their respective families agree on the match, the bride and the groom are allowed to see each other and get to know each other un-chaperoned, while the families finalize the wedding arrangements. During this

time the couple is considered to be engaged. The entire process culminates in wedding rituals that may span over the course of several days (Mitra, 1946; Mayer, 1991).

Even in modern times, Hindus have attempted to preserve ancient marriage customs and traditions in the face of cultural, social, and economic realities changes in society. The dramatic re-organization of the Indian economy in the 1990s catalyzed foreign investments, multinational corporations, modern products and Western ideas. All of a sudden rights, freedom and democracy became measures of success to strive for, and romantic love became the yardstick of "cultural progress". In this day and age, Indian youth – especially from upper middle-class families – are fluent in English, and have a wide variety of various modes of communication that keeps them connected to the Western world. They are very familiar with the idea of romantic love and have the time and disposable income to try and make this type of love a reality in their own lives (Netting, 2010). Parents however, perceive their decreased involvement in mate selection as a threat to family traditions and fear that it may lead to the disintegration of the Hindu culture.

Parents, who connect love marriages with pre-marital sex, inter-caste co-mingling, and abandonment of family obligations, find their childrens' desire for a love marriage threatening their very identity. The idea of a love marriage is viewed as a potential catastrophe since the young people involved are not expected to truly know what is good for them because of their lack of life experience. Love is not "the only, or even the most important ingredient in a good marriage, which [requires] stability, loyalty, hard work, solvency, dutiful attention and proper action" (Wolpert, 2009).. In fact, most

traditional Indians cite the high divorce rates in the Western world as proof that marrying for love is not the best choice for young people to make.

Thus it seems that while some aspects of the modern Hindu marriage are based on individualism, romantic love and modernization, other aspects – supernatural validation through horoscope matching, growing into conjugal love, and joining the husband's family – have resisted change and retained their ancient Hindu roots (Uberoi, 2006). In order to comprehend the complex interactions of all these various aspects of marriage, it becomes necessary to understand the mediating effects of two very important factors – differences in kinship infrastructures, and the treatment of women in Hinduism.

Differences in Kinship Systems Between North India and South India

Most Indians grow up in extended families, with members of the family ensuring that the group functions as a cohesive and cooperating unit (Nath & Craig, 1999). This notion of a "joint" family involves the idea that even if members of a family don't reside in the same location, they are still considered a household, if they are functionally, ritually and emotionally joined (Desai, 1964). There also seems to be a clearly defined hierarchy according to age and sex, with older individuals and men being higher on the hierarchy than younger individuals or women. Women are the primary socializing agent in the family. Men are usually aloof. Generally, within the joint family system, it is common to have parents living with married sons, their wives and young children, and any unmarried children. If married sons do establish their own household and move away from their parents, usually, at least one son and his family will continue to live with the

parents. Thus it becomes essential to understand Indian kinship models and their role in individuals' life decisions.

A review of the literature reveals two distinct kinship models in India, each model localized to either Northern India or Southern India (Dyson & Moore, 1983). The Northern Indian family and kinship model has three characteristics which make it unique from the Southern Indian model. In the Northern Indian kinship model, the spouses are usually unrelated in kinship and are usually from a different place of birth or residence. Therefore, marriages are exogamous. Furthermore, North Indian marriages are also usually arranged for the purpose of inter-group alliances to improve the male family's and the female family's status in society. As a consequence of this, most Northern Indian women usually have very limited freedom of choice in choosing their mate, or rejecting the one chosen for them. Because the bride is moving to a new location into the groom's household with no previous relationships established, the marriage is usually a major rearrangement of the bride's social position within the new family. As a consequence, there may be rearrangements in other social positions and relationships within the family. Therefore, the bride is generally considered a threat to the family dynamics. The bride consequently has difficulty establishing affective ties with members of her husband's household. Because the bride is brought up by her parents with the knowledge that she is someone else's property that the parents are just trustees to, affective ties between natal kin are also minimally established.

Within South Indian kinship systems, the family dynamics are significantly different. First, the marriages are usually endogamous. The ideal marriage is between cross-cousins. Due to this, women are likely to be married to known persons, in familiar

households, near to their natal home. This allows for the female to have more freedom of choice compared to the North Indian bride. Because women are married to known individuals who usually reside close to the bride's natal family, women in South Indian families interact with both their natal kin and their husband's kin on a regular basis, both before and after marriage. The marriage is not considered a major rearrangement of the bride's social position as the bride would already have established affective ties with her natal kin and her husband's kin.

In the last few decades, the Indian family structure has altered drastically due to permanent migrations, temporary foreign job opportunities and general Westernization of the Indian culture, as more nuclear or single parent families are replacing extended families (Buchignani & Indra, 1985). This has led to a reduction in the social support available to the married couple, and plethora of other changes for the couples and families involved in the Indian kinship systems. In addition, the differential roles of men and women also contribute a great deal of fluctuations; these will now be discussed.

Gender in Hinduism

Hindu scriptures do not explicitly prescribe life stages for women, but Hindu women historically were given special status in many rituals. In ancient times, women from the upper three castes had the right to formally learn the Vedas and Vedic discourse. In later times however, this right was restricted to men and marriage became the chief responsibility of women. Overall, throughout Indian history, the patriarchal family system systematically disadvantaged Hindu women, as it required that they embody family honor, service to their husband's family, and deliver a generous dowry (Chawla, 2007). Prior to the establishment of the British Raj, some local minority groups did

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follow different customs including matrilineal kinship models. These groups still restricted women's power and authority however, by ensuring that the authority was vested not with the woman herself, but with her brothers. Unmarried daughters were guarded closely and heterosexual relationships were suppressed, usually successfully (Uberoi, 1994). Sons and daughters were socialized differently – boys were raised to be self-reliant and independent and expected to take on non-domestic roles in society, whereas girls were raised to be nurturing, obedient and responsible for most domestic issues (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Berry & Sam, 1997). Arranged marriages were, and to this day are, generally considered more beneficial for men than women because life within the husband's family may still subsume the marital relationship between the couple, especially with regards to the rights and duties of the wife (Chawla, 2007; Caldwell, Reddy, & Caldwell, 1983). Even in more modern times, from early childhood children are encouraged to socialize and marry within their own sub-cultural group, especially girls, who are taught that marriage is one of the most important goals in their lives (Broude, 1994). Even in modern times, women's educational and career goals are secondary or are only important if they increase opportunities to get a better spouse or if they help support the economy of their families (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000).

Recent research has found a link between gender disparities and geographical areas of India. Jeejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) studied the differences between female autonomy among Muslims and Hindus from various parts of India and Pakistan. Their data found regional differences in women's lives between North Indian and South Indian women. Life expectancy and literacy were higher and maternal mortality, infant mortality and fertility rates were lower in South India as compared to North India. Previous

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research also found that women in North India had considerably less personal power in their lives than did women in South India (Karve, 1965). Women in South India have "greater decisionmaking [sic] authority, are less secluded and more likely to work outside the home and control resources, and are less likely to perceive sons as their only source of prestige" (Jeejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001). In addition, while both North and South Indians were found to prefer arranged marriages, there was a significant difference in the amount of natal family's support after marriage – South Indians were more likely to ensure that women were not cut off from natal kin after marriage. Other differences found between North and South Indian families include gender disparities in education levels – with North Indian men having much higher educational levels than women, and South Indian women having more education than South Indian men. South Indian women are more likely to have a greater say in their choice of husband, the time of marriage, and spousal age difference (Cain, Khanam, & Nahar, 1979). South Indian women have also been known to have more self-confidence, be less likely to participate in an extended joint family residence and to marry endogamously (Caldwell, Reddy, & Caldwell, 1983).

This information suggests that family patterns and gender dynamics of North and South Indians have been distinctive and stable over time. However, this may not be entirely accurate as gender and family patterns may be shifting as a consequence of time and increased mobility due to improved technology, job opportunities and general globalization processes, and most importantly, migration. Currently there is no evidence that has examined Indian attitudes, values and norms in relation to the gender dynamics within the North and South Indian kinship models – especially among immigrant Indians. The current study proposes to do just that. One of the biggest challenges that Indian

immigrants encounter in the United States is exactly the type of romantic bond that Hindu scriptures advise and even warn against. They are exposed to a looser, more dynamic American society based on sexuality and the freedom of choice. Marriage in the United States however, has not always been a self-choice institution based on love. An examination of the history of marriage in American will reveal the growth of the marriage institution into its current form in the United States. A discussion of the history of marriage in the United States is crucial to understand the complexity of the issue.

History of Marriage in the United States

Historical Trends – The American North

The story of the history of marriage in the United States is more a socio-political discussion in stark contrast to the more spiritual or religious philosophy of marriage espoused in the Hindu scriptures and communities. Marriage as an institution in the American culture has been one of the most influential factors in the articulation and structuring of American society throughout its tumultuous 400 years of history. While being instrumental in reshaping Puritanical English values and thus altering the course of Western history, the concept of marriage has itself undergone tremendous transformations in a relatively short period of time.

The history of marriage in the American culture starts in the early 1600s with British colonialists who still had a strong adherence to conservative Puritanical values that were common in England. At this time, marriage was a very public institution molded by both religion and government to enforce policy in society (Cherlin, 2010). The church interpreted sex as an act that wasn't evil as long as it was within the constraints of

a marital bond. The law generally supported the church's stance and acted as the enforcer of this morality. During this time, the average age at marriage for men was 25. Women got married at a much younger age. The average at marriage for women was 20 (Haines, 1996).

Love marriages did not exist; most marriages were economic or political alliances or conveniences. The general thought was that affection was inevitable after marriage. After marriage, women were expected to continuously in reproduce children, to ensure growth in the American population (Cherlin 2010; Cott, 2002; Coontz, 2004). Over time however, the increase in the number of offspring led to a decrease in parental control over the children's sexual lives and to a slight loosening of the strict Puritanical values. Thus by the middle of the 1700s, Northern American society experienced an increase in pre-marital sex, pre-marital pregnancy, and children increasingly chose whom they married (Haines, 1996).

The mid 1700s saw the emergence of a unique American culture and society as moral and political leaders collectively fought the British Crown for political and cultural independence from the English monarchy and its rigid values. The institution of marriage was chosen as the emblem of the new democratic nation. Marriage was portrayed as a voluntary, long sustained bond between two individuals, founded on the basis of mutual consent and provided and required loyalty and allegiance (Cott, 2002). This in turn generated quite a bit of attention to the structure and function of marriage and family life, resulting in tremendous changes in the definition of marriage in a very short span of time. Legislation was passed concerning several domains of marriage including issues like monogamy, especially on groups such as the Native Americans whose philosophies on

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marriage and governance conflicted with the American ideal, in order to assimilate them into the general American culture (Haines, 1996; Cott, 2002).

Inter-racial marriages between white men and Native American women were encouraged because any resulting offspring would increase the American population. Marriages between Native American men and white women however were not encouraged. Federal policy soon began to grant citizenship to women who were wives of white American men, but this quickly led to escalated racial tensions on the state level and on the local level in communities (Cott, 2002).

Local communities passed state laws to enforce validity in the choice of mate, the form of marriage, financial, emotional, physical and social obligations, rules and responsibilities, and, consequences of termination of the marriage. Several states declared any form of inter-racial marriage illegal. However, while state law did technically trump both federal policy and community preferences, on the local level the public opinion was public law. The scattered dispersion of American settlements meant that government agencies and the church did not have enough officials to ensure the administration of the law. Entire communities would collectively decide the fate of transgressors, essentially policing themselves. In the case of marriage it meant that most marriage laws only got enforced if local citizens decided to report the transgressors to state authorities. The validity of a marriage was based entirely on the local community's opinion on the matter.

This allowed for several different styles of informal marriages to exist locally, also allowing for informal divorce options if the relationship was considered unsuitable. The most common type of informal marriage was when two individuals decided to

cohabitate and engage in sexual relations. By the late 18th century, marriage frequently occurred after a sexual relationship between a man and a woman led to the birth of an offspring, rather than before (Cherlin, 2010).

The "informal marriage" trend was popular in the United States and among working-class citizens in European nations for several reasons. One reason was that informal marriage allowed for informal divorce – ultimately making it the most economical option socially, religiously, and, legally. While the cost of legalities and religious rituals was low in the United States, informal marriages were still the preferred form of marriage, validated and strictly regulated by the community.

Because of the looseness of marital boundaries, sanctions for violating the social contract were severe. Open adulterers and non-supportive spouses were considered serious law-breakers and were penalized harshly. Divorce and remarriage were tolerated when the situation demanded it, especially in the case of escalating conflict or abuse (Clark, 1990; Haines, 1996; Cherlin, 2010). Slowly but surely the government ensured its complete control over the institution of marriage by passing an unprecedented number of divorce and marriage laws, some states going so far as to grant the state complete discretionary powers over marriage and divorce. However, an increasing number of laws meant that the communities were gradually regulating themselves less and less, and were relying increasingly on government policy. During this time the number of legal avenues to get a divorce increased. However this meant that now the only available legal grounds for divorce were adultery, sexual incapacity, and an extended period of desertion. With these laws in place, an informal divorce was no longer possible, which in turn meant that an informal marriage was no longer legal.

The tragic consequence of all this reform was that the steep increase in the number of legal grounds for divorce resulted in a steep increase in the number of divorces. More and more marriages in America were failing. Lawmakers continued with implementing dozens of laws and statues pertaining to divorce, all with the belief that it was the best way to ensure a stable, Christian marriage. "By declaring what behavior broke the marriage, they felt they were highlighting things that could sustain it" (Cott, 2002, p. 50).

Historical Trends – The American South

Life in the Southern colonies however was drastically different leading to a different evolution of the institution of marriage. In the 1600s, the colonists in the South experienced higher mortality rates due to disease epidemics resulting in shorter lives, shorter marriages, and drastically skewed sex ratios which led to a rapid loosening of the strict religious values of their ancestors. Women and men in the South married at younger ages and had fewer children, and were generally more flexible with their moral boundaries. Regardless of the form of marriage, wedding ceremonies in the South grew to become elaborate extravagant affairs among the wealthy population. In slave-holding states before the Civil War, slaves had no access to legal marriage, just as they had no other civil rights (Cherlin, 2010; Cott, 2002).

Slave marriage was completely illegal in the South even from the days of the colonies. African American slaves could not marry legally; the slave owner could override any type of commitment between slaves. Since slaves did not own their own lives, they had no right to consent to anything including marriage. Furthermore, since slaves could be bought, sold or traded at their owner's discretion, encouraging marriage

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and family was impractical from the slave owner's perspective. In fact, slave owners during the 18th and 19th centuries were known for "breeding" their slaves and selling the offspring, especially after a federal law was passed in 1808 banning the import of slaves (Clark, 1990; Hodes, 1993).

Increasing numbers of slaves converted to Christianity and sought protection from the church. It became the Church's responsibility to protect the slaves' marriages. The Church however, could not control the purchase and sale of slaves. Communities were increasingly faced with deciding the fate of "adulterous" Christian slaves who were being punished for having "extra-marital" sex after the slave owners separated the married couple by selling one or both of them to different owners. In slave-holding states before the Civil War, slaves had no access to legal marriage or any other civil rights.

Interracial marriages were still invalid. By the end of the Civil War, 30 out of the 33 states had passed laws penalizing marriage between blacks and whites. Community sentiment and the law converged on this issue (Calhoun, 1919). Local citizens, who were normally generous about informal marriage, were now harsh about reporting mixed-race couples to state authorities because their existence was symbolic of the deterioration of the white culture and identity (Hodes, 1993). There were however, select areas of the country during this time – primarily in the South where more than 90% of the black population lived – where consensual long-lasting informal and formal marriages and temporary liaisons did not have racial boundaries (Cott, 2002).

Civil War and Post Civil-War Developments

By 1857, the infrastructures of both the American government and the institution of marriage were severely split between the Northern and Southern states because of the issue of slavery (McClintock, 1996). The Compromise of 1850, a series of laws intended to eliminate the conflicts surrounding slavery failed miserably (Calhoun, 1919). Racial tensions increased quite rapidly, leading to several revolts and rebellions. Southern slave owners based their defense of slavery on the Bible and claimed that slaves needed and in fact wanted supervision just like a wife needed and wanted her husband's guidance. Northern abolitionists on the other hand argued that the slavery-marriage analogy actually warped the definition of marriage, and thus contradicted the American government and the American ideal.

While southern slave owners tried to soften the harsh reality of slavery by comparing the master-slave relationship to the affectionate, wise husband – obedient, submissive wife relationship, the northern abolitionists used this exact analogy to highlight the violations of all civil liberties by the slave owners. The issue of slavery became the issue of the national character of the United States of America (Clark, 1990; Cott, 2002).

Slavery was partially eliminated in the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which freed all slaves in Confederate territories. Complete abolition of slavery was achieved with the 13th amendment to the United States Constitution. This was one of the main reasons why the state of marriage came into question. The elimination of slavery admitted the possibility of the elimination of marriage, especially because the similarities between the two were highly debated. Abolitionists fighting for the elimination of slavery

only intended to legalize marriages of former slaves. In reality though, the implications of the 13th amendment were far more widespread. The abolition of slavery actually meant the transformation of the marriage, legal and labor contracts of all individuals (Hodes, 1993; Clark, 1990; Cherlin, 2010; Coontz, 2004).

Based on reports from the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission (AFIC) – a government agency established to gather information that would aid policy makers in charge of the restructuring of the South – the Federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, established the "Marriage Rules". These rules determined the conditions necessary for an individual's eligibility to marriage, an official's eligibility to solemnize the marriage, and, authorized causes and procedures for the termination of the marriages. The most important consequence of this was that informal marriages based on consent only were now invalid; all the marriages in the nation required licenses and solemnization by state or church authorized officials. Cohabitation without a marriage license was deemed illegal (McClintock, 1996; Cott, 2002).

Former slaves still did not have the right to vote, to run for or hold office, or to serve on a jury. Their legal status was essentially limited to basic civil rights, identical to the legal status of women. Several leaders even opposed former slaves' right to marry because this right could eventually lead to the legalization of inter-racial marriages (Moran, 2004).

There were a few radical political leaders at the time however who advocated redefining the idea of civil liberties to grant the right to vote to all men, even former slaves. As a result of this the Civil Rights Act was passed. Even the most liberal leaders

however were averse to the idea of inter-racial marriages, so the Civil Rights Act still protected state sovereignty over marriage laws. State governments defended this sovereignty by stressing the status of a marriage as a contract with the state and thus a matter of public policy. The Christian ideal of the life-long monogamous aspect of legal marriage was further enforced by a series of legal reforms inspired by religious leaders' fears that the increasing rates of divorce in a now "free" society would eventually lead to the destruction of that society (Thomas, 1965; Preston & McDonald, 1979).

By the end of the 19th century marriage and marital practices were severely restricted because of the direct and indirect impact of various pieces of legislation such as the Comstock Law, the Freedmen's Bureau, the anti-Mormon campaign, and the Native American policy on local and state level marriage laws. The level of morality created by the strict regulation of marriage helped minimize the overall influence of any individuals or groups promoting alternative forms of marriage (Ruggles, 1994; Haines, 1996; Cott, 2002).

The Face of Marriage: Early 20th Century – Present Day

In the 20th century, the different waves of immigrant cultures and immigration policies had a tremendous legal and social impact on the institution of marriage (Nock, Sanchez, & Wright, 2008; Pinsof, 2002). Marriage laws and immigration policies were closely related because children born on American soil would be U.S. citizens regardless of their parents' residency status. Marriage offered the same benefits to immigrants as it did to African-Americans and Native Americans – the right of a man to full citizenship as a husband and the head of his household, and the political representation of his wife and other dependents. Restrictions on immigration were based not just on marital status, but

also on racial categorization (Moran, 2004). Advocates of racial segregation argued that that mingling of inferior cultures with the more superior white culture would eventually lead to the devaluation and disintegration of the white Christian culture, and monogamy. These concerns eventually led to severe restrictions on several immigrant populations starting with the Chinese (Moran, 2004).

While all immigration restrictions were grounded in racial differences, the enforcement of citizenship was based on a literacy test which was of course highly disadvantageous to immigrants from non-English speaking cultures. In an effort to avoid blatant discriminatory laws against all Asian immigrant groups, the U.S. government employed a very different tactic with the second wave of immigrants who came in from Japan. The Gentlemen's Agreement was signed by the U.S. and Japanese officials allowing Japanese students entry into the country for educational advancement, but restricting the influx of laborers. It also allowed for the admittance of the families of Japanese immigrants who had already settled in the United States. In addition, several states also passed laws specifically prohibiting the marriage of white persons with Chinese or Japanese individuals (Cott, 2002; Cherlin, 2010; Coontz, 2004).

It is during this time that the most dramatic transformation of the institution of marriage took place, with the evolution of the love marriage as we know it in the American culture today. Historically, marriage started out as a formal set of Puritanical obligations set forth for husbands and wives. In the process of starting and growing the American nation however, the romantic underpinnings of true love based on consent and sexual attraction emerged to the forefront. Love was said to happen outside of an individual's realm of emotional, monetary, psychological, or even familial control. It was

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irrational but completely necessary for the validity of a marriage. This contrast between the old and new forms of marriage, and the stark differences in Eastern and Western ideologies led to a culture clash that individuals have experienced since the early 20th century to present day America. Immigrants' ideas on marriage and domestic life were considered measures of moral development – the closer their idea of marriage was to the American ideal, the more morally developed they were considered to be (Moran, 2004; Rampage, 2002; Martin & Midgley, 1999).

The Immigration Act of 1917 barred entry for virtually all Asians, including the Japanese who until 1917 were being allowed in accordance with the Gentlemen's Agreement. Furthermore, the Immigration Act of 1924 stipulated that marriages by proxy were invalid. Proxy marriages – where Japanese men in America married their bride who was still in Japan by performing the wedding ceremony with a representative of the bride – which was the social norm in the Japanese-American culture – were now struck invalid. This law also created the quota system based on national origins for the admission of immigrants into the United States – a quota system that is in use even today. The Industrial Revolution and the technological advancements in the early 20th century ushered in yet another new face of marriage. By the end of World War I, marriage was no longer an institution under the direct authority of the states. Citizens enjoyed what was considered a sexual revolution by giving up previously analogies between monogamy and government. The model of marriage in which the woman's identity and assets were completely absorbed into her husband's identity disappeared completely when women gained the right to vote in 1920. Until this period of time, womanly virtues such as virginity, modesty, chastity and fidelity were extolled. The 20th century brought with it a

re-conceptualization of sexual morals as both men and women began to emphasize the importance of sex appeal and sensual experiences even among unmarried couples (Pinsof, 2002; Cherlin, 2004; Coontz, 2007). Sexual experimentation before marriage became normal because it was considered an essential part of a couple's decision to fall in love with each other and to get married.

In the early parts of the 20th century, as urban areas started expanding, the development of contraceptive technology played a major role in the restructuring of American sexuality and marriage (Rampage, 2002). The age at marriage dropped as fertility became the choice of a couple. The period prior to World War II was fairly stable, with only a small long-term increase in marriage rates. Once the war ended, there was a substantial boom in the rates of marriage, and the age at marriage declined sharply (Rodgers & Thornton, 1985; Rumbaut, 1994). This trend continued for over a decade. In the 1960s and 1970s, marriage depended heavily on age, with marriage rates increasing during the teens and early twenties and declining during the late twenties and early thirties. In the last few decades of the twentieth century however, young adults had to get more education and meet increasingly demanding requirements in the workplace (Pinsof, 2002). They also had easier access to multiple contraceptive options leading to a substantial decrease in the number of people that got married, and a substantial, alarming increase in the number of divorces and permanent non-marital cohabitations, causing tremendous concern about the future of the American family (Espenshade, 1985; Pagnini & Rindfuss, 1993; Cherlin, 1992).

Even today, there are no specific provisions for the creation, regulation, or dissolution of marriages in the U.S. Constitution. Such provisions are left up to the

individual states (Fincham & Beach, 2010). Currently, there are only three forms of marriage that are legally binding in the United States. A ceremonial marriage is where the parties involved declare before witnesses that they intend to marry each other and obtain a marriage license to that effect. All fifty states currently require some form of a marriage license to register a marriage in public records. A non-ceremonial marriage is also called a common-law marriage. This is when a couple is considered legally married based on cohabitation and/or consummation over a specified period of time. Finally, a confidential marriage, which is currently only legal in California, is an option for couples who have been cohabitating but do not wish to apply for a license or a health certificate to be married (Martin & Bumpass, 1989). A review of literature reporting recent trends in marriage and divorce paints a dismal picture of the future of the institution. The drastic transformations of marriage over the decades have led to an increase in behaviors directed towards self-realization and personal well-being and gratification, rather than religious or moral duty (Scott, 1998). One major challenge in consistently tracing research on marriage throughout history is the radically different faces marriages has had throughout American history. Marital delay, relationship dissolutions and repairs, high divorce rates and the increasing numbers of couples who stay permanently non-married have increased the amount of time that individuals spend outside of marital unions in the course of their lives. These lines of research have greatly benefited from methodological advancements in the social sciences which have enabled researchers to consolidate, integrate and develop research at a tremendous pace (Sassler, 2010). Individuals these days can enter into casual, short-term relationships with no purpose, longer-term relationships with the intent of finding a spouse or romantic partner and cohabitations

with very minimal social, legal or moral repercussions. Modern day marriages increasingly take place after sexual intercourse between individuals, and in most cases, some level of cohabitation (Cherlin, 2004). While there is no denial that a steady, healthy romantic partnership is highly beneficial to individuals' sense of health, and physical and psychological well-being, research has recognized that the benefits of marriage vary significantly by gender, race, social, class and union type (Kamp, Dush, & Amato, 2005). For instance, in the last few decades, both men and women have been found to be less selective when looking for short-term versus long-term romantic partners (Buss, 1998). Adults in their early twenties engage in significantly different relationship behaviors and patterns when looking for a long-term mate than those who are older, and have a greater sense of urgency to enter a marital union (Uecker, 2008). As the marriage marker changes with age, so do the preferences for desired partners and the methods for finding desirable partners (Sassler, 2010). Educational institutions have dropped as preferred locations to meet desirable mates; instead, most recently, there has been a tremendous boom in Internet dating and speed-dating (Eastwick & Finkel, 2008). Cohabitation before marriage has become a part of the mainstream culture, although couples who cohabit prior to marriage are fundamentally different from individuals who marry before cohabitation – pre-marital cohabitation has been found to be indicative of lower socioeconomic status, lower religiosity and lower educational experiences and aspirations (Blackwell & Lichter, 2004; Pinsof, 2002; Rampage, 2002;).

As a consequence of increasing rates of divorce and increasing rates of individuals who never marry, the proportion of single adults in the American population has increased significantly in recent years (Sassler, 2010). There is a gaping hole in

research in this area as this population has only recently warranted attention and study. The little bit of research conducted reports a large portion of the older adult population as involved in intimate non-marital relationships. The process of finding a partner, the availability of potential partners, and relationship expectations for this group all differ significantly from younger American populations (King & Scott, 2005). Older women are more likely to date men younger than them, and divorced or widowed men are more likely to remarry than divorced or widowed women (Ahrons, 2007). The benefits of marriage also change drastically over the course of an individual's lifetime affecting decisions about romantic relationships and marriage.

A review of the last few centuries of marriage has highlighted the development of marriage from a tool of social control to only one of possible avenues for sexual expression, intimacy and commitment (Sassler, 2010). However, in addition to undergoing all the aforementioned changes, the institution of marriage has in the course of American history played an influential role in women's rights, and in inter-racial, inter-cultural and inter-religious unions. These lines of research will briefly be described now.

Gender Issues in the United States

Throughout the last few centuries of European and eventually American history, marriage and family were central facets in the organization of private and public lives for men and women. Societies were significantly stratified along lines of gender, with the husband as the head of the family, and the wife as a mere junior partner in the organization. The roles of men and women in their daily lives, the maintenance of marriage unions and families, and the rearing of any offspring were all strictly structured

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and enforced by social, legal and religious norms in the local communities. In the late 1700s and the early 1800s, historical accounts from Alexis de Tocqueville described separate male and female spheres of public life, where women led highly domestic lives and were extremely dependent on men for their continued physical and economic sustenance (Kerber, 1988; Thomas, 1965). Women lived in a world distinctly separate from the men', engaged in activities that focused on raising children, and taking care of their husbands and other family dependents. During the 19th century, a man's spousal responsibilities rested primarily on his economic support of his wife and their offspring. This meant that even if a woman petitioned the courts for divorce for legitimate reasons like adultery or abuse, quite often the husband was not convicted of a breach of contract because he ensured the woman's financial security (Rampage, 2002; Cott, 2002). When the Civil War broke out mid-century, approximately 3.5 million men left their local communities to fight a national war. This shifted the economic responsibility of society onto women (McClintock, 1985). The concept of a wife until this time in American history symbolized dependence and obedience. During the Civil War however, women succeeded in completely redefining their roles in society (Clark, 1990). By the end of the century, an increase in the number of legitimate reasons for divorce increased, and so did the numbers of women who sought divorces nationwide. This had tremendous implications for gender relations at the time (Lerner, 1969). Legal reform in divorce led to reform in the areas of property law, allowing women the right to own property and the right to the earnings from her labor – effectively raising the proportion of wealth controlled by women. In addition, one of the biggest developments in women's roles in society happened during this time with the efforts of various suffrage movements

resulting in women gaining the right to vote (Rampage, 2002). This in turn led to a re-definition of marriage economically, socially and sexually. The loosening of sexual morals allowed women to further their goals and ideals, changing gender roles, expectations and obligations. Women promoted female education as a means to empowerment (Rindfuss, Brewster, & Kavee, 1996).

In the early 20th century, there was a surge in the numbers of female enrollment in high schools and trade schools across the country. Women's rights issues broadened from more fundamental civil liberties to more complex socio-economic domains such as equality in wages, and inclusion in a variety of legal protections. Until this period in time feminine virtues such as virginity, modesty, and chastity were admired. The 20th century brought with it the Industrial Revolution, and subsequently a re-conceptualization of sexual morals as both men and women began to emphasize the importance of sex appeal and premarital sexual experiences. Various feminist movements in the beginning of the 20th century even argued that marriage was a negative institution that brought about the destruction of women (Ramage, 2002; Berger & Berger, 1984).

The period of three decades between the 1950s and 1980s in the United States saw a weakening in the rules and legislations governing family behavior, and an increase in the range of acceptable behaviors such as choosing not to marry and/or choosing to have children out of wedlock (Thornton, 1989). Sexual experimentation before marriage became an essential part of a couple's decision to enter into a marriage with each other (Cott, 2002; Cherlin, 2010). Gender roles became significantly more egalitarian from 1962 to the early 1980s. During this time, there was a significant decrease in the rates of marriage and in the social pressures to have children, a significant increase in the rates of

divorce, and a decrease in the division of labor between men and women. Divorce rates increased in the 1960s and 1970s, and reports of premarital sex, non-marital cohabitation, out-of-wedlock children, and use of contraceptives all indicated growing numbers in the second half of the 20th century (Bumpass, 1990). Over time, these trends became reflected in the personal attitudes of men and women as they became established as the social norms and values of the American populace. Obedience to societal norms and pressures concerning getting married, staying married, and having children weakened (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Most recent research has found that gender does differentiate expectations for certain types of behaviors in relationship; women reported according greater value to lifelong relationships than men did (Meier, Hull, & Ortyl, 2009). However, in recent years there has been a return to a more conservative movement emphasizing the importance of marriage and family, as the general trend towards gender egalitarianism leveled off (Hunter, 1991; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Americans are choosing to get stay single longer, and get married later. This could be one reason why recent trends have shown a drop in the rates of marriage among Americans. Young people today are approaching marriage more seriously, with the expectation of a permanent relationship with one partner that should not be terminated except under extreme circumstances (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). The commitment to family life and the importance of family have increased since the 1970s, more significantly among men than among women, but most Americans also agree that a marriage is not essential for happiness and success in a person's life.

Overall, in the past two centuries, marriage has changed from an instrument of social policy to a more voluntary, less controlling institution guided by principles of

Enlightenment – liberty, tolerance and equality. Sexual expressions, behaviors, living arrangements and child rearing have become mostly personal choices, while at the same time the maintenance of marriages and commitment to the ideals of marriage and family have become increasingly important. While all of these trends indicate a movement towards the development of an egalitarian marriage institution, one important point to note is that throughout American history, most of the gender research conducted used information primarily from Caucasian women. The development of relationships within and between different minority groups follows a separate trajectory. A brief discussion of these trends follows.

Inter-Racial and Inter-Cultural Marriage Trends

Social scientists in the last two centuries have been very interested in the study of inter-racial and inter-cultural marriages. The study of these marriages was thought to provide direct access to the study of assimilation of cultures, the degree of cohesion within and between different cultural groups and to the social distance – both real and perceived – between the groups in relation to the rest of the society (Barron, 1946). This body of research has focused on trends in inter-racial marriage incidences, problems encountered between inter-racial partners and in inter-racial families and the psychological makeup of the individuals and the marriage. Until recently, a majority of this research also limited its research to black-white marriages, in some part because of the lack of availability of marital unions between individuals from other cultures (Aldridge, 1978). For a thorough history of inter-racial marriages and marriage laws in the United States, please see Cott (2002).

Historically, interracial marriages were prohibited by many states in the United States until 1967 through a Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia*. From the colonial period in America, the States passed several *anti-miscegenation* laws designed to prohibit the mixture of races (Moran, 2004). This was mostly done due to growing fears at the time that mingling with the slave cultures would lead to a deterioration of the more superior White culture, but a lot of the laws were also passed to control the existing gender and racial hierarchies prevalent in society (Pascoe, 1991). Most of the laws passed during this time only aimed at controlling the sexual expression and freedom of women by banning interracial unions between white women and men from other cultures (Hodes, 1993). There were no laws prescribing behaviors for White men. By the late 19th century a whole body of laws prohibited marriages between White women and Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Hindus and Native Americans and Blacks. During this time, interracial unions that involved White men with women from other cultures were not brought to justice before the courts. For the most part these laws were enforced to ensure that the ownership of properties earned and gained through marriage will stay with White men (Pascoe, 1991; Cott, 2002).

Since 1967, researchers have recorded a steady increase in interracial marriages between Whites and Blacks. This increase was attributed to an unbalanced sex ratio in the general American population, close associations and common experiences, geographical locale, and recreational activities available in the local communities (Barron, 1946; Golden, 1959). There is evidence from this time that there were also increasing numbers of mixed marriages between different minority groups – especially between Blacks and people of other non-white cultures – however, the proportion of Whites marrying people

of other cultures was still higher. Between the years of 1963 and 1970, there were more White people marrying people from other cultures than White people marrying Blacks. For the most part this can be attributed to interracial marriages between White men and women from other cultures (Monahan, 1976). The 1980s and 1990s saw the upward trend of interracial marriages increase due to variances in the compositions and sex-ratios of the different minority groups, opportunities for social contact, a decrease in the social distance between many minority groups, increased educational and academic achievements, and the demographic makeup of local communities. As increasing numbers of minorities began to assimilate geographically and economically into the mainstream White culture, increasing numbers of interracial unions just became an inevitable consequence of these social changes (Qian, 1997). More recent research done on immigrant groups in the 21st century whose marriage styles are drastically different from the American method reveals that the American "dating" system is a set of learned behaviors; first generation immigrants were found to be much less likely to engage in these behaviors than were subsequent generations (King & Harris, 2007). The likelihood of cohabitation was also found to increase with each generation of individuals within immigrant groups (Brown, Van Hook, & Glick, 2008).

As interracial and intercultural marriages increase, and produce children who with their very existence defy current social and racial boundaries, they will account for a greater percentage of the marriage market, making research on this population essential for planning the future of American society, and understanding the future of marriage and family life in America. While this section has described research on inter-racial and inter-cultural relationships, the current study proposes to focus on the migration of Asian

Indians to the United States and the challenges this creates in the realm of marriage. This history and its corresponding concerns and problems will now be addressed.

History of Indian Emigration to the United States

First and Second Waves of Immigrants

During the course of its history, India has survived several internal and external conflicts. Due to this, India has some of the most complex migration trends. Immigration started with the migration of indentured labor to and from various British colonies, and has developed into the immigration of post-war laborers in Britain, highly-trained professionals in the United States, and low-skilled workers in the Middle East. In addition, secondary migration, where NRIs migrated from areas like Fiji and Suriname to other parts of the world, contributed to the complexities in the trends in the past few decades.

The first instances of Indian immigration began during the British colonial rule. Following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, Britain and other colonists such as the Dutch and the French began transporting laborers to use as cheap manpower (Cheng & Bonacich, 1984). By 1878, Indians were working in Guyana, Trinidad, Natal, Suriname, Fiji, Mauritius and other small French occupied islands such as Martinique. For the next 80 years these laborers left the poverty in India and got relocated into a variant of the old British indenture system. These immigrants were isolated from local populations and housed in barracks with poor living conditions where they were thoroughly regulated. Severe punishments for disobedience or insufficient work were very common. The brutal treatment of immigrants continued until 1916, when, in

response to severe criticism, the British Imperial Legislative Council abolished the indenture system. By this time, more than 1.5 million Indians had been shipped to colonies in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia.

At the same time, in South India, entire families were being relocated to work in the tea, coffee and rubber plantations of Sri Lanka, parts of present day Malaysia and Myanmar. This system of relocation, called the *kangani* system provided a better and a slightly less regulated lifestyle as compared to the indentured laborers in the other colonies. The *kangani* system was responsible for the relocation of an additional six million Indians until it was abolished in 1938.

These 7.5 million immigrants in both the waves consisted of low-skilled male workers who provided manpower in the colonies, but, they also consisted of members of various trades and trading communities who took advantage of the possibility of better business opportunities that were available outside of India.

Immigration to the United States started during this period but was insignificant. In the 19th century, less than 700 people had migrated from India to the United States. In the early part of the 20th century, there was a small but significant increase of the Indian immigrant population to 8,700. The first significant wave of about 3,000 immigrants who were brought to the United States – primarily Sikhs with agricultural backgrounds from Punjab – worked on the Western Pacific railroad in California and in the lumber mills in Washington. During this time, the United States was swept with an anti-Asian sentiment led by the Asiatic Exclusion League and the American Federation of Labor (Cheng & Bonacich, 1984). As a result, these immigrants were the victims of several racist attacks,

one of the most prominent ones being in the city of Bellingham, Washington, where a mob of about 500 men attacked boarding houses and mills, forcing about 300 Indians to flee. Furthermore, the Alien Land Law passed in California in 1913 that was aimed at preventing Chinese and Japanese immigrants from owning and farming land, severely affected the Indian immigrants who fled the racist attacks to try and settle down into farming. Additional Anti-Asian legislation passed in 1917 and 1924 banned the immigration of most South and South-East Asians, India included. During this period Indian immigration in Canada went up to over 5,000 people, but the implementation of a restrictive immigration policy excluded Indians from legal residency. Significant immigration to the United States did not occur again till the 1960s due to legislative changes in immigration policy.

The Immigration Act of 1965 and Its Impact on Indian Emigration

The Immigration Act of 1965, and its subsequent enforcement in 1968, served to abolish quotas that were until then based on the immigrants' nation of origin (Reimers, 1983). Indians who could provide proof of special skills or of family residing in the United States were granted visas. This resulted in large numbers of highly-skilled immigrant, both men and women from all over India, successfully seeking permanent residence in the United States along with their families (Mehta & Belk, 1991). Until the passage of the Immigration Act, female immigrants from India were rare. Therefore the entry of female immigrants was a significant change from the previous waves of immigrants. Since then, other more recent legislation has further facilitated this process

resulting in the total size of the Indian community – born in India, secondary immigrants, and U.S born children of Indian immigrants – increasing to 2.3 million in 2008.

The four main reasons Indians have been known to migrate to the United States are: increased economic opportunities, higher education and professional growth, to escape the bureaucracy and corruption rampant in India and, the lack of employment opportunities for highly educated professionals in India. India's colonial past gives its people a distinct advantage in the immigration front, because Indians learn English in schools modeled on the British educational system which helps individuals adjust better both personally and professionally. The majority of Indian immigrants are well educated and professional people who migrate for educational opportunities or jobs in the areas of science, engineering, medicine, business and academics (Reddy, 2003; Hess, 1974). The uniqueness of the Indian emigration experience lies in the fact that most Indians still retain all their ties to India and in fact seem to have brought India with them to the United States (Mehta & Belk, 1991). This can be attributed to the fact that most Indians did not migrate due to political tyranny or in the pursuit of higher ideals. For this reason, Indian immigrants who live in the United States neither had to nor chose to abandon the Indian culture; they seem to consistently travel to India and back, spending a great deal of time and money that they have earned in the United States (Tewary, 2005; Adhikari, 2008; Chakravartty, 2000).

Thus far, this paper has presented historical research on Hindu marriage, American marriage and the history of Indian immigration. Now, the state of Hindus in the United States will be discussed as it is relevant to the current study. Proposed hypotheses will be also be discussed accordingly.

Gender and Caste Issues Among Hindus in the United States

Indian immigrants generally emphasize the value of filial piety, and respect for the elderly and family interests usually trump personal interests. Adolescents are expected to fulfill familial responsibilities and pay tribute to family lineage. Gender roles are clearly divided and the differences between North and South Indian families are salient even among immigrants (Kurian, 1986; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). However, the impact of the American culture on these behaviors and traits has not been examined. Thus this study proposes two research questions to begin exploration in these areas.

RQ1: How do North Indians differ from South Indians in their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in American society?

Specifically, are there any differences between North and South Indians in their acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage?

RQ2: How does Hindu immigrants' gender affect their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage?

Specifically, are there any gender differences among Hindu immigrants in their choice of acculturation

strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged

marriage and love marriage?

While the caste system still affects many Asian Indians, in recent years lower

caste immigrants are usually just as educated as immigrants from the higher castes, and

are thus able to achieve higher levels of professional and economic achievements than

their ancestors. This causes a change in these individuals' standing in the American

society and in the Indian culture. Research thus far has not explored the impact of Hindu

immigrants' caste on their acculturative experiences in America. Thus, this study

proposes to explore this issue by posing a research question.

RQ3: How does Hindu immigrants' caste affect their

choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in

American society?

Specifically, does the caste of Hindu immigrants have

any effect on their choice of acculturation strategies, cultural

identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love

marriage?

Current Statistics and Trends

According to the Immigration and Naturalization Services, 469,000 Indians were

admitted into the United States between 1961 and 1990. According to the U.S. Census,

the population of Indian-Americans in the United States rose 53% between the years of

2000 and 2007, making the group the third largest ethnic group in the country. The New

York metropolitan area, consisting of New York City and adjacent areas within the state

of New York as well as nearby areas within the states of New Jersey, Connecticut, and

Pennsylvania, is home to approximately 600,000 Indian Americans as of 2009, comprising by far the largest Indian American population of any metropolitan area in the United States.

The process of adapting to the most prevalent culture is an existential challenge for all immigrants as it involves a re-definition of their core cultural identity in addition to facing the problem of integration in their daily lives. Immigrants tend to face more adjustment difficulties if they retain their native culture. However, if an immigrant becomes alienated from his or her native culture and completely merges into the mainstream host culture, the chances of maladjustment and stress increase dramatically (Ghaffarian, 1998). It is an especially dramatic challenge for immigrants from India because they cannot blend into American society easily because of distinctive physical traits, social etiquette and cultural values and norms. "The Indian view of hierarchy, holism and continuity are not consistent with the cultural prerequisites of modernization and the orientations emanating from the basic American values of individualism, achievement, orientation, competition, action-orientation and egalitarianism" (Kallampally, 2005). The process by which immigrants adapt into a new host culture from their native culture of origin is called acculturation (Berry, 1997).

Acculturation

What is Acculturation?

Acculturation in a nutshell is the process of change that occurs when different cultures come into contact with one another. This process of change affects both the behaviors and attitudes of individuals within these cultures (Phinney, Horenczyk,

Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936). Figure 1 shows the theoretical framework of the acculturation processes that happen between two cultures. More formally, acculturation can be defined as the "changes in cultural attitudes, value and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures, with ethnic identity being an aspect of acculturation (Berry, Trimble, Olmedo, 1986; Phinney, 1990; Ho, 2010). It is a multi-domain phenomenon that includes language, identity and behavior (Birman & Trickett, 2001). It is influenced by the dominating social norms in society (Fuligni, 2001; Kim & Abreu, 2001; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). It may be more stressful for some groups rather than others; the greater the difference between the native culture and the host culture, the higher acculturative stress immigrants experience (Berry, 1997).

The study of acculturation is built on the foundation of three important markers that define the process: contact, reciprocal influence, and change The concept of contact dictates that in order for true acculturation to happen, the differing cultures must be in primary contact with each other, within the same space and time, and not through secondary contact via different forms of media (Sam, 2006). Thus, only face-to-face interactions are viable scenarios which bring about the changes caused by true acculturation. The principle of reciprocal influence states that true acculturation occurs when both groups influence each other. This is in contrast to some of the earliest work in acculturation which was based on a more traditional assumption that the minority culture assimilates most of the features of the host culture. Finally, the third principle of change refers to all the outcomes that occur as a result of primary contact between two cultures

and the ensuing reciprocal influence that takes place between the two cultures and their individuals.

Psychological Acculturation

Acculturation processes can produce changes on two levels: the group level and the individual level. This distinction becomes important because not only are the factors that affect cultures different for the two levels, but, more importantly, the subsequent changes produced are vastly different depending on the level of analysis. On the group level, the changes produced by acculturation can be examined in the social structure or in the political organization of the affected cultures. On the individual level, the changes produced by acculturation are very visible as they are manifested in a person's identity, values, attitudes and behavior (Sam, 2006). These changes happen as a process, as a result of being in contact with other cultures, or as a result of participating in the acculturation that one's group is undergoing. This process is called psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967). Since acculturation is the process by which individuals incorporate beliefs, behaviors and values from the new host culture into the context of beliefs, behaviors and values of the native culture (Constantine et. al., 2004; Berry, 1980; 2003; 2008; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Lueck & Wilson, 2010), it is an important predictor of immigrants' adaptation strategies into the new host culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Thus, it becomes important to further examine this phenomenon in order to better understand the consequences and implications of acculturation on the current mainstream culture prevalent in the United States.

Models of Acculturation

Examining acculturation processes through the three foundation blocks of contact, reciprocal influence and change reveals at least two philosophical paradigms and several acculturation theories. The two most prominent paradigms discussed in literature are the Immigrant paradigm and the Minority paradigm. The Immigrant paradigm stipulates that immigrant individuals and groups acquire the cultural symbols and traditions of the host or dominant culture (Cuellar & Paniagua, 2000). The Minority paradigm on the other hand stipulates that individuals and minority groups acculturate with regards to at least two other cultures.

Several theoretical models examine this process of cultural adaptation, in which the immigrants have to develop strategies to gradually adapt to the American lifestyle, and they can generally be classified into one of two categories: unidimensional and multidimensional.

The unidimensional models theorize that immigrants forego their native culture as they completely merge into the host culture (Matsudaira, 2006). One unidimensional model is the theory of cultural assimilation (Kallampally, 2005). Assimilation is the process of substituting one nationality pattern for another, and generally, this substitution is made by the non-dominant group (Mitchell, 1968). In other words, assimilation is the process by which immigrants lose their native culture as they merge completely with their new host culture. Assimilation theorists assume that financial stability of the immigrants in the host culture will ensure the assimilation of immigrants, but, they fail to consider that financial stability might also enable the immigrants to resist American values by using their wealth to create ethnic enclaves within the general host culture

(Kallampally, 2005). This resistance becomes especially persistent if the immigrants'

native culture is drastically different from the mainstream host culture. While in general,

acculturation does tend to cause more changes in one culture than in the other,

unidimensional models imply full assimilation into the host culture as the ideal goal for

the immigrant (Berry, 1990; Dona & Berry, 1994). In other words, unidimensional

models do not allow ethnic minorities to develop full-blown multi-cultural ethnic

identities, even though many minorities prefer to describe themselves as multicultural

(Kang, 2006; Nguyen & von Eye, 2002). Due to this severe limitation, several

researchers have employed the use of multi-dimensional models to study the process of

acculturation. Multi-dimensional models posit that individuals can maintain parts or all of

their native cultures even when they adapt to the host culture's lifestyle. They measure

acculturation orthogonally, incorporating dimensions of both the native culture and the

host culture (Matsudaira, 2006). This becomes important because there are several

important influences on immigrants' choice of acculturation strategies. These factors

include an immigrant's status and power, educational and occupational level, social status

in his or her native culture, ethnic and social status in the host culture, proximity of others

from the immigrant's native culture, previous exposure to host culture, reason for

immigration to host culture and structural and contextual factors in the host culture

(Gibson, 2001; Garimella, 2008). Redfield's (1936) acculturation model, which is one of

the first theoretical models proposed in the study of acculturation, suggests three possible

strategies for immigrants: acceptance (when native customs are completely replaced by

the host culture); adaptation (when both native and host cultures are combined to form

new cultural norms and values); and reaction (when both the native and the host culture

are resistant to any changes from the other group). In 1954, the Social Science Research Council emphasized that in addition to assimilation, acculturation can also be reactive – where both the immigrants and the host culture resist changes in both groups – creative – where new cultural norms are formed that are not found in either the native or the host cultures alone – and, delayed – where changes appear more fully years after the emigration (Berry, 1997).

Berry's Acculturation Strategies

In the present study, we will focus on the Acculturation strategies model proposed by John Berry (1992). This model is based on the process of *how* individuals acculturate into a host culture. According the Berry's model, individuals may adopt one of four acculturation strategies depending on their solutions to two major issues that they face in the process of regular contact with contrasting cultures (Figure 2). The first issue is of cultural maintenance. This is the process in which individuals determine the extent to which cultural identity and characteristics are important to maintain. The second issue is of contact and participation. This is the extent to which acculturating individuals decide the extent to which they wish to be involved in other cultural groups.

Negotiating both these issues simultaneously results in the adoption of one of four acculturation strategies: *assimilation* – when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and prefer daily interaction with other cultures; *separation* – when individuals place a very high value on the retention of their native cultural values while avoiding contact with other cultures; *integration* – when individuals are interested in both maintaining their cultural identity and in seeking interactions with other cultures; *marginalization* – when individuals are equally uninterested in maintaining their cultural

identity and in seeking relations with other cultures. According to Berry (1997), these strategies are based on the assumption that the emigrating cultures and individuals have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. Since Asian Indians as a cultural group have historically migrated to the United States for reasons other than seeking asylum and refuge, the Acculturation Strategies model seems to be ideal for the purpose of this study. In addition, Marin (1992) suggested that the acculturation process may be perceived as occurring on three different levels: the superficial, the intermediate, and, the significant. The superficial level involves transient behaviors such as the learning and forgetting of behaviors, and changes in dietary preferences. The intermediate level involves more central and frequently encountered behaviors such as language preferences and usage, the degree of interaction between the native and the host cultures, and, the degree of media usage pertaining to the native and host cultures. The significant level of acculturation is the most complicated level to assess, as it involves individuals' beliefs, values and norms. This study proposes to examine acculturation strategies that individuals employ based on relevant decisions at all three levels; therefore, research pertaining to all three levels of acculturation, and the hypotheses relating to acculturation proposed in the current study will be discussed now.

Literature Review on Acculturation and Acculturation Strategies

The impact of acculturation on individuals' cultural experiences has been well documented. Sumerian hieroglyphics from 2370 B.C.E. show evidence of written codes of law and order aimed at protecting traditional cultural practices from acculturative change (Gadd, 1971) In the 6th century B.C.E., the Persian Empire succeeded in becoming the largest in the world at its time because of its integrationist policies

regarding citizenship, which were administered throughout all of their conquered lands (Munn & Rankin, 1971) In stark contrast, the British Raj, in much more recent history, succeeded in its conquests by forcing the peoples of its conquered lands to assimilate into the Anglican British culture. During this time, acculturation was the process by which artifacts, customs, and beliefs change when people from different cultures come into contact with each other (Hunt, Schneider, & Comer, 2004). Over history, several intercultural wars and crimes resulting from these wars have been attributed to acculturative clashes (Rudmin, 2000).. Research conducted on acculturation in the last few decades has focused on its impact on a range of health behaviors and outcomes (Alegria, 2009). Furthermore, the findings from several of these studies are inconsistent regarding the exact role of acculturation in individuals' lives. This has been attributed to the huge variety of acculturation measures available, most of which are either unidimensional or proxy measures that only examine acculturation through indirectly related factors, and, to the lack of cross-cultural validity of these measures. Sifting through all the research however does reveal several consistent findings and trends.

The study of acculturation in the United States has historically focused on four major minority groups: African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos (Hunt, Schneider, & Comer, 2004). Individuals' acculturation processes were further found to be dependent on factors that involve the nature of the two cultures in contact, the individuals' personal backgrounds, and characteristics pre- and post-migration, as well as the consequences of interactions between the individuals and the dominant society (Berry, 1997). Research that examined the duration of individuals' residence in both their native and the host cultures found an interaction effect between the

duration of residence in the United States and immigrants' age at arrival, which subsequently impacted acculturation strategies and cultural identities (Maxwell, Bastani, & Warda, 2000).

Acculturation strategies have also been found to vary from generation to generation (Leonetti, Tsunehara, Wahl, & Fujimoto, 1992). Research conducted on first generation Portuguese, Hungarian, Korean (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989), and Lebanese (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993) immigrants in Canada and Asian Indians in the United States (Krishnan & Berry, 1992) found that integration was the preferred acculturation strategy for all these groups of immigrants. Assimilation was the second most preferred strategy, and, marginalization was the least preferred strategy. Measurement of acculturation attitudes among Asian Indian parents and their children found that while integration seemed to be the preferred choice of parents and adolescents, since adolescents had greater intergroup contact through school participation, they were more likely to have a greater degree of integration in the American culture than their parents. Furthermore, parents only preferred an integrationist strategy for their children in the domains of cultural traditions and language. They maintained very strong separationist preferences in matters of their child's marriage (Alegria, 2009).

Research on second generation immigrants in the United States has found that even individuals who were born in the United States to immigrant parents are still integrating into the dominant American society rather than actually being born assimilated into it. These second generation individuals are able to span cultures and can behave and respond differently depending on the occasion and the decision being made in their lives (Mehta & Belk, 1991). These individuals are encouraged by their first

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generation parents and other family members to grow up with eastern values as a part of their upbringing, their religion and their traditions, but, western values are also a part of their lives through American education, friends, media and the cultural makeup of the local communities. The consequences of living in such multi-cultural settings affect not only these individuals' day-to-day lives, but also affect major life decisions such as career and marriage. Adolescents generally adapt more quickly to diverse cross-cultural experiences as compared to their parents. This often results in differential rates of acculturation between Indian parents and children in America creating significant sources of intergenerational differences (Rosenthal, Ranieri, & Klimidis, 1996). Alegria (2009) found that Indians living in the United States often returned to Indian traditions and values when questioned about crucial decisions, especially marriage. Using this entire body of literature as a background, the following hypotheses are proposed for testing in this current study:

> H1: Hindus who are integrated are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

> Specifically, participants who score high on both the Immersion in the Indian Culture and the Immersion in the US Culture subscales of the acculturation measure are more likely to have positive attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

> H2: Hindus who are separated are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but score low on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have positive attitudes toward arranged marriages and are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

H3: Hindus who are assimilated are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but score high on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have negative attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

H4: Hindus who are marginalized are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale and low on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have negative attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Portes and Rumbaut (2000) suggested that immigrants' acculturation processes are dependent on three variables. The first variable they suggested was the demographic makeup of the immigrant group in terms of education, wealth, occupational level, and English language ability. The second variable was immigration policies relevant to the immigrant group made by governmental institutions, and, their impact on the attitudes of the individuals in the immigrant groups. The third variable suggested was the structure and resources of the immigrant individuals, families and communities. In addition, the opportunities for immigrant individuals' involvement in the dominant culture are influenced by socio-cultural factors such as overall cultural diversity in the host society, prejudices and discriminations prevalent against the immigrants' cultural group, immigration policy, education system, cultural distance, size and composition of the immigrants' cultural group in the community, and finally on whether the individuals are immigrants, refugees, guest workers or international students (Matsudaira, 2006).

Since most Indians migrating to the United States do so voluntarily in the hope of economic, professional and educational advancement, they can choose to selectively absorb different parts of the host culture and selectively discard different aspects of their native cultures. In order to fully comprehend Indian acculturative processes, it becomes essential to understand what determines the selection of various aspects of the native and host cultures. The contexts of reception play a critical role in immigrant adjustment (Hull, 1979; Portes & Rumbaut, 2000; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). The context of immigration directly impacts immigrants' lives in the form of immigration policies, in the composition of social networks and neighborhoods, and, the availability of professional opportunities. The ethnic diversity of the local communities, and the reception from these

communities that immigrants perceive or experience within the host society could dramatically influence which cultural characteristics an individual chooses to preserve. This is because the existence of larger minority population usually facilitates the development of local social and cultural organizations that not only promote the transmission of the minority cultures, but also provide opportunities where members can interact with each other. These organizations provide coping mechanisms that immigrants use in the acculturative process and in the development of their cultural identities (Alegria, 2009). The increase in the retention of native characteristics could lead to a separatist acculturation strategy due to the increased availability of resources of the native culture; however, an integrationist strategy is also possible. The acceptance of the minority culture into the dominant host society could lead to a reciprocal acceptance of various American cultural and social traits. This acceptance could lead to the immigrants' absorption of these traits into his or her cultural identity.

Another contextual factor that may mediate the psychological aspects of the acculturation process is the frequency and duration of contact that individuals' may have with their country of origin. Although migration to a foreign nation has traditionally been associated with erosion of ties to the country and culture of origin (Gordon, 1964), other studies demonstrate that this erosion can be mitigated through frequent visits to the country of origin (Alegria, 2009; Matsudaira, 2006). These visits maintain or even increase ties with the natal culture, and they probably have an impact on the superficial, intermediate and significant levels of acculturation. Several researchers also found that demographic variables such as age, gender, education, income, and years of residence in

the United States were related to preferred acculturation strategies (Sodowsky & Plake, 1991; Rosenthal, Ranieri & Klimidis, 1996).

According to Foner (1997), acculturation on the part of the immigrants, involves a complex set of interactive adaptations that occur when individuals adapt norms based on cultural meanings and practices from their native culture and from the new society. This new host society plays a crucial role in the acculturative processes as it forces individuals to deal with questions of identity. Previous research has identified membership in a particular cultural group as a facet of self-identity. When an individual moves from one culture to another, many aspects of self-identity are modified to accommodate information and experiences from the new host culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). The particular facet of self-identity that has to do with acculturative experiences is called cultural identity. This construct will now be discussed.

Cultural Identity

What Is Cultural Identity?

The concept of ethnic identity defines the extent to which an individual identifies with a particular ethnic group. This line of research involves an examination of attitudes about an individual's own ethnicity (Phinney, 1990) The terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" as used here however, refer to broad groups of individuals based on both race and culture (Phinney, 1996; Johnson, Wall, Guanipa, Terry-Guyer & Velasquez, 2002). The concept of cultural identity, which is usually very similar to yet distinct from ethnic identity, defines an individual's self-concept as a multi-faceted construct including several components of his or her social and cultural heritage such as language preference,

religion, social class and caste and ethnic identity. Along with common salient racial features, members of an ethnic group share a cultural heritage that is both internally and externally expressed and experienced through value orientations and food and language preferences (Kwan, 2000).

Furthermore, since ethnic identity is one type of group identity, and in the case of immigrants it is usually the most salient type of group identity, it is safe to argue that among immigrant populations, individuals' cultural identity is very closely related to their ethnic identity. Among European Americans in the United States, ethnicity is typically of low salience and ethnic identity is not strong (Phinney, 1989). However, the high salience of ethnicity for minority group members and their stronger sense of ethnic identity have been demonstrated by several researchers (Aries & Moorehead, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Roberts et.al., 1999). For this reason, cultural identity and ethnic identity will be treated synonymously for the purpose of this study.

Differences Between Acculturation and Cultural Identity

Cultural identity is a construct which describes the degree to which a person relates to and views himself or herself as a member of a particular culture. Acculturation describes the process in which an individual adjusts to a culture different from his or her own culture. The two constructs may seem virtually indistinguishable. In reality however, cultural identity and acculturation, while related, are distinct in critical ways.

Both acculturation and cultural identity describe cultural processes that influence several key domains of individuals' lives, but the mechanisms by which these constructs are measured are drastically different (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, Wong, 2002). An

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individual's cultural identity is independent of any other cultures around it. That is, cultural identity is based on an individual's conscious decisions and preferences. Additionally, cultural identity applies to people of any culture, regardless of the presence or absence of other cultures in that society. Acculturation on the other hand is depend on the relations between all the cultures present in society, regardless of whether an individual is consciously aware of these relationships or not. Current acculturation theories also posit that two distinctly different cultures have to come into direct contact with each other and influence change in each other. This limits the application and measurement of acculturation processes to immigrant and refugee groups. Studies that simultaneously examine acculturation strategies and cultural identities are important because they highlight and delineate differences that occur within cultural groups and between them. An examination of the theoretical background and the components of cultural identity will help describe the construct and identify the similarities and differences in the descriptions and measurements of acculturation and cultural identity.

Cultural Identity - Theoretical Background

Most research on cultural identity is based on one of three perspectives: Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Erikson's theory of ego identity formation (Erikson, 1968), and an acculturation and cultural conflict framework. While there is a considerable amount of overlap in the frameworks of these three perspectives, there are also several crucial differences between them. In order to understand the relevance of cultural identity to the present study it becomes important to first take a look at the three perspectives individually. For a comprehensive meta-analysis of research on ethnic identity, see Phinney (1990).

The Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) posits that group identity is an important part of an individual's self-concept. People generally place a greater value on the group to which they belong, and they generally differentiate their own group from other groups by evaluating their own group more favorably. Thus, the mere sense of group membership is a source of belongingness; a determinant of positive self-concept to the individual members of the group. Evidence to support this perspective comes from several studies that examined the extent to which membership in an ethnic group with a low status in the dominant society affects an individual's positive self regard (Phinney, 1990).

The Social Identity theory also predicts the potential problems an individual would face due to regular participation in two different cultures with conflicting attitudes, values and behaviors. Tajfel (1978) asserted that members of low-status groups may seek to improve their status by "passing" as members of the dominant group. However this is not a viable solution for individuals who are members of racially distinct ethnic groups. Alternative solutions provided by social identity scholars suggest that an individual may also choose to develop pride in his or her group by a re-interpretation of the "inferior" characteristics, and by emphasizing the uniqueness of the cultural traits of his or her group. As summarized by Phinney (1990), "the issue in this case is whether individuals must choose between two conflicting identities or can establish a bicultural ethnic identity, and if so, whether that is adaptive" (p. 501).

Erikson's (1968) theory of ego identity formation posits that an individual's identity formation takes place through a process of exploration and commitment. This typically starts during adolescence and leads to the eventual development of

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commitments or decisions in important identity domains through an active process of decision-making and self-evaluation. Several studies by Marcia (1980) suggest four ego identity statuses based on whether an individual has explored his or her identity options and on whether the individual has made a decision about identity: *diffuse* – when an individual has neither explored nor made decisions about his or her identity options; *foreclosed* – when an individual makes a commitment without exploration, usually based on parental values; *moratorium* – when an individual is in the exploration process but has not reached a decision yet; and, *achieved identity* – when an individual goes through a period of exploration followed by a firm commitment.

Cultural models that are developed based on the foundation of Erikson's theory describe this three-step process as beginning with a person's lack of understanding of his or her own ethnicity. Cross (1978) and other researchers describe this stage as usually characterized by a distinct preference for the dominant culture. It is also possible however, that an individual, especially an adolescent, is not interested in the issue of ethnicity or he or she might have developed a preference for his or her culture due to positive cultural transmission from parents and elders. The second step is an identity formation process aimed to learn more about one's own ethnic heritage. It often involves an intense immersion in one's own culture, and at times may include the rejection of the dominant culture. "Ideally, that phase leads to an achieved ethnic identity characterized by a commitment to the person's ethnicity that is based on a clear understanding of the implications of achieved ethnic identity and a secure, confident sense of group membership" (Roberts et. al., 1999, p. 303). An individual whose cultural identity formation does not culminate in an achieved identity would then face two fundamental

issues: the discrepancies between his or her cultural group and the dominant culture, and, the status of his or her group in society (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). Several conceptual articles have also suggested that an achieved ethnic identity may not necessarily be the result of the cultural identity formation process. These theories instead identify a cyclical process of immigrants' constant re-negotiation of their own identities in the dominant culture (Parham, 1989; Phinney, 1990).

Finally, an examination of the framework of acculturation and cultural conflict to study cultural identity formation reveals the necessity of this framework in any cultural identity research. Acculturation is the study of changes produced in groups and individuals who come into contact with different cultures. The level of analysis, as discussed earlier, can either be on the group level or on the individual behavioral level, and addresses the relationship between a dominant culture and a minority culture. An individual's cultural identity is the degree to which he or she relates to his or her own culture in relation to the dominant culture. The level of analysis in cultural identity formation is usually on the individual level. Thus, cultural identity is one domain in the whole process of psychological acculturation that immigrants go through.

Unidimensional and multi-dimensional acculturation models both further demonstrate this similarity. Unidimensional acculturation models conceptualize cultural identity as identifying with only one ethnicity. Having strong cultural ties to one culture on such a continuum necessitates a weakening of cultural ties in the other culture. Thus, the model of cultural identity does not allow for an individual to have strong ties to both cultures or to have weak ties to both cultures. Multi-dimensional acculturation models conceptualize cultural identity as being independently influenced by an individual's

cultural ties to his or her culture and the dominant culture. Thus an individual has one of four possible cultural identity options: strong cultural ties with both ethnic and dominant cultures; strong cultural ties with the ethnic culture but weak cultural ties with the dominant culture; weak cultural ties with the ethnic culture but strong cultural ties with the dominant culture; and, weak cultural ties to both cultures. Since the underlying issues in both multi-dimensional acculturation models and cultural identity formation are changes that occur due to cultural conflicts between two different groups, and the psychological consequences of these conflicts on individual members of these groups, this framework connects the process of cultural identity formation directly to Berry's acculturation strategies which have been proposed for use in this study. More research on the influence of acculturation strategies on immigrants' cultural identity formation is discussed later.

Now that the issues of definition and theoretical foundations of the construct of cultural identity have been discussed, an examination of the various components of cultural identity becomes necessary to understand the influence of an individual's cultural identity on various aspects of his or her life.

Components of Cultural Identity

Cultural identity is a construct that consists of several dimensions which are in turn influenced by internal and external factors unique to the individual's environment. An examination of the various components that make up the construct reveals two distinct, parallel conceptualizations of cultural identity – cultural identity as a state, and, cultural identity as a series of stages. Depending on the conceptualization, the components of cultural identity differ – sometimes widely.

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The study of cultural identity as a state involves the study of an individual's identity at a particular moment in time. Components that comprise this line of research are self-identification as a group member, a sense of belonging to the group, and pride in one's group and ethnic involvement. The study of cultural identity as stages in a person's life on the other hand involves the "study of changes over time in a person's identification" (Phinney, 1990, p. 503). While the formation of one's cultural identity and its maintenance over the course of an individual's lifetime is a continuous process involving several stages. This study is designed to examine the salience of a person's cultural identification when they have to make crucial culturally embedded decisions such as choosing a spouse. For this reason, cultural identity will be treated as a state for the purpose of this study, and only the components of cultural identity as a state will be discussed here. For a thorough theoretical and meta-analytic review of both conceptualizations of cultural identity, see Phinney (1990).

An individual's self identification with a group is probably one of the most salient and the most complex component of cultural identity as a state. The ethnic label that an individual uses to describe him or herself influences an individual's self-concept (Cross, 1978) and subsequently influences attitudes, values and behaviors. While cultural identity research on the issues of self-identification among children addresses the parent and ethnic communities' influences on self-identification, the concerns for adult immigrant populations are based less on extrinsic influences and more on intrinsic preferences for cultural experiences. In other words, adult immigrants have to reconcile previously fully formed identities with any changes in their preferences that are caused by the immigration. In order to be able to self-identify with a group adult immigrants have to

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resolve any issues that the new society has with their ethnic/racial backgrounds, and then address other cultural and societal factors that may influence his or her commitment to a cultural label. In the United States, minority populations that are racially distinct often undergo this experience in order to adjust to the majority population. Research shows that people of Anglo-European ancestry only have to grapple with socio-cultural issues such as personal space and etiquette since their racial/ethnic background coincides with the majority Caucasian culture. In fact, many Caucasians are unable to identify their racial ancestry because it rarely comes into question in the course of their lifetimes (Singh, 1997). In the case of minority populations, and more specifically in the case of Indian immigrants for the purpose of this study, whether individuals identify themselves as *desi* (the Hindi word for an Indian person), Indian, Indian-American, Asian Indian, East Indian, Asian American or American is going to influence their attitudes and values about their own cultural identity. This is because within a culture, each label comes with its own connotations and distinct set of cultural expectations (Phinney, 1990). This makes the identification of an individual's assessment of their identification with a cultural label a crucial part of this study.

The second component of cultural identity as a state is the sense of belonging that an individual feels towards the group that he or she self-identifies with. This is an important yet often overlooked aspect of cultural identity. The sense of belonging that an individual feels toward his or her own cultural group is indicative of the individual's concern for his or her culture and its needs and concerns (Lax & Richards, 1981). The third component of cultural identity as a state is the set of positive and negative attitudes that an individual has towards his or her own cultural group. The absence of positive

appraisals and the presence of negative appraisals could be indicative of a person's denial

of his or her own cultural background. Closely related to pride in one's group is

involvement in the activities of one's group. This domain encompasses attitudes and

behaviors regarding individuals' language acquisition and usage, in friendships and social

networks, and in socio-cultural organizations, traditions and practices. In addition to these

dimensions of cultural identity, there are several internal and external factors that

influence individuals' cultural identity formation and maintenance.

Factors that influence Cultural Identity

For immigrant communities, cultural identity can simultaneously be influenced by

and in return influence language preferences, friendships, social organizations, religion,

cultural traditions and cultural politics. These factors can be used as measures to assess

the exploration processes, cultural behaviors, evaluations and in-group attitudes, values

and beliefs and salience of individuals' cultural identities. Individuals engaged in the

process of cultural identity formation often go through several exploratory processes

aimed at finding information and experiences relevant to their own culture. While this is

generally a natural process that occurs during adolescence, it can be an ongoing process –

especially for immigrants – that may continue over time, possibly throughout their lives

(Phinney, 2006). Exploration is essential to the process of cultural identity formation

because it ensures eventual commitment in cultural behaviors – such as speaking the

language, eating the food and associating with other members; attitudes – to combat

discrimination and negative assessments; and, values and beliefs – which are indicative

of the closeness one feels to his or her own group. Now that the theoretical background of

this construct has been thoroughly discussed, research relevant to the purpose of this study and the relevant hypotheses will be detailed.

Literature Review of Cultural Identity

One main line of inquiry in cultural identity research has been the influence of culture on an individual's self-concept. The majority of this research has focused on children however, and the very little research conducted in adult populations reveals conflicting findings. Some studies reported a positive relationship between a person's self-identification and a positive self-concept. Adolescents from several cultural and ethnic backgrounds were found to have better psychological adjustments the closer they were to achieving their ego-identity (Marcia, 1980). Similar results were found among college populations, and interestingly students from culturally distinct minority groups achieved greater sense of self-esteem through self-identification than did their Caucasian peers (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005).

Another central question in research on cultural identity among immigrant populations has been whether cultural identity is by necessity dependent on the degree of a person's acculturation, or if cultural identity may be influenced by but is not dependent on the person's acculturation level. The majority of the research suggests that the two constructs – cultural identity and acculturation – are unrelated. Research done on Indian adolescents (Hutnik, 1986), on White ethnic groups in Canada (Driedger, 1976), and on Chinese Americans (Ting & Toomey, 1981) provides evidence for the independence of the two constructs. Cluster analyses with thirteen identity and acculturation variables – such as cultural and national identities, language proficiencies, peer groups and acculturation attitudes and strategies – found that integrationist acculturation strategies

were associated with strong cultural and national identities and more positive

sociocultural adaptations (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006). Based on

this research, the following hypotheses are proposed for testing:

H5: Individuals who employ integration or separation

acculturation strategies will be more likely to have a greater

immersion and involvement in their native Hindu culture.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion

in the Indian Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are

more likely to score high on the cultural identity measure,

reflecting a greater involvement in the Hindu culture

H6: Individuals who employ assimilation or

marginalization strategies will be more likely to have a

greater immersion and involvement in the American culture.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion

in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more

likely to score low on the cultural identity measure, reflecting a

greater involvement in the American culture.

There is some evidence that cultural identity varies according to the situational

context (O'Guinn & Faber, 1985). Research has suggested that individuals have the

capability of switching between their native and their host cultural identities depending

on the context of the situation and the immigrants' perceived salience of the cultural

context of the situation (Matsudaira, 2006; Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales, &

Hayes Bautista, 2005). Indian immigrants and second-generation Indian Americans have been known to minimize or maximize their cultural characteristics and behaviors depending on whether the situation involved the host culture, their native culture, or a mixture of both (Mehta & Belk, 1991). A social institution like marriage would be infused with individuals' attitudes based both on their native culture and the values prevalent in the host culture in their immediate environment. This study proposed that marriage might be a viable context to measure acculturation on the superficial, intermediate, and significant level. This is because a marriage involves learning the socio-cultural rules and preferences –what goes into the making of a marriage--on the superficial level, and the characteristics of a mate and the method of mate selection on an intermediate level. The significant level of measurement includes the beliefs, norms and values that influence individuals' decisions in the first two levels. McGuire and McGuire (1978) and several other researchers also found that the salience of cultural identity in any given social situation is likely to increase or decrease depending on the extent to which an individual's culture is similar to or different from others in a given environment or situation. Hindu immigrants who have to make decisions regarding their marriage find themselves in such situations where their arranged marriage culture is in stark contrast to the American love marriage culture. For instance, gender acts as a mediating factor in Hindu immigrants' identity formation due to the significant double standard of the Indian sexual and gender roles. Women are expected to be the carriers of the Hindu culture; they are responsible for the transmission of culture into future generation, and marriage is the instrument that is used to regulate this gender role. This is considered the main reason for the drastic double standards that are prevalent among Hindu communities in America.

Indian women operate under constant pressure to maintain the physical ideals of the fair-skinned, long-haired, slender beauty. In addition they are expected to extol chastity, kindness, submissiveness and other such virtues and be free of any vices. The very little research done to date on this issue reveals that Indian girls are more inclined than boys to mix with their own cultural group (Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1987). Indian men on the other hand strive to develop cultural identities that directly contradict the stereotypical Indian "nerd" by developing tough, masculine, hypersexual traits that are stereotypically associated with African-American men (Maira, 1995; 1996). Thus the heterosexual double standard for Indian-American women allows for a seductive, party-going, sexually adventurous girlfriend, but simultaneously expects a virginal, chaste, modest wife who will uphold the sanctity of marriage and family tradition (Dasgupta & Dasgupta, 1996).

Evidence of situational salience of cultural identity has also been found in studies of intergenerational differences in cultural identity which have found a decline in cultural group identification in later generations that descended from immigrant groups (Constantinou & Harvey, 1985). Children of Indian immigrants who are struggling with issues of cultural identity are often found to hide their American "personas" and American "dating relationships" from their parents. This leads to conflict and increasing frustrations between family members. However, other studies have found that immigrants' desire to preserve a cultural identity authentic to their native cultures lingers into the second generation, for whom cultural identity becomes a marker of moral superiority (Maira, 1996). For these individuals, the degree of the Indian-American cultural identity runs parallel to the caste system prevalent in India. The creation of the

Indian-American sub-culture helps Indian-Americans resolve cognitively dissonant issues that may develop due to socio-economic class and caste differences that they may have experienced in India. Migration to the United States allows individuals to create a new identity based on the American social class system. In this way immigrants circumvent any caste issues that may arise regardless of their ancestral caste lineage in India. Instead, Indian-Americans' determine their cultural and social worth by how well they can fit into the Indian-American subculture in America. In spite of the great amount of research already completed, there is no research that has directly examined cultural identities of Hindu immigrants, particularly in relation to its impact on crucial life decisions. Thus, based on this body of research the following hypotheses will be tested:

H7: Hindus who have a greater immersion in their native Indian Hindu culture will be more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

Specifically, participants who score high on the cultural identity measure are more likely to score high on the marriage measure, reflecting a more positive attitude toward arranged marriage.

H8: Hindus who have a greater immersion in the American culture will be more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the cultural identity measure are more likely to score low on the

marriage measure, reflecting a more positive attitude toward

love marriage.

Hypotheses Five and Six will not only test for a relation between cultural identity and marriage decision, but they will also provide a direct test for the link between acculturation strategies and the cultural identity formation that occurs in immigrants. In addition, the last two hypotheses will also serve to test the salience of cultural identity in the decision-making processes of mate selection. Now that all the relevant constructs and background research have been thoroughly described, the purpose of the current study will be discussed in detail.

Restatement of Purpose of Study

This study proposes to examine how Indians decide between an arranged marriage and love marriage as they navigate through the immigration and acculturation processes they encounter in the United States, and the subsequent cultural identity that is formed as a result of these encounters. In addition, this study proposes to examine the effects of various mediating and moderating variables such as gender, caste, and residency status on this entire process. This study argues that making a choice about a mate is not just a personal individual choice rather, it is the culmination of the influence of a plethora of larger contextual factors that play major roles in shaping individuals attitudes, values, behaviors and ultimately decisions. Therefore, in this study, I hope to identify the different strategies that adult Indian immigrants use to acculturate into the American culture, and to compare these strategies to those of Indian immigrants who have already gained permanent residency, and to Indian-Americans who are born in the United States with limited exposure to the Indian culture. This will not only clarify the

acculturative processes of Indian immigrants, it will also provide data on acculturation among second-generation American born Indians – a population that has thus far not been studied in acculturation research. I also hope to specifically focus on how the acculturation strategies employed by these individuals will affect their cultural identity formation. Finally, I hope to examine how this entire process of transformation affects immigrants' decision on choosing a mate, particularly in deciding between a traditional Indian arranged marriage and a more Western love marriage.

Restatement of Hypotheses and Research Questions

Before the method, measures, and procedure of data collection are detailed all the hypotheses and research questions proposed will be summarized in the following section.

H1: Hindus who are integrated are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

Specifically, participants who score high on both the Immersion in the Indian Culture and the Immersion in the US Culture subscales of the acculturation measure are more likely to have positive attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

H2: Hindus who are separated are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but score low on the

Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have positive attitudes toward arranged marriages and are more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

H3: Hindus who are assimilated are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but score high on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have negative attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

H4: Hindus who are marginalized are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale and low on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to have negative attitudes toward arranged marriage and are more likely to opt for a love marriage.

H5: Individuals who employ integration or separation acculturation strategies will be more likely to have a greater immersion and involvement in their native Hindu culture.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to score high on the cultural identity measure, reflecting a greater involvement in the Hindu culture

H6: Individuals who employ assimilation or marginalization strategies will be more likely to have a greater immersion and involvement in the American culture.

Specifically, participants who score high on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the acculturation measure are more likely to score low on the cultural identity measure, reflecting a greater involvement in the American culture.

H7: Hindus who have a greater immersion in their native Indian Hindu culture will be more likely to opt for an arranged marriage.

Specifically, participants who score high on the cultural identity measure are more likely to score high on the marriage measure, reflecting a more positive attitude toward arranged marriage.

H8: Hindus who have a greater immersion in the American culture will be more likely to opt for a love marriage.

Specifically, participants who score low on the cultural identity measure are more likely to score low on the marriage measure, reflecting a more positive attitude toward love marriage.

RQ1: How do North Indians differ from South Indians in their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in American society?

Specifically, are there any differences between North and South Indians in their acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage?

RQ2: How does Hindu immigrants' gender affect their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage?

Specifically, are there any gender differences among Hindu immigrants in their choice of acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage?

RQ3: How does Hindu immigrants' caste affect their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in American society?

Specifically, does the caste of Hindu immigrants have any effect on their choice of acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage?

Method

Procedure

Participants were recruited through e-mail advertisements in various Asian Indian community centers, and also through email advertisements in student-run Asian Indian organizations on college campuses in the United States of America. Since this study specifically proposes to examine individuals' decisions of love marriage versus arranged marriage, this study only included individuals who are over the age of 18 at the time of data collection.

Data for the present study were collected using a web-based template design for the informed consent, all relevant scales, and the debriefing form. All individuals who wished to participate in this study were presented with an informed consent form which they were asked to read. The informed consent form educated individuals about the purpose of the study and their rights as a participant (Appendix A). If individuals chose to continue with the study, they were asked to agree to the informed consent form by

clicking on the "Agree" button, after which, they were taken through several pages containing questions for the various constructs being measured.

Since this study proposed to examine acculturation on three levels and to examine the salience of cultural identity, after presenting participants with questions regarding demographic variables, this study first gathered data on individuals' acculturation strategies using an acculturation strategy measure, followed by the cultural identity measure. Finally, participants were asked about their preferences for a love or arranged marriage.

Finally, participants were led to a debriefing page, where the purpose of the study was detailed and the contact information of the primary investigator was provided in case any participants were interested in getting more details of the study or if they wish to obtain the results of this study.

Measures

When available, previously validated and reliable scales were used. In addition to demographic information, three constructs were measured: acculturation level of participants, the cultural identification of participants, and, attitudes towards arranged marriages and love marriages, In addition, participants were asked two questions that directly assessed their inclination towards arranged or love marriages.

Participants – Demographic Information

Participants were asked to report their personal demographic information including gender, age, religious affiliation, caste, education level, nationality and residency status (Appendix B).

A total of 327 participants completed the web-template specifically designed for this study, of which 285 (87.2%) identified themselves as Hindu. Of the 285 Hindu participants, 31 (10.9%) were born in the United States and seven (2.5%) were born in other parts of the world. Due to small sample sizes, data from all participants born outside of India and non-Hindu participants were excluded and all analyses were conducted only on the India-born, Hindu participants.

The final data set comprised of 247 India-born, Hindu individuals, including 136 (55.1%) males, and 107 (43.3%) females. Most of the participants ($n = 240$, 98.2%) had at least a Bachelor's degree. Over 100 participants (42.5%) of the participants indicated that they migrated to the United States for employment purposes, while 93 (37.7%) participants indicated that they migrated to the United States for education. Over one-third of the participants ($n = 91$, 36.8%) lived in the United States for between one and five years; 65 (26.3%) participants lived in the United States for between six and 10 years. In terms of legal residency status, 152 (61.5%) participants had legal visas, 41 (16.6%) were permanent residents and 54 (21.9%) were naturalized citizens. About two-thirds of the participants ($n = 152$, 61.5%) were married and 85 (34.4%) participants indicated that they were single. Information about the participants' regional affiliations, gender, and caste will be discussed in the appropriate results sections below.

The Acculturation Scale for Vietnamese Adolescents - revised (ASVA-revised) (modified). Participants also completed a modified version of the revised ASVA (Nyugen & von Eye, 2002) – a 50-item measure originally designed to measure the degree of an individual's immersion in both the Vietnamese and the American cultures (Appendix C). The ASVA consists of 50 statements and questions in two subscales –

Involvement in the Vietnamese Culture (IVN) and Involvement in the American Culture (IUS). Both subscales use statements and questions to measure an individual's behaviors and attitudes along four life domains: Group Interactions, Everyday Lifestyles, Family Orientation, and Global Involvement. Examples of some of the statements on the IVN subscale include "Most of my closest friends are Vietnamese", "My room is decorated in Vietnamese style", "Children should follow their parents' wishes about marriage (when and whom to marry)", and "As far as behaviors and values, I am "Vietnamese". Examples of some of the statements on the IUS subscale include "Most of my closest friends are American", "I want to speak English at home", " When a boy or girl reaches the age of 16, it is all right for him/her to date", and "I would like to adopt or take up the American way of life". For each statement, participants respond using a 5-point Likert scale, the extent to which they agree with the statement (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). Examples of some of the questions on both the subscales include "How frequently do you eat American food?", and, "How often do you participate in Vietnamese groups?" For questions regarding behaviors, participants use a 5-point Likert scale to assess how often they engage in the behavior in question (1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = always). The individual item scores are summed up to yield two scores on two dimensions; individuals can have high or low scores in both the Involvement in the Vietnamese Culture and Involvement in the American Culture subscales.

While the ASVA was developed for use with Vietnamese adolescents, a modified version where the cultural group in every statement or question is changed from "Vietnamese" to "Indian" would be very appropriate for the current study. There are

several reasons this scale was ideal for use with modification. First, it is one of the well-developed, new, and more importantly, comprehensive measures of acculturation in individuals. In addition, it assesses individuals' behaviors, attitudes, and values instilled by family – all of which are influential factors in the issue of marriage. Finally, the scale was adapted from several existing measures including Berry's acculturation attitudes scale and Berry's acculturative experience/cultural maintenance scale (Nguyen & von Eye, 2002). Both the IVN and IUS subscales possess good reliabilities (*Cronbach's α* = .89 (IVN) and *Cronbach's α* = .88 (IUS)). The ASVA also has strong predictive validity for the associations between differential involvements in cultural situations and various indices of social adjustment (Nguyen & von Eye, 2002; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

For the purpose of this study, all items that contain questions pertaining to the Vietnamese culture were converted to pertain to the Indian culture, thus creating an Involvement in the Indian Culture (IIC) subscale. No changes were made to the original IUS subscale from the ASVA. Each participant received one low or high score for each subscale, creating combinations of native and host culture involvement levels that directly parallel Berry's acculturation strategies. Internal consistencies for the IIC (*Cronbach's α* = .93) and IUS (*Cronbach's α* = .92) subscales in the Indian sample were high (Table 1). Furthermore, the IIC and IUS subscales were significantly negatively correlated to each other ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$,) indicating that participants who scored high on one subscale were more likely to score lower on the other. The IIC also had a mild negative association with the number of years a participant resided in the United States ($r = -.236$, $p < .001$,), indicating that as the number of years that a participant lived in the United States increased, their immersion in the Indian culture decreased.

Individuals who received high scores in both the IIC and IUS were considered to employ an integration acculturation strategy. Individuals who had a high score in the IIC but a low score on the IUS were considered to employ separation. Individuals who had a low score in IIC but a high score on the IUS were considered to employ assimilation, and individuals who have low scores on both the IIC and the IUS were considered to employ marginalization as an acculturation strategy. Table Two shows the frequencies of participants according to their acculturation strategies. As seen in the table, just over half of the participants ($n = 112$) employed an integration strategy and only three participants employed marginalization. Further analyses of this measure will be discussed in the results section.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (modified). Participants also completed The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure developed by Phinney (1992). The MEIM consists of 12 items, and focuses on two factors: exploration– the extent to which an individual has achieved security and confidence in his or her ethnic identity (including activities associated with an individual's group membership); and, affirmation, belonging and commitment – the extent to which an individual feels a sense of group membership and attitudes towards his or her ethnic group (Appendix D). Examples of some of the items on the MEIM include "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to", "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group" and, "I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership". Participants indicate how much they agree with the statements using the following 4-point Likert type response scale: 4 = strongly agree; 3 = agree; 2 = disagree; 1 = strongly disagree. The items were summed to create a single cultural identity score. High scores on this measure

reflect greater identification with the native culture and low scores reflect a greater

identification with the American culture. Internal consistency estimates for this scale

have shown high reliability with alphas above .80 across a wide range of ethnic groups

and ages, and the scale has been designed to be adapted to the ethnic population in study.

Tests of the MEIM on Indian populations revealed a high reliability score ($\alpha = .89$),. The

internal consistency statistic for the MEIM in the current sample was high (*Cronbach's α*

$= .92$).

The MEIM normally includes a six-item scale to assess individuals' orientations

towards other ethnic groups. However since this study only focused on the impact of

cultural identity formation on marriage decisions, individuals' orientation towards other

ethnic groups is not a relevant part of this study. Thus, this six-item scale will not be

included in the MEIM for the current study.

Attitudes toward Arranged and Love Marriages. Participants then responded

to a 25-item measure assessing their attitudes towards Arranged marriage and towards

Love marriage (Appendix E). This measure was created specifically for the purpose of

this study, as the first of three different outcome measures. The 25-item measure

consisted of 12 statements reflecting attitudes toward arranged marriage and 13-

statements reflecting attitudes towards love marriage.

Exploratory factor analyses yielded a 2-factor structure – Arranged Marriage and

Love Marriage – with 6-items loading into each factor (Table 3). The two subscales were

found to be significantly negatively correlated to each other ($r = -.510$, $p < .001$). Internal

consistency analyses on the 12-item measure revealed a moderately high reliability

(*Cronbach's alpha* = 0.85). The 6-items in the Arranged Marriage subscale were summed for a total Arranged score, and the 6-items in the Love Marriage subscale were summed for a total Love score. Thus, each participant received two scores for this overall measure. High scores on the subscales indicated more positive attitudes, and low scores on the subscales indicated less positive attitudes.

For ease of analyses, participants were divided into two groups based on their scores on both the subscales. Participants who scored higher than the midpoint of the scale – (3.0) – were classified as high scorers and participants who scored lower than the midpoint of the scale were classified as low scorers (Table 4). As seen in Table 4, 81 participants scored high on the love marriage subscale, but low on the arranged marriage subscale, and 55 participants scored high on the arranged marriage subscale but low on the love marriage subscale.

Levine Question. In addition to the previous multi-item measures, participants were asked two questions that directly assessed their preference for an arranged marriage or a love marriage (Appendix F). The first question, a single-item outcome measure was "If a man or woman had all the other qualities you desired, would you marry this person if you were not in love with him or her?" This question was a direct replication of a study done by Robert Levine and colleagues (1995). Participants responded to the question with a "Yes" or "No" answer. For the purposes of coding, "No" was coded as "0" and "Yes" was coded as "1". A total of 241 participants responded to the Levine Question, of which, 107 (44.5%) participants indicated "No", meaning that they would not marry someone for reasons other than love, and 134 (55.6%) participants indicated "Yes", meaning that they would marry someone for reasons other than love.

Final Decision. The second question, also a single-item outcome measure was: "What is your preferred style of marriage: arranged or love?" (Appendix F) Participants responding by choosing either Arranged marriage or Love marriage. For the purposes of coding, preference for Love marriage was coded as "0" and preference for Love marriage was coded as "1". This forced-choice answer created a definitive single-item dichotomous measure to assess the style of marriage preferred by Hindu immigrants. A total of 241 participants responded to the Final Decision question, of which, 139 (57.7%) participants indicated that they would prefer a Love marriage and 102 (42.3%) participants indicated that they would prefer an Arranged marriage.

The Final Decision measure was found to have a significant association with participants' marital status, χ^2 (1, $N = 241$) = 6.54, $p = .01$. These results indicated that participants who were single at the time of data collection were more likely to opt for love marriage than participants who were married. The results of the various hypotheses tests of both these single item measures will be discussed in the following section.

<center>**Results**</center>

Data Presentation order

In order to establish the degree of concurrent validity between the three outcome measures, first the inter-correlations between the three related dependent measures – Attitudes toward Arranged and Love Marriage measure, the Levine Question and the Final Decision will be reported. Then, results relating to specific hypotheses will be reported. Hypotheses 1-3 all deal with the impact of acculturation styles on the type of marriage chosen. Hence, the results of these three hypotheses will be reported together.

Similarly, the results of Hypotheses 4 and 5 will be reported together as they deal with the impact of acculturation strategies on cultural identity, and Hypotheses 6 and 7 will be reported together as they deal with the impact of cultural identity on the type of marriage chosen. Following that, results relating to the specific research questions will be reported. Finally, all additional analyses that revealed significantly interesting findings that were not previously hypothesized will be reported.

Inter-Correlations

Since there were three different measures which were outcome variables, and all three measures seemed to be highly related at face value, inter-correlational analyses were conducted in order to determine the concurrent validity of the three measures, and also to aid with the interpretation of the results of the hypothesis tests. A significant positive association between the Arranged marriage subscale and the Final Decision indicated that people with positive attitudes about arranged marriages preferred an arranged marriage ($r = .62$, $p < .001$). A significant negative association between the Love marriage subscale and the Final Decision indicated that people with more positive attitudes about love marriages preferred a love marriage ($r = -.54$, $p < .001$). A moderately significant positive association between the Arranged marriage subscale and the Levine Question indicated that people with more positive attitudes towards arranged marriages were more likely to say they would marry someone for reasons other than love ($r = .28$, $p < .001$). A moderately significant negative association between the Love marriage subscale and the Levine Question indicated that people with more positive attitudes towards love marriages were less likely to say they would marry someone for reasons other than love ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$). These results are summarized in Table 5. Data thus

showed strong concurrent validity between the two subscales of the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriage measure and the two single item measures. Data also revealed a significant association between Levine Question and Final Decision, χ^2 (1, $N =$ 239) = 12.92, $p < .001$. This indicated that participants who marry for reasons other than love were more likely to have a preference for arranged marriage, and participants who said they would not marry for reasons other than love were more likely to have a preference for love marriage. Thus, there was some moderate concurrent validity between the two single-item outcome measures.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses indicated that participants' marital status was significantly associated with the Arranged marriage subscale ($F(1, 212) = 9.26$, $p = .003$) and the Love marriage subscale ($F(1,209) = 11.71$, $p = .001$). Post-hoc Tukey's test comparisons indicated that participants who indicated that they were single scored significantly lower ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.14$) on the Arranged marriage subscale than did married participants ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.14$); participants who indicated that they were single also scored significantly higher ($M = 3.95$, $SD = .79$) on the Love marriage subscale than did married participants ($M = 3.53$, $SD = .91$).

Before specific tests were run to test the proposed hypotheses, all the predictor variables from the proposed hypotheses and research questions (the IIC subscale, the IUS subscale, the MEIM, Region, Caste and Gender) were entered into a correlational analysis to test the associations between the different variables. Since Region, Gender and Caste were all ordinal variables, Spearman's Rho statistics were calculated in order to test the associations between the different variables (Table 6). Analyses revealed a

significant negative association between the IUS subscale of the ASVA and caste (*Rho* = -.16, *p* = .02), and a significant positive association between the MEIM and Region (*Rho* = .17, *p* = .01). Then, two linear regression analyses were conducted using the aforementioned variables to predict scores on the Arranged Marriage subscale and the Love Marriage subscale. Two logistic regression analyses were also conducted using the aforementioned variables to predict responses on Final Decision and Levine Question. Analyses revealed one significant association between Caste and Levine Question (*Odds ratio* = .77). Inclusion of Region, Gender and Caste in the analyses excluded over 50 participants, decreasing the effect sizes and power of all the statistical analyses. Analyses conducted after adjusting for the number of tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed no significant associations between the outcome measures and the three demographic variables of interest. For this reason, Region, Gender and Caste were excluded from all subsequent analyses conducted to specifically test the hypotheses. The results of the statistical tests pertaining to these three variables will be discussed after the results of the proposed hypotheses.

Hypotheses Tests –Acculturation and Preference of style of Marriage

Hypotheses 1 – 4 all examined the outcome of the style of marriage preferred as predicted by individuals' acculturation strategies. To test these hypotheses, participants' total scores on the IIC and IUS subscales of the ASVA, the Arranged and Marriage subscales of the Attitudes scale, the Final Decision measure and the Levine Question measure were first standardized for ease of interpretation of the results. Then, two linear regression analyses were conducted using the IIC total score and IUS total score as predictors. One analysis examined attitudes toward Arranged marriage as an outcome,

and the second analysis examined attitudes toward Love marriage as an outcome. The Final Decision measure and the Levine Question measure were used as two outcome variables in two logistic regression models using IIC and IUS scores as predictors. Tables 11 - 14 present the standardized-β values along with the relevant t-values and significance levels for these four analyses. Figures 4-7 provide the regression slopes and plots for these analyses.

Overall results indicated that a higher score on the IIC subscale was a significant predictor of a higher score on the Arranged Marriage subscale ($\beta = .60$), and a higher score on the IUS subscale was a significant predictor of a lower score on the Arranged Marriage subscale ($\beta = -.15$). Furthermore, a higher score on the IUS subscale was a significant predictor of a higher score on the Love subscale ($\beta = .47$). An examination of Table 13 revealed that participants who obtained higher scores on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale of the ASVA were 2.13 times more likely to have a preference for arranged marriage as a final decision, but participants who obtained higher scores on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the ASVA were only 0.5 times as likely to have a preference for arranged marriage as a final decision. In other words, they were half as likely to pick a preference for arranged marriage as compared to those participants who obtained lower scores on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale. A similar examination of Table 14 revealed that participants who obtained higher scores on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale were 1.46 times more likely to say that they would be willing to marry a person for reasons other than love.

Hypothesis 1: Results – Hypothesis 1 stated that participants who scored higher on both the Immersion in the Indian Culture and the Immersion in the US Culture subscales of the ASVA were

a.) More likely to score higher on the Arranged Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who score lower on one of the Immersion subscales, and

b.) More likely to score higher on the Love Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who score lower on one of the Immersion subscales and

c.) More likely to opt for an arranged marriage in the Final Decision measure compared to those participants who score lower on one of the Immersion subscales, and,

d.) More likely than those participants who score lower on one of the Immersion subscales to say "Yes" in the Levine Question measure.

A total of 112 (66.0%) participants scored high on both the IIC and IUS subscales of the ASVA, as compared to other participants who secured either lower scores on the IIC subscale or on the IUS subscale or participants who scored low on both subscales. .These 112 participants were considered to be integrated. An examination of Table 11 and Figure 4 showed that these participants did secure higher scores on the Arranged Marriage subscale compared to other participants who scored lower on the IIC or IUS subscales. Table 12 and Figure 5 revealed that integrated participants also had higher scores on the Love Marriage subscale compared to non-integrated participants. These results supported Hypotheses 1a and 1b. Data failed to support Hypothesis 1c however.

As seen in Table 13 and Figure 6, when asked to make a final decision between Arranged marriage and Love marriage, integrated participants preferred love marriage over arranged marriage. Integrated individuals also scored higher on the Love subscale and were more likely to say they would marry someone they were not in love with but otherwise were compatible with (Table 14, Figure 7). Thus data supported Hypothesis 1d.

Hypothesis 2: Results – Hypothesis 2 stated that compared to other participants, those who scored higher on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but scored lower on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the ASVA were

a.) More likely to score higher on the Arranged Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure and

b.) More likely to score lower on the Love Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure and

c.) More likely to opt for an arranged marriage in the Final Decision measure, and,

d.) More likely to say "Yes" in the Levine Question measure.

An examination of Table 2 indicated that 69 (38.1%) participants obtained high scores on the IIC subscale but really low scores on the IUS subscale as compared to the other participants. These 69 participants were considered separated. Results seen in Table 11 and Figure 4 indicated that separated participants IUS had higher scores on the Arranged Marriage subscale as compared to participants who employed any of the other acculturation strategies. Table 12 and Figure 5 further revealed that separated individuals also scored lower on the Love marriage subscale as compared to the other participants. Furthermore, when asked to make a final decision between Arranged marriage and Love

marriage, separated participants preferred arranged marriage over love marriage (Table 13, Figure 6). In addition, as seen in Table 14 and Figure 7, separated individuals scored lower on the Love subscale and were more likely to say they would marry someone they were not in love with but otherwise were compatible with. Thus, data supported all parts of Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: Results – Hypothesis 3 stated that participants who scored low on the Immersion in the Indian Culture subscale but scored high on the Immersion in the US Culture subscale of the ASVA were

a.) More likely to score lower on the Arranged Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those who scored higher on IIC subscale, and

b.) More likely to score higher on the Love Marriage subscale in the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those who scored higher on the IIC subscale, and

c.) More likely to opt for a love marriage in the Final Decision measure compared to those who scored higher on the IIC subscale, and,

d.) More likely to say "No" in the Levine Question measure compard to those who scored higher on the IIC subscale.

Participants with low immersion in the Indian culture, but a high immersion in the American culture were considered to be assimilated. Table 2 reveals that 28 participants were categorized as assimilated. Results reveal that participants wIUSho assimilated into the American had lower scores on the Arranged Marriage subscale compared to participants who did not assimilate into the American culture (Table 11, Figure 4). As

seen in Table 12 and Figure 5, assimilated participants had the highest scores on the Love Marriage subscale compared to participants who were not assimilated. Furthermore, when asked to make a final decision between Arranged marriage and Love marriage, assimilated participants preferred love marriage over arranged marriage (Table 13, Figure 6) and were more likely to say that they would NOT marry someone that they were not in love with but were otherwise compatible with (Table 14, Figure 7).

Only three individuals identified as marginalized, hence testing of Hypothesis 4 was not conducted at this time.

Hypotheses Tests – Acculturation and Cultural Identity

Hypotheses 5-6 examined the outcome of individuals' preferred cultural identity as predicted by their acculturation strategies. To test these hypotheses, participants' total scores on the MEIM were first standardized for ease of interpretation of the results. Then, a linear regression analysis was conducted using the IIC total score and IUS total score as predictors, examining MEIM as an outcome measure. Table 15 summarizes the relevant statistics for the regression analysis. Figure 8 shows the linear regression plots of the z-scores of the IIC and IUS subscales on the z-scores of the MEIM.

Overall results from Table 15 and Figure 8 indicated that a higher score on the IUS subscale was a significant predictor of a higher score on the MEIM ($\beta = .16$). In other words, participants' who indicated that they had a greater immersion in the American culture were more likely to have a greater Indian cultural identity with more traditional Indian norms and values. A higher score on the IIC subscale was however found to be a moderate predictor of a lower score on the MEIM ($\beta = -.13$). These results indicatd that

those participants who indicated a greater amount of immersion in the Indian culture reported having less traditional Indian cultural identities with less traditional Indian norms and values. The combination of the IIC and IUS subscales was also a significant predictor of a higher score on the MEIM ($\beta = .38$). This result will be discussed below.

Hypothesis 5: Results – Hypothesis 4 stated that individuals who employed integration or separation acculturation strategies would be more likely to have a greater immersion and involvement in their native Hindu culture. Specifically,

a.) Participants who scoredhigh on both the IIC and the IUS were more likely to score higher on the MEIM than those participants who obtain lower scores on either of the Immersion subscales.

b.) Participants who scored high on the IIC but low on the IUS were more likely to score higher on the MEIM compared to those participants who obtained lower scores on the IIC subscale but higher scores on the IUS subscale.

An examination of Table 15 and Figure 8 revealed that the data support Hypothesis 4a. Integrated were more likely to score higher on the MEIM. Individuals who were integrated seemed to be more likely to have more ethnic involvement in their daily lives and thus have a more "Indian" cultural identity. Data failed to support H4b however. Analyses revealed that participants who scored higher on the IIC but lower on the IUS were more likely to score lower on the MEIM compared to those participants who obtained lower scores on the IIC subscale but higher scores on the IUS subscale.

This indicated that individuals who are separated are in reality more likely to have less ethnic involvement in their daily lives and thus have a less "Indian" cultural identity.

Hypothesis 6: Results – Hypothesis 5 stated that individuals who employed assimilation or marginalization strategies would be more likely to have a greater immersion and involvement in the American culture. Specifically,

a.) Participants who scored low on the IIC but high on the IUS were more likely to score lower on the MEIM compared to those participants who obtained higher scores on the IIC subscale but lower scores on the IUS subscale.

b.) Participants who scored low on both the IIC and IUS were more likely to score lower on the MEIM compared to those participants who obtained higher scores on either one or both of the Immersion subscales.

As seen in Table 15 and Figure 8, the data supported Hypothesis 5a. Assimilated participants who scored lower on the IIC but higher on the IUS were more likely to score lower on the MEIM when compared to those individuals who did not employ an assimilation strategy for acculturation. This indicated that individuals who are assimilated are more likely to have less ethnic involvement in their daily lives, and thus have a less "Indian" cultural identity than do their peers. Data however, fail to support Hypothesis 5b. Analyses revealed that marginalized participants who scored lower on both the IIC and IUS were more likely to score higher on the MEIM compared to participants who employed other acculturation strategies. This indicated that individuals who are

marginalized are in reality more likely to have more ethnic involvement in their daily lives and thus have a more "Indian" cultural identity.

Hypotheses Tests – Cultural Identity and Preference of style of Marriage

Hypotheses 7-8 tested the outcome of individuals' preferred style of marriage based on their cultural identities. In order to examine these hypotheses, two linear regression analyses were conducted with the z-scores of the MEIM as the predictor in both analyses. The z-scores of the Arranged Marriage subscale were the outcome measure in the first regression analysis, and the z-scores of the Love Marriage subscale were the outcome measure in the second regression analysis.

Hypothesis 7: Results – Hypothesis 6 stated that Hindus who have a greater immersion in their native Indian Hindu culture would be more likely to opt for an arranged marriage. Specifically, participants who scored higher on the MEIM would be

a.) More likely to score higher on the Arranged Marriage subscale of the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who scored lower on the MEIM and

b.) More likely to score lower on the Love subscale of the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who scored lower on the MEIM and

c.) More likely to opt for an arranged marriage on the Final Decision measure compared to those participants who scored lower on the MEIM, and,

d.) More likely to say "Yes" on the Levine Question measure compared to those participants who scored lower on the MEIM.

Hypothesis 8: Results – Hypothesis 7 stated that Hindus who had a greater immersion in the American culture would be more likely to opt for a love marriage. Specifically, participants who scored low on the MEIM would be

a.) More likely to score lower on the Arranged Marriage subscale of the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who scored higher on the MEIM and

b.) More likely to score higher on the Love subscale of the Attitudes toward Arranged and Love marriages measure compared to those participants who scored higher on the MEIM and

c.) More likely to opt for a love marriage on the Final Decision measure, compared to those participants who scored higher on the MEIM, and,

d.) More likely to say "No" on the Levine Question compared to those participants who scored higher on the MEIM.

As seen from Tables 11-14, analyses yielded no significant associations between cultural identity and the three different outcome measures. These results indicated that participants' preference for a particular style of marriage was not dependent on Indian versus American values and norms. Results revealed that despite having very traditional Indian cultural values, participants with high scores on the MEIM still rejected the traditional Indian norm of arranged marriages. The implications of this finding will be discussed in a later section.

Regional Differences

As mentioned previously in the literature review, previous research has established the existence of two distinct kinship systems in India – North Indian and South Indian. In order to test the influence of region on participants' responses, research Question 1 asked, how do North Indians differ from South Indians in their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in American society? Specifically, are there any differences between North and South Indians in their acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage? For the purpose of all analyses related to regional differences, the region variable was coded as follows: 0 = North Indian; 1 = South Indian. As seen in the correlational matrix (Table 6), participants' regional affiliation did have a significant positive association with individuals' cultural identity. A Bonferroni correction used to adjust for the number of tests however revealed that this reaction was not significant.

Gender Differences

Research Question 2 asked, how does Hindu immigrants' gender affect their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage? Specifically, are there any gender differences among Hindu immigrants in their choice of acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage? For the purposes of all gender analyses, the gender variable was coded as follows: 0 = Male; 1 = Female.

As seen in the correlational matrix (Table 6) and regression analyses (Tables 11-14), results revealed that gender was not a significant predictor of the scores of any of the measures used as outcome variables in the analyses.

Caste Differences

Research Question 3 asked, how does Hindu immigrants' caste affect their choice between a love marriage and an arranged marriage in American society? Specifically, does the caste of Hindu immigrants have any effect on their choice of acculturation strategies, cultural identities, and attitudes toward arranged marriage and love marriage? For the purposes of all caste analyses, the caste variable was coded as follows: 1 = Brahmin; 2 = Kshatriya; 3 = Vaishya; 4 = Shudra; 5 = Other. As seen in the correlational matrix (Table 6), and in the logistic regression analysis on Levine Question (Table 14), caste was found to have a significant negative association with Levine Question, indicating that non-Brahmin participants were more likely to not marry someone for reasons outside of love. To reduce the likelihood of a false positive statistical test however, a Bonferroni correction was used, which revealed that this association was not statistically significant.

Discussion

Summary of Findings

Overall, results revealed that the data supported most of the proposed hypotheses. Two out of the three hypotheses regarding acculturation strategies as predictors of style of marriage were supported by the data. Acculturation strategies were found to be significant predictors of whether participants preferred arranged marriage or love marriage. Acculturation strategies were found also found to be significant predictors of individuals' cultural identity. However, cultural identity did not predict whether individuals preferred arranged marriage or love marriage. Furthermore, region, gender and caste did not seem to have any influence on individuals' acculturation strategies,

cultural identities or any of the three outcome measures.. In the next section, the interpretation of these results, the theoretical implications of this research and future directions for this line of research will be discussed.

Interpretation of Findings

Immigrants' decisions about preferences for arranged marriages versus love marriages seem to be more dependent on acculturation processes than on cultural identification. The degree of immersion that individuals have in their native culture versus the host culture seems to be an important factor in their attitudes about arranged marriage however; individuals' attitudes about love marriage only seem to be dependent on the degree of their immersion in the American culture. One intriguing finding from this study is that integrated individuals – individuals who retain traits of their native culture while they simultaneously adopt other traits from the host culture – prefer love marriage over arranged marriage. This could be because these individuals are physically and geographically influenced more by the host American culture rather than their native Indian culture to which they might only have remote access.

One very intriguing finding from this study is the negative relation found between the Immersion in the Indian culture subscale of the ASVA and the MEIM. THE ASVA measures preferences, attitudes and behaviors that individuals use to navigate through the processes of adjusting and adapting their lives in a new culture. In a nutshell, it measures the degree of adjustment (Nguyen & von Eye, 2002). The MEIM on the other hand measures the degree to which individuals believe they belong to a particular culture. It does not make a comparison between multiple cultures; instead, it only assesses the degree to which individuals are connected and committed to whatever culture they

identify themselves with (Phinney, 1992). It seems intuitive that those individuals who are more immersed in the Indian culture would report a greater sense of belonging with, and a greater sense of commitment to the Indian culture. The findings in this study seem to contradict that however. Individuals who preferred to retain more of their Indian traits while adjusting to the American culture reported having a lower sense of belonging and commitment to the Indian culture. This component of the study definitely warrants future replication to assess whether this finding is an artifact of this particular sample or whether it is a true trend that exists in the population. Potential future directions of this line of research will be discussed in a later section.

Individuals' cultural identity did not seem to have an impact on their preference for arranged or love marriage. Arranged marriages and love marriages seem to be two related yet distinct constructs for Hindu immigrants. While having more positive attitudes toward either arranged or love marriage did correlate with having more negative attitudes towards the other, individuals also seem to consider arranged marriage and love marriage as separate constructs when they are asked for a preference. The scientific rigor of these statements can only be established by testing these hypotheses using more sophisticated statistical models and tests.

One surprising result of this study was the lack of any significant impact of gender on any of the constructs measured. Previous research has established that even among immigrant families, South Asian females are raised to have very traditional gender roles. They are socially segregated from their male peers are expected to get arranged marriages (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). Thus it was very surprising to find that

there were no gender differences in acculturation strategies, cultural identities or even preferences between arranged and love marriage.

Strengths and Limitations

One of the greatest strengths of the present study is that it is one of the first of its kind to look at specific attitudes that differentiate between arranged marriage and love marriage. The present study is also one of the first to create a measure designed to examine attitudes specific to both arranged marriages and love marriages. Thus far, instruments used in psychological research for this purpose have been qualitative, arbitrary and psychometrically unsound (Sprecher, 1991). The present study was able to create a psychometrically consistent, albeit simplified measure to examine individuals' attitudes toward arranged marriage and their attitudes toward love marriage.

The present study is also one of very few studies to look at the salience of caste identification in an individual's life. One common misconception in the United States is that the caste system exists only in India. This is blatantly false in a Hindu immigrant's life. What is true however is the controversial nature of any conversation regarding the caste system.

Two of the biggest limitations this study had were the sample size and the accessibility to potential participants – especially non-Brahmin Hindus who were born and raised in the United States. Even though over 100 mass requests were sent out to over 2,000 Hindu immigrants, the raw sample size of the present study was only 327 participants. Over 100 participants chose not to complete the study, and that incomplete data could not be included in any analyses. As more Hindu individuals are being born and raised in the United States however, a future replication of this study might yield

different results due to a greater availability of potential participants. This would then not only allow for larger sample sizes, but it might also lead to the study of multicultural enculturation processes that occur among American-born, second- and third-generation off-spring of Hindu immigrant parents.

A third limitation was the size and composition of the survey instrument. The present study aimed to find answers to basic, rudimentary hypotheses regarding acculturation precisely because of the lack of availability of such data until now. The length of the survey instrument was kept as small as possible to try and increase participation. For this reason, several potentially important questions were not included in the survey instrument. These questions include but are not limited to the ethnic composition of individuals' neighborhoods, the ethnic composition of individuals' social groups, religious and spiritual practices prevalent in individuals' daily lives (which could have an impact on their attitudes and values towards marriage), and, more detailed questions about the models of marriage that individuals are exposed to in the course of their lifetimes because of their families. The influence that these factors may have on individuals' preferences for arranged marriage or love marriage could be crucial in gaining a greater understanding of the mechanisms behind decisions about marriage.

Future Directions

This study was one of the first of its kind to specifically look at the impact of various psychological processes of immigration such as acculturation and the formation of a multicultural identity on the preference for arranged marriage versus love marriage. One immediate line of research that could develop from this study is the creation of more sophisticated instruments that can capture the subtleties in the similarities and differences

between arranged marriage and love marriage. While the present study created a measure

for the purpose of studying marriage, future research could greatly benefit from including

items that go into much greater depth in examining arranged marriages and love

marriages. Such questions could include more sophisticated items that examine the

degree to which the native and host cultures impact various aspects of their lives,

financial factors (such as the costs of an arranged marriage versus the costs of a love

marriage), and other variables such as the availability of potential mates, the composition

of the mating pool, and the impact of existing models of marriage within individuals'

lives on their personal preferences towards arranged or love marriages. The development

of more sophisticated instruments could also be extremely helpful in examining

individuals' compatibilities with potential partners, which could be a vastly useful tool

for individuals and websites set up for matrimonial or match-making purposes.

A second potential line of research that could develop from the present study is a

deeper examination of the Hindu caste system among immigrants in the United States.

Previous research has established that in practice, there are thousands of castes in

existence in India today (Tarakeshwar, Paragment, & Mahoney, 2003). The four-caste

classification system used in this study is historically the most important however. A

deeper understanding of the caste system gained by collecting data on sub-caste, sub-

caste practices and social distances between the different castes and sub-castes in practice

could greatly increase our understanding of the salience of this construct in Hindu

individuals' lives.

A third line of research that could develop from the present study might be a

deeper examination of family demographic variables and kinship systems. Research to-

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date has consistently confirmed the existence of two divergent kinship systems in North and South India (Dyson & Moore, 1983). The present study found an association between this dichotomous regional affiliation and an individual's cultural identity. A modern examination of various familial relationships inherent in these two systems could aid in a much greater understanding of the intra-familial transmission of family values, attitudes, beliefs and cognitions which lead to a preference for arranged marriage over love marriage or vice-versa. This examination could also be an incredibly useful tool in understanding the changes that are happening in immigrant families due to increased exposure to new kinship systems as a result of acculturative processes.

A fourth potential direction for this line of research could be the inclusion of more outcome variables such as health outcomes and marital and life satisfaction outcomes. Several studies in the past have examined stress, depression and other health outcome variables when measuring acculturation and cultural identity. There is a scarcity of research that examines these outcome variables among individuals who are in arranged marriages as opposed to love marriages. The current debates on the success of arranged marriages and love marriages focuses on citing the low divorce rates in arranged marriage systems as proof that arranged marriages are in fact more successful. However, there are several different methods of measuring success including equity, satisfaction, sexual satisfaction, the prevalence of extra-marital affairs, and the impact of the marital relationship on any potential offspring. All of these avenues of research would be very valuable to the development of theories on arranged marriage, and would also be efficient ways to improve inter-personal relationships among those seeking marriage and among married couples seeking counseling.

As mentioned before, future research assessing the relationship between acculturation and cultural identity is definitely necessary, most importantly to examine the existence of a very interesting population trend. The current study found that Indian immigrants who had a greater immersion in the Indian culture reported having a lower commitment to the Indian culture, as opposed to those Indian immigrants who had a greater immersion in the US culture who reported having a greater commitment to the Indian culture. There are several reasons why this could happen, all of which could be developed into future lines of research.

One viable line of research could be to examine if the lifestyle of the individual before and after their migration has any impact on their acculturation processes and any cultural identity changes they may undergo. Research on acculturation provides evidence that individuals who migrate to a new culture often feel isolated and alienated from their family and friends and often experience a drop in their socio-cultural status (Berry & Sam, 1997; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). It makes sense that these individuals would seek out as many Indian experiences as possible in order to reduce their sense of loneliness. However, these Indian experiences would be forged with a group of people entirely unfamiliar to them. For this reason, it is possible that even Indian individuals in the United States actively seek out Indian encounters and experiences; they may not feel that they belong to the new community here. In other words, they may not feel a commitment to the Indian-American community simply because they miss their old lives in India.

Finally, an extremely interesting line of potential research is the examination of acculturation processes that happen among the second-generation offspring of immigrant families. As previously mentioned, research has found that children of immigrants

employ acculturation strategies to negotiate their place in American society, even though these children are often born in the United States. This study proposed to examine the acculturation strategies of American born children of immigrants however, due to a lack of sample size, these analyses could not be conducted.

Theoretical Implications

This line of research has great potential both in the field of theory development and in the more applied field of counseling. One pattern that seems to be emerging when the findings from the present study are merged with previous research is the emergence of a new type of marriage. In the process of going through the various acculturative processes, Hindu immigrants living in the United States seem to have created a form of marriage that is neither arranged nor love. While this new style of marriage seems to have traits of both arranged and love marriages, it does not seem to be a hybrid of the two. The decision of marriage lies with the family elders in a traditional arranged marriage, and it is often thought that this automatically eliminates any choice on the part of the individual actually getting married. The reality of the modern Indian marriage however, is completely different. The generalization that individuals do not have any personal choice in an arranged marriage is a gross misrepresentation of the reality of a Hindu immigrant's life. While parents or family elders are still involved, the influence of the American culture has resulted in more active participation from the two individuals getting married. Previous research has established that when acculturative and cultural phenomena overlap in individuals' immediate environments, it inevitably leads to the creation of a new culture that is neither the native culture nor the host culture (Flannery Reise & Yu,

2001). Perhaps this ethnogenesis is the cause or at least a factor responsible for the emergence of the new style of marriage among Indian-Americans.

This research could also have tremendous implications in the realms relationship counseling and family counseling for Indian immigrants. Research on acculturation has long established the influence of acculturation strategies on health outcomes. Findings from the present study in conjunction with previously existing research could be immensely helpful in helping immigrants acculturate to the American culture in the healthiest way possible. These findings could also be useful in ameliorating conflicts caused due to generational gaps within families, and could ease the burden of newly married Indian couples who migrate to the United States immediately after their marriage and have marital problems caused by differences in adjustment.

The findings of this study and any future lines of research developed from this study could also be tremendously useful in match-making. Recent years have seen an explosion of various matrimonial websites and matchmaking agencies in the Indian culture, both in India and in the United States. This research has great potential in the development of more scientifically sophisticated tools which would determine individuals' compatibility based on factors that are essential to a successful marriage – such as similar interests and values – rather than on more superficial factors such as height, weight and income.

Finally, probably the most important theoretical implication of this study and this entire line of research is a greater understanding of an entire segment of the American population that is exponentially increasing in number. More and more numbers of Indians are migrating to the United States every year. They choose to settle in the United States,

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find a mate, marry and produce children, which further increases the Indian immigrant population. As this segment of the population becomes a larger minority group, it becomes essential to understand how the members of this minority group think about, act on and react to life in the American society. The medical needs of this group are well understood, however, much work needs to be done in terms of their psychological adjustments, their mental health needs, and any specific socio-cultural or religious factors that may influence their lives in the United States. Historically in the United States, cross-cultural research has focused on African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians as these groups increased in numbers and became a part of mainstream American society. Indians and Indian-Americans are the new wave of ethnic immigrants who warrant the same study and the same scientific scrutiny that has previously been granted to other minority groups.

Table 1

Reliabilities for the ASVA - modified

Measure	No. of items	Cronbach's Alphas
IIC Subscale	25	.93
Group Interactions	7	.53
Everyday Lifestyles	8	.86
Family Orientation	7	.85
Global Involvement	3	.82
IUS Subscale	25	.92
Group Interactions	7	.88
Everyday Lifestyles	8	.84
Family Orientation	7	.77
Global Involvement	3	.83

Table 2

Number of participants by their Acculturation Strategy scores

	Low US Subscale	High US Subscale
Low Indian Subscale	3 9.7% (Marginalized)	28 90.3% (Assimilated)
High Indian Subscale	69 38.1% (Separated)	112 66.0% (Integrated)

Notes: *Pearson chi-square* = 9.55, *p* = .002

Table 3

EFA of measurement items for Attitudes toward Arranged and Love Marriage Scale

Item	Factor Loadings	
Factor 1: Arranged Marriage		
The arranged marriage system is an efficient one that works well and should last a long time, if not forever.	.72	-.12
Parents should have the final decision-making power in arranged marriages.	.77	-.24
Having my parents choose my spouse for me makes me feel safe about my future.	.83	-.16
My marriage will be an arranged marriage.	.65	-.37
I am willing to marry the person that my parents choose for me.	.73	-.27
I would like to find a spouse whose horoscope matches mine.	.71	-.06
Factor 2: Love Marriage		
Choosing my own spouse based on my love for him/her makes me feel in control of my own life.	-.22	.66
Indians need to open their eyes to dating and the concept of falling in love before marriage.	-.08	.66
When I am ready to marry, I will choose my own spouse.	-.32	.61
I would never agree to an arranged marriage.	-.28	.60
The thought of not having the sole choice in selecting my spouse makes me angry.	-.02	.63
I can't bear the thought of marrying someone that I am not madly in love with.	-.17	.66

Table 4

Number of participants by scores on Arranged and Love marriage subscales

	Low Arranged Subscale	High Arranged Subscale
Low Love Subscale	36 39.6%	55 60.4%
High Love Subscale	81 72.3%	31 27.7%

Notes*: Pearson chi-square =* 22.07, *p* < 0.001

Table 5

Associations of Arranged and Love Marriage subscales with Final Decision and Levine Question

	Arranged Subscale	Love Subscale
	r	*r*
Final Decision	.621 *p* < .001	-.535 *p* < .001
Levine Question	.276 *p* < .001	-.295 *p* < .001

Table 6

Correlational Matrix of Associations between various predictor variables

	Gender	Caste	Region	MEIM	Indian Immersion	US Immersion
Gender	1.00					
Caste	.03	1.00				
Region	.05	.12	1.00			
MEIM	-.07	-.04	.17*	1.00		
Indian Immersion	.05	.06	-.01	-.32**	1.00	
US Immersion	.02	.16*	-.03	.12	-.58**	1.00

Notes: * denotes a Spearman's Rho correlation significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); ** denotes a Spearman's Rho correlation significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7

Linear Regression Analyses of Predictor variables and Region, Caste and Gender on Love Marriage subscale.

	B	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*P*
Indian Immersion	-.065	.071	-.065	-.913	.362
US Immersion	.526	.076	.518	6.930	.000
India X US Immersion	-.042	.038	-.081	-1.105	.271
Cultural Identity	.045	.079	.042	.570	.569
Gender	-.004	.079	-.003	-.052	.958
Region	.084	.064	.086	1.310	.192
Caste	.005	.032	.011	.165	.869

Notes: Overall model: $F(7, 163) = 12.041$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2=.31*

Table 8

Linear Regression Analyses of Predictor Variables and Region, Gender and Caste on the Arranged Marriage subscale.

	B	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*p*
Indian Immersion	.624	.062	.634	10.110	.000
US Immersion	-.131	.065	-.133	-2.010	.046
India X US Immersion	.020	.033	.038	.603	.548
Cultural Identity	.060	.064	.059	.945	.346
Gender	-.105	.069	-.089	-1.524	.130
Region	.036	.056	.037	.644	.521
Caste	-.001	.028	-.003	-.044	.965

Notes: $F(7, 167) = 21.91, p < .001, adjusted\text{-}R^2 = .46$

Table 9

Logistic Regression Analyses of Predictor variables and Region, Gender and Caste on Final Decision

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*Sig.*	*Odds Ratio*
Indian Immersion	.885	.216	16.824	1	.000	2.422
US Immersion	-.678	.214	10.084	1	.001	.508
India X US Immersion	.115	.115	1.005	1	.316	1.122
Cultural Identity	.205	.190	1.157	1	.282	1.227
Gender	-.547	.289	3.587	1	.058	.578
Region	.123	.190	.420	1	.517	1.131
Caste	-.048	.085	.319	1	.572	.953

Table 10

Logistic Regression Analyses of Predictor variables and Region, Gender and Caste on Levine Question.

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*Sig.*	*Odds Ratio*
Indian Immersion	.424	.193	4.823	1	.028	1.528
US Immersion	-.358	.193	3.424	1	.064	.699
India X US Immersion	-.118	.122	.933	1	.334	.889
Cultural Identity	.066	.177	.140	1	.708	1.069
Gender	-.424	.243	3.041	1	.081	.654
Region	.247	.170	2.124	1	.145	1.281
Caste	-.258	.079	10.652	1	.001	.773

Table 11

Linear regression analyses of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales and z-scores of the MEIM on Arranged Marriage subscale.

	B	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*P*
Indian Immersion	.605	.060	.616	10.037	.000
US Immersion	-.130	.063	-.132	-2.068	.040
India X US Immersion	.030	.030	.057	.978	.330
Cultural Identity	.053	.063	.052	.840	.402

Notes: ASVA model summary: $F(3, 172) = 50.79$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2*= .46;

ASVA + MEIM model summary: $F(4, 171) = 38.20$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2*= .46

Table 12

Linear regression analyses of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales and z-scores of the MEIM on the Love Marriage subscale.

	B	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*P*
Indian Immersion	-.074	.069	-.074	-1.075	.284
US Immersion	.538	.072	.529	7.421	.000
India X US Immersion	-.032	.034	-.061	-.937	.350
Cultural Identity	.059	.077	.055	.762	.447

Notes: ASVA model summary: $F(3, 168) = 28.35$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2* = .32;

ASVA + MEIM model summary: $F(4, 167) = 21.35$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2* = .32

Table 13

Logistic Regression of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales and z-scores of the MEIM on Final Decision

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Odds Ratio
Indian Immersion	.756	.197	14.737	1	.000	2.129
US Immersion	-.654	.200	10.728	1	.001	.520
Indian X US Immersion	.143	.105	1.844	1	.175	1.153
Cultural Identity	.156	.182	.739	1	.390	1.169

Notes: ASVA model summary: χ^2 (3, $N = 189$) = 43.62, $p < .001$;

ASVA + MEIM model summary: χ^2 (4, $N = 189$) = 44.37, $p < .001$

Table 14

Logistic Regression of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales and z-scores of the MEIM on Levine Question

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*Df*	*Sig.*	*Odds Ratio*
Indian Immersion	.379	.182	4.342	1	.037	1.461
US Immersion	-.281	.184	2.340	1	.126	.755
Indian X US Immersion	-.115	.107	1.152	1	.283	.891
Cultural Identity	,051	.166	.094	1	.759	1.052

Notes: ASVA model summary: χ^2 (3, $N = 190$) = 13.91, $p = .003$;

ASVA + MEIM model summary: $\chi^2 = (4, N = 190) = 14.09, p = .007$

Table 15

Linear Regression Analyses of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales on z-scores of the MEIM

	B	*SE B*	*β*	*T*	*P*
Indian Immersion	-.126	.072	-.129	-1.76	.080
US Immersion	.155	.075	.156	2.06	.041
India X US Immersion	.201	.037	.379	5.48	.000

Notes: model summary: $F(3, 188) = 13.05$, $p < .001$, *adjusted-R^2 = .16*

Figure 1

Framework for identifying Variables and Relationships in Acculturation Research
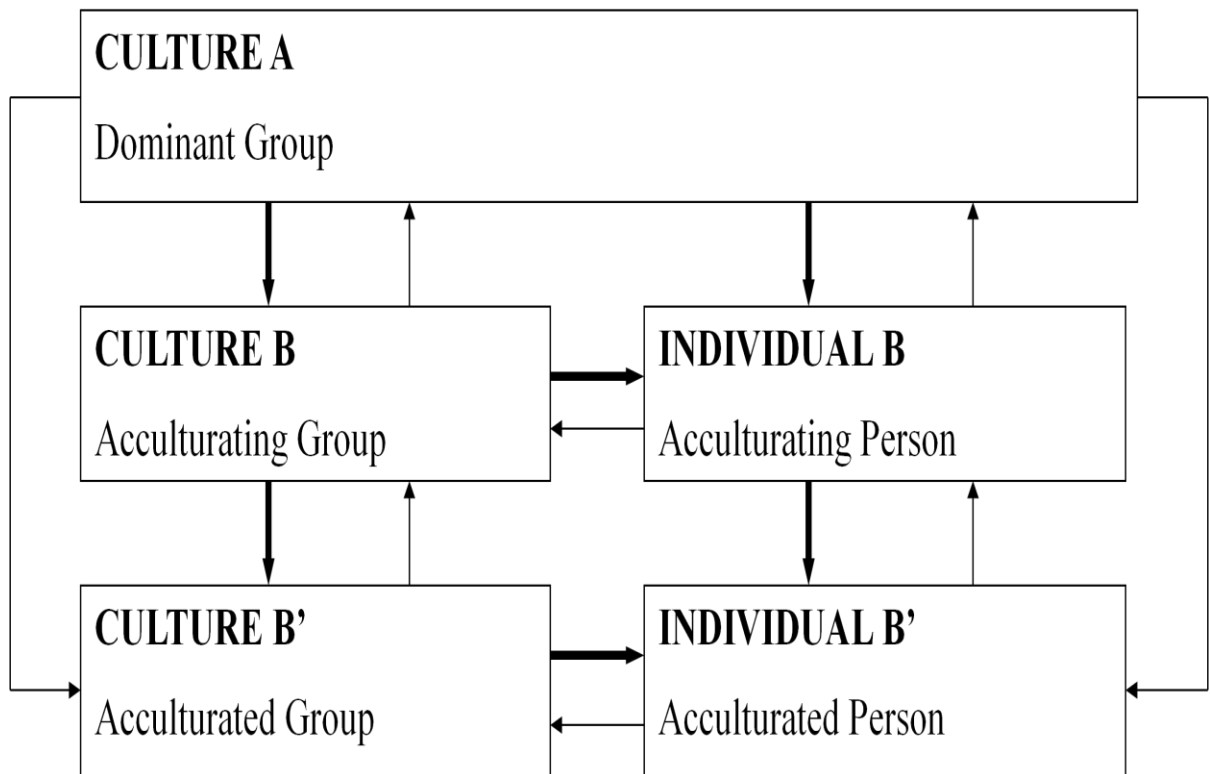
Figure 2

Berry's acculturation strategies

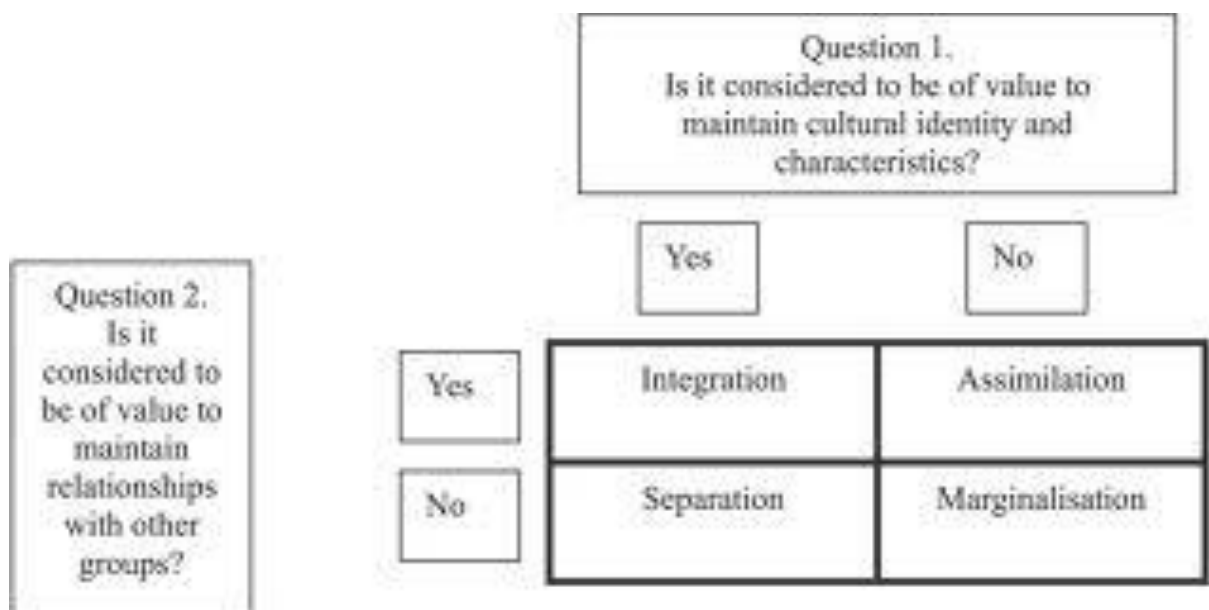|		Question 1. Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
		Yes	No
Question 2. Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalisation

Figure 3
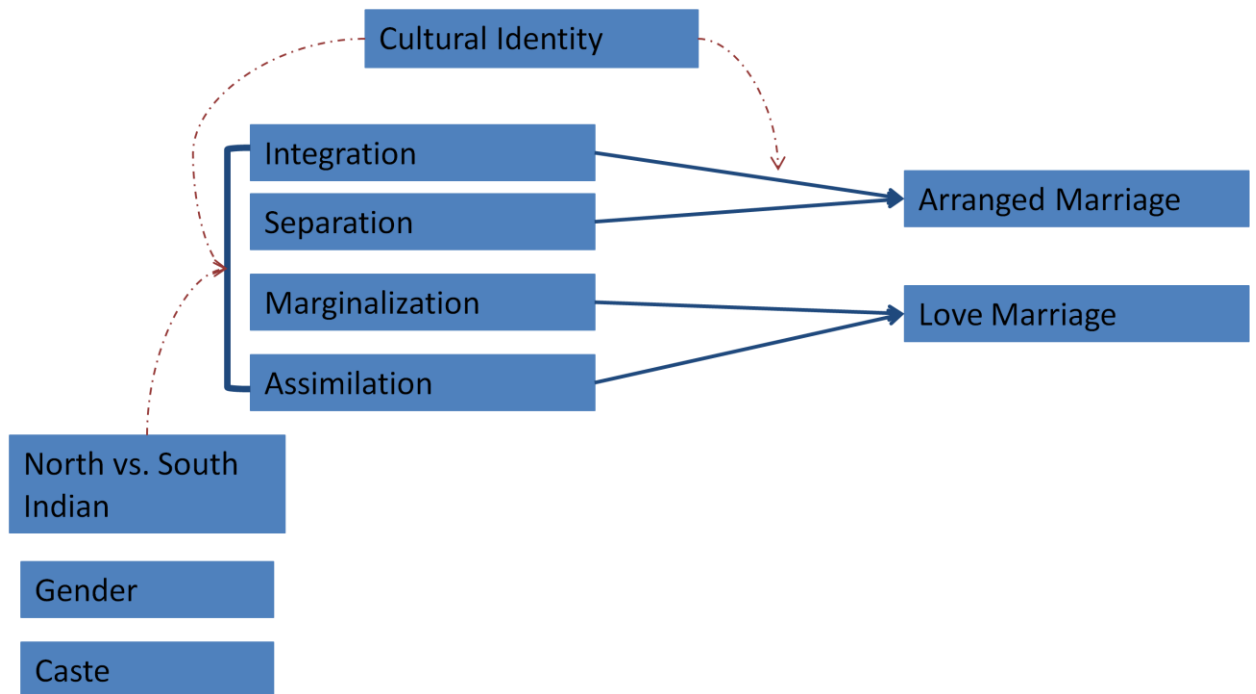
Theoretical design of present study

Figure 4

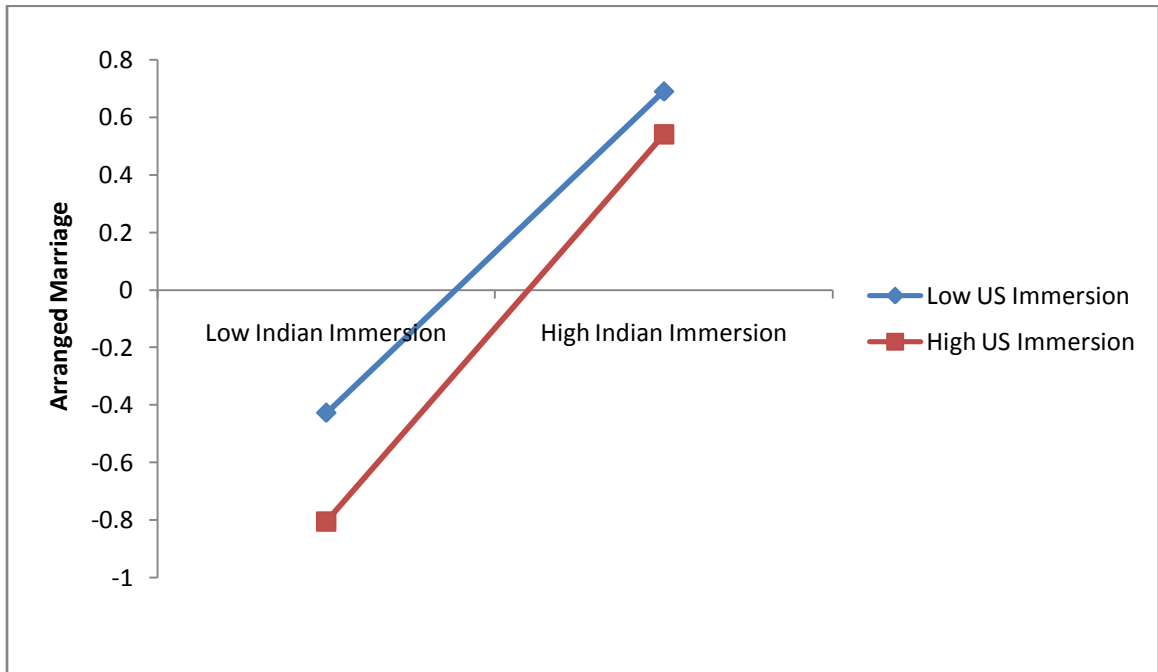Regression plots of z-scores of IIC an IUS subscales on the Arranged Marriage subscale.

Figure 5

Linear Regression plots of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales on the Love Marriage subscale.
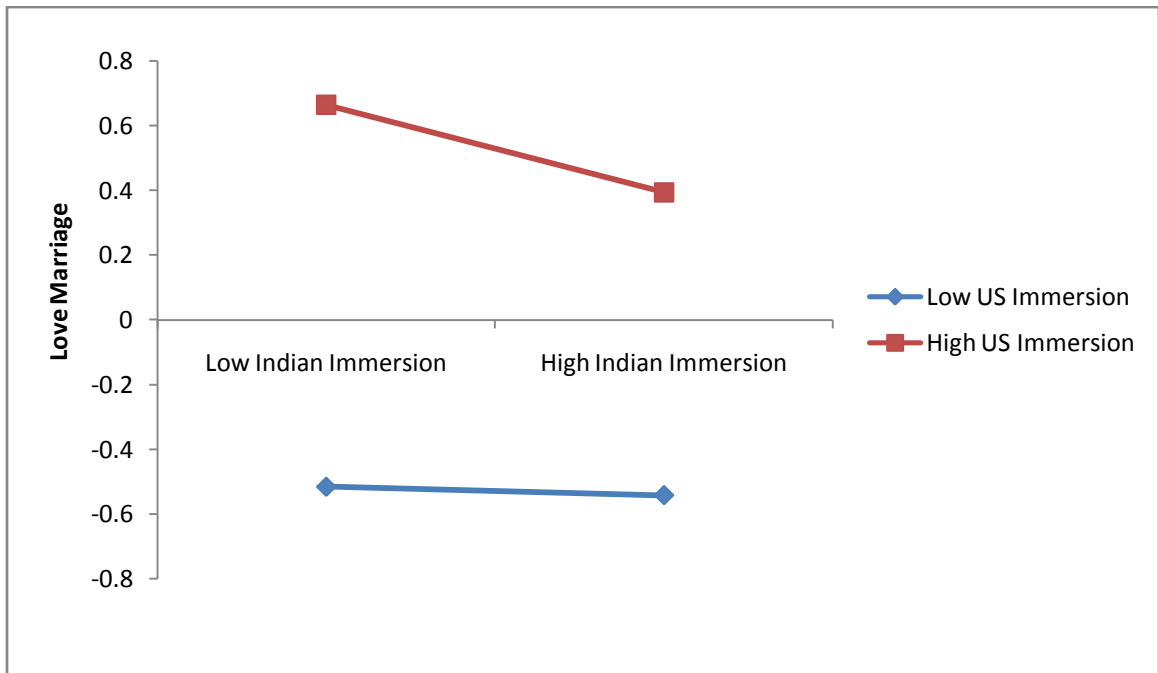
Figure 6

Logistic Regression plots of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales on Final Decision
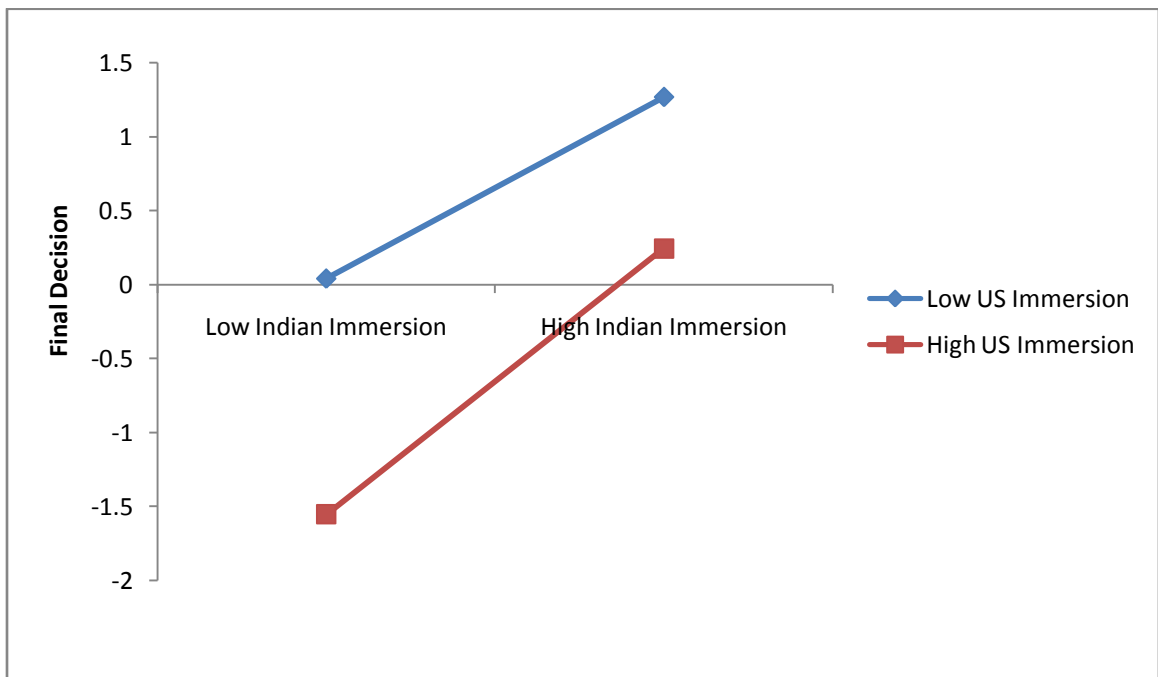
Figure 7

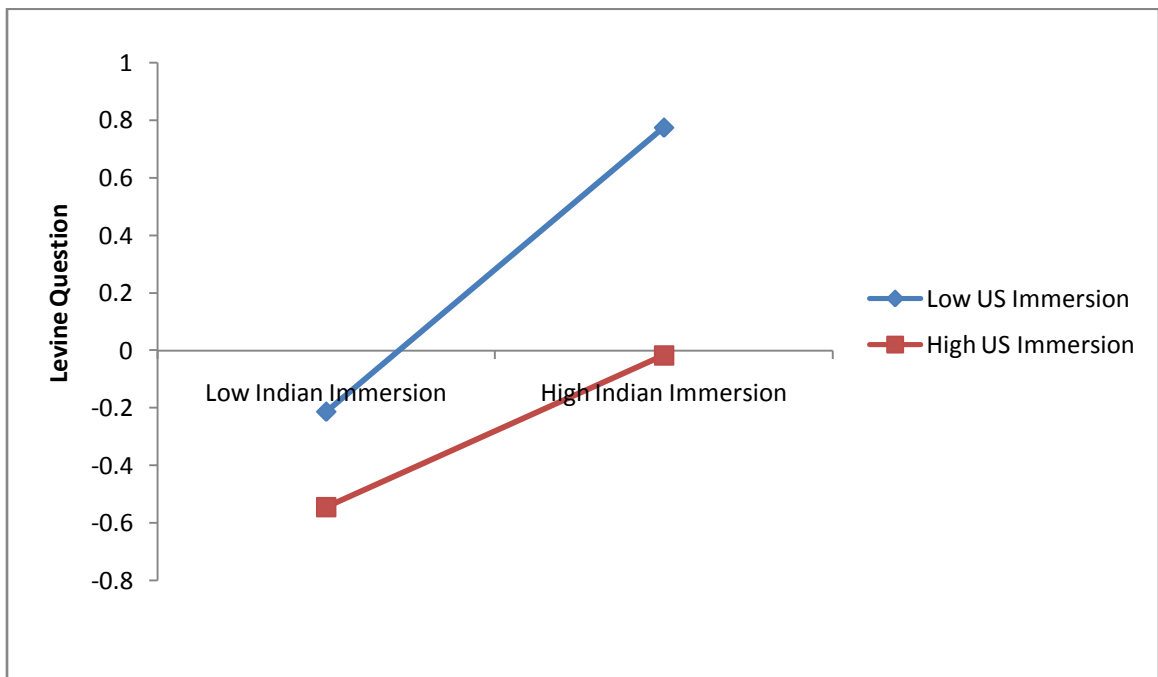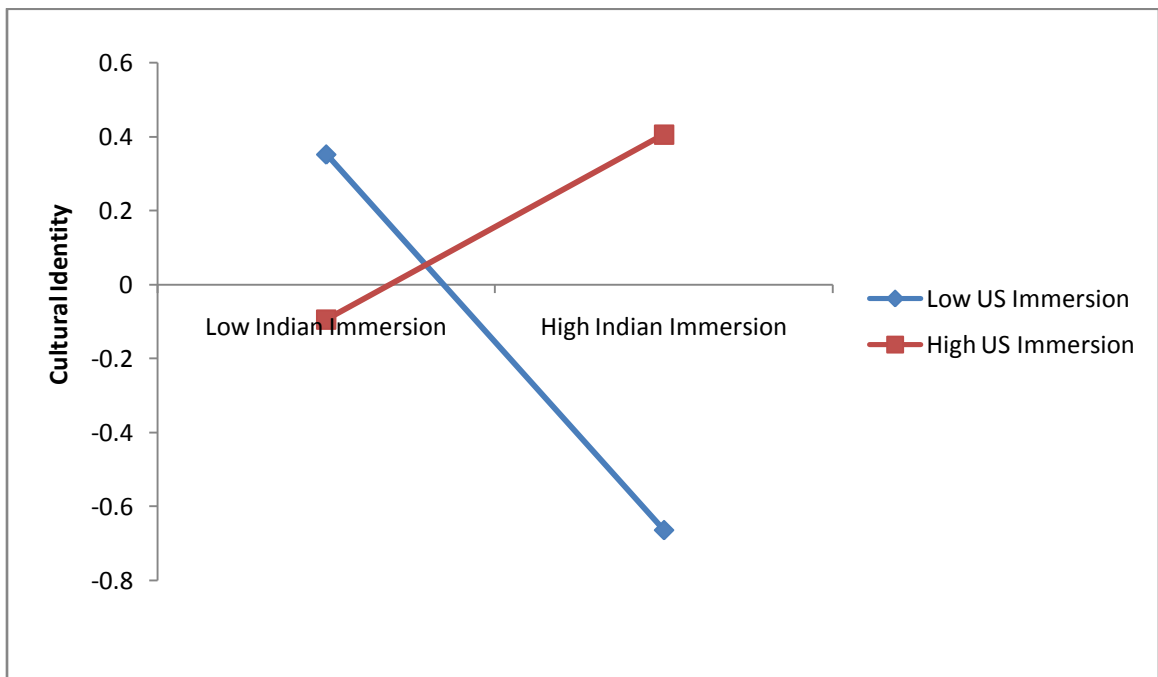Logistic regression plots of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales on Levine Question.

Figure 8

Linear Regression plots of z-scores of IIC and IUS subscales on z-scores of the MEIM

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

A Study of Attitudes on Marriage

Primary Investigator
Aparajita Jeedigunta

marriagestudy2011@gmail.com

Description of study and participation:

The purpose of this study is to examine various attitudes and beliefs about a major life decision - marriage. Very little research has been done on Indians' attitudes and values toward marriage. This field of research has great potential to benefit research in developing culturally sensitive instruments to aid in various aspects including but not limited to counseling, population studies and cultural studies. While there may be no immediate benefits to you as a participant, your responses will help us to measure these attitudes in other subjects during subsequent projects.

The surveys will take about 15 - 20 minutes to complete. Because the information you give to us is essential to the scientific validity of our study, we ask that you answer all questions as honestly as possible. We don't anticipate that the questions we ask may make you uncomfortable and/or embarrassed. If you experience discomfort during this study, please know that your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw yourself from the project at any time without consequence or prejudice.

Due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter being studied, we assure you that all responses will be kept strictly ANONYMOUS. No one, including the experimenters, will have the ability to match your name with the responses you mark on the questionnaire. To ensure this anonymity, please refrain from putting any identifying information in the text boxes.

You will first be asked to provide us with some general demographic data, such as age, gender, and relationship status. We request that you then answer a few brief surveys concerning your attitudes on dating and marriage. If you have questions about the study at any time, please feel free to contact the principal investigator.

If you proceed to the next page, it will be indicative of your consent to participate in this study. This means that you have been told of the possible risks involved in this project, that you have been given satisfactory answers to your concerns regarding project procedures and other matters, and that you have been advised that you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time without prejudice. Consent to participate does not waive any of your legal rights; nor does it release the principal investigator or the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

If you do not wish to participate now please answer "no" to the question below. If you wish to discontinue at any time during the study, please exit the study by closing your website window.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the UH Committee on Human Studies at:

Committee on Human Studies
1960 East-West Road
Biomedical Building, Room B-104
Honolulu, HI 96822
Phone: 808.956.5007
Email: uhirb@hawaii.edu

Appendix B

Demographics Form

1.) What is your age? _____

2.) What is your gender?

    a. Male
    b. Female

3.) What is your religious affiliation?

    a. Buddhist
    b. Catholic
    c. Christian – Other
    d. Hindu
    e. Muslim
    f. Protestant
    g. I choose not to answer
    h. I do not have a religious affiliation
    i. Other: _____

4.) What is your caste?

    a. Brahmin
    b. Kshatriya
    c. Vaishya
    d. Shudra
    e. I do not know
    f. I choose not to answer
    g. Other: _____

5.) What level of education have you completed?

    a. Below 12th grade level
    b. 12th grade
    c. Associates Degree
    d. Bachelors Degree
    e. Professional Degree (such as M.D. or J.D.)
    f. Doctoral Degree

g. Post-Doctoral Fellowship

h. Other: _____

6.) What State or Union Territory in India did your ancestor originate from?

a. Andhra Pradesh

b. Arunachal Pradesh

c. Assam

d. Bihar

e. Chhatisgarh

f. Goa

g. Gujarat

h. Haryana

i. Himachal Pradesh

j. Jammu and Kashmir

k. Jharkhand

l. Karnataka

m. Kerala

n. Madhya Pradesh

o. Maharashtra

p. Manipur

q. Meghalaya

r. Mizoram

s. Nagaland

t. Orissa

u. Punjab

v. Rajasthan

w. Sikkim

x. Tamil Nadu

y. Tripura

z. Uttarakhand

aa. Uttar Pradesh

bb. West Bengal

cc. Andaman and Nicobar Islands

dd. Chandigarh

ee. The Government of NCT of Delhi

ff. Dadra and Nagar Haveli

gg. Daman and Diu

hh. Lakshadweep

ii. Puducherry / Pondicherry

jj. I do not know

7.) Do you consider yourself North Indian or South Indian?

a. North Indian

b. South Indian

8.) What is the head of your household's occupation? If you do not live with your family, please consider yourself the head of your household.

_____

9.) What is the country of your birth?

    a. India

    b. United States

    c. Other: _____

10.) What is the reason for your migration to the United States?

    a. Employment opportunities

    b. Educational opportunities

    c. Lack of advancement opportunities in India

    d. Political ideology

    e. I didn't migrate to the United States; I was born here

    f. My family moved here when I was a child

    g. Other:_____

11.) How long have you lived in the United States?

    a. Less than 1 year

    b. 1-5 years

    c. 6-10 years

    d. 11-15 years

    e. 16-20 years

    f. 20+ years

12.) What is your current residency status in the United States?

    a. I have a legal visa (work, dependent, spouse,, student, business)

    b. I am a permanent resident of the United States (Green Card)

    c. I am a naturalized citizen of the United States

    d. I was born in the United States

13.) If you were born in the United States, when did your family move to the US?

    _____

14.) If you are a naturalized citizen of the United States of America, what year did you get naturalized?

    _____

15.) What is your marital status?

    a. Single – never been married

    b. Single – divorced

     c. Engaged

     d. Married

     e. Widowed

     f. Separated

     g. Other: _____

16.)   Have you ever been involved in a romantic relationship prior to marriage?

     a. Yes

     b. No

17.)   How many non-marital romantic relationships have you been involved in since you were 18 years old till the present day?

     a. 0

     b. 1

     c. 2

     d. 3 or more

Please answer Questions 18 – 21 ONLY if you are currently single.

18.)   Are you currently involved in a non-marital romantic relationship?

     a. Yes

     b. No

19.)   What is your romantic-partner's ethnic background?

     a. Indian

     b. Half-Indian

     c. Non-Indian

20.)   Does your family know about your current relationship?

     a. Yes

     b. No

     c. Not applicable

21.)   Do you expect your current romantic relationship to lead to marriage?

     a. Yes

     b. No

     c. Not applicable

Please answer Questions 22 – 24, ONLY if you are currently married.

22.)   What is the ethnicity of your spouse?

     a. Indian

b. Half-Indian

c. Non-Indian

23.)　　　How did you meet your spouse?

a. I met my spouse on my own

b. I met my spouse through my parents

c. I met my spouse through extended family members or close friends

d. I met my spouse through an official matchmaker

e. I met my spouse through a matrimonial site

f. Other: _____

24.)　　　How long did you know your current spouse before you got married (you may include the engagement period)?

a. Less than one month

b. Between 1- 6 months

c. Between 6 months and 1 year

25.)　　　Did your parents have an arranged marriage or a love marriage?

a. Arranged Marriage

b. Love Marriage

26.)　　　Are your parents still married to each other?

a. Yes, my parents are still married to each other

b. No, my parents are separated or divorced

c. My parents were married to each other until one or both were deceased

27.)　　　Did your immediate siblings have an arranged marriage or a love marriage?

a. Arranged Marriage

b. Love Marriage

c. I do not have any immediate siblings

28.)　　　Are your immediate siblings still married to their first spouses?

a. I do not have any immediate siblings

b. My sibling(s) is/are still married

c. My sibling(s) is/are separated or divorced

29.)   Did your other extended family members have arranged marriages or love marriages?

    a. Arranged Marriage

    b. Love Marriage

    c. Some had arranged marriages and others had love marriages.

Appendix C

The Acculturation Scale for Vietnamese Adolescents – revised.

Modified

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements using the following scale:

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3= Neutral
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

_____ Most of my closest friends are Indian.

_____ I feel at ease with Indian people.

_____ I enjoy going to Indian gathering or parties.

_____ I want to speak an Indian language at home.

_____ I like to eat Indian food.

_____ My room is decorated in Indian style.

_____ Parents always know what is best.

_____ Grandparents should have more influence than parents in family matters.

_____ I believe that my actions should be based on mainly the well-being of my family.

_____ The oldest girl in the family should help her family take care of the house.

_____ Children should follow their parents' wishes about dating (when and whom to date).

_____ Children should follow their parents' wishes about marriage (when and whom to marry).

_____ Children should follow their parents' wishes about choosing a career.

_____ It is important to me to preserve my Indian heritage.

_____ I would like to retain (or keep) the Indian way of life.

_____ As far as behaviors and values, I am "Indian".

Please indicate how often you engage in the following behaviors using the following scale:

1= Never
2 = Rarely
3 = Sometimes
4 = Often
5 = Always

_____ How often do you hang out with Indian friends?

_____ How often do you interact with Indian people?

_____ How often do you go to Indian gatherings or parties?

_____ How often do you participate in Indian groups?

_____ How often do you speak an Indian language?

_____ How often do you watch Indian movies or TV programs?

_____ How frequently do you eat Indian food?

_____ How often do you listen to Indian music?

_____ How often do you read Indian newspapers or magazines?

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements using the following scale:

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3= Neutral
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

_____ Most of my closest friends are American.

_____ I feel at ease with American people.

_____ I enjoy going to American gathering or parties.

_____ I want to speak an American language at home.

_____ I like to eat American food.

_____ My room is decorated in American style.

_____ It is okay to question parents' authority, judgment or decisions.

_____ Family matters should be handled democratically – where kids can also have a say.

_____ When a boy or girl reaches the age of 16, it is all right for him/her to date.

_____ It is all right for boys or girls to choose their own career.

_____ I believe that I should do what is best for me.

_____ Girls over 18 should be allowed to move away from home and go to college or take a job.

_____ I think that youthfulness in our society should be greatly valued.

_____ It is important to me to incorporate American ways.

_____ I would like to adopt or take up the American way of life.

_____ As far as behaviors and values, I am "American".

Please indicate how often you engage in the following behaviors using the following scale:

1= Never
2 = Rarely
3 = Sometimes
4 = Often
5 = Always

_____ How often do you hang out with American friends?

_____ How often do you interact with American people?

_____ How often do you go to American gatherings or parties?

_____ How often do you participate in American groups?

_____ How often do you speak English?

_____ How often do you watch American movies or TV programs?

_____ How frequently do you eat American food?

_____ How often do you listen to American music?

_____ How often do you read American newspapers or magazines?

Appendix D

The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure - revised

Modified

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree   (3) Agree   (2) Disagree   (1) Strongly disagree

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as

      its history, traditions, and customs.

2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members

      of my own ethnic group.

3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

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

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

8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked

      to other people about my ethnic group.

9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food,

      music, or customs.

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

12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

Appendix E

The Attitudes toward Arranged and Love Marriage Scale

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements using the following scale. If you are married, please indicate our agreement or disagreement with your current spouse in mind.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Slightly Disagree
4 = Slightly Agree
5 = Agree
6 = Strongly Agree

_____ The arranged marriage system is an efficient system that works well and should last a long time, if not forever.

_____ Parents should have the final decision-making power in arranged marriages.

_____ Choosing my own spouse based on my love for him/her makes me feel in control of my own life.

_____ Indians need to open their eyes to dating and the concept of falling in love before marriage.

_____ Having my parents choose my spouse for me makes me feel safe about my future.

_____ The arranged marriage system has been a tradition in my family for generations.

_____ Love marriages destroy the Indian cultural heritage.

_____ Arranged marriages are an outdated custom and not relevant in today's society.

_____ Parents could never really know what kind of a spouse their children want, no matter how hard they try.

_____ My marriage will be an arranged marriage.

_____ When I am ready to marry, I will choose my own spouse.

_____ I would never agree to an arranged marriage.

_____ I am willing to marry the person that my parents choose for me.

_____ I would like to find a spouse whose horoscope matches mine.

_____ I don't believe in horoscopes; I would rather make sure that my spouse and I can love each other.

_____ I don't have the time to date so I would rather have my parents find me a spouse.

_____ The thought of not having the sole choice in selecting my spouse makes me angry.

_____ Thinking about all the cultural traditions that got lost because of love marriages makes me sad.

_____ Most arranged marriages are stressful and unhappy.

_____ Divorce is more likely in the case of love marriages as opposed to in the case of arranged marriages.

_____ I can't bear the thought of marrying someone that I am not madly in love with.

_____ Love marriages are generally more satisfying and rewarding than arranged marriages.

_____ Arranged marriages generally provide more emotional stability and security than love marriages.

_____ In an arranged marriage, you are not only marrying an individual but also his/her whole family.

_____ Younger Indians prefer dating and finding their own spouse as opposed to the arranged marriage system.

Appendix F

Levine Question and Final Decision Measures

Please answer the following questions:

If a man or woman had all the other qualities you desired, would you marry this person if you were not in love with him or her?

    a. Yes
    b. No

If you had to choose right now, would you rather opt for an arranged marriage or would you rather opt for a love marriage?

    a. Arranged Marriage
    b. Love Marriage

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