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ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT FROM
A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

A Thesis Presented
by
KATHERINE C. MAGUE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

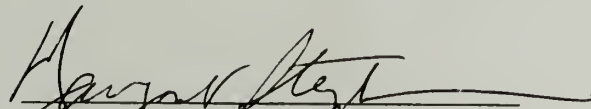
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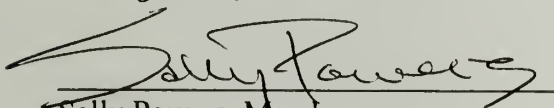
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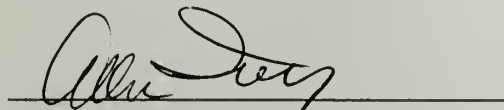
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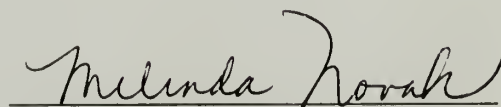
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ABSTRACT

ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT FROM A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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The current study investigated the experiences of Haitian adolescents who are immigrants (or children of immigrants) and their families. The purpose of this study was to obtain an understanding of the complex picture of the adolescent's sense of self and relationship with parents. In particular, the research investigates the applicability of Cooper, Grotevant & Condon's (1983) model of individuation for parent-adolescent relationships in ethnic minority families which value cohesion and collectiveness.

Subjects were eight (five female) young adult Haitian students at the University of Massachusetts. The mean age of the eight subjects was 20 years. The sample was evenly distributed as to their level of acculturation (number of years lived in the U.S.). Through semi-structured interviews which employed methods of circular questioning and a relational spacemap, the subjects were asked to reflect on their family relationships, family structure and perceptions of self within the family. A multi-step process of data management and analysis was developed based on the writings of Miles and Huberman (1994). Combining theory driven and data driven approaches, the collection of data was informed by relevant theory and organized through coding and the development of constructs. Hypotheses were then developed from these constructs and tested back onto the data until relevant and meaningful conclusions emerged. Results showed the Cooper, et. al. (1983) model of individuation is relevant for these subjects from a familialistic/

collective culture. These young adults are successful in developing a sense of themselves as distinct individuals while remaining highly connected to their families. In addition, it was found that immigration experiences and differential acculturation in the family are powerful mediating factors in the individuation experiences of these subjects.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is grounded in previous research in a wide variety of areas. To begin, we need to have a clear understanding of the predominant theory of adolescent identity development in Western psychological literature. This will provide a context for exploring development from a multicultural perspective. Next, it is important to review the current knowledge on values in non-European-American cultures to determine whether there is reason to believe that European-American and non-European-American cultures may differ. Although every culture (and sub-culture) is unique, research has shown there to be many similarities between and within the ethnic minority groups in the U.S. Therefore, an examination of current literature on other ethnic minorities may inform our investigation of the Haitian community.

In addition, we must briefly review the literature on acculturation, as level of acculturation has been shown to be an important variable in the immigrant experience. Finally, in conducting research with an ethnic minority community, it is imperative to discuss the history and future of such research. The extensive literature on multi-cultural research provides important guidelines for ethical and responsible program design and implementation.

Identity Development

Adolescence has long been recognized in western psychological theory as a critical period in life-span development which is associated with significant changes in self and relations with others (Hall, 1904; Freud, 1958; Erikson, 1968). In his hallmark theory of psychosocial development, Erikson (1968) identified the process of identity formation as the key task of the adolescent stage. According to Erikson, the salience of this task follows from the rapid physical and cognitive changes of puberty, as well as the

changes in societal expectations for adolescents. In this stage individuals are faced with the formidable task of evaluating themselves as children and redefining themselves as adults. Adolescents must accomplish this by integrating individual personal changes with societal demands and expectations of the future (Erikson, 1968). Successful completion of this task involves “the creation of a sense of sameness, a unity of personality now felt by the individual and recognized by others as having consistency in time- of being as it were an irreversible historical fact” (Erikson, 1981, p11).

Towards this end, the adolescent actively explores and questions various attitudes, values and beliefs. Marcia (1966) operationalizes Erikson’s psychosocial construct of identity formation in a model of four identity statuses: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. An individual’s status is determined by the expressed presence or absence of commitment and exploration. Identity diffusion is characterized by directionless wandering with a profound lack of commitments to people or principles. This person reports virtually no exploration and no commitment. This configuration is considered to be the lowest level of identity formation. In identity foreclosure, there is firm commitment, but with no exploration. The individual avoids the struggle necessary to define a unique and autonomous self and instead simply identifies with and accepts parents’ values and beliefs. There is no questioning by the adolescent of the meaning these values hold for him as an individual. In identity moratorium, the adolescent actively explores her identity during a period of deliberate time off from current activities. There is no commitment expressed in identity moratorium. Identity achievement is the most developed identity status and represents the culmination of the previous adolescent stages and of the person’s childhood identifications. The individual is self-directed and makes firm commitments to the unique self he has created. In addition, this new core personality is acknowledged by others in the adolescent’s life (Campbell 1984; Marcia, 1966, 1976).

Role of the Family in Adolescent Development

It is generally recognized that during this process of identity formation, the adolescent's relationships with family members undergo significant changes. In order to successfully develop a mature identity, adolescents need to separate from the family unit and develop a sense of themselves as a distinct entity. As is evidenced in Marcia's status theory, to define oneself in terms of or in relation to one's parents is considered less mature than it is to become a self-defined individual. However, the exact role of the family in adolescent identity formation has been conceptualized in a number of different ways. Traditional psychodynamic theorists argue that the adolescent must attain complete autonomy from her parents in order to develop a mature identity (Blos, 1962, 1969; Erikson, 1968; Freud, 1958). Blos (1962, 1969) proposed that in this process of 'separation- individuation' the adolescent must reject parental relationships and detach psychologically from internalized parental objects in order to embark on a path of individual development. Only then could the person become a healthy adult. As the prominent view in adolescent development for many years, this concept of individuation as separation has the support of many researchers (Blos, 1962; Freud, 1958; Adelson & Doehrman, 1980).

However, there is also a considerable body of literature which emphasizes that an on-going connection in family relationships is the key to successful identity development. Supporters of this perspective believe that the parent-child relationship remains closely attached and relatively non-conflictual through this adolescent period (Bowlby, 1988; Kenny, 1987; Ryan & Lynch, 1979). Yet a third emerging perspective combines these two theories and posits a balance of closeness and autonomy as the key (Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983; Lopez, Watkins, Manus & Hunton-Shoup, 1992; Allison & Sabatelli, 1988; Berman & Sperling, 1991; Kegan, 1982; Montemayor & Flannery, 1991; White, Speisman & Costos, 1983). As Welsh (1992) describes this theoretical

perspective: “maintaining a balance between connectedness and separateness in relationships such that one develops an increasingly differentiated identity within a supportive, relational context is a fundamental principal of human growth” (p4).

Within this larger theoretical perspective, a number of different models have been proposed as to the exact nature of the balance between separation and connectedness. Some researchers believe that these two conditions exist at opposing ends of a continuum, with one predominating at any given time during the life-span (Allison & Sabatelli, 1988; Kegan, 1982; White, Speisman & Costos, 1983). Other researchers believe that separation and connectedness are independent and therefore can exist at simultaneously high levels within relationships (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O’Connor, 1994; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Montemayor & Flannery, 1991; Welsh, 1992; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). According to this latter framework, the task of the adolescent is to negotiate the increasing need for autonomy without sacrificing the connection to family members. As the adolescent matures, the parent-adolescent relationship takes on a more symmetrical structure while remaining closely connected.

Grotevant and Cooper and colleagues propose one such model of relationships in which separateness and connectedness are each expressed. According to this model of individuation, the adolescent’s identity exploration and overall functioning is enhanced by family relationships which balance individuality and autonomy with a strong sense of family connectedness (Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon, 1983; Grotevant and Cooper, 1985, 1986). Grotevant and Cooper define individuality as the development of a distinct self and connectedness as the processes that link the self to others.

These constructs of individuality and connectedness are further divided and operationalized in four distinct categories. Individuality is comprised of self-assertion, “one’s ability to have a point of view and to communicate it clearly,” and separateness,

“one’s ability to express the differentness of self from others” (Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983). In addition, connectedness is divided into permeability, “the expression of openness or responsiveness to the view of others” and mutuality, “the expression of sensitivity to or respect for the ideas of others” (Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983). The researchers coded patterns of communication in the family interactions of European-Americans along these four dimensions. Their findings show that an optimal balance of individuality and connectedness in familial relationships is associated with an adolescent’s greater success in identity exploration, role-taking skill, friendships and dating identity, and conflict negotiation with peers (Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Cooper & Grotevant, 1987).

This model of individuation as separation and connectedness has since become a widely accepted and applied theory of adolescent development and family relationships. One particular study by Campbell, Adams and Dobson (1984) applied Grotevant and Cooper’s model of family interactions to Marica’s identity statuses theory of individual development. Although Grotevant and Cooper (1983) used direct observations of family interaction behavior to operationalize their model, Campbell et. al. (1984) chose self-report measures because “a robust model should find support using various methodologies and behavioral measures of connectedness and individuality” (p 512). The authors hypothesize that family connectedness, conceptualized as shared affection and acceptance of individuality, facilitates the adolescent’s movement towards the identity levels of moratorium and achievement. Campbell et. al. (1984) operationalize connectedness as “perceptions of affection and communication, which form the foundation of social and interpersonal cohesion” (p515). Individuality is defined as the adolescent’s perceived independence.

These two dimensions of the adolescent-parent relationship are measured by Campbell et. al. (1984) with a self -report instrument comprised of four corresponding subscales. Questions tapping the dimension of affection relate to “the degree to which an

adolescent perceives that parents tell their friends about him/her.” Communication is defined as “the degree to which an adolescent perceives that parents tell him/her their real feelings.” The dimension of individuality is divided into two subscales: “the degree to which an adolescent perceives that parents take his/her ideas seriously; and the adolescent’s satisfaction with their expressed independence” (Campbell, et. al., 1984).

Campbell et. al.(1984) found that families of foreclosed (vs. achieved) adolescents displayed strong emotional attachments and lower levels of independence. In addition, identity achieved adolescents were more highly attached to their mothers, but expressed greater independence from parents in general than did adolescents at other identity statuses. Based on the assumption that foreclosure represents a less mature identity and achievement represents the most mature identity, these findings imply that adolescents with stronger connections and less independence from parents are necessarily less developed in their identities. However, I argue that these judgments of maturity depend on the values of the particular culture in which the adolescent is developing. In the European-American culture in which these theories have been created and tested, independence is highly valued and strongly encouraged. It follows, then, that developing a sense of self as distinct and independent of others would be the apex of development in this culture. However, in more collective cultures that value cohesion and self-in-relation to others over individuality, the qualities of identity achievement may be quite different. Therefore, we need to investigate the literature of non-European-American families in this country to determine whether there is in fact a stronger emphasis on collectivism and connection to family. Although we will not be able to directly infer Haitian experience from the experiences of other ethnic minorities, this literature may inform our investigation.

Cultural Values of Collectiveness in Ethnic Communities

Cultural values and the central role of family and community in the lives of ethnic minority peoples have been studied in a variety of ways. Some researchers have defined this construct as 'familialism' or 'familistic values,' which may include family obligation and support, shared family goals and conformity to authority figures (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan and Buriel, 1990; Hong, 1989; Sabogal, Martin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin & Perez-Stable, 1987). Other researchers have addressed a more general emphasis on community interconnectedness. Still other studies have addressed cultural values more indirectly, by examining intergenerational conflict within ethnic and immigrant families, as a marker of discrepancies between traditional and host culture values. It is from these studies that we get some understanding of the family values and relationships of some ethnic minority communities.

In recent years there has been a tremendous amount of research focusing on cultural and family values within the Hispanic community. A complete review of the literature is beyond the scope of this proposal. However, in general, findings show that there is a strong interconnectedness of people and reliance on family members in this community. Specifically, allocentrism, or centrality of other, and familialism are defining characteristics of Hispanic culture (Hofstede, 1980; Marin & Triandis, 1985). Marin and Marin (1991) define allocentric cultures as those which "emphasize the needs, objectives, and points of view of an ingroup," as opposed to "individualistic cultures (which) determine their social behavior primarily in terms of personal objectives, attitudes and values that resemble little if at all those of the ingroup" (p11). Within an allocentric culture, then, it seems unlikely that autonomy and individuality would be the ideal identity state towards which adolescents are encouraged. The construct of familialism has also been shown to be a defining characteristic of the Hispanic community. Although this concept is operationalized in many ways by different researchers, familialism can be

conceptualized as involving strong attachment and bonds of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity between family members (Marin & Marin, 1991, Sabogal, et. al., 1987).

Another study investigating the ecology of ethnic minority families (Harrison, et. al., 1990) found striking similarities between African American, Native American, Asian-Pacific American and Hispanic American peoples in their family environment and adaptive strategies. In particular, family extendedness, cohesion and role flexibility, biculturalism and ancestral world views are important components of the lifestyles of these groups. Harrison, et. al. (1990) proposed that these similarities result from the fact that ethnic minority families in America face similar challenges from society and have therefore developed similar adaptive strategies. According to Harrison et. al. (1990), extended families provide a “problem solving and stress-coping system that addresses, adapts and commits available family resources to normal and non-normal transitional and crisis situations” (p 351). The traditional family structure appears to be particularly salient in the Hispanic culture, as does strong identification and loyalty to parents.

In general, the authors emphasize that many ethnic cultures appear to value collectivism more than individualism. This finding provides strong support for the notion that individuality may not be the universal apex of adolescent identity development in a variety of ethnic minority communities. However, it is interesting to note the strong influence of the deficit model of minority research in the authors’ interpretations of their data. Harrison et. al. (1990) found evidence of strong family cohesion and extendedness in four major non-European communities in the U.S. and attributed this to a shared adaptation to the stresses of minority life. However, research in other disciplines, such as anthropology, have well documented the predominance of extended family as the family structure of choice in most every world community except European-American. This would indicate that the collectiveness and family cohesion Harrison et. al. (1990) observed may well be an indigenous part of these cultures in their country of origin and not necessarily a reaction to their status as minorities in the U.S.. It is quite possible that

this family structure serves them well in dealing with the prejudices inherent in U.S. society. However, it seems quite ethnocentric to assume that these values developed purely as a reaction to societal pressures. Nevertheless, regardless of the questionable interpretations of the authors, these data are helpful in providing additional support for the notion that adolescent-parent relationships may be different in these cultures than is suggested by our European-American based theories.

Harrison's (1990) research also points out another important consideration in examining family relationships and adolescent development in ethnic communities: the experience of each family and of a community as a whole is mediated by many factors. Specifically, he asserts that the nature of adaptive strategies, and impact of societal challenges for each culture and family, are mediated by a number of individual factors. These factors may include the following: the specific motives for immigrating (and whether this was voluntary or involuntary), the date of arrival, the opportunities that are available to them in the U.S. (i.e. education), their ethnic group's attitudes towards the host culture and the host culture's attitudes towards them (Harrison, et. al., 1990).

In contrast to the Hispanic literature, which indicates a rather uniform emphasis on family as support and referent, the literature on Chinese cultural values presents a somewhat more complex picture. Within the Chinese value and belief systems there is considerable evidence of Confucian principles of family interactions and relationships (see Lin & Fu, 1990 for a review). These values include "parental control, obedience, strict discipline, emphasis on education, filial piety, respect for elders, family obligations, reverence for tradition, maintenance of harmony and negation of conflict" (Lin & Fu, 1990, p429). With respect to our question of individuality and connectedness, research has generally shown that, as we might expect, Chinese parents tend to encourage individuality and independence less than American parents (King & Bond, 1985). However, in their study of Chinese, Chinese-American and Caucasian-American parents, Lin and Fu (1990) found that both groups of Chinese parents in fact expressed greater

encouragement of independence than did the Caucasian-American parents. The authors interpret this result as being directly related to the greater value placed on achievement by parents of Chinese origin. If one assumes that individuality is necessary for achievement, then these results follow. Lin & Fu (1990) go on to caution that individual independence and family interdependence are not necessarily mutually exclusive. "An assumption could be made that Chinese parents might promote interdependence (cohesion) within the family while encouraging the development of individual independence" and in this way prepare their child for adult life in the community (p432).

These findings have a number of important implications for the present research. Most noticeably, the apparent complexity of family cohesion and personal individuality in the Chinese culture caution us against making generalizations about goals for the individual from structure of the family. One clearly cannot assume that an emphasis on family interconnectedness and cohesion necessarily indicates a deemphasis on individuality. In addition, the findings of Lin and Fu (1990) provide additional evidence that generalizations between ethnic groups should be done with great caution. There appear to be many similarities between ethnic cultural values, as we can see in many of the family values (such as cohesion) which the Hispanic and Chinese cultures share, and in the cross-cultural findings of Harrison (1990). However, many differences exist among ethnic minority cultures, which has been clearly illustrated in this collection of research.

Studies of yet another ethnic minority community in the U.S., that of Soviet Jews, adds further support to the prevalence of cohesive and interdependent family values in many non-European-American cultures. Markowitz (1994) conducted life history interviews with 5 Soviet Jewish women who immigrated to the U.S. as teenagers in the late 1970s. Markowitz relates that in the families of these women, the "interactions among members are consistently marked by a lack of ego boundaries, and many decisions young people make in these families are motivated by their desires to please their parents" (p154). In this article, Markowitz indirectly addresses the question of

separation- connectedness and optimal adolescent identity development. She notes that according to the current model of development, the Soviet Jewish family she describes would be considered “enmeshed,” counterproductive for successful development in U.S. society, and contributing to psychopathology in its children. Not unlike Harrison, Markowitz argues that this family unit provides a source of support for its members. In particular she asserts that “for teenagers faced with the task of coming of age in a foreign milieu that expects a certain kind of conformity and at the same time “tells” each person to “do your own thing,” the interdependent family that sets high goals for its children-and rewards their attainment- may be the all-important ballast needed for navigating the choppy seas of acculturation and maturation” (p157).

While not the direct focus of this research, the clinical implications of a “universal” theory of development and family relations versus a multi-cultural perspective are significant and warrant some discussion here. As Markowitz points out, the prevalence of the theory of mental health-as-individuality and autonomy in Western psychological theory has led to the pathologizing of peoples not fitting that norm. However, as the previous research implies, ‘mental health’ and optimal functioning in many non-European cultures may be defined in completely different terms. As Sue, Ivey and Pedersen (in press) point out, in the Western theories of counseling, “the road to mental health is intimately linked to increased autonomy, independence and personal self-actualization” (p7). The authors go on to say that “ethnocentric helping professionals may potentially label their culturally different clients who possess a collectivistic world view as ‘immature’, ‘excessively dependent’, ‘avoiding responsibility’, ‘needing to break away from their family group’, and ‘not taking personal control of their own lives’” (p7). Although this project is not directly related to clinical concerns and theories of multi-cultural counseling, per se, the interplay between the theories of development and counseling are clear. The possible implications of the current research for the clinical field will be addressed in the discussion section.

Relevance of Separation- Connectedness Theory in Ethnic Communities

With this cross-cultural perspective on values of familism, and the cautions of Lin and Fu (1990) in mind, we focus again on the values of family cohesion and interconnectedness which appear to be shared by many ethnic minority communities. For these cultures, the individuation model of family relationships, which posit that high levels of individuality are associated with high levels of identity development, may not be relevant. Cooper, Baker, Polichar and Welsh (1993) have begun investigation of this claim, in their recent work with a variety of ethnic communities. Specifically, Cooper et. al. (1993) reexamine the model of individuation and the expression of separation and connectedness in cultures that value familialism, cohesion and respect for elders. The authors used self-report measures which were developed with ethnic focus groups and operationalize the family interaction dimensions of the original model. The results show that familistic values are seen in “distinctive patterns of communicating individuality and connectedness” in these ethnic families (Cooper, et. al., 1993, p75). Ethnic adolescents supported strong familistic values of mutual support among siblings and looked to parents and elders when making decisions. In addition, there appeared to be intergenerational differences in this effect, as parents endorsed familistic values even more strongly than their adolescents. Particularly interesting is that even though these adolescents hold strong familistic values and report turning to their families for advice, they did not express actually feeling comfortable going to their families, particularly to their fathers, with problems. The communication with fathers in these communities appears to be more formal (Cooper, et. al., 1993).

It is interesting to note that some similarities seem to exist between ethnic and nonethnic families in basic role structure. As mentioned earlier, Campbell (1984) found that in European-American families, mothers appeared more affectively connected and more communicative with their adolescents, while fathers conveyed more

encouragement of independence and achievement. When viewed together, Campbell and Cooper's work suggest that in both ethnic and nonethnic families, mothers are more affectively involved with their children, and fathers are less so. In the Campbell study, this was interpreted as mothers encouraging emotional attachments and fathers encouraging independence. In the Cooper study, this was interpreted as mothers conveying collectiveness and fathers establishing emotional distance. This suggests that even though the quality of attachment may be different in ethnic and nonethnic families, the roles of parents are somewhat consistent.

Acculturation: A Salient Mediating Variable for Adolescents and Families

In investigating the quality of family relationships and the experience of ethnic minority adolescents, it is important to consider the mediating affect of acculturation. As Harrison et. al. (1990) point out, the experience of each individual family is affected by factors such as their motives for immigrating, the date of arrival, the opportunities available to them in the U.S., their ethnic group's attitudes towards the host culture and the host culture's attitudes towards them. These are only some of the factors involved in the complex process of immigration and re-establishment. Many researchers have attempted to construct theories which describe the process of immigration and the experiences of individuals as they adjust to their new situations. Keefe and Padilla (1987) and Negy and Woods (1992) provide excellent reviews of the research on cultural change and the issues involved in studying this process.

For the purposes of this research, we will focus on theories and measures of acculturation as indices of cultural change. In order to understand the relevance of acculturation for this study, we must first review the literature on acculturation (definitions, models and measurement) and then examine what is known about how acculturation affects cultural values (such as familism) and the parent-adolescent relationship. According to Berry, Trimble & Olmedo (1986), acculturation refers to

changes that result when two distinct cultures come into continuous contact with one another. The flow of cultural elements is considered to be primarily uni-directional, from host culture to immigrant, although the cultures of ethnic groups do also impact on American society (Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Negy & Woods, 1992). For the immigrant, acculturation is the challenging task of negotiating the incoming force of host culture with the norms, values and beliefs of that individual and ethnic culture.

Models of Acculturation

The theoretical models of acculturation differ significantly in their assumptions and focus. In addition, the lack of agreement among researchers on the operationalization and measurement of acculturation has produced conflicting and ambiguous findings (Negy & Woods, 1992). Keefe and Padilla (1987) offer a helpful overview of three general models of acculturation research and the differing conceptions of ideal biculturality. The first model is based on a single-continuum notion of cultural facility. In other words, ethnic cultural traits are gradually replaced with host culture traits and all aspects of life change together. The second model is conceptualized as a two factor matrix, with each cultural system functioning independently. Therefore, individuals may be either highly or minimally acculturated to each culture (host or ethnic), with high acceptance of both cultures representing full biculturality. The third prominent model of acculturation assumes that the acceptance or rejection of either culture is determined independently for each trait. According to this multi-dimensional approach a person may have completely accepted some traits of each culture (such as language or other behavioral traits), but need not be completely comfortable in both cultures to be bicultural (Keefe & Padilla, 1987).

A prominent theory of acculturation, based on the matrix model, was proposed by Berry and his colleagues (e.g., Berry, et. al, 1986). According to this theory, there are four types of acculturation, which are defined by two issues: a) identification with and

maintenance of the cultural characteristics of one's own ethnic group; and b) maintenance of positive relationships with host society and other ethnic groups. The first type of acculturation based on those factors, assimilation, refers to those people who identify solely with the dominant culture. In contrast, integration entails complete identification with both the dominant and the host cultures. Separation is the third type and refers to an exclusive focus on ethnic culture. Finally, marginality refers to a lack of involvement in both host and ethnic culture. Integration is considered to be optimal biculturality and is therefore the most healthy outcome of acculturation in this model.

In their extensive study of Chicano ethnicity, Keefe and Padilla (1987) assert that no one model of acculturation can accurately encompass the multi-dimensionality of the cultural change process. Rather, they propose three important processes involved in cultural change which must be considered: acculturation, ethnic identification and social assimilation. Acculturation is defined in this context as the process whereby immigrants adopt the host culture's traits, behaviors and values. Ethnic loyalty is seen as "a person's feelings and attitudes toward affiliation with one's socially ascribed ethnic group versus the dominant group" (p191). The results of the study show that ethnic loyalty can vary independently of level of acculturation. Therefore, a person's connection with their ethnic culture and community is not inversely proportional to their acceptance or rejection of host culture traits. Keefe and Padilla (1987) state that their findings suggest the need for a neo-pluralism model of acculturation which "can accommodate concurrent states of change *and* continuity, integration *and* pluralism, in ethnicity" (p191, emphasis in original).

Acculturation and the Effect on Adolescent and Family

The research on acculturation and cultural change suggests that in the process of adapting to a new host culture, immigrants undergo a variety of personal and cultural changes. An important question for this research is how this process affects the

adolescent and his relationships with family members. However, this question is quite complex and involves a number of interrelated dimensions. To begin with, there is the issue of changes in cultural values which may or may not occur for immigrants in general during acculturation. For example, if familism is a strong cultural value for a particular community (i.e. Hispanic), will the importance of this value lessen as people acculturate to the more individualistic host culture? Another aspect of our question involves the adolescent specifically and her personal development. As immigrant (or second generation immigrant) adolescents become more acculturated to the values and beliefs of their American peers, does this affect the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, which then has implications for the adolescent's identity development? In other words, as presented earlier, it has been shown that adolescent identity development is related to the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship in European-American families (particularly with regard to separation-connectedness). As Cooper (1993) has begun to explore, it is possible that the dimensions of the parent-adolescent relationship may be different in cultures which value cohesion and familism rather than individuality. However, acculturation may be another important variable in this equation. Does the potential discrepancy between peer (host) and family (ethnic) cultures create greater distance between parents and their adolescents than would occur without this discrepancy? That is, would adolescents who are more acculturated describe themselves more in terms of individuality than would adolescents who are less acculturated. To address these questions, we will turn to the literature on acculturation and familism as well as that on intergenerational conflict in immigrant families.

A number of researchers have investigated acculturation and familism, with many suggesting that cultural values such as familism do change with increased contact with American culture. For example, Edgerton and Karno (1971) reported that reliance on the extended family system decreased with increasing acculturation. However, other researchers have proposed that extended family systems become stronger and more

developed with second and third generations because the number of family members living in close proximity increases (Keefe, Padilla & Carlos, 1978). Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin and Perez-Stable (1987) point out that the apparent contradictions in these findings may arise from the lack of distinction between attitudinal and behavioral aspects of familism. "Attitudinal aspects of familism refer to the beliefs and attitudes Hispanics share regarding the extended and nuclear families, particularly in terms of feelings of loyalty, solidarity and reciprocity, while the behavioral components refer to behaviors associated with these feelings" (Sabogal, et. al., 1987, p399).

Sabogal, et. al. (1987) investigated values of attitudinal familism specifically, and found that these remain strong, despite differences in acculturation. However, the stability of the familism values varied between the three dimensions: perceived support from the family, familial obligations and family as referents. The level of perceived support from the family remained high and invariable across levels of acculturation. The authors suggest that this may be a core aspect of the cultural value system of the Hispanic community. However, the other two dimensions, familial obligations and family as referents did decrease with higher levels of acculturation. Interestingly, though, even the most highly acculturated Hispanics still appeared significantly different from white non-Hispanics on dimensions of attitudinal familism values. These findings have considerable significance for the current investigation. If attitudinal familism (and therefore values of family cohesion and mutual support) is still a significant and defining characteristic of Hispanic families even at high levels of acculturation, then acculturation may not, in this manner, affect the applicability of the individuation model of family relationships. In other words, if the model of separation and connectedness is found to be irrelevant for cultures that value familism, this fact will not change even for families that are highly acculturated into American society. If familism, or a related construct, is in fact an important value in Haitian culture as it is in Hispanic culture, then these findings regarding acculturation may apply.

Another area of the acculturation literature that is critically relevant to the current research is that on intergenerational conflict in ethnic and immigrant families. This issue has been addressed from a variety of different angles. Some psychologists discuss the problems they see arising for adolescents coming of age in a family and society in flux. There is substantial writing on this issue in the counseling and clinical literature. Other researchers focus more directly on the differing rates of acculturation that may occur in immigrant families and the potential for conflict between generations.

The former approach addresses problems encountered by the immigrant adolescent who must simultaneously negotiate the adjustment tasks of personal maturation and acculturation (Baptiste, 1990). From this perspective, the normal adolescent process of individuation from the family and potential conflicts that may accompany this are exacerbated by the many stresses of the acculturation process. The family, "normally" stable and consistent for the adolescent, is now also in a state of flux. In addition, the 'expectations of society' are dual and often conflictual, as they come from the host culture and the ethnic and family culture (Baptiste, 1990; Landau, 1982).

A second and larger body of research focuses on the intergenerational conflict arising from differential exposure to host culture and rates of acculturation. The adolescents who attend U.S. schools often adopt the language and values of the host culture more quickly than do their parents. One result of this may be conflict between the adolescent and his parents (or grandparents) over discrepancies between host (peer) and ethnic (family) culture (Yau & Smetana, 1993). The family may want the adolescent to succeed in this culture but be resistant to her adopting host and discarding traditional values and beliefs (Baptiste, 1990). Other conflicts may arise as the adolescent surpasses the parents in proficiency with the language and norms of the host culture. As Lin (1986) points out, the authority of the parents may be diminished if the adolescent becomes the spokesperson for the family. In addition, the parent-adolescent relationship is often

affected, as parents may become unable to provide the guidance for successful maturation in that (host) culture.

From this literature it seems that acculturation has a variety of effects on the parent-adolescent relationship. In an early study of psychosocial adjustment among Mexican-Americans, Ramirez (1969) found that highly acculturated adolescents who live at home with low acculturated parents are the least adjusted of their sample. This suggests that differential rates of acculturation may impact on the parent-adolescent relationship or at least the adolescent's development. However, a study of Chinese-American families by Yau and Smetana (1993) found that in situations of conflict, such as that resulting from differential acculturation, adolescents often deferred to their parents. The authors relate that, "Chinese-American adolescents give greater priority to parental expectations than to their own personal desires in situations in which those concerns conflict" (Yau & Smetana, 1993, p432). The desire to maintain harmony within the family overrode the specific differences in host versus ethnic culture. In addition, this emphasis on maintaining affection in the family did not differ for adolescents at different levels of acculturation. Together with the literature on familism, this suggests that although acculturation may affect the individual adolescent and family members, and cause some intergenerational conflict, the emphasis on family cohesion is paramount.

Multi-Cultural Research

The final area of literature that needs to be addressed in framing the context for this research program is that of multi-cultural research models and methods. Ethnic research in the social sciences has historically centered around three models of investigation: the inferiority model, the deficit model and the multi-cultural model (Sue, Ito & Bradshaw, 1982). While an in-depth analysis of each model is beyond the scope of this paper, some knowledge of this legacy is critical for appreciating the current research and for designing meaningful new studies (see Sue, et. al., 1982 for an excellent review).

Historically, research on ethnic minorities has been conducted by academic or government professionals who are aligned with the values and interests of white, middle-class society. Therefore, topics chosen for research have often been those that pose specific problems for the establishment. In this context, researchers have targeted groups for study that appear deviant or weak when compared to the white-middle class standard (Bowman, 1991). In addition to raising serious questions regarding the research model, this history has sparked intense and ongoing debate as to the efficacy and ethics of group versus non-group researchers. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in the methods section.

Briefly, while the inferiority model attributed problems observed in ethnic groups to inherent flaws in the people, the deficit model recognized the role of societal racism and prejudice in creating the problems experienced by minority groups. Although the deficit model made some contribution in shifting the focus from 'blaming the victim,' it also carried many questionable implications. By continuing to focus on problem areas in minority groups, the research "neglected strengths, competencies and skills found in ethnic families, communities and cultures" (Sue, et. al., 1982, p39). In addition, this model stressed the treatment of 'deficiencies' in the people as the solution to problems, and labeled any deviation from mainstream norms as psychopathology. According to this model, assimilation, or complete absorption into the host culture, is the optimal and healthy resolution (Sue, et. al., 1982).

In recent years, researchers studying ethnic minority groups have reacted to the short-comings of the deficit model by shifting to embrace the model of multiculturalism. Sue et. al. (1982) describe the status of minority groups in this model "as viewed as a function of ethnic values, U.S. or Western values and the interaction of the two sets of values" (p40).

This research model has critical implications for future research design, in highlighting practices to avoid and those to focus on, to ensure viable, ethical and

meaningful studies. Sue, et. al. (1982) detail a number of common problems in the methodology of past studies with ethnic minorities: “the use of culturally biased measures, inadequate consideration of ethnic response sets, faulty interpretations of minority group behaviors, lack of norms in evaluating ethnic responses, and effects of the experimenter’s race or ethnicity upon the subjects” (p52). By designing a qualitative study which will be created by, driven by and ‘normed’ on the Haitian community, the first four of the problems which Sue et. al. (1982) address will hopefully be avoided. The complex and significant issue of experimenter’s ethnicity will be explored in greater detail in the methods section of the proposal.

A number of guiding principles have been suggested for designing and implementing a study of ethnic minority communities to insure viability and ethical treatment. The Belmont Principles of Functional Relevance, as outlined by Bowman (1991), present personal respect, beneficence and justice as being tantamount for the protection of human subjects. The principle of personal respect “requires specific policies to insure that subjects participate in the study voluntarily and have adequate information about the research situation and consequences” (Bowman, 1991, p752). Beneficence refers to the requirements that the researcher not only minimize risk to the subject but also maximize benefits. Finally, justice “demands that scientific research not unduly involve subjects unlikely to benefit from any application of the study findings” (Bowman, 1991, p753). In other words, this warns against the overuse of vulnerable race or class groups and the misuse and underuse of research findings.

Bowman extends these more general research principles to include guidance for ethical and meaningful research with ethnic minorities. In particular, he presents two key guidelines: significant involvement and functional relevance. “Significant involvement calls for members of the group under study to have a central role in the entire research process. Functional relevance dictates that studies should operate to promote the expressed needs and perspectives of the study population” (Bowman, 1991, p754). The

general guidelines of ethical scientific research and the principles of significant involvement and functional relevance are an integral part of my research design. The qualitative approach and semi-structured interview format are undertaken to avoid imposing an irrelevant world-view on the research participants and to encourage a clear voice for their own experiences. As will be addressed in greater detail in the methods section, I collaborated with a number of Haitian young adults in all stages of the research design and implementation. Their personal investment in the project helped to ensure its relevance and benefit to their community.

Ethnicity of the Researcher

In addition to the ethics of the research design and use of results, the ethnicity of the experimenter has considerable implications in multi-cultural research and has been the topic of heated debate. In a special 1990 American Psychological Association Convention symposium convened on this topic, both sides of the issue were addressed and implications for future research efforts were considered. To summarize, there are a number of very important reasons why research on ethnic minorities should be conducted by ethnic researchers, and equally important reasons why this research can also be conducted by white researchers. However, supporters of both perspectives seem to agree that compromises are possible and may provide the most effective means for expanding the field of multi-cultural research. In his symposium presentation, Parham (in Mio & Iwamasa, 1993) addressed a few main problems with white multi-cultural researchers. Ethnic minority researchers and communities harbor feelings of resentment for white researchers, both for prior exploitation of their communities and for failure to acknowledge the contributions of ethnic researchers. Many ethnic researchers feel that white researchers lack an adequate understanding of the communities they intend to study. In addition, Parham points out that cross-cultural research had not achieved professional recognition until white researchers 'gave their approval'. Finally, Parham

points out that white researchers have historically 'taken from the minority communities and not given anything back' (in Mio & Iwamasa, 1993). In order for white researchers to provide viable contributions to multi-cultural work, Parham postulated that they must first "confront their own discomfort about working with minority populations, and ... work with minority researchers whom minorities themselves have identified as being spokespersons for the cause of multi-cultural concerns" (Parham, 1993, p205).

In response to the symposium, Sue (1993) laments the slow progress being made in improving the relationship between ethnic and white multi-cultural researcher. The author cites a much earlier work (Sue & Sue, 1972), in which he detailed the problems inherent in white researchers of multi-cultural issues. He stated that "1) the White researcher of ethnic matters often possesses the social bias of his or her society, 2) the contributions of minority psychologists are often absent in the social science literature because they are excluded, 3) traditional White research on ethnic minorities frequently portrays them as maladjusted delinquent, or pathological, and 4) research has often been used to benefit the persons conducting the research rather than contributing to the betterment of the group being researched" (Sue, 1993, p244). Sue goes on to suggest a number of important steps for white and for ethnic researchers to take in an effort to facilitate trust and collaboration in this relationship. Of primary importance for the white researcher is awareness of "themselves as racial/cultural beings" and the background and bias that they bring to their studies (Sue, 1993, p245). In addition, Sue points out that the fears, suspicion and mistrust of them by the ethnic researchers is well-founded and white researchers should acknowledge and be sensitive to that. Finally, he suggests that for many white researchers, multicultural research is an intellectual exercise or trend. In this way, the studies may lack the "soul and heart" found in many studies by ethnic researchers. In other words, "White professionals must realize that multi-culturalism deals not only with abstract, theoretical ideas but with real human condition" (Sue, 1993, p247). Sue also offers suggestions for ethnic researchers to facilitate trust and

collaboration between the two groups. He encourages ethnic researchers to acknowledge that the study of non-white does not mean the exclusion or denial of white; any multicultural theory must include all cultures, including European-American. In addition, Sue suggests that in many ways, white researchers are also victims of 'the system' and should be perceived as allies. "It is unfair to criticize White researchers for the godfather position they may occupy, because it was not self-designated" (Sue, 1993, p248).

The notion that white researchers must become aware of their own ethnicity and its effect on them and their subjects is addressed by many other people. Based on her extensive work on white racial identity development, Helms (1993) argues that white researchers must acknowledge how "racism works to their advantage" and choose instead a "nonracist definition of Whiteness" (p241). Without this knowledge, the white researcher is in danger of adding to the history of "racially oppressive literature". According to Helms (1993), "an important step in the self-examination process is the development of the capacity to call oneself White and acknowledge the various sociopolitical as well as cultural implications of being a member of the White group" (p242). Parham echoes this perspective in offering a number of cautions for white researchers. In particular, Parham suggests that White researchers need to be aware of their own 'world view' and the possibility that this view may not be relevant for ethnic minorities. In addition, he asserts that research samples must be representative of the populations they are intended to represent. Sampling from college students or 'ghetto' dwelling people alone should not be considered adequate for generalizations to a larger community. Finally, Parham suggests that more focus be placed on qualitative research efforts and on making within-group rather than between-group comparisons (Parham, 1993).

In their response to the symposium, Mio and Iwamasa (1993) also offer a number of important lessons to be learned. For one, they suggest that white researchers be aware of the resentment and distrust they receive from ethnic researchers and "use this as an

opportunity to gain insight into what it means to be an oppressed minority” (Mio & Iwamasa, 1993). In addition, they entreat minority researchers not to reject those personally invested and well-meaning white researchers who are attempting to further the progress in multi-cultural research. “ At the very least, those White individuals who are examining cross-cultural issues are attempting to be part of the solution, and any advocates or allies in this area should be welcome” (Mio & Iwamasa, 1993, 209). In summary of her position, Sue (1993) provides an optimistic call for collaboration in the future of multicultural research: “Our profession stands at the crossroads of a major challenge. We can choose to continue on the path of ethnocentrism, or we can all work together toward a new direction. The new direction recognizes and values cultural diversity and will happen only when we travel together in an attempt to bridge the chasm of mistrust and resentment” (Sue, 1993, p248).

Finally, it is important to address why this project will focus specifically on the Haitian experience. Although there is much information in the literature about the ‘black’ community in the U.S. and about various immigrant groups, such as Hispanic and Chinese, there is very little research devoted to Haitians. “As a population of foreign immigrants who are phenotypically black, Haitians occupy an ambiguous position in” this country (Stafford, 1987, p131). They are seen as black by the white majority, and are therefore grouped with African Americans. However, within the black community, the Haitians are quite distinct from African Americans and other black immigrants by unique language and cultural characteristics (Stafford, 1987). As immigrants, they may perceive themselves as having the opportunities of upward mobility in this country gained by hard work. However, as black they may also encounter the prejudices and limits on opportunities experienced by the African American community. Therefore, the Haitian experience is quite unique and warrants specific attention.

Research Questions

To summarize, the purpose of the present study was to investigate the relevance of the construct of individuation for parent/adolescent relationships in ethnic minority families whose culture is collective, or familialistic, in nature. As detailed above, a number of researchers have investigated the relative importance of increasing separation and continued connection to parents during adolescent development. While the significance of continued close family relationships in this process is recognized by some researchers, the predominant view remains that the “healthy” American adolescent is one who is able to separate himself from his family in order to develop an independent sense of self (as opposed to one who defines himself in relation to his family). Those people who are highly connected to their families are often seen as less mature (identity foreclosed in Campbell, 1984) or enmeshed (Ivey, et. al., in press) and as unable to individuate and establish themselves as healthy and distinct individuals. In this study I plan to investigate whether individuals from familialistic cultures which value connections can be highly connected to their parents and still establish a distinct self.

Specifically, then, the research questions are as follows: Do these subjects describe the Haitian culture as familialistic, as other ethnic minority cultures have been shown to be? If Haitians do seem to adhere to familialistic values, how do these young adults experience the constructs of individuality and connectedness within their cultural framework? In other words, with the basic assumption that this is a sample of ‘healthy’ young adults, what can we learn about how they develop a distinct sense of self, using the language of individuality and connectedness. These questions were investigated in semi-structured qualitative interviews with Haitian young adults at the University of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Design

This study investigated the experiences of Haitian adolescents who are immigrants (or children of immigrants) and their families. Through semi-structured interviews, the adolescents were asked to reflect on their family relationships, family structure, and perceptions of self within the family. Using the qualitative methods of circular questioning and a relational space map, I attempted to gain a multi-dimensional understanding of the complex picture of the adolescent's experience.

The qualitative approach of semi-structured interviewing was critical here in order to avoid imposing the ideas and standards of the psychological establishment as well as of my own culture on the experiences of the adolescents. Qualitative analysis of the data was based on methods outlined by Miles and Huberman (1992), with the aim of understanding the relative presence of separation and connectedness in Haitian family relationships and the adolescent's perceptions of self.

Sample

The sample consisted of 8 Haitian young adults (mean age of 20 years), of which 6 are immigrants themselves and 2 are children of immigrants. The sample was drawn from college students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst who are active in the Haitian Student Association. This site was chosen for reasons of convenience and with the hope that participants in this organization would be invested in contributing their experience to this investigation.

The subject sample was evenly distributed as to their level of acculturation, which was defined by the number of years they have lived in the United States. Four of the eight subjects were either born in this country (of first generation immigrants), or immigrated here when they were less than three years of age. The remaining four subjects

were born in Haiti and immigrated here when they were older than eight years of age. Five of the subjects were female, and all subjects were in residence at the University of Massachusetts at the time of the study.

In accordance with recommended qualitative practice (Kvale, 1987) the subject size was limited to 8 people. This number of interviews provided rich and substantial data for this research question, without overwhelming the researcher. As Kvale (1987) cautions, undertaking too many interviews in a qualitative study may cause one to sacrifice a thorough and detailed analysis of the resulting data.

Measures

My primary method of data collection was a semi-structured interview developed for the purpose of this study (See Appendix B). This medium “provides a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms” (Patton, 1980, p205). In addition, the semi-structured interview facilitated the active and creative role of the participants in their contribution to this project. The interview questions were designed to elicit information about the subjects’ relationships with family members, their sense of self and the value system of the Haitian culture. The interview was piloted on one participant before formal data collection began, in order to determine its relevance and effectiveness for eliciting the necessary information as well as the time frame for the interview process.

To aid in information gathering, I employed two techniques in the semi-structured interview: the relational space map and circular questioning. The relational space map, as developed by Josselson (1992), is a diagram of the solar system which represents the relationships of the participant. I asked each participant to draw this diagram with himself as the sun and the important people in his life as the planets. The distance each planet is from the sun represents the emotional connection between that person and the participant. Closed circles may be used to represent persons who are physically present, open circles

may signify those who are emotionally close but physically distant. The subjects were to draw a diagram representing their lives five years in the past, and another representing the present. In between each map drawing, I asked the participants a series of questions about their lives at that time and the people present (or noticeably absent) from the diagrams. The participant would hopefully reflect on their family and peer relations during that time, their decision-making processes and support systems.

The questions were primarily based on clinical models of circular questioning. This technique, originating in family therapy work, encourages the participant to consider the perspective of significant others on the participant and the events in question. This provides a more comprehensive view of the participant's network of relationships and her place in that network. Questions may involve how others might react, how others might describe the situation to relatives and friends, and how the participant and others would react in a number of hypothetical situations and in the past, present and future. Through these means I attempted to gain an understanding of the participant's sense of self in relation to those significant others.

Procedure

Subject Recruitment

Subjects were recruited from the Haitian Student Association with the assistance of a research assistant, herself a Haitian student at the university and president of the Association. In order to become acquainted with the community, I attended a few meetings and functions of the Association. At my first visit, I introduced myself and the study and invited interested individuals to speak with me about participating. Subjects were told that the interview would take approximately two hours and that they would be paid \$10 for their time. I contacted interested individuals by phone and reviewed in greater detail my interest in this area and the purpose and procedures of the study. Those

who were interested scheduled a two hour appointment which was conducted in private at our research laboratory.

Data Collection

Upon arrival at the interview site, subjects were reintroduced to the project and given the opportunity to discuss their interest in participating and any questions they had. Each subject then completed an informed consent form to ensure their voluntary and informed participation in this study. (See Appendix A). Following this, participants were asked to complete a one page demographic profile in order to facilitate accurate and relevant questioning by the interviewer (See Appendix C). I then introduced the relational space map exercise as a medium for investigating the participant's experiences. The participant was asked to draw a relational space map for two points in time: five years in the past, and the present. After each drawing was complete, I proceeded with questions about the people included and those who were noticeably absent. Information was obtained about the life circumstances of the participants, the decisions they have made and the important players in each time period.

At all stages of the project I collaborated and consulted with a number of Haitian students and professionals. As Bowman (1991) points out in his discussion of the Belmont principles, this Significant Involvement is critical for the accuracy and relevance of the research. In addition to having an undergraduate research assistant and a few informal consultants from the Haitian community, I regularly presented updates of the study to a multi-ethnic research team. The final report was discussed with community consultants, the research advisor and team so that inferences made will do justice to the data and population.

Data Management and Analysis

Data for this study consisted of the demographic profile, two relational space maps and verbatim transcripts of the interview for each subject. To ensure the subject's

confidentiality, the interview audio tapes were transcribed by the researcher and by one research assistant at an unaffiliated college who was at very low risk of coming into contact with the sample population.

A multi-step process of data management and analysis was developed based on the writings of Miles and Huberman (1994). In general, the process combined theory driven strategies of coding and analysis with data driven approaches. The goal of this method was to develop a theory of relationships and identity in the experiences of Haitian adolescents and young adults. The data collection was informed by relevant theory and organized through coding and the development of constructs. These constructs were then reassessed and transformed as each consecutive interview provided additional data. Based on these constructs, I developed hypotheses about the data and the research question. These hypotheses were then tested back onto the data. In situations where the hypotheses did not seem to apply, data, constructs and hypotheses were reexamined as necessary.

As mentioned above, these constructs and hypotheses were developed as a result of both theory driven and data driven strategies. Because the research questions were derived from previous studies on individuation, the collection and analysis of data was informed initially by the literature on this topic. The questions asked and topics pursued in the interviews were structured around concepts presented by Grotevant and Cooper (1983), and others in the field, as relevant to the process of individuation in parent/adolescent relationships. In addition, the preliminary coding scheme was devised to reflect the codes used by previous researchers in this area. However, as a main goal of this study was also to investigate the experiences of Haitian young adults *in their own words*, simply imposing theories and coding schemes developed on mainstream white populations would be counterproductive, at the very least. Therefore, of critical importance in the data collection and analysis was to keep the theory driven component as fluid as possible and to allow for a substantial amount of data driven material. This approach had implications for the interview phase as well as data analysis. This method

demanded that while I designed interview questions to elicit information on the constructs indicated as relevant by the literature, I also remained keenly aware when these questions or issues seemed irrelevant to the subjects. In addition, I remained open throughout the interview to following the lead of the subjects and to understanding how they experience the constructs of individuality and connectedness.

The same careful juxtaposition of theory and data driven approaches continued to define the data analysis through the coding and hypothesis-building processes. For each interview, the first phase of analysis consisted of constructing a Contact Summary Sheet on that individual (as described by Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this summary, I attempted to synthesize a general understanding of the individual and of my initial thoughts on their experiences relevant to the main research questions. Four questions were posed in the contact summary with which to organize this information: What is my overall impression of this person; what were the main themes/ issues that defined her interview; what is my initial sense of where she lies on the continua of individuality / connectedness and familialism; and what new questions or hypotheses were raised. In this way, I was able to distill a basic understanding of each subject and his relevant experiences from the vast amount of narrative data each person provided. Looking across subjects, the contact summary sheets gave some indication of emerging themes which were common to all subjects and should be pursued in subsequent analyses.

Coding

The second phase of analysis consisted of devising a coding scheme and applying this scheme to each of the eight interviews. Each interview was reviewed line -by- line and the segments of text were grouped and labeled by the code which described their common meaning. For this task, the computer-based qualitative data management program QRS. NUDIST was employed. This program allows all narrative data to be input into the application, which facilitates efficient coding and complex analyses. The data is arranged into a large tree configuration with each general topic broken down into

subtopics and relevant codes. The actual data is then stored within each subtopic at the code that defines that text passage. This process will be more fully explained in relation to the present coding and analysis.

As mentioned above, the preliminary coding scheme was based on those operational definitions and coding programs presented in the literature on familialism and individuation. For this study, a number of dimensions were compiled to operationally define each construct. For example, based on the work of Harrison, et. al. (1990), Hong (1989), Sabogal, et. al. (1987) and Marin & Marin (1991) I conceptualized familialism as being defined by 'family as support, obligation to family members, respect for elders, and family as source of advice.' For individuation, I combined and adapted the work of Cooper, et. al. (1983) and Campbell, et. al. (1984) to form the initial coding scheme. Because Cooper, et. al. (1983) derived their coding scheme from interaction data, it was necessary to adapt their codes for application to single person narrative data.

The theory driven component of the coding, then, consisted of applying this preliminary literature-based coding scheme to the interview data. In reading the transcripts, I marked each section of text which was relevant to any given code (for example, a story involving great respect for an aunt) and categorized it within that code (respect for elders). However, in this process I also developed numerous new codes and categories based on the data themselves. If a segment of text clearly represented a code currently in the scheme, the text was coded as such. However, more often than not, this was not the case and I instead created codes which simply described the particular segment of text. With continued coding, many of these descriptive codes could be easily grouped into more general interpretive codes, which then began to fall into categories and to form clear patterns in the data. This process of developing and revising the coding scheme was ongoing throughout data collection and analysis. Far from being noncommittal, this fluid method allows for the process to be informed by a preconceived theory, but not to be constricted by it to the point of overlooking significant unanticipated

material. This method allows for the data to remain, throughout analysis, in a sense directed by the subjects who provided it. For a complete list of the final 150 codes developed from the literature and data, see Appendix D.

Personal Biases

A fundamental premise in qualitative research is that the investigator is intimately involved with the data. There is no guise of objectivity, but an acknowledgment that the experiences and perspective of the researcher impact the topic of study, the participants, the data and the analysis. As such, it is important to discuss briefly my own life perspective, my interest and involvement in this project and how these may have impacted my findings. As Rubin (1981) points out, "the only way we can be trapped by our subjectivity is for it to be out of awareness; and...the beginning of all knowledge lies inside the individual-in the subjective experiences of a lifetime and the meanings imputed to them" (p103).

My interest in adolescent identity development and family relationships stems from direct and recent personal experience. As a young adult myself, I am recently on the latter end of the adolescent process of exploring who I am and what that means in relation to my family. My own family background is that of a strong, small nuclear family of mother, father, and older brother. We define ourselves as American, having no immigrant relations for many generations back, but are originally of European descent. This heritage carries with it many implications, both for my own world view and for my involvement in this study with immigrant minorities.

I conceive of myself as existing in relation to others but also as a distinct individual. My nuclear family existed relatively independently, due partly to the cultural value of independence and partly to extreme physical distance between us and the extended family. Both parents struck out from their families of origin to establish

themselves and encouraged us as adults to do the same. However, our nuclear family is quite close and we work hard to foster that connection despite our physical distance.

My ethnicity is a salient and significant factor, both to the participants in my study and to the psychological establishment. As a result, I encountered rejection, suspicion and mistrust, as well as doubt, regarding my interest in this area, and the validity and accuracy of my findings. As noted by Sue (1993), this reaction is well-founded and needs to be acknowledged and understood. Of primary importance has been an awareness of myself "as a racial/cultural being" and the background and biases I bring to this study, as a member of the white majority, psychological establishment (Sue, 1993, p245). Although my ethnicity evoked suspicion and may have hindered full disclosure from the participants, it may also have provided a meaningful perspective on this issue. As Locke, Spirduso and Silverman (1987) recognize, sometimes being too close to an issue hinders its study: "This unbidden flood of evaluation (by an investigator too intertwined with the situation) poses a severe impediment to seeing, much less understanding, the world as experienced by the present participants. This particular problem is difficult to overcome and is precisely why it sometimes is best to select problems in a subject area or context with which the investigator has not had extensive previous experience" (p93).

Another personal strength I have brought to this investigation is my clinical training. As Rubin (1987) eloquently discusses, the rapport building, insight and sensitivity to interpersonal dynamics gained in clinical work has direct applications in the qualitative research interview. "(My clinical work serves as) a reminder always that there is no meaning without context: constant practice in hearing what isn't said as well as what is, and in using my own reactions to understand and interpret what I see and hear" (Rubin, 1987, p105). In addition to establishing rapport and interpreting all levels of the interview experience, I applied my clinical experience in framing the questions and interview format to facilitate recall and reporting by the participants.

Acknowledgment of these perspectives and biases has enhanced my investigation and informs the reader of the factors that may have influenced my data collection and analysis. I hope that these biases did not hinder my investigation but encouraged continued awareness of my impact on the research and motivated me to remain closely connected to my Haitian consultants. These statements were reviewed with my advisor, research team, committee and community consultants regularly during project development, data collection and data analysis.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

A number of specific research questions were investigated in the present study which address individuation within parent/ adolescent relationships in cultures that are defined in part by familialistic values. The first question to be answered is whether or not these subjects describe the Haitian culture in terms which characterize it as familialistic. Based on the literature and the current data, I have identified five characteristics which reflect familialism. These dimensions include:

- respect for elders;
- obligation to family members;
- looking to family members for support (emotional, financial and logistical);
- salience of extended family; and
- reliance on family members.

The data show that half of the eight subjects address all five of these dimensions in describing their culture. In addition, the narratives of all eight subjects reflect four of the five dimensions which define familialism. These results suggest that familialism is a relevant construct to use in examining the Haitian culture.

Given that the Haitian culture can be considered familialistic, the next question to be addressed is how these young adults experience the construct of individuation within that culture. Based on the literature, I have defined individuation in terms of the degree of individuality and connectedness present in the subjects' relationships with their parents. These constructs were operationalized for the present study from both theory and data driven dimensions. In other words, individuality was defined by those literature-based codes which were relevant for at least half of the subjects, and by subject- raised issues which seemed to express individuality. From these two categories, a total of six dimensions emerged which characterize individuality for these subjects:

- expressing their point of view to their family;
- critiquing their parent;
- challenging their parent directly;

- challenging their parent indirectly;
- seeing themselves as independent; and
- seeing themselves as different from others in their family.

The data show that a strong majority (six out of eight) of the subjects endorsed at least five of those six dimensions. In addition, three of the eight subjects endorsed all six criterion. These results suggest that for these subjects, individuality is a salient construct and that they have a sense of themselves as distinct individuals.

It is instructive to determine, then, which of these dimensions were most relevant for the subjects. In other words, in which ways do they most predominantly express their individuality. The most frequently endorsed dimensions of individuality were 'critiquing parent' and 'challenging parent indirectly,' with all eight subjects making reference to each of these issues. Seven of the subjects discussed seeing themselves as independent, while six subjects reported seeing themselves as different from others and at times challenging their parents directly. Finally, four of the eight subjects reported expressing their point of view to a family member.

The second component of individuation, connectedness, was also operationalized as a combination of elements suggested by the literature (which were relevant for at least half of the subjects) and issues that the subjects themselves raised. From these two categories, a total of five dimensions define connectedness for these subjects:

- parent makes the decision for the subject;
- subject complies with the parent;
- subject sees self as like the parent;
- subject is reluctant to be separated from the family; and
- subject understands the parent.

The results show that six of the subjects endorsed at least three of the five criteria, and two of the subjects endorsed at least four of the five dimensions. In other words, three quarters of the subjects described at least half of these dimensions as characterizing their relationship with their parents.

Again, further analysis was done to determine which of these dimensions were most relevant for these subjects in expressing their connection to their parents. The most frequently addressed dimension of connectedness was 'complies with parent,' with six of the eight subjects relating a related experience. Five of the subjects described situations in which their parent made their decisions for them, and five subjects also related seeing themselves as like their parent, and understanding their parent. Finally, half of the subjects expressed reluctance or hesitancy to be separated from their family. These results suggest that connection is a salient construct for these subjects. For the most part, they do experience themselves as being connected with their parents.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In general these results support the hypotheses that individuation is a relevant construct for adolescents from familialistic cultures, and that these adolescents can develop a sense of themselves as distinct individuals while being highly connected to their families. These young adult subjects describe the Haitian culture as familialistic, and they are also able to define themselves as distinct people while remaining highly connected to their families. In this regard, our findings agree with those of Cooper, et. al. (1993) that the construct of individuation can be extended to include applications with parent/ adolescent relationships in familialistic cultures. However, it is important to consider how the dimensions of individuality and connectedness are uniquely expressed within the context of these cultures. This issue will be more fully explored later in this discussion.

Our findings also support Cooper, et. al.'s (1983) assertion that the two components of individuality and connectedness fall on two separate and independent continua. In other words, it seems possible for a person to establish themselves as individuated from their family and at the same time to feel closely connected with them.

While it is clear from the data that individuation is a relevant construct for these young adults, it is equally clear that how they express their individuality and connectedness is mediated by the cultural context. In particular, this context includes values and norms of familialism and the impact of immigration and acculturation. The familialistic values of respecting one's elders and being obligated to other family members is central to the Haitian culture and is critical in determining how these young adults express their individuality. As mentioned, these subjects endorsed a core collection of the dimensions characterizing individuality. These young adults are able to see themselves as distinct people in their families and are able to view their family members objectively enough to critique them. They can express themselves in a unique way to

family members and are able to challenge their parent when necessary. However there were a number of dimensions cited in the literature which were not relevant for these subjects. For example, these subjects did not often ignore their parents, refuse to comply with a parent's request or challenge their parent directly. In addition, they did not describe their parents as encouraging them to be independent. These dimensions were not relevant because they violated many core values of familialism. In the popular American conception, adolescent individuation necessarily includes active rebellion and vocal defiance of parents and their wishes. However, these forms of self expression are not necessary for individuation to occur, as evidenced in this study. Direct and open objection to or defiance of a parent's wishes would be considered an outrageous display of disrespect in Haitian culture; simply not acceptable. These Haitian young adults seem very inclined to pursue and develop their interests as individuals, but are likely to do so in a subtle way, using indirect challenges instead of direct confrontation.

The results likewise suggest that the ways in which these Haitian young adults express their connectedness with parents is also mediated by familialistic values. For the most part, this means connection is felt in terms of being tied to your family, being respectful of your elders and obligated to be there for one another. Being compliant with a parent's requests was the most frequently endorsed dimension of connectedness. This fits with the common adage that 'you are never an adult in Haitian culture', meaning that your elders always know best and should therefore be obeyed. For the most part, then, subjects will eventually comply with the requests of their parents. This point provides a clear example of how connectedness and individuality may function independently of one another and how these subjects have successfully negotiated a sense of themselves within their cultural context. While most subjects did often comply with the requests of their parents, this does not assume that they sacrificed their own needs in the process. These Haitian young adults often found ways to do both what they wanted and what their

parent's requested, even when these desires were seemingly in opposition. As one subject describes his choice of a college major:

I liked electronics, so he (father) gave me the advice to go into mechanical electronics, so I did. But I didn't like it. I never told him I didn't like it. Well, F. I., was a two year college, so I went for the whole two years, graduated, got my associate degree in medical electronics, but still I did not want to go to work on it. I told him I still wanted to go back to school because I said, um, with an associate degree I wouldn't be able to find a job because you know, most people they ask you for four years in college and then some experience. That's what I told him. I'm going back and finish another two years in the same thing. But, I know that's not what I was going to do. So, I went straight into... Well, I was thinking about electrical engineering. Then I changed my mind to mechanical.

The results for 'connectedness' further showed that subjects reported seeing themselves as like their parents, and understanding their parents. These qualities speak to the common family bond and sense of collective identity in this familialistic culture, as well as to the traditional psychological parent/ child connection.

It seems clear from the data, then, that Haitian young adults do undergo a process of individuation from their parents which involves expressing individuality and connectedness in those family relationships within the parameters of a familialistic cultural context. However, a number of other factors also qualitatively affect the dynamics within these parent/ child relationships. Specifically, issues related to the child's experience with immigration and acculturation have a substantial impact on their relationship with their parents. In this regard, the subjects seem to fall naturally into two distinct groups based on which of these factors is most salient. In other words, for those subjects who immigrated to the United States when they were older than 8 years of age, experiences related to that immigration seem to factor prominently in the quality of their relationship with their parents. Those subjects who were born in the US or who immigrated at younger than five years of age seem to be more affected by forces of acculturation in their parent/ child relationship. For future discussions, these naturally

occurring groups will be referred to as those with greater or lesser amount of time in the US, for lack of a better descriptor.

A number of specific dynamics in the parent/child relationships of these young adults seem to be directly related to issues of immigration and acculturation. In each case, the particular dynamic is experienced by the majority of the subjects, but the causes behind that relational dynamic varies depending on their 'length of time in the US.' For some of the subjects, the roots lie in immigration experiences, while for others the relational dynamic stems from struggles with acculturation.

To begin with, all eight subjects reported a distant relationship with their parents, despite being in a highly connected and familialistic culture. This suggests that connection does not necessarily mean emotional closeness and intimacy. As mentioned above, there are two predominant causes for this distance, depending on the subject's immigration history. Subjects who immigrated to this country later in childhood experienced substantial separations from their parents and were cared for by a series of different caretakers over the course of the family's immigration. This is not uncommon in the pattern of immigration followed by many Haitians, termed 'chain migration.' In this process, one family member comes to the US to establish themselves, often leaving young children behind with other family members. Once established, this family member sends for his/her children or other relatives, one or two at a time. While individuals are in the process of settling in this country, they often rely on extended family to house and support them. This is a common pattern of immigration, facilitated by the strong extended family network and emphasis on family obligation in the Haitian culture. The experiences of these subjects suggests that the separations from parents and series of multiple caregivers inherent in this system of migration impacts the relationships they have with their parents. Those subjects who were separated from their parents for long periods of childhood (4-10 years), describe 'not really knowing' their parents or feeling that their

parents 'do not know' them. As one subject describes being reunited with her mother after immigration:

It was okay I guess cause I wasn't living with her. And um, I used to go there for like a weekend and stay there and she'll cook for us and stuff like that. She'd pamper us and things like that. But I guess it was okay. But I guess I was just learning about who she is and stuff like that, cause I didn't really remember her in Haiti when she left. The down part of it was that she would tell us what to do, or she would like think that we were still kids and stuff since she didn't really have that opportunity to raise us while we were kids. So, that would really get on my nerves.

Another subject describes going back to Haiti as an adolescent to meet her mother who never immigrated with the grandmother and children:

I've always wondered who my mother was... but I kinda accepted the fact that I probably would never see her again, or if I ever saw her we would never have that mother/ daughter relationships. I went to Haiti when I was 13 years old... I didn't like that experience at all. I remember when I got off the plane I didn't know who my mother was. Cause I had never seen her besides in pictures. I had never seen her and you know, after I got to know her, after me and my sister got to know her, we did not like her.

In addition, the experience of being left in the care of a series of different family members and friends, some of whom were total strangers to the subject, lead to a hesitancy to become emotionally close to others, including their parents. One subject describes her first few years in the US after immigration:

I started high school and stuff and I lived with my cousin, ah, my second cousin actually, my father's cousin. My sister and I lived with them, so we were the only... well anyway. And my mother lived in Boston but we didn't live with her at that time. So only my brother lived with her and she lived with um some other relatives and stuff. (Before that) I was living with my grandmother (in Florida). Then she died. And we didn't have anybody... actually we had cousins there, but they had like two kids of their own and the place they had wasn't that big and stuff, so we decided to move up here. Actually my father decided for us to move

up here and live in... they couldn't find a place for us, they were trying to find a place, so his cousin decided to take us in....

Another subject describes his reaction to being moved around so much:

Well, um, the thing with me... I don't get like too, too attached to anybody or anything. Like, when I'm home, I'm home, you know. And then when I'm not home, then I'm away from home. And it's still the same for me. I think I've become like that from being in Haiti and to come up here. So I had to, like, there's a certain kind of like feelings that I had to like get rid of, you know. Don't want to be at a certain place too much, you know. Like for example I had to leave my mother in Haiti and come here. And I know if I was like going to be thinking about it too much it was going to affect my life, and so I kinda like get to not miss anybody.

This same subject describes his father's attempt to be more connected and his own resistance to that connection:

It's not like we don't get along, but I wasn't open with him and I am still not open with him. Like, I still can't talk to him about certain things for example, about my girlfriend. I don't feel comfortable talking to him about things like that. Even sometimes he tries but I won't respond. Like you know I won't cooperate. Do you understand what I mean? Like trying to know what's going on in my life with my girlfriend and stuff like that. I won't talk to him about it.

Those subjects who have lived in the US for most or all of their lives also relate having a distant relationship with their parents. However, they attribute this distance to differences in lifestyle between themselves and their family, often referred to as differential acculturation. In other words, these subjects have been socialized for most of their lives in schools and peer groups which ascribe, at least partly, to the values and norms of American culture. Although full exploration of this issue is beyond the scope of the present study, it is important to note that Haitian children face acculturation to not just one, but to two host cultures. Many subjects expressed confusion at being faced with three cultures to negotiate: the Haitian culture of their family, the American culture of Black American peers, and the American culture of White American peers and

institutions. However, what is relevant for this discussion is that these Haitian children were being socialized in American schools and society and were therefore often acculturating faster than were their parents. As many researchers have suggested (Baptiste, 1990; Landau, 1982; Lin, 1986; and Yau & Smetana, 1993), differential rates of acculturation often relates to conflict between the child and their parents. The differences in norms, values and lifestyles between the host and traditional culture often creates distance between the child who is struggling to be accepted in his peer group and to be successful in the host culture and his parents who subscribe to traditional culture. In the present study, those subjects who were socialized in this country described feeling distant from their parents as a result of differences in lifestyles and belief between themselves and their parents. As one subject describes this struggle:

Just the emotional, you know, dealing with outside (host culture); of it being put into your head outside and then coming home and you can't apply it at home. And then you learn one thing at home and another thing outside. You know, your friends can do this, just the simple things that you think are so great that you can't do.

Another subject, who was raised in the U.S. describes the struggles she and her mother experienced in their relationship related to acculturation issues:

Um, a Haitian American child is, could be Haitian, but basically you incorporate Haitian values and American values. And as a Haitian child, she (mother) cares less what environment you're in and treats you like a Haitian child. ... With my mother, she was very inconsistent and I could never... Like one minute she would say, 'I want to be your friend' which is a very American concept. The next minute I would tell her something and she would you know blow up at me. And it's just like that's very Haitian, you know, I would get in trouble for what I told her.

Beyond the impact of immigration and acculturation on distance in the parent / child relationship, there appears to be some relational 'distance' inherent in the culture related to the emphasis on respecting one's elders. A number of subjects expressed that

their level of respect for their parents and other elders dictated to some degree the quality of their relationship. Certain topics, such as boyfriends/ girlfriends and personal emotional fears, wishes, etc., were described by some subjects as being inappropriate for conversation with elders. It is considered disrespectful to discuss these issues with parents and other elders:

I respect him (father). I think one of the most reason why I am not more comfortable with him is because I respect him too much. So, it's like, for me to talk to him about a certain things would be disrespectful. So that's why I like (chuckle); that's why we can't talk about too many things.

Another subject describes withholding information about her well-being from her mother in order not to disrespect her:

But if you going to such an expensive school and basically throw it in the face of someone who basically breaks her back to send you to a school that good. And to constantly say I hate going to this school, it's rough, because your efforts aren't being appreciated. And so, basically I keep my mouth shut.

Closely related to the issue of distance in the parent/ child relationships as a result, in part, of immigration and acculturation, is the presence of great anger for these young adults towards their families. Six of the eight subjects reported being quite angry at their family members. The reasons given for this anger also fall into two broad categories related to immigration experiences and differential acculturation. Those subjects who immigrated in late childhood expressed being angry at their family for shuttling them around from place to place and caregiver to caregiver during immigration, with little to no communication about their fate. For some of these subjects, their father was particularly absent from their lives and yet instrumental in directing the course of their lives. For many, their father did not live with them, but made the decision about where and with whom they should move. Without discussion, the father would relocate the child and then

return to his distant or absent role in their life. Many of these subjects expressed great anger and resentment at their father and other family members for this disruptive and confusing process. As one subject describes her reaction to her relocation and her father's role in that:

I was happy to be here (U.S.) but at the same time I was like I don't want to be here anymore. So, but.. and it's like when we first came we didn't think we were going to stay at all. At least cause my father doesn't tell us anything and stuff. We just knew we were there (Florida with grandmother) and that he was going back and we weren't. And then I thought he was coming back for us the next time he came, but he just came for a visit and stuff. And by that time, we thought, 'well, I guess we staying' and stuff. ... It's strange. We just probably like maybe children to him and stuff. We don't really HAVE to know anything what's going on and stuff. And sometimes you know you're supposed to do this and that and that's 'think, don't ask questions,' and things. And like, that's how it is for him. At times, I don't know, I feel hatred for him, for like, I don't know. Cause sometimes I blame him for what happened.

Another subject describes his anger at his family:

Well, getting upset a lot; getting, always thinking about revenge. Constantly, always thinking about getting somebody back. Always thinking about the fact that I'm not going to let this happen to me. I'm not going to let this happen to me and I never want to [unclear]. Noone is going to step in my face and tell me how to go about things, noone is going to try to tell me what to do and how to do it.

For those subjects who were socialized for most of their lives in the US, this anger at the family seems to stem, again, from differential acculturation. Specifically, the methods of discipline within the traditional Haitian culture are quite strict and often involve physical punishment. This method is often in contrast with the discipline more widely acknowledged as acceptable in the mainstream American culture. A number of the subjects in this group expressed disapproval of the traditional disciplining and anger at their parents for inflicting it on them.

Well, a typical Haitian mother, I mean just corporal punishment means you get beaten. You know, you get a beating if you mess up. Um, but I think my mother would look for me to mess up. I don't think she wanted to understand um, you know, why things happened the way they were. I mean you think of you know all children's psychological whatever, you know, their behavior at this age is natural... Haitians you don't get like that. You know, a child you do what you are told, and that's it. ... This is how Haitian mothers are, and I think West Indian mothers are like that to a certain extent. They are like this unless they have been Americanized, westernized somewhat. They have you, you are obviously their property, you are there for their bidding. And as you get older, you are there to serve them. That's why they have you. So therefore, they feel, before you even give yourself somewhat of an obligation to help them out, they feel its your obligation to take care of them as you get older. You are supposed to have.. you know, you can be twenty five years old and they can still slap you in the face if they want. It wouldn't matter. So they feel like, it doesn't come like an adult to adult respect with Haitian mothers... or with, with Haitian mothers it doesn't come like that. ... And that's where the conflict comes in because in America, like I was outside learning that as you get older you take responsibility, you gain respect, you .. but my mother was not having that. You know, so it was hard, it was hard.

Another subject who was raised in the U.S. offers her view on Haitian discipline:

They call it pinishment. (It means) your ass is staying home, you're not going nowhere. Don't you dare pick up that phone. Turn on that t.v. and your ass will be fried. Don't even, don't speak. Act like you don't exist in the house. You know, keep out the way, cause, you know, they're mad. You know they're mad. Cause like, that talking, 'oh, this is what you did wrong.' A lot of Haitian parents don't explain nothing to you. You do it, and that's it, you get in trouble. There ain't no talking to no childs. There's nothing like that. A lot of kids at school they will explain, their parents will explain. And say why they did this, and do you know why you're in trouble, you know, you're in trouble. ... I think White American kids can bargain with their parents a little more. They can actually, you know, 'please can I do this, let's compromise.' There's no compromise in Haitian families, there's no compromise. Basically what a parent says, you know, goes, you cannot argue. And if a Haitian parent ever says 'fine, fine, do it, do it', you still better stay home, because they don't mean that. They don't mean that and if you go out you're in trouble. Your parents, Haitian parents can make your life really miserable.

A third area in which the subjects' experiences with acculturation or immigration substantially affected the dynamics of their family relationships relates more specifically to their sense of self. As mentioned previously, seven of the eight subjects frequently described themselves as being 'independent.' In addition, all eight subjects reported

looking to themselves for support in difficult situations. These findings seem to contradict the supposition of this study that in familialistic cultures there is more emphasis on collectivity and self-in-relation to others and less on the self as independent and self-reliant. However, it appears that immigration and acculturation, as strong mediating variables, account for this apparent discrepancy. For those subjects who immigrated as older children, this self-reliance was an issue of survival in the tumultuous experiences of immigration. Being separated from their parents at a young age, being relocated to foreign environments, often to live with a series of unfamiliar people and having little knowledge of the plans for them, these children saw independence and self-support as survival necessities. They felt that no one was there for them at critical times in their lives, so they have learned to fend for themselves and make the most of their situations:

It's kind of like where you come from. That's what it has to do with, where you come from. You come from a stable household in which you have support and wherever you go you think, you know, you going to do fine; good! But I didn't, I didn't, I don't think I came from that kind of household, so I had to find it within myself. I had to find the strength and support within myself and not look anywhere else for it.

The subjects who have been in this country most or all of their lives also described themselves as independent and self-reliant, but for very different reasons. As with previous relational dynamics addressed, this sense of self seems to stem from their socialization in American culture. These young adults see independence as highly valued in mainstream American culture and they are struggling to balance that American ideal with their own needs for family connection. They speak the language of independence and even make attempts to live that ideal by going to college farther away from home than is usual in Haitian culture. However, many of the subjects have negotiated this balance by making some independent gestures while not completely cutting themselves off. For example, they may go to college a few hours away from home where they are out

from under their parent and community's watchful eye, and yet they are close enough to go home regularly:

I wanted to be far from home, but not too far. It's like a two hour ride to Boston (home), so. ... Like I wanted to be like, have a sense to be on my own, but not too much on my own that you know, I have my mother there when I wanted to run home to her. At first I wanted to go to Howard in D.C., but I was like no that's too far. I didn't want to be that far away. ... But I didn't want to be so close. I didn't want to stay home. I wanted to be on my own. You know, if I stayed home, older, I may be able to do what I want. But you know, you still have this, this level of respect. And I was thinking, I was like, if I want to come home at five in the morning, I'm going to hear it. So I decided to come here.

Some of these subjects have tried to be even more independent, as the American ideal suggests, and have found themselves going too far from what they are comfortable with. One subject in particular left her family in Massachusetts to go to college in the deep south and was 'miserable' the duration of her stay. She realized that she needed the support of her family around her in order to succeed at her own pursuits:

...knowing that I was going far away, finally I was leaving Boston, leaving the New England, Mid Atlantic area and going somewhere else of the United States and on the world to see. I was going to (deep south), you know (beautiful place), blaise this and stuff. I was going to be on my own, independent, live on my own, have to provide for myself, do for myself. I was psyched, I was like 'I'm ready to go.' Got there and it sucked. I t's like 'I'm ready to go back.' ... I said I am not going back out of state because there's.. I don't have the support I need out of state. I have to stay at home in order to complete my degree.

Interestingly, it was these subjects who endorsed the dimension of 'connectedness' which was coded as 'fears separation from family.' This suggests that their attempts at being more independent, as American values encourage, resulted in a reaffirmation of their connection with their family and a hesitancy to be separated from them. As one subject describes this experience when she chose to live with friends two hours away from home one summer:

I liked the feeling to a point. But I also feel like I need my mother. That's what, I wanted to prove to myself that I didn't really need my mother. But I really needed her. I don't know, just little things. When I got sick. Oh I got a cold this summer,

it was terrible. And I was just, it was only us teenagers living in the house or whatever. And I was just like 'Damn.' They wasn't showering me with attention. And I was like, if I was at home, my mother would be taking tea, rubbing me right now, and. I missed my mother.

It is clear from the examples cited that these subjects' sense of themselves as independent and self reliant is determined in part by immigration experiences and differential acculturation within their family.

To summarize, the results of this study suggest that Haitian young adults experience their culture as familialistic, as defined by respect for elders, an emphasis on extended family and looking to family members for support. In addition, the construct of individuation (as individuality and connectedness) in parent/ child relationships as proposed by Cooper, et. al. (1984) does appear to be relevant for these young adults. However, the way these subject expressed their individuality and connectedness was determined by values of familialism and mediated by the factors of immigration and acculturation.

These findings carry a number of important implications, both in clinical and research realms. The results suggest that employing a universal theory of development in clinical work would be misguided and could lead to misdiagnosis and treatment. Specifically, as Markowitz (1994) and Sue, et. al. (in press) point out, assuming that mental health is synonymous with autonomy may lead clinicians to label individuals from collective cultures as enmeshed or excessively dependent. The narratives of the subjects in this study clearly demonstrate the problem the authors describe. These subjects described themselves as being closely connected to their families and at the same time they had a clear sense of themselves as distinct individuals. Therefore, to have labeled them as 'immature' or 'excessively dependent' simply because they expressed a collective bond with their families would have been narrow-minded at the least and very damaging at the worst.

This issue raises another important implication of this research, which is that assumptions or generalization of any kind can be dangerous. In their narratives, these subjects reported a distant relationship with their parents, despite being in a highly connected and familialistic culture. In addition, they identified themselves as independent and self-supportive in many instances, but also as relying heavily on family members for support in others. At first glance these reports seem contradictory and confusing. How can these young adults describe being very close with their parents and yet also feel emotionally distant? How can they see themselves as highly independent and yet clearly state that they function most effectively when surrounded by family? The answers become obvious when the factors of immigration and acculturation are included in the equation. It is not surprising that being separated from his parents at a young age and shuttled between a series of multiple caregivers has a profound impact on a child's emotional connection with his parents and on his sense of self. In addition, growing up somewhere between three different cultures, some of which have drastically different value systems and norms, can be quite confusing for immigrants primarily socialized in the U.S.. These subjects expressed seeing independence as valued in the White American culture and yet collectiveness and familialism as valued in their native Haitian culture. They struggled to fit in with White and Black American peers and yet not become isolated from their neighborhood and family communities. In these instances it is abundantly clear that drawing any conclusions about the experiences of these young adults, including their degree of individuation in relationship with their parents, would be misguided without consideration of the factors of immigration and acculturation.

Finally, a few caveats are critical to address. To begin with, the conclusions of this study seem to raise the issue of the efficacy of multiple caregiving. However, it is critical to note, that the multiple caregiving involved in chain migration consists of a series of relatives and friends caring for the children over an indefinite period of time. That is, the child will be taken from the parent and placed with another caregiver for a period of

time, and then taken from that caregiver and placed with another, and so on. In this discussion it is not the fact that many people (instead of the mother) are involved in raising the child that is at issue. Much research has demonstrated that community or multiple caregiving, as opposed to single-caregiver approaches, can be quite beneficial for the development of the child. However, in this situation, the child is not permitted to remain connected to any of the caregivers long enough to foster the bonds believed to be necessary for secure and healthy development.

In addition, this study began with the assumption that as an ethnic minority group, the Haitian community may share many properties with Hispanic, Asian and African American communities. However, it is important to note that overgeneralizations within and between ethnic groups is as problematic as generalization between white and ethnic groups. As the research of Lin & Fu (1990) demonstrated, while two cultures may both be described as subscribing to familialistic values, the way each culture interprets and expresses those values may be quite different. Therefore, although the current study reaches the conclusion that the Haitian culture described by these subjects is 'familialistic,' this does not suggest that our subsequent conclusions should extend to other familialistic cultures. In other words, this study demonstrated that these eight Haitian subjects do experience individuation in their parent/ child relationships and that this process is mediated by values of familialism, and experiences with immigration and acculturation. However, at this point I do not suggest that a similar process of individuation is experienced by young adults from other familialistic and immigrant ethnic groups. The innumerable variations between unique cultures and between people within those cultures makes those sorts of generalizations extremely risky. However, in the interest of developing psychological theories which more accurately reflect the experiences of non-Anglo communities, the present results may provide useful data from which to build.

The potential direction of future work in this area is practically limitless. One obvious direction would be to test the conclusions drawn from this small qualitative study in a much larger quantitative research effort. In other words, based on the theories developed on these eight subjects, a large scale survey could be devised and distributed to a few hundred Haitian young adults. The findings of such a study could add support for the conclusions drawn here, and thereby increase generalizability, or refute the present findings. Either would be helpful for the continued effort of developing more accurate and relevant multi-cultural theories.

APPENDIX A
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this study is to understand the personal experiences of a small number of Haitian young adults living in the United States. I want to know your experiences, in your words, so we can present a picture of what it is like to become an adult as a Haitian in the United States. Questions and activities are designed to aid you in recalling and relating your experiences at various points in your past, present and future life. The interviews will be audio-taped.

Participation in this study will provide you with the opportunity to contribute to and help build an understanding in the psychological literature of the Haitian experience, in your own words. To make sure that I am accurately representing your thoughts and experiences, I would invite you to review my summary of this interview and the final paper before I submit them, if you would like. As we go through this interview, please take as long as you want to discuss each topic, and feel free to go back to a previous idea if something additional occurs to you. I encourage you to speak as openly and as honestly as you feel comfortable doing.

Your participation in this research study is confidential. Names and identifying information will be removed from the transcripts and tape-recordings. Only the researcher, supervisor and research assistants will have access to this information.

I have read the above information and have had any additional questions answered. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent at any stage during the interview, or to ask further questions during the interview.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW

The following is an overview of the general content areas to be covered in the interviews and examples of typical questions. As the interview should be a casual and informal process, I will phrase the questions as appropriate to the current context and discussion.

Introduction

I am interested in learning about your experience as a Haitian living in the United States. Before we begin, I want to tell you a little more about myself, and this study, and the reasons why I am asking you these questions. I am a graduate student in clinical psychology and I am very interested in adolescent and young adults' experiences with coming of age, becoming adults, in the context of their families and their communities. I am part of a research team looking specifically at the experiences of Haitian people in the United States on a variety of dimensions. The team is headed by Dr. Margaret Stephenson, who is herself Haitian and very interested in accurately representing the Haitian experience in the professional literature. As you may be aware, there is a history in social science research of creating scales and models and norms on white European-American people and studying many other people with those models. Dr. Stephenson, myself and my team members are among the researchers who are now trying to create, from the ground up, an understanding of cultures other than European-American. Therefore, I am here with no preconceptions of you and the Haitian culture other than what I have learned from speaking with other Haitian people. I want to know your experiences, in your words, so we can present a picture of what it is like to become an adult as a Haitian in the United States. To make sure that I am accurately representing your thoughts and experiences, I would invite you to review my summary of this interview and the final paper before I submit them, if you would like.

As we go through this interview, please take as long as you want to discuss each topic, and feel free to go back to a previous idea if something additional occurs to you. I encourage you to speak as openly and as honestly as you feel comfortable doing.

- A. First I would like you to answer some questions so I might have a little background for the rest of the interview. (See Demographic Questionnaire)
- B. Because we are going to be talking about times in the past and your thoughts for the future, I thought that drawing some diagrams would be helpful. The relational space map is a diagram which represents you and the important people in your life. You may think of it as a diagram of the solar system, with you as the sun and the important people in your life as the planets around you. (Interviewer draws a sample diagram with sun and planets labeled as such). By important I mean people who are in your mind or thoughts or to whom you feel close. These people do not need to have been physically present to be important. The distance between you and the planets should represent how close you feel or felt to those people at the time. Those people who are physically present (live near by)

you can draw as closed circles; those people who are physically distant but still hold an important place for you, you can draw as open circles. Put the name of each person inside the circle that represents them. If you would like to include a group of people that were important as a group but not as individuals, you may draw a collection of small circles to indicate that. An example of this might be a youth group or athletic team of which you were a member.

I would like you to draw two different space maps; one for each of two periods in your life. The first map I would like you to draw is of you and the important people in your life five years ago. The second map will represent your life now.

Do you have any questions about what I have just said? (If not) Okay, we will do these maps one at a time and discuss them as we go. So, now draw yourself and the important people in your life five years ago.

Questions Based on Relational Space Map 1

1) Tell me about this time. Where were you, what were you doing, with whom? Where were you living and who lived with you? What is an important or salient memory (event) from this period?

2) Your (mother) is very close to you here. Tell me about that. What qualities best describe that relationship? What was important to you about that relationship? How would your mother describe that relationship? How would the other people in your family describe that relationship? How would your friends describe your relationship with your mother?

3) If your mother were to describe you to her friend in this period in your life, what would she have said? What would she say is most important to you? How would she describe you to your father? How would your friend describe you to another person in this period in your life? What would (s)he say is most important to you?

4) You also seem quite close to (friend). Tell me about her. Tell me about your relationship. What was it about the relationship that was important to you? How did your family feel about this friendship? How did (friend) see your friendship?

(Continue similar line of questioning regarding other people in map)

5) Are there people in your family who are not on this map? Who? Where were they physically (did they live at a distance)? Describe your relationships with each person.

6) Tell me more about this time in your life. What is your happiest memory from that time? What made it so happy? Who shared this happy event with you? How would (other people) describe that happy event?

- 7) What was a difficult thing about that time for you? Did you turn to anyone for support? Who? What was that like; what did they do to support you? How did your family feel about that difficult time for you? Who would they have expected you to go to for support? What about your friend; how did they react to that difficult time. Who would they have expected you to go to for support?
- 8) In general during that time in your life, who would you turn to for support? Who would your family expect you to turn to? Why are these two things different (the same)?
- 9) What are some of the important decisions you made at this time in your life? Who else was involved in these decisions? What did (other people) think of your choices? How difficult (or easy) was it to make these decisions? Who did you tell first? How did they respond? How would you have hoped and expected them to respond? How seriously did people take your decision-making and resolve on this issue?
- 10) Describe a conflict in your family that occurred during this time. Who was involved; what were the issues; how did it get resolved? How did you feel about the situation? Do you think everyone involved expressed their true feelings about the conflict issues? Did you?
- 11) What is the most positive thing you can think of about your family at this point in your life? What is the most difficult thing about your family at this time in your life?
- 12) What was the most positive thing about being a Haitian growing up in the U.S. at this time in your life? What was the most difficult thing about being a Haitian in the U.S. at that time in your life?
- 13) What rules did your family have for you then? How did those rules compare to those for other children in your family (i.e. boys vs girls)? What were you allowed to do and not compared to your Haitian and non-Haitian friends (peers)?

Questions Based on Relational Space Map 2

The questions will follow a similar direction as those for map 1.

- 14) Tell me about your experience at Umass. How long have you been here; where do you live; what are you studying; what is your impression of this experience?
- 15) How did you decide to go to college, and to choose this college? How do your parents feel about that decision? Did they always feel that way? What was that decision process like?
- 16) What fears do your parents have for you at this time in your life? What are your family's expectations for you at this time in your life? How do you feel about those fears and expectations? How do those fears and expectations compare to those of your friend's families (Haitian and non)?

17) How closely (or not) do you associate with Haitian and non-Haitian students on campus? How do you feel you are alike and different from each? How do your parents feel about your friends here?

18) (If participant draws friends from home) Tell me about Margaret. What is she doing now? How does she feel about your being here at UMass? How often do you see each other? How is your relationship the same or different now as opposed to before you came to UMass?

19) (If participant does not draw friends from home) I see you do not have any friends from home on this map; can you tell me about that? Do you have friends back where your family lives? What are they doing? How do they feel about what you are doing? How do you feel about what they are doing?

General and Future-Oriented Questions

1) What are your plans for the future? Where will you be, what doing and with whom? How do you feel about that scenario?

2) How did you make the decision to be doing (job/school/ marriage) ? Who would be involved in that decision?

4) What are your family's expectations for you at this time? How would they feel about this choice? How would they talk about this choice to other family members?

5) If I were to say to you "Who are you?", how would you define yourself?

6) Think of a role model who you consider to be very mature; what qualities define that person for you?

7) What qualities would a traditional Haitian person see as maturity?

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a brief list of questions which will aid me in making our interview today as relevant and meaningful to your experience as possible. Please take your time in answering these questions and do not hesitate to ask any questions you may have.

1) How would you describe yourself in terms of ethnicity?

2) What is your permanent address? (i.e. where do you consider home to be when you are not on campus?) _____

3) Who lives with you there?

Name	Relation	Age	Occupation
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

4) Who in your family immigrated to the United States and when?

Name	Relation	Year Immigrated
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

5) Where were you born? _____

6) How long have you lived in the United States? _____

7) If you were born outside the US, how old were you when you immigrated? _____

8) Do you belong to any churches or community organizations? Please describe:

9) Do other members of your household (i.e. people who live with you at home) belong to any churches or community organizations? Please describe: _____

10) What year of college are you in? _____. What is your major? _____

APPENDIX D

CODING SCHEME

(Brief descriptive definitions are given for those codes which are not self-explanatory.)

CODE	Definition
Individuality:	
Point of view to family	Has and communicates her point of view to her family.
Point of view to non-family	Has and communicates her point of view to non-family.
Express self as different from other	Describes himself as different from other family members in some way.
Challenge parent directly	Relates situation in which he challenged parent directly
Challenge parent indirectly	
Critique parent positively	
Proximal but no cohabitate with family	Subject expresses desire to live nearby family but not in same house.
Refuse to comply with parent request	
Parent respects subject's requests	
Parent encourages subject's independence	
Subject identifies self as independent	
Subject develops interests on own	
Subject chooses friend over parent	Describes situation in which they went with friend's wishes as opposed to parent's wishes.
Subject describes self as "selfish"	
Subject ignores parent	
Subject takes responsibility for self	Explicitly refers to needing to be responsible for self.
Subject makes own mistakes	Wants to learn from his own mistakes.
Subject struggles with self needs	Expresses confusion about what her needs are and how to have them met.
Connectedness:	
Subject understands parent's view	Describes understanding why a parent made a particular decision.
Subject agrees with parent	
Complies with parent's request/ wishes	
Subject sees self as like parent	
Subject values parent's happiness	
Parent discourages subject's independence	

Connectedness, continued	
Parent makes decisions for the subject	Describes parent making his decisions, such as where to go to school.
Parent involved in subject's relationships	Parent active with subject and her friends and boyfriends.
Subject hesitant about separation	Expresses hesitation about going away from family.
Subject values family's regard	
Parent disapproves of subject's decision	Describes parent disapproving with a decision he made.
Subject wants to be needed by family	
Maturity is caring for others	Describes a mature person as one who cares for others.
Subject follows siblings	Follows in the path of her siblings.
Familialism/ support:	
Parent for emotional support	Subject looks to parent for emotional support.
Parent for logistical support	Subject looks to parent for support with finances, scheduling, transportation, etc.
Older generation family member for logistical support	
Same generation family member for emotional support	
Same generation family member for logistical support	
General family support	Describes family as being supportive in general terms..
Subject supports other family members	Describes giving emotional or logistical support to other family member.
Subject does not feel supported by family	Explicitly relates a lack of emotional or logistical support by family in general.
Older generation friend for emotional support	Looks to older generation (non-family) friend for support
Older generation friend for logistical support	
Same generation friend for emotional support	
Same generation friend for educational support	
Subject has a 'best friend'	Refers to someone in his life as a 'best friend'
Subject looks to romantic partner for support	

Familialism/ support, continued	
Subject looks to youth group for support	Finds emotional or logistical support in church, athletic or academic organized youth group.
Subject looks to self for support	
Subject looks to God for support	
Subject feels he has no one to turn to for support	
Familialism/ dependability:	
Depend on family	Subject feels she can depend on her family in times of need.
Depend on other Haitian people in general	Subject relates sense of community with other Haitians and shared dependability towards each other.
Subject feels he can not depend on friends	
Subject feels she can not depend on same generation family members	
Familialism/ closeness:	
Subject describes feeling 'close' to parent	Subject uses those exact words to describe her relationships with her parent (s).
Subject describe feeling 'not close' to parent	
Subject feels 'close' to same generation family member	
Subject feels 'not close' to same generation family member	
Subject describes feeling 'close' to friends	
Subject describes feeling 'close' to older generation family member (not parent)	
Subject feels 'close' to family in general	Describes family in general using the term 'close'
Subject 'misses' past family closeness	Relates regret that family is no longer as 'close' as in the past.
Subject describes family as 'not close'	
Subject wants relationship with nearby relatives	Wants to develop a 'closer' relationship with family members who are geographically proximal.
Subject describes 'lack of closeness' between the generations in family	Describes a gap in closeness between older and younger generations of the family.

Familialism/ intimacy in conversation:	
Intimacy with parent	Subject describes sharing an intimate or personal conversation with his parent.
Lack of intimacy with parent	Subject feels he is unable to discuss personal issues with his parent.
Intimacy with same generation family member	
Lack of intimacy with same generation family member	
Intimacy with older generation family member	
Lack of intimacy with family in general	Feels that the family in general does not allow for intimate sharing in conversation.
Intimacy with older generation friends	
Intimacy with same generation friends	
Intimacy with romantic partners	
Familialism/ respect for elders	
Showed respect for parents	Relates situation in which she showed respect to parent.
Showed respect for older generation family member	
Showed respect for older generation friend	
Respect for elders, in general	Describes in general terms the value of respecting elders
Withheld information from elders so as not to disrespect them.	
Lack of respect for elders	Relates not showing respect for elders.
Familialism/ advice	
Subject looks to parent for advice	Describes looking to parent for advice of any sort.
Subject looks to older generation family member for advice	
Subject looks to same generation family member for advice	
Subject looks to older generation friend (non-family) for advice	
Subject looks to same generation friend (non-family) for advice	

Familialism/ obligation:	
Subject obligated to the parent	Describes feeling obligated to her parent.
Parent obligated to subject	Relates example of parent feeling obligated to (such as to care for) the subject.
Parents obligated to other family members	Relates situation of parent being obligated to care for or house, etc. other members of extended family.
Older generation family member obligated to care for subject	Subject sent to older generation family member to be cared for.
Subject obligated to other family member	Describes being obligated to another family member.
General value of family obligation	
Parent sacrifices self for others	Describes situation in which parent sacrificed herself in order to help others
Outgrow obligation	Subject suggests that at some age one should no longer be obligated to one's elders.
Familialism/ miscellaneous:	
Extended family	Subject explicitly refers to his extended family
Family expectations for subject	Describes her family's expectations for her life.
Family expectations not what subject want	Describes not wanting for herself what her family expects of her.
Parent spoiled subject	Subject describes parents as spoiling or pampering her.
Subject admires family members	Describes admiring or being proud of family members
Other family positive relationship	Subject describes other family members as having positive relationships with each other.
Nothing positive about family	Subject asserts that there is nothing positive about his family.
Haitian-specific family dimensions:	
Dad absent or peripheral	Subject describes father as being absent or peripheral in his life.
Dad makes decisions for family	
Clearly defined gender roles	Subject describes Haitian families as holding strict gender roles.

Haitian family dimensions, continued	
Strong sense of family values	Subject describes Haitians as having strong sense of family values.
Highly protective/ strict parents	Subject describes parents as maintaining strict rules for the children.
Emphasis on discipline	Subject describes parents as enforcing punishment on children.
Chores and responsibilities	Subject describes family as emphasizing chores for all children.
Kids do as told; no questions asked	Subject relates that children are expected to obey their elders, no questions about the origins of the request.
Parents value education.	Subject relates that parents value education.
Parent not active in subject's education	Subject relates that parents do not become directly or actively involved in their education.
Parents not strict	Subject describes his parents as not too strict
Religion important	Subject describes religion as being important in her family.
Never an adult	Subject relates that in Haitian culture one is always accountable to your elders.
Alcohol acceptable	Subject relates that in Haitian culture drinking alcohol socially is acceptable.
Judgmental	Subject describes Haitian people as judgmental of others
Reputation important	Subject relates that an individual and a family's reputation is very important to safeguard.
Distant parent	Subject describes parent as distant emotionally, partly as a result of strict discipline.
Acculturation/ identifications	
Identify with American culture	Subject relates identifying with White or institutional American culture.
Disidentify with American culture	Subject criticizes or relates disidentifying with White or institutional American culture.
Identify with Black American culture	Subject describes themselves as identifying with Black American culture.
Disidentify with Black American culture	Subject criticizes or relates disidentifying with Black American culture.

Acculturation/ identifications continued	
Identify with Haitian American culture	Subject describes themselves as identifying with Haitian American culture.
Disidentify w Haitian American culture	Subject criticizes or relates disidentifying with Haitian American culture.
Difference between Black and White America	Subject catalogues differences between Black and White American culture.
Separate identifications	Subject feels she has to keep her identification with Black and Haitian and White America as separate.
Lone minority	Subject relates resentment at White Americans for being pegged as a token minority.
Criticize Haiti	Subject criticizes Haiti in some way
Perceptions of America	Subject relates her perceptions of America
Peer pressure in Black America	Subject relates feeling peer pressure to fit-in in Black America.
Dual identity in Black and White America	Subject relates identifying both with Black and White America; at times torn between the two.
Acculturation/language:	
Issues with learning English	Subject relates experiencing difficulties related to learning English.
Acculturation/ prejudice:	
Prejudice experience in White America	Subject describes experiencing a situation involving prejudice from White America
Prejudice experience in Black America	Subject describes experiencing a situation involving prejudice from Black America
Acculturation/ lifestyles:	
Differences between subject and Black America	Subject describes differences between their own lifestyle and those of Black American culture.
Difference between Haitian and White American	Subject describes differences between Haitian and White or institutional American culture
Difference between subject and family	Subject describes differences in lifestyle between himself and his family.

Acculturation/ lifestyles, cont.	
Similarities within Haitian-Amer. culture	
Differences within Haitian-American culture	
Trust Americans more	Subject relates situations in which her parents trusted White or Black Americans more than Haitian-Americans
Culture shock	Subject experiences culture shock upon leaving community to attend mainstream college.
Immigration:	
Better future for children	Subject relates that reason for family's immigration was to provide a better life and future for the children.
Separation/loss from important people	Subject relates being separated from people who he considered to be significant figures in his life.
Lack of communication regarding move	Subject relates having little communication within family regarding the immigration move.
Negative or distant relationship with parent seen as result of immigration	Subject describes a negative or distant relationship with her parent which she attributes to immigration factors.
General negative impact or experience	Subject describes general negative repercussions of the immigration experience.
Multiple relocations related to immigration	Subject relates being relocated multiple times to multiple caregivers during the immigration process.
Abandoned; homeless	Subject describes feeling abandoned and homeless as a result of the immigration process.
Justify immigration	Subject expresses understanding or justification for the difficulties they experienced during immigration.
Miscellaneous Descriptive Codes	
Role model	Subject discusses someone whom they view as a role model.
Acquaintances	Subject describes himself as having many acquaintances but few friends.

Miscellaneous Codes, continued	
Personality	Subject describes herself and her personality
Personal growth	Subject relates experience which he described as involving personal growth.
Definition of maturity	Subject discusses what she considers 'maturity' to be.
Anger at family	Subject relates feeling angry at her family.
Negative or distant relation with parent (not directly related to immigration)	Subject describes his relationship with his parent(s) as being negative or distant.
Justify negative relationship with parent	Subject minimizes or expresses understanding or rationale for the negative relationship with her parent.
Subject wants more positive parent relationship	Subject expresses desire to develop a more positive relationship with her parent.
Parent wants more positive relationship	Subject relates that his parent wants to build a more positive relationship with him.
Caregiver hostile	Subject describes his non-parent caregiver as hostile towards him.
Transition/ separation hard	Subject relates experiencing difficulty when going through transitions or separations.
Separation from family (not immigration)	Subject relates being separated from family members for reasons not directly related to immigration.
Forced maturation	Subject relates feeling that she was forced to grow up too quickly.
Sacrifice self for others	Subject describes herself as often sacrificing herself for the good of others.
Lack of support in real world	Subject relates feeling a lack of support in the world outside of her family and community.
Slow to warm; defended	Subject describes himself as having difficulty opening up to people in relationships.
Avoid conflict	Subject relates that she generally prefers to avoid conflict
Family conflict with silence	Subject relates that in his family, conflicts are generally handled by ceasing to communicate.

Miscellaneous Codes, continued	
Family conflict; forgive and forget.	Subject relates that in her family, conflicts are generally quickly forgiven and forgotten.
Strife in family	Subject describes a situation in his nuclear or extended family that involves conflict or strife.
Abuse in extended family	Subject describes a specific instance of abuse taking place in her extended family.
Family triangle	Subject describes the existence of a family triangle with parents and himself.
Parental conflict	Subject describes instances of conflict specifically between her parents.
Divorce; multiple caregivers.	Subject relates being cared for by multiple people as a result of his parent's divorce.
Family gossip	Subject describes family as gossiping about one another
Death of family member	Subject relates the death of a family member.
Dislike family member	Subject expresses dislike for a family member.
Non-family caretaker	Subject relates being cared for at some point by an older generation non-family friend.
Jealous of sibling	Subject discusses being jealous of a sibling.
Disapprove of sibling rebellion	Subject expresses disapproval for a sibling's acting out.
Acting out	Subject describes herself as acting out at some point.
Parent asks subject's advice	Subject relates an instance when his parent asked him for advice.
Parent disregarded subject's advice	Subject relates that parent disregarded his advice once given.
Popular in school	Subject describes himself as being popular among his peers at school
Return to Haiti	Subject expresses desire to return to Haiti some day
Made college	Subject expresses pride at attending college.
Nurture relationships	Subject describes herself as carefully nurturing her relationships.

End romantic relationship

Subject discusses the ending of a romantic relationship

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