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Uma A. Segal

INTRODUCTION

The economic, political, and social opportunities promised by life in the United States have drawn immigrants from numerous countries. Recently, the term "Asian" Asian American that has been officially established by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Office of Homeland Security to include all Asians and Southeast Asians, now attempts to recognize the major differences as well as the cultural variations that exist within and among nations and races from Asia by further differentiation.[1] Nevertheless, there continue to be generalized and overwhelming perceptions in the public that Americans of Asian origin are similar in many ways, that they constitute a "model minority," are professionally successful, and, according to their own cultural notions of health, are well adjusted both emotionally and mentally. Despite this stereotype and its appreciation of the achievement orientation of many Americans of Asian origin and its recognition that several in this population are productive and contributive members of the United States, it is clear to those engaged in migration studies that transnational and transcultural adaptation is often a difficult and painful process. This chapter isolates one group of Asians in the United States (U.S.), the Indian American[2] from among the many within the Asian American population, exploring its immigrant experience.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Immigration Patterns

[1] see question #6 on 2010 Census form

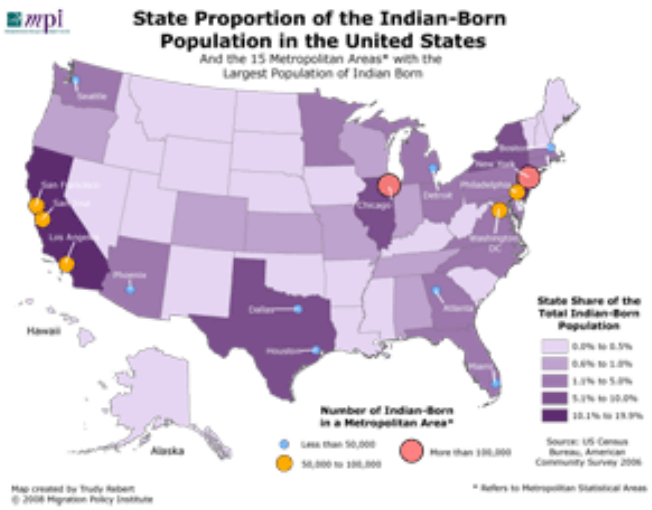
[2] Although identified as Asian Indian by the U.S. Census, the population prefers to self-identify as Indian American in recognition of its allegiance to the U.S. The term Asian Indian will be used to identify the population during its early immigration experience, moving to "Indian American" when referring to the population of the latter part of 20th Century and early 21st Century.

Although documentation of the presence of Indian Americans dates back to 1790 in Massachusetts, and the U.S. Census did count one Indian in the early 19th Century, it was essentially in the latter part of that century that Indians began migrating to North America in significant numbers. These were voluntary emigrants from India, primarily agricultural laborers from the northwestern India (mostly Sikhs and some Muslims), who settled in California between 1899 and 1920 and numbered about 7,300 (Balgopal, 1995; Chandrasekhar, 1982). Perhaps because of cultural and/or economic reasons, which were reinforced by restrictive immigration laws, only men from China (Lyman, 1973), Japan (Ogawa, 1973), and India (Balgopal, 1995) entered the U.S.. During the years 1928-1946, Indians were denied citizenship and further immigration was prohibited. Isolated from their families because of punitive immigration policies, 3,000 Asian Indians returned to India between 1920 and 1940. After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1946, Asian Indians were once again able to immigrate legally to the U.S., but only at the rate of 100 per year. Between 1958 and 1965, only a few more Indians came to the U.S., and on the whole these were a small transient community of students, Indian government officials and businessmen, although there was a small number (4,756) of new immigrants (Leonhard-Spark and Saran, 1980).

While immigrants from India continue to enter the United States, an exceptionally large number of Indian immigrants arrived in the mid-1960s with the liberalization of immigration policies and passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished national quotas and allowed in immigrants based on profession and skills. Many Asian Indians (henceforth referred to as Indians) came to the United States in the mid-1960s as students, most with intentions of returning to India, yet the majority remained with the opening of professional opportunities and established homes and families, particularly on the East and

West Coasts as well as in several metropolitan areas around the country, Although Indians may be found across the nation and in all states, this pattern remains relatively consistent as is evident in Map 1 that displays the current distribution of the foreign-born population of Indian origin .

Map 1: Distribution of the Foreign-Born Indian American Population (2008)[3]



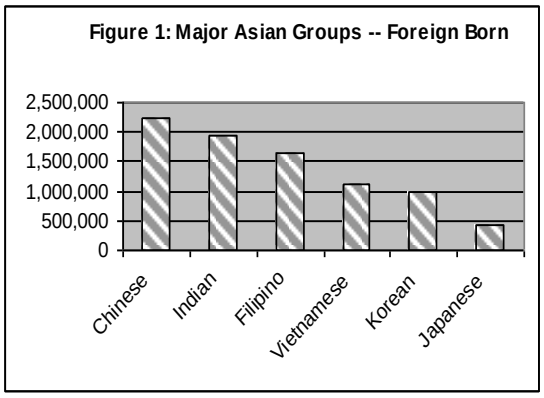
Although the 2010 Census figures may provide more accurate data, the 2008 American Community Survey[4] indicates that among "single-ethnicity Asians," Indians are now the second largest group following the Chinese and also comprise the second largest number of foreign-born (Table 1)

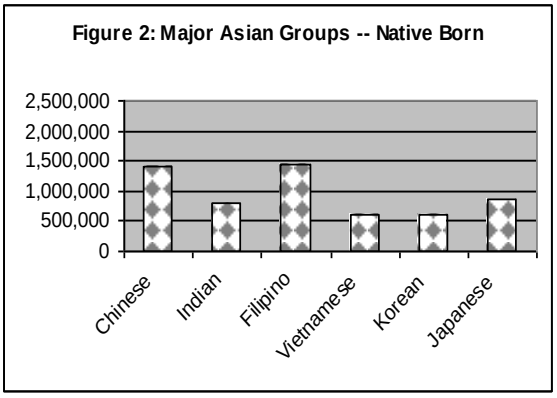
Table 1: Major Asian & other Foreign – Born Populations (2008)

Population	Single Race	Bi/multirace & Single Race Combined	Foreign-Born	2nd+ Generation
All Asians*	13,413,976	15,281,043	9,211,303	6,069,740
Chinese	3,077,783	3,622,496	2,227,414	1,395,082
Indian	2,495,998	2,725,594	1,927,328	798,266

[3] Source: Migration Information Source of the Migration Policy Institute, Website: http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?id=687, accessed: April 29, 2010.
[4] The American Community Survey provides an annual estimate of the socio-demographic characteristics of the foreign-born based on a sample of approximately three million households.

Filipino	**2,425,697**	**3,088,000**	**1,653,820**	**1,434,180**
Vietnamese	**1,431,980**	**1,728,532**	**1,113,224**	**615,308**
Korean	**1,344,267**	**1,609,980**	**1,002,934**	**607,046**
Japanese	**710,063**	**1,298,890**	**441,681**	**857,209**
*Includes other Asian groups				
Others				
White				**18,569,693**
Black				**3,081,782**
South American				**1,847,115**
Central American				**2,527,557**





Between 1980 and 1990 the community grew 125.6 percent from 361,531 and the current figures of 2.7 million far surpass early projections of two million by 2050 (Bouvier and Agresta, 1985). Thus, as is evident from Table 1 and figures 1 and 2 from the American Community Survey 2008, Indians compose one of the fastest-growing Asian American groups, resulting not only from the arrival of new immigrants, but also from the birth of the second generation.

Although little discussed, there is also a sizeable unauthorized immigrant population from India. Unauthorized individuals may have entered the United States legally or illegally. In the former instance, they remain without permission after the term of their visa expires, In 2000, the

number of this population from India was estimated to be about 120,000 or one percent of the total unauthorized population. In 2009, it was estimated at 200,000 or two percent of the total unauthorized population and an increase of 64 percent. Unauthorized immigrants from India are the sixth largest in number, following groups from Central America and the Philippines (Hoefer, Rytina & Baker, 2010). It is not clear to what extent this group is represented in the literature and data discussed in the remainder of the chapter.

Defining Characteristics of Indians in the United States

Indian migration is not new as this population has long sought better opportunities around the globe, however, the large wave that immigrated to the United States between the years 1965 and 1987 was highly educated and professional, distinctly different from the populations that emigrated to other countries, and is also different from other groups that have come to the United States. Indian immigrants to the United States during those two decades did not represent a cross-section of the Indian subcontinent; as a result of personal reasons for emigrating and restrictions on Asian immigration, most belonged to a select group seeking professional or advanced (graduate level) educational opportunities. Because India's educational system has a distinct British orientation, most Indians who came to the United States prior to 1985 were fluent in English with some exposure to Western values and beliefs, facilitating their entry into American society (Leonhard-Spark and Saran, 1980). Their facility in English, their high levels of education, and their professional skills, enabled most to soon establish themselves successfully in the United States, and because they tended to select residences based on convenience and locality rather than proximity to other Indians, few Indian ghettos in the latter 20th Century existed in the United States.

Under the family reunification provision of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 (PL 89-236), U.S. citizens and permanent residents of Indian origin can sponsor their immediate family members for immigration. Many of the immigrants of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s are now citizens and/or permanent residents of the United States, are well established economically, and are in positions to sponsor relatives or recruit workers for their businesses. Many of these new immigrants are not as skilled as their sponsors. The median income of Indians who immigrated between 1987 and 1990 dipped to one-fifth of that of pre-1980 migrants (Balgopal, 1995; Melwani, 1994). Despite this fact, the median family income in 2008 was $99,783, substantially higher than the country's median at $63.366. The per capita income is 29 percent higher than the national average, a four percent increase since 1990 when it was 25 percent higher (American Community Survey, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 1992).

Overall, the educational level of Indians over the age of 25 years is also high. The 2008 American Community Survey data show that in that year, 37.6 percent of Indians reported a graduate or professional degree, while the national average was 10.2 percent; 32.5 percent had a bachelor's degree (United States average was 17.5%); 9.4 percent had less than a high school diploma (national average was 15%). A significant proportion (22.6% to the U.S. average of 10.4%) is employed in professional, scientific, management, and administrative positions or in education, health, and social services (22.9% to the U.S. average of 21.7%). Over 45,000 physicians of Indian origin are practicing in the United States, and another 15,000 medical students and residents are preparing to enter the profession (Sangal, 2008).

The influx of newcomers into a new country often strains the host country's cultural homogeneity and may be perceived as a threat to societal norms (Mayadas and Elliott, 1992; Mayadas and Segal, 1989). Although Indian Americans have generally been highly successful

in their professional and business endeavors and are recognized as productive contributors to the United States' economy, because of sociocultural differences between the Indian and American societies, a marked distance continues to exist between long-established Americans and this group of naturalized citizens. The difference is further highlighted as intergenerational conflicts emerge between these immigrant professionals of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and their American-born offspring (Segal, 2002).

Regardless of reasons for emigrating, all immigrants to a new country find adjustment to foreign values, expectations, and environment baffling. However, although European immigrants and their descendants faced cultural conflicts, because their features are Caucasian and the color of their skin is white, their assimilation into the American mainstream was largely dependent on their individual decisions to adopt the American culture (Portes and Zhou, 1993) unlike the more recent immigrants from South America and Asia, who are always distinguishable because of their physical characteristics[5] While the experiences of different immigrant groups from Asia vary in the extent to which they encounter overt discrimination, injustice and oppression, their experience of acculturation in terms of value adjustment and orientation of family life tends to be similar. Immigrants often experience crises in identity, feeling isolated and alienated from both their culture of origin and the American culture (Sue, 1973). Such stress results in one of three reactions: (1) close adherence to the values of the culture of origin, (2) over Westernization and rejection of Asian ways, or (3) integration of aspects of both cultures perceived as most amenable to the development of self-esteem and identity (Sue, 1973). Portes and Zhou (1993) propose a fourth response—segmented assimilation—in which a group engages in rapid economic advancement with the deliberate

[5] Although not a focus of this chapter, immigrants from Africa are faced with another dilemma as they are often identified as African Americans although they do not share either the history or the culture of the latter.

preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity. A study of relationships between acculturation-related demographics and cultural attitudes of a group of 105 Indians in the United States reported that 65 percent identified as being mostly Indian, 21 percent preferred an equal mix of Indian and American lifestyles, and 7 percent chose not to self-identify as Indian (Sodowsky & Carey, 1988).

Indian Demography and the Family

Located in South Asia, India's southern half is bordered by the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and its northern portions border on Pakistan, China, Nepal and Bangladesh. The country is 1,269,340 square miles (3,287,590 sq km), slightly more than one-third the size of the United States, with an estimated population in 2009 of 1.17 billion, second only to that of China. Estimates in 2007 indicate that 30.8 percent of the population is below 14 years of age, 64.3 percent is between the ages of 15 and 64, and only 4.9 percent is 65 and over (CIA, 2010). Regions across India are so diverse, with differences in phenotype, language (both spoken and written), culture, food, literature, art and music and style of dress, that it could well be an “Indian Union” of several small nation states. The population is ethnically diverse in religion (Hindus 80.5%, Muslims 13.4%, Christians 2.3%, Sikhs 1.9%, others 1.9%). Although English has an associate status, it is the most used language for national, political, and commercial communications; Hindi, the official language, is spoken by about 41% of the population, with at least twenty-four other languages, each spoken by a million or more persons; it is believed that there are 1,652 Indian languages and dialects. Politically, India is a secular federal republic and the world's largest democracy that received its independence from the British on August 15, 1947. With its 28 states and seven union territories, it has a

Parliamentary government consisting of executive, legislative, and judicial branches and a universal suffrage age of 18 years (Government of India, 2010).

The Traditional Indian Family

Most Indians base their family lifestyles on the following traditional values, beliefs, and expectations that appear to be common to most Asian cultures.

1. Asians are allocentric (group oriented), not idiocentric (self oriented), and the individual is expected to make sacrifices for the larger good of the group, more specifically, for that of the family (Hofstede, 1980; Segal, Segal and Niemerycki, 1993; Segal, 2002; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai and Lucca, 1988).
2. Males are more valued than are females. In this clearly patriarchal society, men are heads of households, primary wage earners, decision makers, and disciplinarians. Women are subordinate and serve as caretakers; as children, they are groomed to move into and contribute to the well-being of the husband's family (Dhruvarajan, 1993; Mullatti, 1995; Segal, 2002).
3. Children are docile and obedient. They are expected to bring honor to their families by exhibiting good behavior, high achievement, and contributing to family wellbeing. Children's mates are selected by the parents, often based on factors unrelated to the offsprings' emotional expectations. Choice of career is heavily influenced, if not dictated, by the family (Dhruvarajan, 1993; Dutt, 1989; Saran, 1985; Segal, 2002; Sinha, 1984).
4. High levels of dependency are fostered in the family. The female is expected to be dependent throughout her life—first on her father, then on her husband, and finally on her eldest son. Children are dependent emotionally, and often socially, on their parents

throughout the parents' lives. Authority and respect for elders are paramount, and the family unit controls members in all areas of their lives. Traditionally, difficulties are handled within the family, whether these difficulties are familial, emotional, professional, financial, or health related (Segal, 2002, Sinha, 1984).

5. Two major concepts tend to permeate all significant relationships: obligation and shame. One is expected to be selfless and obligated to significant others, especially to parents and husbands, within the family. Nor should one's behavior ever bring shame upon oneself or one's family (Chatrathi, 1985; Segal, 2002; Sue, 1981).

Consistent with these patterns, the traditional Indian family system is that of the joint family, in which the family is strictly hierarchical, patriarchal, and patrilineal. Three or more generations may live together, with age, gender, and generation serving as the primary determinants of behavior and role relationships. Two or more family groupings of the same generation may be found in the joint family system as sons bring their spouses to the parental home. A high premium is placed on conformity. Interdependence is fostered, self-identity is inhibited (Sinha, 1984), and a conservative orientation, resistant to change, is rewarded. Despite the many changes and adaptations to a pseudo-Western culture and a tentative move toward the nuclear family among the middle class, this system is preferred and continues to prevail in modern India.

In the joint family, each child has multiple role models and the supervision and training of children is shared by all family members. Whereas infants are generally overindulged, young children are reared in an authoritarian atmosphere in which autonomy is not tolerated (Mullatti, 1995). As children enter their teen and young adult years, guilt, shame and a sense of moral obligation are used as the primary mechanisms of control. This control model has a

positive aspect in providing a structure that maintains family integrity through a deep-seated belief in societal norms and an obligation to duty. Belief in the integrity of the group provides the family with a group identity and strengthens family stability, albeit at the cost of individual autonomy (Triandis et al., 1988). Western authors often overlook this aspect of Indian culture, which serves to bind the intergenerational family together (Segal, 1991).

Indian Adolescents

Biological puberty is considered the onset of adolescence; the end is marked by the integration of one's psychological identity and the establishment of a goal-directed life (Seltzer, 1982). In an individualistic society, adolescence extends over a long period and involves tasks that require considerable trial and error. Surmounting these difficulties and emerging as a well-functioning individual with a discrete self-identity can create high levels of stress, especially if adolescents' struggles to establish their identities are not understood or supported by significant adults.

The phenomenon of adolescence, as conceptualized in the West, is relatively absent for the Eastern teenager. Among Indians, the transitional period of adolescence is generally not recognized. Children continue to remain submissive to parents even after they get married, become employed, and leave the parental home (Segal, 2002). Because youth must always defer to age, the autocratic parent-child relationship tends to persist. Although each subcommunity may have a rite of passage with the onset of biological puberty to mark adulthood, there is no concurrent change in role, status, responsibility (Arrendondo, 1984), or autonomy in decision making, and children accept parental authority throughout the latter's lifetime. The traditional family structure and norms do not reward competitiveness,

achievement orientation, or self-orientation within the family. The welfare and integrity of the family supersedes individual self-identity (Sinha, 1984; Triandis, 1988).

THE MODERN "INDIAN-AMERICAN" ETHNIC FAMILY

Mayadas and Elliott (1992) argue that key issues in the adjustment and integration of immigrants are the dimensions of economic advantage/disadvantage and cultural identity. They suggest that the immigrant group's socioeconomic status (including class, education, age and gender) and cultural identity (language, religion, rituals, values, dress, food, art, music and political affiliation) greatly impact acceptance by the host country, which, in turn, has implications for the adjustment, resocialization, and modification of values and beliefs of that immigrant group. Regardless of where Indians have migrated over the years (to the United States, England, Africa, the Caribbean, or the Far East), they have tended to move for economic reasons and not because they have been politically or socially oppressed in India. They have always maintained strong social, emotional, and cultural ties with their homeland, often return to visit India, and usually provide financial support to members of their families who remain in that country. Continued connections with the homeland are often evidenced by remittances, which in 2008 totaled $52 billion to India, surpassing amounts sent to any other country (Ratha, Mohapatra & Silwal, 2009). Even emigrants who left India several generations ago for the United Kingdom, South Africa and the Caribbean, maintain a strong Indian cultural identity, and marital patterns have tended to remain endogenous.

This pattern is evidenced in the segmented assimilation, (Portes & Zhou, 1993) of the more recent Indian immigrants to the United States. Collectively, they have advanced rapidly economically but have deliberately preserved traditional values and maintained tight community solidarity. This tendency has had significant implications both for their own

integration into the Western society and in the socialization of the second generation with its inevitable conflicts in balancing North American and Eastern values, beliefs and lifestyles.

Family Structure, Family Behavior, and Ethnic Culture

Because the Indian immigrant group is a relatively new one, with members of the majority of the first generation now in their mid-life years and with strong connections with their homeland, several family patterns have remained consistent with traditional ones. In fact, in an attempt to protect tradition, family patterns may not have experienced normal cultural evolution. Many immigrants arrived in the United States as married couples or family groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s: those who came as students returned to India to follow prescribed rules of arranged marriage. It is only in the late 1980s, when large numbers of second-generation Indians began achieving adolescence and adulthood, that traditional cultural values and practices were questioned, presenting conflicts of a nature the first generation had not envisioned. Furthermore, concerns about aging parents, many of whom still remain in India, and about their own retirement in a country into which they have not truly assimilated are added issues that were not prevalent in Indians' early immigration experience. While some of these issues have been resolved for the first post-1965 wave of Indian immigrants as the second generation carved out its own path, newer immigrants arriving in large numbers with the H1B and L1 visas,[6] are, all over again, experiencing these conflicts. In 2008, Indians led all other countries with 38 percent of the H1B visa category and 17 percent for the L1 category. In this same year, Canada sent the second largest group of H1B visa entrants at 5.7 percent and the origin of the second largest L1 entrants was the United Kingdom at 14 percent (Monger & Barr, 2009).

[6] The H1B is a temporary visa for individuals in specialty occupations and their families while the L1 is a visa for intra-company transfer.

To understand the Indian family in the United States, it is advisable to look at role relationships within the family, demographic characteristics of the family, extended family relationships, and processes for the maintenance and transmission of the culture.

Family Roles

Most Indians who grew up and lived in a joint family system in India, found themselves in a nuclear family after immigration to the United States because immigration policies permit only spouses and children to accompany the young professional/student population. What does accompany these immigrants is the Indian patriarchal, paternalistic system, in which adult male members of the family continue to be the primary wage earners, decision makers, and protectors of the young, women, and the elderly. While a large proportion of immigrant Indian women are highly educated and professional women and who work outside the home, a fact that might suggest their emancipation from tradition, this assumption warrants discussion.

Regardless of the religious and cultural backgrounds of Indian families, perceptions of the role of women in the Indian family have been inculcated into the society through classical literature and throughout Indian civilization, and three pervasive models are prevalent: (1) Sita, the heroine of the *Ramayana,* who provides the feminine ideal of the chaste, self-sacrificing wife (Lebra and Paulson, 1984); (2) the powerful archetype-the Mother-who can be gentle or aggressive, but ultimately is the supreme nurturer (Lebra and Paulson, 1984; Thomas, 1984); and (3) the dependent—first on her father, then on her husband and, finally, on her son (Sinha, 1984).

India, with its diverse cultures, has always been a country of apparent dichotomies. The most obvious contradiction was reflected in the repeated election of a female prime minister, Indira Gandhi, in a highly patriarchal society. This dichotomy is still evident as one follows

the significant and continuing roles women play in the current political environment. Perhaps the contradiction can be understood through alternative perceptions in the 20th Century. Mahatma Gandhi's believed that women have stronger moral principles than do men, and Indira Gandhi's was convinced that women's problems are associated with poverty, illiteracy, and lack of economic opportunities (Bumiller, 1990). Evident by its absence in the principles of these two prominent and influential political figures in near Indian history is the mention of gender inequality (Bumiller, 1990), especially in the home. Despite the Western belief that women's movements and higher social class increase gender equality (Dhruvarajan, 1993; Goode, 1982; Scanzoni, 1979), this equalization has not occurred in the Indian tradition. Thus, although women may become powerful in the political structure, they are still responsible for upholding the images of Sita/the pure, the Mother/the revered, and the dependent/fragile within the boundaries of the family.

These role models for women and the relationship between the genders persist both in modern-day India and in the United States today. Although many Indian immigrant women are encouraged into higher education by their families, it is frequently to increase their attractiveness to successful eligible bachelors than to ensure their personal independence. Even though an educated wife increases the social status of professional man, she is always aware that should she work, her professional responsibilities will always be subordinate to her family obligations. In a study examining the relationship between occupation and sex-role attitudes, findings indicated that there were no differences between homemakers and working women in their views of sex-role expectations, even among those who were aware of the inequities in the traditional role behaviors (Dasgupta, 1986). Indian immigrant families evidenced rigid division of roles, with women being primarily responsible for housekeeping,

including cooking, cleaning, and child care, and men fulfilling the role of the primary breadwinner (Dasgupta, 1992). Dasgupta (1992) reported that, in her in-depth qualitative study, eighty percent of the women reported that their most important activities were to care for their husbands and children by cooking for them and "keeping the house," while the majority of the men felt their responsibility was to protect and provide for their families and make major family decisions in areas such as the children's education, home/car purchase, and family vacations.

Traditionally, especially among the middle classes, finances related to the maintenance of the home and the family have generally been managed by the women. Nevertheless, contrary to the belief that "money is power," Indian women are not the decision makers on major issues within the family. They may have input into decisions but generally defer to the will of the man. Interestingly, however, in the absence of a strong extended family network and domestic help, both of which are the norm for this socioeconomic group in India, Indian men in the United States are likely to help with the care of the children and with some of the household chores (Dasgupta, 1992). Nevertheless, as the term "*help*" implies, these are still clearly women's areas of responsibility. Across the board, both male and female respondents in Dasgupta's (1992: 476) study concurred that

> the "ideal husband" . . . is friendly, understanding, affectionate, humorous, smart, educated, cooperative, a good companion, unselfish, a good provider and mild natured .... [the] `ideal wife' . . . is a good mother, understanding, supportive, a good homemaker, friendly and self-sacrificing. She . . . can share her husband's work, can take care of everybody and look after the well-being of the family.

Although the allocentric value orientation is clearly evident in role expectations for both men and women, it is worth noting that the term used by both genders to describe the ideal behavior for men is "unselfish," while for women it is "self-sacrificing."

While traditional male-female patterns persist in the immigrant generation, the patriarchy experiences considerable turmoil as the second generation reaches adolescence and adulthood. Whereas teenagers in India mature in a protected, unidirectional environment, their Indian counterparts in the United States grow up in a dual culture. Indian youth in the United States are faced with a critical need to establish their identities—not only in terms of moving into adulthood, but also in determining their identity within the Indian and American cultures. Many of these children, and their parents, experience a turbulent adolescent period as a result of these conflicts (Segal, 1991).

Depending on the degree to which immigrant parents are willing or able to assimilate Western values, the second generation faces considerable value conflict, role conflict, and role discrepancies, often resulting in role partialization (Merton, 1957) during the adolescent and young adulthood phases of development. Especially because the parent generation retains traditional values and attitudes and is unaware of the conflict their children experience, it continues to exert pressure toward conformity (Saran, 1985*).*

Literature suggests that adolescents generally conform to their peer culture in lieu of parental norms (Blos, 1979; Segal, 1991; Seltzer, 1982*).* In a given society, the cumulative effect of parental/peer cultures provides continuity and impetus to the cultural evolution of society. However, when parents and peer group originate from different cultures, this continuity is often dramatically disrupted, giving rise to major intrafamilial conflict. Segal (1991) reports that at

least five issues are identified by both parents and children as causing emotional difficulty within the family: control, communication, marriage, prejudice, and expectations of excellence.

1. *Control.* Many immigrant Indian parents do not recognize the ability of their children to make sound judgments and view their children's desire for independent decision making as cultural contamination that will eventually result in deviant behavior. To the children, this conflict represents a power struggle to which many respond with rebellion, verbal retaliation or passive-aggressive behavior. Many exercise their freedom away from home, reinforcing their parents' fears of the adverse effects of independence.
2. *Communication*. Communication is often poor between the first and second generations. It tends to be unidirectional, flowing from parent to child, with the expectation that the latter will listen, attend and agree. Children usually do not share personal concerns as they believe that parents will not listen, understand or help. Both parents and children are cognizant of the poor communication between them.
3. *Marriage.* The major area of conflict appears to center on the relationship between young men and women. For the majority of Indian immigrant parents, marriages were arranged by their respective families. Although there are now some changes in India, dating then was not allowed, and immigrant parents have brought with them the 20th Century Indian norms. Furthermore, even now, sexuality is not recognized, sex education (both at home and in school) is not available and premarital sex is abhorrent. When Indian children in the United States seek permission to date, many parents fear dating will lead to sexual involvement. Thus, children who date—with parental knowledge—are the exception.

Parents' greatest fear is that the children will marry non-Indian Americans and thus lose their cultural identity, heritage, values, and mores. In India, people are expected

to marry only within their own subculture and subcaste; therefore, the idea of marriage to a non-Indian is especially disturbing. The parents' fears are compounded by perceptions that most American marriages end in divorce.

Children's concerns about not being allowed to date, on the other hand, culminate in their fear of having a marriage arranged with someone unknown. Because most parents expect their children to marry Indians and the availability of partners in the Indian community in most cities in the United States is limited, arranged marriages are encouraged. However, to children reared in a country where individuals select their own spouses, thoughts of arranged marriage are alien and distressing.

4. *Prejudice.* Most first-generation Indians socialize only with other Indian immigrants. While they are well integrated with the dominant American society professionally, they tend to have few non-Indian friends. Consequently, prejudicial notions about the American culture have had little opportunity for rectification. This lack of integration (Table 2) into the American society suggests segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1993*)* and raises some important issues: Are Indians responding to underlying discrimination? Is the American culture so alien that distance is necessary to avoid contamination? Does retention of the Indian culture supersede other factors? Whatever the parental reasons, children often view their parents as narrow minded and may respond by developing negative attitudes toward the Indian culture.

Prejudicial attitudes of both parents and children create additional barriers to effective communication, making cross-cultural adjustment more difficult. In rural areas, because the Indian community is small, Indians must interact more with their American counterparts allowing for the removal of some intercultural barriers.

5. *Expectations of excellence.* As a result of the high selectivity in immigration criteria, a large majority of Indians in the United States are professionals and high achievers. This "model minority" image is upheld as a standard for Indian youth. Success is expected because the behavioral norm is that "all Indians do well." However, unlike their parents, Indian children are not necessarily achievement driven. Although some may be outstanding in their performance, most will be average and a few will fail. Since perfection and excellence are expected, many average achievers perceive themselves as failures and experience low self-esteem. Moreover, these children may not receive intervention because seeking professional help is considered a sign of weakness and disgrace.

Table 2: Areas of Non-integration

	Parental Preference	***Family's Coping Strategy***
Food	Indian, vegetarian	Two menus: Indian for parents, American for children
Clothing	*Sari, salwar kameez*	Parental garb: professional—Western; social—Indian; Children's garb: contemporary American
Religion	Primarily Hinduism, some Islam	Organization of Hindu religion an practice in temples (normally, not an organization religion)
Language	Hindi or one of the numerous Indian languages	Poor mastery of Indian language by children; English primary in home
Friendship	Indian, preferably with those from the same region in India	Parents—minimal social contact with Americans; children—significantly more American friendships
Entertainment	Movies, eating out, dinner parties	Primary entertainment is large dinner parties with other Indians. Children often excuse themselves

Source: Segal, U.A. (1991).

Despite these intrafamilial conflicts, inherent strengths within the family often support Indian children during critical periods. Most adolescents feel that despite the control exercised by their parents and the lack of communication, because of the training and guidance of

parents they are firmly grounded in basic human values. Many have an unshakable confidence that their ties with the family are stable and permanent (Segal, 1991).

Demographic Characteristics of the Family

Data of the American Community Survey (2008) support the contention that the Indian lifestyle and philosophy is highly centered around the integrity of the family. Only 3.7 percent of Indian families in the United States have no husband present, and only 0.4 percent of Indian households consist of unmarried, or cohabiting, partners. Fertility rates in the United States appear to differ from those in India. While the majority of lower-class families in India may have large families of four or more children (Segal and Ashtekar, 1994) and the upper and middle classes may be limiting the number of their children to one or two (Segal, 1995), the norm of the Indian family in the United States appears to be two or three children. Perhaps this trend is an offshoot of family planning efforts in India in the 1970s and 1980s, when many of the first generation came to the United States, that had as their slogan "Do, *ya theen bachchen, bus"* ("Two or three children are enough"). Younger generations of new immigrants seem to be having no more (but no less) than two children. Once again, concerns about family relationships may guide this decision. In India, relationships between first cousins are often as close as those of siblings. In the United States, where the support of extended families may not be readily accessible, most Indian families feel it important to ensure that their children have siblings to whom they can turn when they are adults and the parents are no longer living. Interestingly, the 2008 American Community Survey (2008) indicates that while 47,901 women of Indian origin gave birth in the 12 months preceding the survey, of these, 1,563 (3.3%) were to unmarried women.

There appear to be no large-scale studies of the Indian population in the United States or representative data on the rates of marriage and/or divorce, yet observation suggests that marriage continues to be the preferred choice of lifestyle among Indians, and parents encourage their children (especially women) to marry while they are in their twenties. Most first-generation Indians, regardless of when they come, bring their spouses and children with them or return to India to marry according to family tradition. Therefore, changes in marriage patterns become most evident among the second generation of Indians. In India, partner preference is for someone from the same subgroup as oneself (culture, religion, region, caste). Ideally, parents in the United States would also select such Indian partners for their children, but because of limited choices, they are likely to accept a partner from any Indian subgroup.

The actual choice of marriage partner is significantly affected by the process of mate selection permitted by parents. Oommen (1991) suggests that it is imperative not only to examine the family from without as a part of a cultural tradition governed by society's norms, but also from within to understand its internal dynamics based on individuals' experiences and their psychosocial characteristics. Thus, while arranged marriages may be the norm, based on their own experiences and the extent to which they have accepted alternative options families may, or may not, opt to engage in the process of arranging marriages for their children.

If, consistent with tradition, an arranged marriage is expected by the first generation for its children, the family may follow a few established routes to the identification of a potential partner. The marriage partner may be sought either in the United States or in India, and parents inform their friends and family members that they are seeking a spouse for their child. They specify characteristics that may be important to them. In addition to looking for someone of the same subgroup, they may specify age, profession, food preference, interests, height, and

even complexion of skin. In addition, parents may advertise in the matrimonial sections of any of the several Indian newspapers in the United States such as *India Abroad,* which has the widest circulation. Matrimonial websites such as www.Shaadi.com, www.iMilap.com, and www.Jeevansathi.com are becoming increasingly popular as young people are turning to them as links to other Indian singles contemplating marriage. The traditional arranged marriage occurred sight unseen between the couple; in the modern arranged marriage, however, both in India and the United States, appropriate potential partners are encouraged to meet and get to know each other. "Getting to know each other" is left to the discretion of the family, and the length of time, the frequency of contacts, and other details are based on the personal preferences of the particular family. Regardless of parental hopes, the man and woman can usually now decide whether they are suited for marriage.

The alternative is a "love" marriage, in which the couple meets, is attracted, and decides to get married after having established a relationship and engaging in an American-style courtship. Marriage partners are selected by the children themselves, and increasing numbers of parents are beginning to accept that if they choose to live in this country, such "love" marriages may be inevitable. Despite parental partiality toward an Indian spouse for the child, there is evidence of a rise in the number of intermarriages between Indians and Americans. This should not be surprising because second-generation children are in constant contact with non-Indians and, though they do have Indian peers, the choice of partners is relatively limited. Observation over the last thirty years has revealed two interesting patterns: (1) Often second-generation Indian men will date American women, yet will marry Indians-either those they have met and courted in the United States or those with whom their marriages have been arranged either in the United States or in India; and (2) frequently, second-generation Indian

women will date American men and then marry them. It remains to be determined whether the men are as more susceptible to the expectations of their parents or whether they perceive marriage to an Indian more consistent with familiar patterns and necessary to maintain traditional role relationships within the family.

Further observations on intermarriage suggest that, in general, men who marry American women either assimilate into Western society or, alternatively, integrate their wives into the Indian ethnic group. Indian women, on the other hand, tend to balance the unique qualities of both cultures. Perhaps this is a function of the differing family relationships and norms. In Indian culture women are expected to leave their families of origin and become a part of the husband's family (Mullatti, 1995), whereas in American culture the woman's family maintains a strong presence even after the marriage. For Indian men, tradition may indirectly dictate that he integrate his wife into his family; if he is unable to fulfill this expectation, he might find it necessary to separate himself from his family. The Indian woman, however, who is socialized to compromise while taking care of her husband, may find the differing cultural expectations a surprisingly pleasant compromise as she participates in her husband's family but also has the option of including him in her own. The few studies that have addressed tradition and role relationships among Indians in the United States have focused on the immigrant generation. The time is ripe to study the experience of the second generation and the extent to which it has adopted, adapted and/or rejected tradition.

One of the major concerns of Indian parents about intermarriages is an outgrowth of the fact that half of all marriages in the United States end in divorce within the first two years. In India, there is a general acceptance that divorce should be legally available (Desai, 1991); it is also believed to be objectionable (Chouhan, 1986; Singh, 1988), and a divorced individual,

especially a woman, is highly stigmatized regardless of whether or not the divorce is based on mutual consent (Amato, 1994). Further, because a woman is expected to be self-sacrificing and devote herself entirely to her husband, people are inclined to blame the termination of the marriage on the wife (Kumari, 1989). Although both men and women receive emotional support from their respective families following marital separation, women are usually likely to receive less support than men from other sources (Amato, 1994). Divorced men are able to overcome the stigmatization and it is often possible for them to remarry, while a divorced woman is often isolated and rarely remarries. There is a paucity of updated literature on divorce in India, which is becoming much more common in the 21st Century, however, immigrant Indians may still adhere to the traditions of a period when they emigrated.

Given the perceptions of divorce and the future of the divorcee, the concerns that Indian parents voice about divorce rates in America are understandable. However, there are no indicators that intermarriages in the United States between second-generation Indians and Americans are ending in divorce any more frequently than marriages between Indians. Perhaps, therefore, the worries of parents may be unfounded. It is possible that those individuals who intermarry are more cognizant of potential problems and difficulties arising out of conflicting cultural expectations and, consequently, invest more effort in compromise and adaptation.

Extended Family Relationships

The extended/joint family system is the norm in India, but the familial structure favored by Indians in the United States is that of the nuclear family living in separate households. With changes in immigration laws and the naturalization of many Indians has come the sponsorship

of family members, many of whom have been unmarried siblings or aging parents. While unmarried siblings initially reside with the sponsoring family, they soon establish themselves in separate households, either living alone or with other individuals. Even if they do remain with the family during their single years, they move as soon as they marry (Saran, 1985). Thus, it is rare to find two or more families living within the same dwelling. However, many make their residences in the same city or geographical area to maintain proximity to the family. There appear to be no studies that examine the size of the Indian population with extended family in the United States, although at least 9.3% of Indian households report the presence of relatives other than parents and children (American Community Survey, 2008), and it is rare to find an Indian in the United States who does not have at least one relative who has settled in the country.

Aging parents, often widows or widowers, compose another group that has come to join its children in the United States. These parents live with the immigrant generation, often making their home with the family of the eldest son, but travel between the residences of their children and spend extended periods of several months in the home of each. If both parents are alive, they may visit their children in the United States for four to six months at a time every few years, but most choose not to uproot themselves because there is little to occupy them in the United States. Furthermore, most find they are too dependent on their children, financially, socially, and for their transportation. Nevertheless, once they are widowed, and if most of their children are in the United States, they frequently emigrate from India. While they become an integral part of the family, their position of dependence and their lack of knowledge about Western society often obligates them to renounce their authority. Thus, although they retain their status and are told of decisions, they are only perfunctorily consulted. Since, increasingly,

immigrant wives are working outside the home, most elderly parents-especially women-assume many of the household responsibilities. They provide child care, prepare the dinner before the family returns in the evening, and assume some of the lighter housekeeping duties. On the whole, however, since they lack a peer group, lack transportation, and do not understand the culture, they are often isolated, alienated, and depressed.

Ties with other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, first cousins, and more distant cousins, are nurtured by Indian immigrants in order to maintain continuity and a sense of the family community. Families may travel to meet for festivals, important celebrations, rites of passage, and vacations; despite distances, traditional, extended family role relationships between family members are generally maintained. In addition to defining role relationships, the extended family provides financial, emotional and social support to its members. Younger siblings, their spouses, and their children continue to consult older siblings, and younger generations are expected to evidence respect toward older generations through actions and words. Although it is understood that the immigrant family will support the parental generation, first generation immigrants have fewer expectations that their own children will care for them as they age, and many are beginning to plan retirements without dependence on their children.

Although Indians have a strong sense of community and unite to maintain and transmit culture and values (Dhruvarajan, 1993), the ties with the community are limited to intense social contacts and are not associated with affective ties or long-term help (Dasgupta, 1992), which are an integral part of the relationship with the extended family. Thus, although the Indian community provides social interaction for its members as well as short-term mutual help in times of emergencies, death, and childbirth, there is little provision for long-term support. Consequently, when possible, Indian immigrants nurture relationships with extended

family members; despite their dispersion throughout the United States, the it is the extended family that provides the necessary ongoing emotional support and important affective ties.

Maintenance and Transmission of Culture

Although India is a multicultural country, there appear to be certain patterns that underlie all its cultures. The transmission of culture and values is inextricably interwoven with religious affiliation, and Indians define themselves simultaneously as Indian, as affiliated with a particular religion, and as belonging to a specific region of India. Religion prescribes not only the form of worship but also guides daily behavior, while the region usually identifies the language one speaks, the literature, art, and music one enjoys, the food one eats, and the clothing one wears. In the United States, if the community of Indians is small, it is united by its Indian heritage. As the community grows, it subdivides socially along regional and religious (Table 3) lines and also develops its own subgroup organizations for the maintenance and transmission of culture.

Indian culture is transmitted in various ways: (1) within the home, through the family, that often maintains strong Indian practices in role relationships, eating patterns, preferred music, and language; (2) through religious organizations or groups that meet in places of worship such as temples, mosques, churches, gurdhwaras, or individuals' homes; and (3) through formal classroom instruction on the history of the country and the religion, on language, and on literature and mythology. Female children are often enrolled early in dance classes because Indian girls traditionally have been expected to be trained in the dance, music, and song of the country. Boys, on the other hand, are generally exempt from initiation into this aspect of the culture, although an occasional child may learn to play an Indian instrument.

Major Indian artists, usually musicians and actors, often tour cities in the United States with large enough numbers of Indians to sponsor them. In addition, Indian movies often are

shown in theatres around the country, and most cities with an Indian population usually have grocery and retail stores that serve Indian consumers. These stores also carry a very wide range of Indian movies, plays, and music on compact discs. Second-generation children frequently accompany their parents to Indian social and cultural events and are usually exposed to Indian movies in the home-all of which contribute to the transmission of the culture.

Indians are also involved in ongoing community events that might be secular or non-secular in nature. The secular celebrations take place on India's Independence Day (August 15th) and on its Republic Day (January 26th), when the country was formally established as an independent republic. These celebrations are often accompanied by music, dances, songs, plays, food, and fairs in which children either participate or assist. Since the large majority of Indians are Hindus, not only in India but in the United States, Indian community organizations tend to celebrate Hindu festivals such as Holi (a festival of spring) and Diwali (the festival of lights), while Indians of other religions (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) celebrate their nonsecular festivals with non-Indians of similar religions.

Table 3: Religions of India

Religion	*N Percent*[7]	*Origination*	*Text*	*Fundamental Principle*	*Philosophy*	*Some Important Occasions*
Hinduism	80.5	1500 B.C.	Vedas	A philosophy of life guided by Karma and Dharma	Cyclical nature of life, time. Good deeds result in a better rebirth, eventual release from rebirth and reunion with God	Holi, festival of spring; Diwali, festival of lights honoring King Rama; Deshera, worship of Devi, goddess of Pantheon.
Islam	13.4	A.D. 570 – 632	Koran	Surrender to the will of God. God's functions: creation, sustenance, guidance, judgment	Reforming the earth to benefit humanity, not self. Duties of profession of faith, prayer, alms giving, fasting, pilgrimage	Muharram, day of mourning; Bakr Id, commemorating Abraham's obedience to God; Ramzan Id, feast following a month of daylight fasting.
Christianity	2.3	A.D. 3 - 30	Bible	Love of God and man	Call to discipleship and service. Ultimate reunification with God	Christmas, birth of Christ; Good Friday and Easter, Christ's martyrdom and resurrection.
Sikhism	1.9	1469 – 1539	Adi Granth	Fuses elements of Hinduism and Islam—unity, truth, creativity of God and surrender to his will.	Advocates active service. Belief in transmigration and Karma, union with God through meditation.	Holi; Diwali; Baisakh, date of foundation of Khalsa—militant religious order; Gurupurab, birth of first and last Gurus.
Buddhism	0.8	563 B.C.	Tripitaka	The understanding and management of suffering	Management of human existence—material body, feelings, perceptions, predisposition and consciousness	Buddha Jayanthi, Buddha's birth (only holiday recognized by Government of India).
Jainism	0.4	599 – 527 B.C.	Oral	Actions of mind, speech and body result in bondage and violence.	Eschew violence, free the soul. Better suffer injury than cause it.	Diwali; Mahavir Jayanthi, birth of Mahavir; Paryushana, end of rains and request for forgiveness
Others (Judaism, Zoroastroism, tribal religions)	0.6					

[7] 2001 Census of India. Website: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/India_at_glance/religion.aspx. Accessed; April 28, 2010.

Transmission of Values

In addition to concerns about the transmission of culture, Indian immigrants are anxious to ensure that the second generation internalizes Indian values, many of which are allocentric and have been discussed earlier. The transmission of these values is also embodied in childrearing patterns, reactions to dating, recognition of sexuality, acceptance of cross-cultural friendships, and emphasis on education.

Childrearing is primarily the responsibility of the mother, although discipline is often enforced by the father (Segal and Ashtekar, 1994). Infants and young children are usually overindulged; they are pampered, coddled, and allowed freedom in movement and behavior. As they reach middle childhood, they are expected to "be seen and not heard," and must be a source of honor and pride to their families through their appearance and their actions. Corporal punishment is acceptable discipline and, since it is still generally sanctioned even in the United States, is quite likely to be used by Indian Americans.

Children are an integral part of the Indian family unit in the United States; it is rare for social activities to exclude children. Almost all Indian gatherings and private parties are family occasions (Dasgupta, 1992); in the few instances when children are not invited, a significant number of families arrive with their offspring anyway. Furthermore, not until children are old enough to be away with their own friends does the parental couple go out on its own. It is unclear whether this practice arose because the family feels it is important to include children to socialize them or whether it is through a sense of protectiveness. This pattern is very inconsistent with the norm in India where children are often left at home with extended family members or domestic help while parents participate in social activities. It is less common to

find an Indian Americans babysitters to care for its young children, unless it is for work-related activities.

In addition to ensuring that children are exposed to Indian culture, parents are eager to ensure that children avail themselves of as many American extracurricular opportunities as possible, perhaps because these were not available as they, themselves, were growing up in India. Consequently, most Indian children participate on sports teams, learn musical instruments, engage in academic competitions, and enroll in additional enrichment programs. In high school, many are encouraged to participate on forensics and debate teams, assume leadership roles in the school's student council, and become a part of the larger community.

Despite the fact that most Indian immigrants have few American friends and encourage friendships between their children and other Indian children, they still feel it is important that their children receive status and respect in their school environments. As a result, they are becoming increasingly open to their children's friendships with Americans. With these friendships, however, comes the possibility of cultural contamination in the form of parties and dating and the threat of substance abuse and sexual activities.

Although most second-generation children are willing to accept most of the traditions and values of their parents, the most difficult rule for them to accommodate is prohibition of dating. While many American children are dating when they are 14 and 15 years old, most Indian children are not permitted to date, particularly if those children are female. Consequently, children often date without their parents' knowledge; when there are difficulties, however, they are unable to turn to the parents for support or guidance. Even if children do not date while they are living at home, they do begin to date when they leave home to attend college. When they do, they find that they are unfamiliar with the rules of the game in which their cohort is fairly adept; they may be more

vulnerable to use and susceptible to abuse by their more experienced partners. This fact should be a cause for alarm for Indian parents, especially with the increasing information about the frequency of acquaintance rape and date rape among teenagers and college students (Hingson, Heeren, Winter & Wechsler, 2005; Sampson, 2002).

Indians are generally inhibited when it comes to talking about sex and sexuality, especially with children. Sex education in India is unheard of, and in general even the professional group of immigrant Indians finds it difficult to overcome stereotypic responses and discomfort in discussing the subject with its children. Often, given the sex education children receive in the schools, they may be more knowledgeable on the subject than are some of their parents. The overriding concern of parents is that they must protect their children, especially their female children, from becoming sexually active, because this taints their purity. In this day of the rapid spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and with the terrifying knowledge that victims of the HIV/AIDS virus are growing rapidly in number among the teenage and young adult populations, precautions are warranted. Nevertheless, in many cases, parents do not recognize their children's developing sexuality and the importance of keeping channels of communication open so that children do not find themselves grappling alone with difficult situations.

Since most Indian immigrants to the United States are professional people, a high premium is placed on secular education. In addition to the transmission of culture, this group of Indians stresses the necessity of a college degree, at the minimum. Many independent secondary (private-secular) schools report a disproportionate number of Indian students. Second-generation children are encouraged to study for professions in the medical field, in the sciences, or in business. There is less support for interest in the fine arts, humanities, and social sciences

because these are not associated with success. Most Indians came to the United States to improve their quality of life, and this goal now encompasses their children; since professions in the fine arts, humanities, and social sciences are not financially rewarding, these fields are discouraged. Although this is beginning to change, because of the control mechanisms in place in the Indian family and the power of the parent-child relationship, children very often strive to fulfill parental expectations, even in choice of profession.

Thus, consistent with patterns for all immigrant populations (Parrillo, 1991), values are transmitted across generations through the family and through social and cultural organizations. They are modeled by parents as they socialize, discipline, and guide their children. High premiums are placed on the Indian culture, religion, allocentrism, and education. In this context, children are encouraged to be achievement oriented. In essence, segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1993) is endorsed.

CHANGES AND ADAPTATIONS

Maintenance of Culture

The Indian family, whether nuclear or extended, continues as a strong, viable unit that is cohesive and provides social, emotional, and financial support to its members. It is instrumental in transmitting Indian cultural norms and values to its children. With its increasing numbers, the community is able to consolidate its resources and provide organized vehicles for the transmission of norms and values to the second generation. Furthermore, despite the absence of Indian ethnic enclaves, close ongoing social contacts with other Indian families ensures that children develop friendships with other second generation Indians. Because of the shared experience of growing up in a multicultural environment, these friendships persist and complement friendships with children from other ethnic-cultural groups in American society.

Children of immigrants identify three themes in their expressions of cultural identity (Sue, 1979): (1) their sense of belonging versus estrangement (an increased sense of belonging in American culture results in increased self-esteem), (2) their identification with the new country's cultural values (the accommodation of their culture-of-origin values within the framework of American values provides stability and guidance and enhances the integrative process), and (3) their family and peer relations (to the extent that these are congruent, a synthesized identity emerges).

In urban metropolitan areas, the numbers of second-generation Indians are significant. Now, more so than in earlier decades, these adolescents and young adults have the option of meeting other Indians of like interests since the pool of potential friends is significantly larger. As they aim to establish their identities distinct from those of their immigrant parents and distinct from that of young immigrants of their own age, they have coined an acronym for themselves-the ABCDs-American-Born Confused *Des,i*[8] clearly indicating the struggle many encounter.[9] A large number weave their way through the process of adolescence by becoming "more American than the Americans" and gradually attempt to *balance what* they perceive to be the best of both cultures-that is, those elements most amenable to the development of self-esteem and self-identity (Sue, 1973). This attitude is dramatically different from the segmented assimilation perspective (Portes and Zhou, 1993) of the immigrant generation, which is protectionist about its culture while advancing economically.

Contemporary humanists in the dominant American society seek to understand ethnic diversity and multiculturalism and recognize the vast differences in the ethnocultural composition of the country. With the increasing realization that it is impossible for people of

[8] *Desi is* the Hindi vernacular for an Indian national
[9] An acronym coined for the first generation is DCBA (*Desi* confused by America)

color to truly integrate into the society, the country has evolved in its prescriptions for inclusion. The last few decades have seen the move from a belief in the melting pot theory (in which everyone blends into one indiscernible whole), through the salad bowl theory (in which separate groups maintain their differences but mix well with each other), to an understanding of the society as a mosaic (in which groups may be different, at times enmeshed with the dominant society, at other times maintaining a separation from it, preferring to remain with members of their own culture).

With more respect and acceptance accorded to differences, second-generation immigrants may not feel as great a need to reject their cultural heritage. This is apparent in the number of Indian high school students who are beginning to join Indian youth groups in several urban metropolitan areas of the country. In addition to providing social support for each other, these youth often assume responsibility for increasing awareness about the Indian culture among the non-Indian populations in their schools and communities. Much of the Hindu philosophy revolves around fulfilling duties toward family and occupations; on the whole, there is little emphasis on service to the less fortunate. Nevertheless, many Indian youth groups around the country have also assumed community service activities, suggesting the incorporation of a very positive aspect of the American value system.

Numerous indicators suggest that second-generation Indian Americans continue to be, on the average, relatively high achievers, and most appear to be much more comfortable socially with their American counterparts than are their parents. Thus, they may serve as bridges between American and Indian cultures. With the acceptance of human diversity-and because they can often compete successfully academically, professionally, *and* socially in the dominant

culture-increasing numbers are able to truly develop in a dual culture and integrate the superior qualities of both societies.

Race, Ethnicity, and Prejudice

Much of the future of the Indian ethnic group lies in the hands of the dominant culture. Although their numbers are large and they have been in the United States for three decades, Indians remain peripheral to discussions of American culture, experience, or history (Balgopal, 1995). Ironically, the restrictive legislation that permitted immigration of only professional Indians into the United States in the 1960s and 1970s had a beneficial effect for the Indian community: Those Indians who emigrated very rapidly became contributing members of society. Because most were influenced by the British through the Indian educational system, were fluent in English, and had some exposure to Western culture, pseudo adjustments in the United States were relatively easy. Moreover, since over the last five decades they have generally not established Indian enclaves, have not been socially and politically visible, and converse in English with other Indians at their place of work, they are less likely to be perceived as a threat to the status quo of American society. Nevertheless, the unfortunate events of September 11, 2002 and subsequent perceptions of immigrants with a phenotype similar to those of the perpetrators of the terror attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., have made Indian Americans vulnerable to bigotry and hate crimes.

Because little has been understood about their culture, Indians have escaped the ongoing overt discrimination that other Asian groups have experienced in the United States and that Indians have experienced in other countries such as the United Kingdom and Canada. They have made unique contributions to several fields in the United States, and they continue to project a positive image in the United States. Among their ranks, are three Nobel laureate naturalized

American citizens of Indian origin: Hargobind Khorana for medicine in 1968 and Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar for physics in 1983, and Venkatraman Ramakrishnan for Chemistry in 2009. Table 4 provides a list of a small number of notable Indian Americans, in all walks of life, who have made headlines since 2005 through their contributions to mainstream society. Although this list includes some second generation Indian Americans, the contributions of the many United States born Indians in all disciplines are too numerous to include here.

Table 4 Some Indian American in the Limelight (2005 – 2009)

Year	Name	Achievement
2005	Zubin Mehta	Conductor, Opera House of the Ciutat de les Arts i les Ciències, Valencia.
2005	Urvashi Vaid	Attorney, community activist, gay rights leader; Executive Director ARCUS Foundation
2006	Vijay Iyer	Pianist, composer, writer; 2006 Fellow of New York Foundation for the Arts
2006	Indra Nooryi	CEO PepsiCo
2006	Beheruz Nariman Sethna	President of University of West Georgia; first Indian American president of a American university
2007	Bobby Jindal	Governor of Louisiana
2007	Shantanu Narayen	CEO Adobe
2007	Vikram Pundit	CEO Citigroup
2007	S.R. Srinivasa Varadhan	Mathematician, awarded Abel Prize by the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters
2008	Raj Bhavsar	Gymnast, bronze medal winner with U.S. Olympic team
2008	Brandon Chillar	NFL player for the Green Bay Packers
2008	Sanjay Jha	Co-CEO Motorola
2008	Renu Khator	President of the University of Houston and Chancellor of the University of Houston System
2008	Neel Kashkari	Interim U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Stability
2008	Sunita Williams	Astronaut, NASA's Deputy Chief of the Astronaut Office
2008	Fareed Zakaria	Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, Editor of *Newsweek International*
2009	Kiran Ahuja	Executive Director of the White House Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islanders
2009	Anju Bhargava	President Obama appointment on President's Advisory Council on Faith Based and Neighborhood Partnerships
2009	Aneesh Paul Chopra	Federal Chief Technology Officer of the United States
2009	Sanjay Gupta	Emmy Award-winning chief medical correspondent for CNN; Offered and declined position of Surgeon General in Obama administration—the position is still unfilled
2009	Norah Jones (Geethali Norah Jones Shankar)	Singer-songwriter – sold more albums than any female jazz musician in the last decade.
2009	Vivek Kundra	Federal Chief Information Officer (CIO) of the United States of America
2009	Kal Penn (Kalpen Modi)	Associate Director of the White House Office of Public Engagement

2009	Raju Narisetti	Managing Editor, *The Washington Post*
2009	Eboo Patel	President Obama appointment on President's Advisory Council on Faith Based and Neighborhood Partnerships.
2009	Rajiv Shah	President Obama appointment as head of United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
2009	Sonal Shah	Head of the new White House Office of Social Innovation
2009	Madhulika Sikka	Executive Producer of NPR Morning Edition
2009	Vinai Thummalapally	First Indian American Ambassador; Ambassador to Belize, nominated by President Obama and confirmed by the U.S. Senate
2010	Jhumpa Lahiri	Pulitzer Prize winning author appointed by President Obama to the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities.

With increases in the numbers of immigrants from India, decreases in the professional and educational levels of relative-sponsored (versus business-sponsored) new immigrants, and rises in the number of Indian-owned businesses, Indian Americans are becoming more visible and separate. The Asian American Hotel Owners Association reported in 2007 that 43 percent of the 47,000 hotels and motels in the country were owned by Indians, with 30 percent of those being independently run and not belonging to a chain (Yu, 2007), and they have been significant contributors to the world of software development and management.

In recent years, with the growth of the Indian community, Indians are beginning to feel a need to participate in the political process. The Association of Indians in America, a national organization focusing on the mainstreaming needs of Indians, was instrumental in the establishment of a separate category for Indian Americans for the 1990 U.S. census. Additionally, as is evident in Table 4, increasing numbers of Indians been elected to political offices at and the Obama Administration has been particularly inclusive in involving minorities among its several appointees.

Because of their greater visibility and activism in the political arena, recent years have seen dramatic increases in anti-Indian sentiment, especially in areas such as California, New Jersey and New York, which have the largest Indian populations. In the 1990s, groups emerged that called themselves the "Dot Busters" (in reference to the red *bindi* worn by many Indian women

on their foreheads) and engaged in hate crimes[10] against Indians, attacking them in their homes and places of business. On a more subtle level, Indians had long experienced discrimination as they encountered the "glass ceiling," although this is beginning to change as is evidenced in Table 4.

Much of the fate of the Indian population and the transmission of its culture may be controlled by the group's level of acceptance by the dominant American society. Indians have proven their ability to cooperate and contribute to societal functioning, yet they have fiercely guarded their cultural heritage. Increases in overt discrimination will have significant impact on the behavior of second and subsequent generations of Indians. On the whole, the second-generation is beginning to forge a new identity that allows it to integrate the best of both cultures and to function satisfactorily in both the Indian and American environments. Prejudice and fear of violence will threaten the synthesis of a healthy identity and successive generations may reject one or the other culture.

Social Problems, Services, and Informal Support Systems

The high level of success of Indians in the United States, their image as part of the "model minority," and most of the discussion in this chapter obscure the social problems of isolation of the elderly, conjugal violence, intergenerational turbulence (Khinduka, 1992), and poverty (Balgopal, 1995) that are, of course, experienced by significant numbers of Indians.

As the elderly population of Indians, retired and widowed parents of immigrants, arrive in the United States to be supported by the children as dictated by tradition, they find themselves increasingly isolated (Brown, 2009). Without access to financial resources, separated from their

[10] Acts of violence perpetuated on people because of their race, religion, national origin, or sexual orientation.

peer group and support systems in India, with little understanding of the American culture, with no familiar activities to occupy them, they remain at home while their children and grandchildren pursue their respective occupations. American senior centers are alien to them, and since Indians do not live in ethnic enclaves, access to other elderly Indians is practically nonexistent. Even if access were possible, many elderly may be from different regions and cultures of India, may not speak the same language, and may have little in common with each other.

The isolation of the elderly has received little attention, but the prevalence of conjugal violence among Indians in the United States is increasingly apparent as shelters for battered Indian women are established around the country. Although the highly educated and sophisticated population of Indian immigrants in the United States chooses not to acknowledge domestic violence, the first formal organization to provide protection and assistance to women experiencing conjugal violence, Manavi, was established in New Jersey in 1985. Since then, other agencies have been formed to offer similar services to Indian women in New York (Sakhi), Chicago (Apna Char), Philadelphia (SEWAA), Washington, D.C. (ASHA), Dallas (Chetna), and St. Louis (SAWERA) among others. In Indian culture, as in many others, women and children have been viewed as the property of males, and power has often been operationalized through violence and subjugation. It is surprising that domestic violence is evident in this professional population of Indians, but is consistent with literature that suggests that family violence is not culture or class specific and is often evidenced in patriarchies (Dobash and Dobash, 1992).

Since the number of elderly Indians in the United States is still relatively low, since violence against women (and children) is hidden from public view, and since Indians have been most concerned about the enculturation of their children, the major areas of foci within the Indian family have been the behavior of the children and parent-child relationships. Even within these

areas, issues that have been addressed are those of autonomy, mate selection, and career choice. There appears to be no information about teen pregnancies, abortion, or sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS). There is little knowledge of the extent of drug usage or substance abuse, although these are significant problems in India, and while there may be a sizable gay and lesbian Indian population in the United States, as is evident in advertisements of publications in *India Abroad,* the group is not visible.

Indians traditionally have depended on their family networks to provide social, emotional, and financial support. In the absence of these supports, and because seeking help from mainstream or external resources is considered shameful, Indians often struggle in silence. For example, the American Community Survey reported that the poverty rate for Indian families in 2008 was 5.2 percent, and though lower than the overall rate of 9.6 percent, it is not neglible. Limited income has placed additional burdens and increased the isolation of many such Indian families, who often are not aware of external sources of support and emergency assistance. Balgopal (1988) suggests that since most Indians migrated to improve their economic condition, failure to do so often results in depression, alcohol abuse, psychosomatic problems, marital conflict and even suicide.

Most Indians are loathe to utilize the services of formal human service agencies. Mental health problems often manifest themselves as psychosomatic ailments such as chronic headaches, backaches, dizziness, and weaknesses. Physical ailments are comprehensible for the family, and physicians' services are much more acceptable than are those of mental health care professionals. Increasingly, however, through schools and doctors' referrals, social services and are able to make contact with families experiencing distress (Balgopal, 1995). Most effective,

however, is the provision of services that mobilize the family's own resource network in addition to the formal networks of the heath care and social service delivery systems.

Clearly, since the Indian population has projected the image of the model minority, has apparently acclimated itself to its new environment, and has been silent about its needs, the issues and problems it faces are marginalized. Because Indians, like other Asians, prefer to keep concerns within the boundary of the family, they have not sought formal human services even in the absence of traditional informal support systems, including a viable and proximate extended family network. Since they have not come to the attention of mainstream human service agencies, the myth of the model minority is perpetuated, and few researchers in the social and behavioral sciences have seen a need to focus on their experiences, reinforcing the "squeaky wheel" phenomenon. Just as politicians are beginning to recognize that the Indian population is worth courting because of its size and overall economic power, the human service organizations will need to become cognizant of the growing problems and issues facing this population, which, unattended, can also in time impact the larger society.

SUMMARY

This chapter has traced the experiences of one of the United States' newer and largest immigrant groups, the Indian American, over the last four decades. Perceived as part of the "model minority," this group numbers well over 1 million, is generally highly educated and professional, and has a strong commitment to family and the Indian culture. Major issues with which this group currently struggles are the transmission of culture to the second generation, support of its aging parents, most who remain in India, and planning for its own retirement. Indicative of its ties with its homeland, the immigrant generation is contemplating returning to India to retire,

especially since it has not truly integrated itself socially into mainstream America. The major barrier to completing the circle of exodus and return to the native land is the realization that its dual culture second-generation children are more at home in the United States than they would be in India; to maintain contact with them and with their grandchildren (or future grandchildren), the immigrant group will have to remain in the United States. It waits to be seen whether, as a group, this generation of immigrant Indians will find that the benefits of returning to India outweigh the benefits of retiring in the United States, the land that drew them with its promise of economic and professional opportunities.

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