

Impact of Acculturation On Socialization Beliefs and Behavioral Occurences Among Indo-Canadian Immigrants

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INTRODUCTION

The multicultural character of the Canada has emerged as a result of the society hosting immigrants belonging to various ethno-cultural groups. When the immigrants enter Canada, they bring with them a cultural baggage that contains a unique set of values, attitudes, socialization beliefs and behavioral norms required within the country of origin. However, as they settle in Canada, their constant interaction with the host society gradually brings about changes in these values, attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral norms. This process of transformation is known as the process of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1938). Harmonious growth and maintenance of the Canadian society depends on the development of appropriate acculturation attitudes, and related socialization beliefs and practices of the various ethno-cultural immigrant groups. This study examines the experience of Indo-Canadian parents and their children by identifying their acculturation attitudes, and the ways in which such attitudes are related to socialization beliefs and behaviour occurrences.

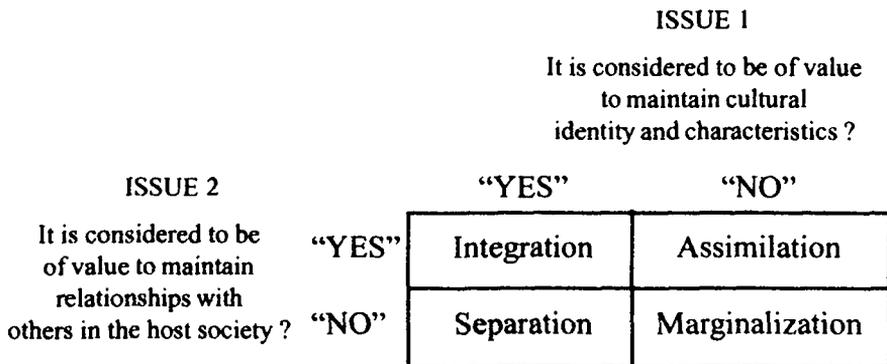
The Acculturation Framework

The model of acculturation attitudes proposed by Berry (1984) raises two critical questions: (a) whether or not an acculturating individual values maintaining his/her own cultural identity and characteristics, and (b) whether or not maintaining relationships with the larger society is considered to be of value to an acculturating individual (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992).

Depending on the answers to these questions, four possible alternative attitudes can be identified (Figure 1). First, the attitude of "assimilation," occurs when an acculturating individual does not wish to maintain his/her ethnic identity, but seeks relations with the larger society. Second, the attitude of "separation" occurs when there is a strong urge to maintain one's own culture and identity, and not to interact with the larger society. "Integration" attitude is the third alternative which is opted when an interest in interacting with the larger society while conserving one's ethnic identity is evident. Finally, "marginalization" attitude occurs if an individual is not willing to either maintain the culture of origin or interact with the members of the larger society.

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Figure 1 Model of Acculturation Attitudes (Berry, 1984)

Acculturation attitudes have been assessed in various cultural groups which demonstrated a different profile with regards to their preferences (see Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989, for a review). French-Canadians, for example, tended to prefer integration, but also accepted separation and assimilation. For this group marginalization was not endorsed as an option (Power, 1983). For Portuguese-Canadians (Young, 1984) and Korean-Canadians (Kim, 1984), integration was the only acceptable strategy. Hungarian-Canadians showed generational differences in their attitudes. Integration was the most preferred strategy for the total sample. This is followed by preference for separation for the first generation, and assimilation for the second generation (Bujaki, 1985).

Relationships among acculturation attitudes have also been shown to vary across cultural groups. Theoretically, it is expected that separation and assimilation should be negatively related. Likewise, integration and marginalization should also be negatively related. These expectations are based on the responses to both underlying issues in the acculturation attitudes model in Figure 1 (Berry et al., 1989). However, for some cultural groups, such as Portuguese-Canadians (Young, 1984) and Korean-Canadians (Kim, 1984) these relationships were positive. Although the studies cited above have explored acculturation attitudes in a number of groups, the Indo-Canadian population has not been studied to the same depth using Berry's model.

The Indo-Canadian Experience

The first group of immigrant from India arrived in Canada at the turn of this century. Srivastava (1983) marks 1904 as the year of start for official records of immigrants from India. Shortly after 1904, however, the entrance of Indian immigrants to Canada was restricted: "According to the Dominion Government, the aims of these restrictive measures were (i) to prevent hardship to the East Indians owing to the severity of the Canadian climate, (ii) to fight racial friction, and (iii) to protect the Canadian working man and his higher standard of living" (Srivastava, 1983: 33). It was only after 1960's, people of Indian origin were allowed to enter to Canada. At present, Indo-Canadians constitute one of the largest ethnic groups in Canada with a total population of 398,000 (Kurien, 1994).

Experiences of Indo-Canadian families have been examined earlier in some empirical

studies (e.g., Kurian, 1991; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Naidoo, 1986; Naidoo & Davis, 1988; Vaidyanathan, 1988; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981), and by impressionistic accounts obtained largely through case studies (e.g., Kanungo, 1984; Ghosh & Kanungo, 1992). These studies cover a wide range of acculturation issues including changes in socialization values, intergenerational conflict, and the influence of perceived discrimination on immigrant attitudes.

Several studies (i.e., Kurian, 1991; Vaidyanathan, 1988; Wakil et al., 1981) have reported that there is a generation difference in attitudes towards change: parents experience more difficulty in accepting and adjusting to changes in their lives, whereas children are more flexible and tolerant towards changes. With regards to socialization values, parents find 'pragmatic values' (Wakil et al., 1981: 929), such as those related to education and career decisions, easier to change than core values about dating, marriage patterns, and religious practices (Sinha, 1988). In addition of generation differences in acculturation, a link between acculturation attitudes and perceived discrimination was established in studies by Lalonde et al. (1992), and Moghaddam and Taylor (1987).

The present study used Berry's acculturation framework to explore the process of acculturation within the Indo-Canadian family. In doing so, parents' acculturation attitudes are examined in relation to their children's attitudes and behavioral problems. This study had three specific objectives. First, it aimed to develop reliable and valid measures of acculturation attitudes and socialization beliefs for the Indo-Canadian sample. Second, it explored the relationship of acculturation attitudes with socialization beliefs. Finally, the connection between acculturation attitudes and the behavioral and disciplinary problems of second-generation adolescents was examined.

METHOD

Participants

The participants of the study were Indo-Canadian families with children. Respondents were randomly selected from the lists provided by National Indo-Canadian Council local chapters in five different regions: British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Prairies, Montreal, and the Maritime Region. The sample consisted of 558 individual respondents: 154 fathers, 176 mothers, 96 male children, and 132 female children. Only 6.9% of the mothers and 2% of the fathers were single parents.

Mean age for fathers was 48.07 with a standard deviation of 6.53, and a range of 32-65 years. Mother subsample had a mean age of 44.05 years ($SD = 5.42$), ranging from 30 to 58 years. Male children were 16.76, female children were 16.75 years old on the average. Ages ranged from 11 to 21 for males, and from 10 to 24 for female children ($SD = 2.39$ and $SD = 2.38$, respectively). Length of residence in Canada was 18.72 years for fathers ($SD = 6.74$, range: 2-48 years), 17.03 years for mothers ($SD = 5.96$, range: 2-42 years), 14.75 years for sons ($SD = 3.77$, range: 3-21 years), and 14.39 years for daughters ($SD = 3.96$, range: 2-22 years).

Parents in the sample were predominantly well-educated. Only 23.3% of fathers and

28.7% of mothers had education at secondary or below secondary level. Mean education level was 3.68 for fathers, and 3.21 for mothers where 3 represented college diploma and 4 represented university degree. Most of the parents (over 70%) migrated from India, whereas about 15% reported Africa and 15% reported Europe or other places as the country of prior residence. The majority of the children were born in Canada (68.8%), whereas 21.4 % migrated to Canada before the age of five, and 7.1% before the age of ten.

Hindu parents (50%) constituted the majority of the sample, followed by Sikhs, Christians, and Muslims. With regards to the annual family income, only 4.9% reported to earn below \$25,000, 25% between \$25,000 and \$40,000, 27.1% between \$40,000 and \$60,000, and 43% above \$60,000.

Measurements

There were four sections in the questionnaire. The first, second, and third sections were responded to by all participants, as was the first part of the fourth section. The second part of the last section was responded to by parents and children separately to two different sets of questions.

Demographic characteristics: The first section of the questionnaire assessed the demographic characteristics of the sample such as described earlier.

Acculturation attitudes: The second section of the questionnaire measured acculturation attitudes. This section was comprised of 60 questions designed to measure four acculturation attitudes. Based on Berry's (1984) model, fifteen statements were generated for each mode of acculturation. Each statement reflected a particular domain (i.e., friendship, child-rearing, language retention, or education) that was relevant to the Indian culture. The following are sample questions for the domain of child-rearing

Assimilation: "If I were a parent, I would adopt the North American way of child rearing by encouraging independence and individuality, and discouraging the Indian way of child rearing"

Integration: "I would adopt the North American way of child rearing by encouraging independence and individuality, while also teaching them of the Indian virtues of obedience and respect"

Marginalization: "Present society is changing so fast that it is hard to teach children how to live and how to be happy"

Separation: "I would teach my children mainly Indian values and customs so that they will not be assimilated but remain as Indians"

Respondents were required to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement on a five point scale from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 5 ('strongly agree'). In this study, it is

asserted that all four acculturation attitudes can coexist to varying degrees, and it is important to consider all of them in reflecting an individual's acculturation profile. Therefore, for each individual, four scores (one for each of acculturation strategy) were obtained by summing across domains.

Socialization beliefs: The third section of the questionnaire measured the socialization beliefs. This scale contained 28 statements on Indian socialization beliefs with regard to importance attached to education, career choices, discipline, religious observances, socialization and general attitudes towards parenting. The extent to which respondents agreed with each statement was shown on a five point scale from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 5 ('strongly agree').

Behavioral occurrences: The fourth section had two parts. The first part assessed behavioral occurrences identified as 'Indian', 'Indo-Canadian', and 'North American'. Behavioral occurrences characterized as 'Indian', included participating in religious observances, reading Indian newspaper/magazines, eating Indian food at meals, having Indians as close friends, speaking Indian language at home, and committing to learn, continue to use, and teach Indian language. Indo-Canadian behavioral occurrences were identified as participating in Indo-Canadian voluntary organizations, reading Indo-Canadian newspaper/magazines, and speaking both English and Indian language at home. Finally, participating in North American organizations, reading North American newspaper/magazines, understanding, speaking, reading, writing English competently, speaking English at home were recognized as behavioral occurrences characterized as 'North American'.

In the second part, parents indicated the frequency of their involvement in children's discipline-related issues and school-related activities. Children were asked whether or not they had any disciplinary problem at school and other places, run in to any problems with the law, and had drinking and smoking habits.

Procedure

Questionnaires were administered as semi-structured interviews conducted by research assistants. Interviews took place at the residence of respondents. The language of the interview was English. Respondents reported no difficulty in comprehending and responding in English which is one of the official languages in India. Each respondent was interviewed separately, without the presence of any other family member. During the interviews questions were read one by one to the respondents, and responses were recorded on the questionnaire by the interviewer. This way fatigue was reduced which might have resulted from reading and assessing questions at the same time. Items were read several times if clarification was needed but discussions were avoided in order not to introduce response bias. It took approximately forty minutes to complete each interview.

RESULTS

Development of Acculturation and Socialization Belief Measures

Acculturation Attitudes Scale : The first objective of the study was to establish reliable

and valid measures of acculturation attitudes for the Indo-Canadian population. As pointed out earlier, the acculturation attitude scale included four subscales assessing assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation. Internal consistencies of the subscales ranged from high to adequate. In order to increase the reliability of subscales, item-total correlations were checked. Two items in the marginalization subscale and one item in the integration subscale had item-total correlations below $r = .20$, and were eliminated. All other item-total correlations were significant at $p < .001$ level, and ranged from $r = .22$ to $r = .68$. Psychometric characteristic of acculturation attitude scales along with other measures used in this study are presented in Table 1. It should be noted that results obtained by using the overall sample were almost identical with the results from separate analyses conducted on parents and children subsamples. Therefore, reliability and validity coefficients as well as other scale characteristics were reported for the total sample only.

TABLE 1

Psychometric characteristics of the Study Measures

Scales	Number of items	Scale (maximum per item)	M (per item)	SD	Chronbach Alpha	Range
Assimilation	15	5	2.30	0.6	.84	3.33
Integration	14	5	3.95	0.7	.84	3.14
Marginalization	13	5	2.67	0.6	.74	3.39
Separation	15	5	2.63	0.6	.83	3.26
Socialization Beliefs (Parental Guidance)	10	5	3.71	0.6	.72	3.60
Socialization Beliefs (Parental Control)	5	5	3.08	0.8	.75	4.00
Socialization Beliefs (children's Autonomy)	5	5	2.99	0.8	.67	4.00
Behavioral Occurrences identified as Indian	9	4.44	2.38	0.4	.78	2.67
Behavioral Occurrences identified as Indo-Canadian	7	4	1.96	0.3	.70	2.00
Behavioral Occurrences identified as North American	7	4.29	3.61	0.7	.88	2.28

Relationship between integration and marginalization, and between assimilation and separation were, expectedly, negative and significant ($r = -.17$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.13$, $p < .001$, respectively). This finding, being in accord with the theoretical expectations (Berry et al., 1989), provided support for validity of the scales. Integration was negatively associated with assimilation and with separation ($r = -.17$, $p < .001$, for both). For the Indo Canadian sample, separation and marginalization were correlated more strongly than any other relationship among the four attitudes ($r = .62$, $p < .001$).

Scalar validity of measures was tested against behavioral occurrences. Integration was, expectedly, correlated with Indo-Canadian behavioral occurrences ($r = .16, p < .001$). Behaviours characterized as Indian were negatively related to assimilation ($r = -.44, p < .001$), and positively related to separation ($r = .50, p < .001$). On the other hand, those who scored high on assimilation reported to engage in behaviours identified as North American more often ($r = .16, p < .001$). 'North American' behavioral occurrences were less likely exhibited by those who obtained high score on separation ($r = -.50, p < .001$). Correlation of marginalization scale with behavioral occurrences demonstrated a close resemblance with the pattern found for separation scale. This finding calls for caution in interpreting the validity of marginalization scale.

For the overall sample, integration was the most preferred attitude, followed by marginalization, separation, and assimilation. Integration was followed by separation for parents, and by assimilation for children. Table 2 reports means and standard deviations of each acculturation attitude for the overall sample and the two subsamples.

TABLE 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Acculturation Attitude Scales for Parent and Children subsamples

	Assimilation	Integration	Marginalization	Separation
Total Sample				
M	2.30	3.95	2.67	2.63
SD	0.64	0.61	0.60	0.67
Parents				
M	2.13	3.93	2.83	2.85
SD	0.57	0.63	0.58	0.61
Children				
M	2.54	4.00	2.40	2.31
SD	0.68	0.58	0.57	0.63

Note: The higher the score, the greater the preference.

In order to examine the source of variation among means, a 2 x 4 mixed design ANOVA was performed with generation as the between factor, and modes of acculturation as the repeated factor. The unit of analysis for this and subsequent tests was the family with father, mother, and at least one child. The averaged scores of mothers' and fathers' acculturation attitudes were computed to represent parents. The same procedure was employed where there were more than one child in the family. Aggregations were accomplished after significant correlations between mother's and father's, and among children's acculturation scores were evident.

Results yielded significant main effects for both generation ($F(1, 104) = 6.62, p < .05$), and acculturation attitudes ($F(3, 312) = 483.17, p < .001$). Interaction between generation and acculturation attitudes was also significant ($F(3, 312) = 147.13, p < .001$). Children scored significantly higher than their parents on assimilation ($t(104) = 5.88, p < .001$),

whereas parents scored significantly higher than children on separation ($t(104) = 8.99, p < .001$) and on marginalization ($t(104) = 7.40, p < .001$). Parents and children did not differ in their preference for integration ($t(104) = 1.87, p > .05$).

The way in which parents' acculturation attitudes are related with those of their offspring is explored next. Table 3 presents the within-family correlations of acculturation attitudes.

Table 3

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients Amongst Acculturation Attitudes of Parents and Their Offsprings

	Children's Integration	Children's Assimilation	Children's Separation	Children's Marginalization
Parents' Integration	.30 ***	-.22*	-.15	-.20 *
Parents' Assimilation	-.17*	.29***	.15	.05
Parents' Separation	.02	-.03	.19*	.31***
Parents' Marginalization	-.07	-.06	.29***	.36***

Note N = 105

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Significant correlations on the diagonal indicated a congruence between parents, and children's acculturation attitudes. Off-diagonal correlations showed that parents' integration was negatively correlated with their child's assimilation and marginalization, and child's marginalization was positively correlated with their parents' separation.

Socialization Beliefs Scale. The second measurement developed in this study was the socialization beliefs scale. The initial 28-item scale was reduced to 20 items on the basis of item-total correlations. The internal consistency of the final 20-item scale was $\alpha = .75$. Item-total correlations ranged from $r = .25$ to $r = .67, p < .001$, with the average $r = .44$. The scale included traditional Indian values with respect to parental involvement in areas of education, career choice, discipline, and social life. Although in previous research, a scale of traditional Indian values was constructed (Sahai, 1993), the scale developed in the present study is the first to measure dimensions of Indian socialization beliefs.

In order to get meaningful factor structure in the general area of socialization, a factor analysis was conducted. A Principal Component analysis, followed by a varimax rotation, yielded three factors. Eigenvalues of these factors were 3.08, 2.75, and 2.29, and 40.6% of the total variance was explained. The factor structure was replicated in both parents and children subsamples. The factor loadings for each item is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Factor Analysis of the Dimensions of socialization values

	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Parents have to involve in the activities of their children's school	.56	-.12	.15
Parents should be in contact with their children's teacher on a regular basis	.54	.02	.14
Indo-Canadian children should attend heritage language classes regularly	.46	.19	.25
In their career choices children need direction from their parents	.65	.15	.04
Children should share in the work at home	.62	-.08	-.11
There is no reason to pay children for the chores they do at home	.32	.10	.13
It is my responsibility to look after my parents	.61	.07	.02
Parents should have a say in the type of training their children receive	.52	.19	-.04
Parents should play a major role in all important decisions affecting children	.55	.37	-.12
It is unacceptable that parents when they get old end up in old age homes	.27	.18	.00
Parents should enforce strict discipline for their children	.14	.51	.14
Parents should have a responsibility in the choice of spouses for their daughters	.18	.85	.11
Parents should have a responsibility in the choice of spouses for their sons	.19	.84	.12
Dating is inconsistent with our values and traditions	.14	.65	.06
A man and a woman should never marry unless they are sure of their love for each other	-.38	.48	.28
Watching TV has no detrimental effect on the education and development of children	.11	-.09	.62
Teen boys should be able to choose their social life pretty well by themselves	.12	.20	.84

Table 4 contd.

	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Teen girls should be able to choose their social life pretty well by themselves	.19	.19	.81
Young people should make their career choices independently of their parents	.06	.09	.34
If a man and a woman love each other, they'd have a successful marriage even if they have different social and cultural backgrounds	-.13	.16	.38
Eigenvalue	3.08	2.75	2.29
Percentage of variance explained	15.4	13.7	11.5

The first factor represents Parental Guidance in the *Areas of Schooling, Career Choice, and Responsibility Towards Parents*. Guidance in children's career- and education-related decisions was identified as a major parental responsibility. Parents' role in teaching their children about family responsibilities was also emphasized. The second factor represents *Parents' Control Over Children's Moral and Social Life*. It included items related to parental influence in domains of marriage, dating, and discipline-related issues. First two factors describe prescriptive parental roles in their relationship with children. The third factor reflects *Children's Autonomy in Social Life, without Parental Involvement*. This dimension puts emphasis on child's autonomous role in relation to his/her social life.

Three factors underlying socialization beliefs are treated as separate subscales (reliability coefficients associated with each subscale are reported in Table 1). Correlations among dimensions of socialization beliefs and acculturation attitudes (presented in the next section) provide evidence for the validity of the socialization beliefs scales.

Relationship of Acculturation Attitudes with Socialization Beliefs

The second objective of this study is to examine the relationship between acculturation attitudes and socialization beliefs. Correlations were computed for the overall sample as well as for parents and children subsamples. In general, the pattern for the overall sample was replicated for subsamples, and hence, results obtained from the overall sample are reported only.

The first dimension of the socialization beliefs, which emphasized parental guidance on children's social life, was strongly related to integration ($r = .50, p < .001$). Those individuals who believed that parents had significant roles in providing guidance for their children preferred to adopt the norms and values of both Indian and Canadian cultures. The importance of parental guidance was also associated with separation, but to a lesser degree ($r = .22, p < .01$). Assimilation, on the other hand, was negatively related to the guidance aspect of

socialization beliefs ($r = -.33, p < .001$).

Parental control over children's social and moral life was the second facet of the socialization beliefs. According to this dimension, enforcing strict discipline, choosing spouse on behalf of children, and prohibiting dating are expected behaviours from parents. Individuals who scored high on this dimension scored also high on separation ($r = .57, p < .001$). In contrast, assimilation was negatively related with the control dimension ($r = -.17, p < .01$). Finally, the third aspect of socialization beliefs was related to children's autonomy in social life without parental involvement. This dimension puts emphasis on children's decision making independent of parental influence. A strong relationship of this dimension was noticed with assimilation ($r = .47, p < .001$), whereas the relationship with separation was negative ($r = -.25, p < .001$).

Acculturation Attitudes and Children's Behavioral Problems

The final objective of this study was to examine the impact of acculturation attitudes on children's behavioral and discipline problems. Correlations were computed to examine the ways in which parents, and children's acculturation attitudes were related to behavioral and discipline problems of adolescents. The unit of analysis for this section was the family. This enabled us to relate parents', attitudes with behavioral problems of their children.

Integration preferred by both parents and their children was associated with less discipline problems ($r = -.17, p < .05$ and $r = -.31, p < .01$, respectively). Discipline problems and problems with law, however, increased as children favoured separation ($r = .30, p < .01$ and $r = .20, p < .05$, respectively). Parents who favoured assimilation had children who frequently had problems with law ($r = .41, p < .001$), whereas parent's, integration attitude was associated negatively with this variable ($r = -.21, p < .05$). Finally, children's marginalization attitude was associated with smoking behaviour ($r = .29, p < .01$).

Overall, results established that integrationist parents had children who exhibited less behavioral and disciplinary problems. This finding highlights the importance of parental guidance in producing better behavioral outcomes for children. As discussed in the previous section, those parents who favoured integration also encouraged parental involvement in children's lives to provide assistance in school, career and social matters. Indeed, parents who favoured integration was found to involve in activities in children's school more often ($r = .19, p < .05$). Similarly, integrationist parents demonstrated more concern with regards to children's household responsibilities. Such concerns were manifested in behavioral occurrences such as frequently reminding children to do chores at home or to keep their room tidy and clean ($r = .28, p < .05$).

Following integration, separation favoured by parents seemed to yield less behavioral and disciplinary problems. Those parents tend to believe that control should be exercised in children's social and moral lives. Not surprisingly, these parents were found to take disciplinary measures, such as restricting staying out or cutting allowance to enforce discipline ($r = .16, p < .05$). Similarly, by not getting involved in their children's schooling activities ($r = -.34, p < .001$), they demonstrate a disapproval of loose discipline and control at school as perceived

to be the case in North American education system.

Assimilation seemed to result in more disciplinary and behavioral problems. The correlation between parent's assimilation and the frequency of problems their children experienced with law was substantial. Parents who favoured assimilation were also in favour of autonomy in children's lives without parental involvement. The idea of autonomy was reflected, for example, in their lack of concern about children's household responsibilities. Assimilationist parents who supported autonomy reported to remind their children of their household duties less frequently ($r = -.32, p < .01$).

DISCUSSION

In this study, the acculturation process of Indo-Canadian families was examined with a specific emphasis on the relationship of acculturation attitudes with socialization beliefs and behavioral problems of children. The study reports sound psychometric properties of measures of acculturation attitudes and socialization beliefs. Scales that were used to assess acculturation attitudes were internally consistent. Validity of these scales was tested against behavioral occurrences. Also, the ways in which four acculturation attitudes are related to each other provided further support for the scale validity.

An expected from the model of acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1984), there was an inverse relationship between assimilation and separation, and between integration and marginalization. However, the relationship between marginalization and separation was quite strong. Krishnan and Berry (1992) found a similar pattern of correlations among four acculturation attitudes for Indian immigrants to the United States. In their study, marginalization and separation correlated more strongly than any other correlation among acculturation attitudes. This is also observed in various ethnic groups, such as Portuguese-Canadians (Young, 1984) and Korean-Canadians (Kim, 1984).

This finding is not totally unexpected, because, according to the model of acculturation attitudes, separation and marginalization share a negative valence towards the new cultural context. It is possible that some cultural groups, regardless of their desire to maintain their ethnic identity, may find themselves not interested in establishing relations with the members of the host society. Negative attitudes and apathy towards the host society may be a consequence of perception of prejudice (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987).

Results showed that integration was the overwhelming choice for the Indo-Canadian population, supporting past research on Indian population (i.e., Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Sahai, 1993). The main reason may be that, in Canada, maintaining one's cultural heritage, while seeking full participation in the host society is advocated by the Canadian government in its 'multiculturalism policy', and the policy is supported by a majority of the population (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977).

For parents, integration was followed by separation, whereas, for children, integration was followed by assimilation. The generation difference confirmed Bujaki's (1985) findings on first and second generation Hungarian-Canadians. The difference may be due to the fact

that second generation adolescents seek an acceptance from their North American peer group by means of adopting North American ways. Parents, on the other hand, having early socialization in their country of origin, seek maintenance of their heritage culture by means of conserving social customs and religious traditions (Nakra, 1984)

The generational difference can also be attributed to the perceived discrimination. Berry and Kalin (1995) drew a distinction between an 'ethnic' population (those who were born and raised in Canada) and an 'immigrant' population (those who migrated to Canada). In their 1991 national survey of ethnic attitudes in Canada, they found that second generation Indo-Canadians were rated higher in the preference rating than the first generation immigrants. It was also demonstrated that Sikhs and Indo-Pakistanis were rated at the bottom of the ladder with respect to their favourableness by mainstream Canadians (Berry and Kalin, 1995). Parents' exposure to discrimination (Henry, 1983; Jain, 1984; Lalonde et al., 1992; Verma, 1986) may explain the desire to separate themselves from the larger society. Research on the relationship between perceived discrimination and separation as a preferred acculturation attitude provides support for this possibility (i.e., Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Moghaddam et al., 1989). Prejudice is less experienced by the second generation who, consequently, may feel at ease in interacting with the host society.

One of the significant contributions of this study is to demonstrate how parents' acculturation attitudes are related to the attitudes of their offspring. Within-family analyses showed that there was a consistency between parents' and children's acculturation attitudes. In other words, parents who preferred integration had children who also preferred integration. This was the case also for separation, assimilation, and marginalization. The congruence between parents' and children's acculturation attitudes can be attributed to parents' influence on children as role models. Alternatively, children's influence on parents' attitudes is also conceivable especially in the case of integration and assimilation, because children are the primary carriers of cultural norms and values of the host society into their family.

There were also mixed relationships between parents and their children's acculturation attitudes. For example, parents who preferred separation had children who chose marginalization. It is possible that parents who favour separation express their lack of interest in interacting with individuals outside the ethnic community. This may create apathy in children towards the host society. At the same time, excessive emphasis on maintenance of the culture of origin is likely to result in a reaction against retention of Indian culture. Therefore, in families where separation is the attitude among parents, children may find it difficult to relate either to the host society or to the culture of origin. Parents' integration was negatively associated with children's assimilation and marginalization. These results may suggest that parents' preference of separation, as opposed to integration, had more of an adverse impact on their children's attitudes towards how they wish to relate to the host society and to the culture of origin.

Relation of acculturation attitudes with socialization beliefs was another importance issue that was explored in this study. Socialization beliefs are found to have three distinct dimensions. While the first dimension pointed out parents' role as a guide throughout the course of development, the second dimension put more emphasis on parents' role as a guardian

to control children's social and moral life. The third dimension represented beliefs emphasizing children's autonomy with respect to important life decisions. An interaction between acculturation attitudes and dimensions of socialization beliefs was observed. For example, those individuals who favoured assimilation valued children's autonomy in social life. Since children's autonomy is more valued in Canadian culture (Lambert, Hamers, and Frasure-Smith, 1979), it is only natural that assimilation is the attitude that is related to this dimension.

Integration, on the other hand, was related to parental influence on children's schooling, career choices, and responsibilities towards family. Role of parents as agents to guide children is appreciated by both cultures. Therefore, it is obvious that those who favour integration emphasize parental guidance in socialization of children. Finally, those who preferred separation believed that parents had to exercise control over children's social and moral life. Control over children, especially with respect to the relationships with the opposite sex, is frowned upon in Indian traditional values (e.g., Vaidyanathan, 1988; Wakil et al., 1981). Therefore, it is most likely to be encouraged by those who favoured separation.

In sum, results showed that the salient aspects of Indian socialization beliefs was associated with acculturation attitudes that advocated maintenance of cultural identity (i.e., separation). Salient aspects of North American socialization beliefs, on the other hand, seemed to be adopted by those who preferred assimilation. Those who wished to keep the best of both worlds (i.e., integration) subscribed the socialization beliefs shared by both cultures.

Relationship of acculturation attitudes with children's behavioral and disciplinary problems revealed that there are conditions under which one can expect less behavioral problems. For example, integration preferred by both parents and children was associated with less behavioral problems. Following integration, parents who favoured separation seemed to have less problems with their children. This is presumably because of the emphasis on control and discipline. One of the intriguing findings of the study was that those parents who preferred separation demonstrated a lack of interest in taking part in their children's school-related activities. This is a surprising result given the value attached to parental involvement in school in Indian culture. These results suggest that more traditional, parents had difficulties in accepting the North American education system which is perceived to be lacking in discipline (Mukherjee, 1992).

Behavioral and disciplinary problems increased, however, as parents embraced mainstream Canadian culture while demonstrating little interest in maintaining their own ethnic identity. There are two feasible explanations for this. First, it is possible that children develop identity problems under such circumstances. When parents show assimilation attitude and abolish their Indian identity, children experience a conflict in their perceptions regarding the identity of their parents as Indians. Second, those parents who favour assimilation assume that it is more appropriate in the Canadian context to exert little or no discipline in child-rearing. Kurian (1992) identified this phenomenon as a 'no control' response that Indian parents develop. The lack of discipline and control may pave the way to children's behavioral problems.

Children who chose separation were found to have more behavioral and disciplinary

problems. These children may experience identity conflict when they embrace Indian values while seeking interactions with their Canadian peers. Overall, the findings suggest that conflicts children experience with regard to both self-identity and the identity of their parents seem to be associated with behavioral and disciplinary problems.

To conclude, this study has developed reliable and valid measures of Indo-Canadian acculturation attitudes and socialization beliefs. The strong correlation between separation and marginalization calls for caution in interpreting the validity of the marginalization scale. In order to ensure construct validity, future research should pay more attention to the correspondence between the construct as defined in the acculturation framework, and the content of the items in this scale.

Consistent with the multiculturalism policy, integration was the overwhelming choice for Indo-Canadian population. While integration seemed to yield better behavioral outcomes for children, parents' assimilation and children's separation were related to more behavioral and disciplinary problems. These results, derived from a national sample of one of the largest ethnic groups in Canada, contributes to our understanding of the intergenerational issues in acculturating groups, and the significance of the role parents play in the process.

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