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TRANSITIONS IN ACCULTURATION:

The Psycho-Social Adjustments of American Immigrants

MARVIN H. SHAUB

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The Psycho-Social Adjustments of American Immigrants

Proefschrift

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door

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ABOUT THE COVER

Around the middle of the twentieth century there was a substantial migration of Spanish-speaking and bi-lingual Puerto Rican people north to the mainland of the USA. Many of these settled in the upper west side section of New York City, in a place that came to be known as Spanish Harlem. Substantial rivalry sometimes developed between these new immigrants and cultural and ethnic groups already living in or near these neighborhoods. One highly visible manifestation of the *acculturational stress* present in the situation was the adverse and confrontational relationship between teenage gangs allied with the two respective factions.

This inter-group antagonism comprised the backdrop for *West Side Story*, which ran for many years on Broadway as a musical stage play and was, four years later, made into a motion picture which also attracted large audiences. *West Side Story* is often performed in current times, as much for its entertainment value as for the valuable picture it presents of late 1950s immigrant life in New York.

The integrative scenario of *West Side Story* was based on Shakespeare's classic tale of star-crossed lovers *Romeo and Juliet*, first published in London in 1597. Of the many acclaimed songs in *West Side Story* (composed by Leonard Bernstein with lyrics by Stephen Sondheim), "America" is one that seems to me to capture the optimistic and open spirit of many immigrants of that time, even though not completely reflective of the context in which they lived.

ABSTRACT

This qualitative dissertation tells the story of *American immigrant acculturation* and its development as a *distinct social process*---the shaping of which was influenced by the changing demography and sociology of the country, the changing nature of the immigrant flow over time and the marked recent development of advanced information and media technologies, which carried with them the *potential* power to help some transform the immigrant condition into a *post cultural* experience.

I will focus initially on a period starting with the Anglo/Northern Europe-centered, bounded, locally oriented America of the mid-nineteenth century and continuing through the period of the “new immigrants”---people from different European backgrounds and with different objectives for their lives in America. The American experience of these “new immigrants” came to be characterized in the early twentieth century as *the great American melting pot*---a construct that grew out of a stage play that gave an important voice to the side of an American contemporary debate favouring the emergence of a culturally blended America over an alternate view based on multiple cultural maintenance. The melting pot characterization, to which not all immigrants subscribed, could be thought of as America’s first large scale *acculturative period* as immigrants from many different backgrounds considered whether they wished to subscribe to a homogeneous mono-culture---with roots often different from their own but often consistent with their reasons for emigrating, including the experience of living in a more open society.

I will continue the story with discussion of changes in immigrant flow originated and energized from around 1965 by changes in American immigration law---activating a novel pattern in which those from Latin America and Asia came to dominate within the overall stream of immigrants, replacing previous European numerical dominance. Individuals in this new cohort differed substantially from many of those who came in earlier periods---not only in terms of origin points but in a tendency to maintain the original culture while developing a separate “American” personality. This condition,

referred to as *bi-culturality*, comprehends a state in which both personalities are available as separate entities when useful.

With this new cohort of immigrants came a new generation of energetic social scientists, often themselves from Hispanic or Asian origins. By largely studying their own ethnicities they moved the state of acculturational knowledge forward in a substantial way toward a broad model developed around the end of the twentieth century by Dr. John Berry, a cross-cultural psychologist. I have attempted to increase the utility of this model with an interpretive framework called *ACES* (an acronym for *Anchoring, Communication, Enjoyment and Sensitivity*). These two constructs (the Berry model and *ACES* interpretive framework) allow for a distinction to be made between *different degrees of bi-culturality*, with the more complete version of the condition (*full bi-culturality*) characterized by ability to act in *each* culture as if *uni-cultural in that culture* ---free from excessive psychological or behavioural constraints emanating from the alternate culture. I show why it might be easier for some individuals than for others to become fully bi-cultural and also show how *ACES* can be scored differently to compare individuals on conditions other than full bi-culturality.

Having covered mono-cultural (melting pot) and bi-cultural adjustment strategies I will turn to a different modality---referred to as *hybrid culturality* (or sometimes *pastiche*)---in which an original culture remains but is augmented by bits and pieces that the individual chooses to appropriate, to form a kind of *personally relevant blended cultural mixture*. I will utilize *immigrant Muslims* as a medium for exploring this third version of acculturative adjustment. Hybrid culturality does not have universal appeal to American Muslims and some choose to maintain their traditional culture in the American context, or to adapt in other ways. However the combination for many Muslims of a strong religion and multiple options for situating themselves relative to it make this group attractive as an illustrative vehicle.

Following periods in which acculturational development was impacted by major changes in the nature of the flow of immigrants coming to America a period ensued during which

dramatic growth in advanced information and media technologies introduced an important new dimension. Initially described by Gergen (1991) as *the technologies of social saturation* this development massively increased international connectivity, produced instant access to a huge variety of information resulting in time-space compression and to a general speeding up of life for those who had access to and interest in it. These technologies helped many to approach an *orientation of post culturality* by helping to dissolve previous cultural boundaries through exposure to a much wider range of life definitions, opinions and outlooks. The post cultural orientation, as I use the term in this dissertation, envisions *the ability to react fluidly to changing contextual or interpersonal situations*. This post cultural orientation, where all boundaries of culture have disappeared, is often facilitated by advanced technology. However, other ways of encountering and appropriating large amounts of unique and different input can, either with or without advanced technology, also lead to post culturality.

Not all newcomers to America conform to the post cultural profile. Many immigrants continue to follow other patterns of adjustment---including those described earlier. Additionally some of those who are themselves not immigrants---for example, second generation individuals from immigrant families---have also found some of the discussed approaches helpful in their own continuing adjustment.

While it could be appropriate to think of the four above described phases---mono-cultural, bi-cultural, hybrid cultural and post cultural---as developments along a *spectrum* of American acculturative adjustments they could also be regarded, as I have regarded them above, as *orientations* favoured by various conditions that the person might have experienced. They do not necessarily comprise a developmental sequence with stages through which one moves but are *individually relevant, allowing for movement in or out* depending on what is appropriate and desired by the individual at the time.

In telling the story of American immigrant acculturation as a social process I will utilize theory written by others, my own developing ideas and twenty-one interviews, mostly

with immigrant individuals and in a few cases with scholars. Protocols for these interviews---batches of which pertain to different objectives---can be found in Appendix A. Some featured standard questions, others were more tailored to individual areas of interviewee experience or strength in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding in what was more of a preliminary exploration. I will provide illustrative case examples from Hispanic, Japanese, Muslim and other cultures. While making occasional comparative references to developments in Europe my story is primarily about the American case. I do not focus heavily on either Native American Indians or early African Americans, both groups which I feel are important enough in American history to deserve separate in-depth coverage. I do make reference to these groups from time to time. My fundamental perspective in writing this document is not so much that of a career social scientist as that of an experienced international businessman. The combination of my business experience and academic study will allow for a *blended viewpoint* which will hopefully provide useful perspective to others in business as well as in other pursuits in today's increasingly complex, high stakes and cosmopolitan world.

I will begin in the First Chapter with background materials about immigration and acculturation to provide context for subsequent discussion. Chapter TWO will discuss the influence of an early twentieth century play, *The Melting Pot* by Israel Zangwill, on characterization at the time of the immigrant condition in America. I will at that point review the scholarly literature on acculturation and show how it supported a change in characterization from earlier ideas influenced by *The Melting Pot* to an alternative concept based on *bi-culturality*. Chapter THREE will focus further on theory, introducing the *Berry Acculturational Model* and describing my *ACES Interpretive Framework* as useful ways of understanding bi-culturality. Chapter FOUR will show how many *Hispanics and Asians* live a basically bi-cultural life in America and show through narratives developed from eight interviews with Hispanic and Japanese immigrants---using the Berry model and ACES framework for interpretive purposes---how differences in realizing the *the full bi-culturality condition* develop between basically bi-cultural groups and between individuals from the same group. The next two chapters will explore *hybrid culturality* through the lens of the *Muslim immigrant*.

Through a combination of historical analysis, discussion of Islamic theology and applications to present day context in Chapter FIVE, and quotations from ten Muslim interviews in Chapter SIX I will show how some Muslims adopt their own individualized version of adjustment to American life while some from their group resist these trends. Chapter SEVEN focuses on *post culturality*. First I will describe the rapid development of the technologies of social saturation, particularly in America and other industrialized countries, in recent years. Then I will document the uneven overall international growth of these technologies, along with trends that might even out the development geographically over time. I will discuss how the post cultural condition develops, beginning with scholars' quotes from the literature. I will interview three post cultural individuals---immigrants from different countries---then show through comparison of my daughter's background with my own at her age (as I remember it) how substantially different early experience with technology can nevertheless lead to the same condition of post culturality. Chapter EIGHT will contain a brief summary of the dissertation and end with reflections on what I have learned from writing it, along with a discussion of what implications this knowledge might have.

ABSTRACT

(Insert Dutch translation of abstract)

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PROLOGUE

I would like to welcome you to my PhD dissertation. And I would like for you to know more about me, so that you can better understand how I have formed some of the views that are in this document.

I grew up in rural northern New York State, in the United States. I attended Cornell University (BA, Sociology and Anthropology, Concentration in Social Psychology, 1962) and The Harvard Business School (MBA, concentration in Marketing, 1964). I spent three years in California, serving as an officer in the United States Air Force and working on the early stages of a space project (which subsequently became Skylab). After that I moved to New York City where I spent some time at a prominent international advertising agency (Ogilvy & Mather) and at the management consulting firm McKinsey & Company---working all throughout this latter period on marketing and communications projects.

In 1971 I went to work for The Franklin Mint Corporation, where I spent the next 14 years---about half at corporate headquarters near Philadelphia and the balance spread between overseas assignments in Munich, London and Tokyo. When I left The Franklin Mint I formed my own consulting and venture firm specializing in The US Hispanic Market and ran it for another 18 years. I have been involved in one way or another in 45 different industries or product category segments. These are listed on my website: <http://home.comcast.net/~mhshaub>. I consider myself *Post Cultural*, in line with the development of this concept in Chapter SEVEN.

I have been married twice---once, many years ago, to an American woman who shared my Jewish faith and then more recently to a Japanese who started life as a traditional follower of Buddhism and Shinto but, having also lived in many places around the world, now belongs to The Church of England. I have three grown children by my first marriage---all successful entrepreneurs in different fields. I have one child by my current marriage. Unlike myself, this last child Nicole grew up in an age of exploding technology. I refer to her at places throughout this document as embodying the kind of

emerging cosmopolitanism that is increasingly a requirement for success today in many fields. I view her as well along toward also experiencing the Post Cultural Condition.

I have, often from the sidelines, witnessed the shrinking of the world through the development of modern information and communications technologies and participated myself in the increasing internationalization of business practice. When I regard other cultures in other countries or rough microcosms of these formed by cultural diasporas within my own country I do not see a McLuhanesque global village. Rather I see the increasing importance of being able to take comprehensive looks at the world around us from ever more cosmopolitan viewpoints, giving as much perceptual weight to understanding differences as to constructing similarities. In the end, those involved in managing complex organizational life need to add in their assessment of those to whom multi-cultural missions are to be entrusted an assessment of candidates' abilities to suppress their own cultural programming and look at markets, operations and people in an unbiased way. I have heard it said the today's mammoth multi-national businesses are blind to culture---that there is an inexorable pressure to construct all peoples as being fundamentally the same. I believe that, to the degree this pressure is there, it is a house built on an unreliable foundation. I believe that the study of acculturation, such as we will travel through together, shows that all peoples are not the same---that we need to learn the lessons taught most vividly through the eyes of immigrants to America, perhaps the most complex but also perhaps the most opportunity filled country on earth.

In the summer of 2005 I reached the age of 65. I decided it was time to do something different. I began searching for something new, something unlike what I had done previously---something that would allow me, as a sixty-something, to think of an important life activity as a beginning, something that would allow me to look at my long and complex history in business and in life and begin to draw some possible conclusions that could be helpful to others. During the last part of my business career I became acutely aware of acculturation as an important variable in the lives of Hispanic immigrants to America. I also became aware of the increased prominence of the Hispanic and other immigrant cultures in our country, as well as the tremendous overall

changes that were happening to our American flow of immigrants, to America as a country and to other countries that had similar large increases in immigration from cultures dissimilar to their own.

I came to see the importance of understanding acculturation from the constructed perspective of actual or “soon-to-be” immigrants living with the lightning fast information access of the internet, the real time experiencing of things happening on another part of the globe from satellite television feeds and the umbilical connection to friends and family everywhere from inexpensive, high quality international phone service. Increasingly I could imagine the hardships that lay ahead for immigrants, as well as the rewards. I could understand the speeding up of exposures to other cultures, concomitant cultural diffusion and the breakdown of boundaries that came with modern technology. I came to see history changing events such as 9/11 and its aftermath and the continuing debates about “immigration reform” as not only important stories in a historical sense but as constructs that change our fundamental understanding of the world around us.

When I began my dissertation research I honestly felt some trepidation, as it was over 40 years since I had been involved in serious academic study. However I felt that, with some hard work and openness toward learning, I could help both the social science world and the business world move forward in understanding acculturation---an understanding that is growing more and more important every day, but which few people or governments possess right now. So I welcome you into this dialogue. I hope you enjoy reading my dissertation.

Marvin H. Shaub
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USA

Chapter ONE: Orientations to Immigration and Acculturation

In the mists of pre-history natural migrations of early men and women may eventually have resulted in contact between groups that had previously-developed dissimilar cultures. In those far distant times, as in more modern ones, such contact---if carried on over a long period---would likely have required some combination of adjustments to be made if even relative harmony was to prevail over chaos. These adjustments to stresses brought on by prolonged exposure to unusual or different cultures came to be known in aggregate as *acculturation*.

On the scholarly level the term *acculturation* has come to include many different things --- anthropological constructs, psychological constructs, sociological constructs among them. Researchers have taken acculturation to be mainly concerned with domains of cognition, values, behaviours, knowledge, beliefs, self-concepts, ethnic identities or combinations of these. In this dissertation I will utilize many of these frameworks to analyze acculturation from the viewpoint of its development as a complex social process among immigrants to America.

The balance of this initial chapter will be primarily devoted to establishing perspective through discussion of migration activity---dealing first with global parametrics, then homing in more closely on immigration phenomena in America (both parametric and sociological). A final section will provide a transition to the study of American immigrant acculturation.

The Magnitude of the Migration Issue in the World

The amount of migration that is going on around the world has increased sharply in recent years. The United Nations (2006, p.1) estimated that, in the year 2005, there were 190.6 million migrants in the world, up from 165.1 million in 1995 (an increase of 15.4%) and up from 111.0 million in 1985 (an increase of 71.7%). Currently 3% of the

world's population comprises migrants---people now living in a different country from that in which they were born (United Nations, *ibid*, p. 1). In some areas however the figure is much higher. For example, The International Organization for Migration estimates that, currently, 7.7% of Europe's population comprises migrants. The comparable figure for North America is 12.9% (International Organization for Migration, 2005, p. 255). If all the world's migrants were grouped together as one country they would comprise the world's fifth largest nation. Clearly, this is a substantial aggregate of people.

Of particular concern is the sub-population of unauthorized migrants, for whom acculturation presents additional obstacles. It is estimated that there are some 30 to 40 million unauthorized migrants on the world scene. The US is estimated to have about 12 million of these (Passel, 2006, pp. i and ii), whereas Europe has an estimated 8 million (International Organization for Migration, *op. cit*, p. 255). Often these unauthorized, undocumented people face the bleakest of futures once their original migratory causation has run its course (for example, outsourcing and exportation of factory jobs that represented the original attraction).

While not always true, generally speaking migrants tend to move to countries that are technologically more advanced than the countries they came from. The International Organization for Migration lists the three countries receiving the most immigrants, as of the year 2000, as The United States, Russian Federation and Germany. The next two were Ukraine and France. So it is often true that immigrants enter a world of contextual surprises, where previously unknown machinery of life and ways of doing things await to stretch and shape them. They are challenged to adjust to differences in their self-understanding, their beliefs, values and ways of life.

The issue of understanding and dealing responsibly with immigrants (as well as minority or subservient cultures already in place) and making their acculturation (or other types of adjustment) easier has become a significant international issue. For example, adjustment problems of Muslims who originally came to Europe seeking work have resulted in riots,

bombings and significant loss of life. Recent genocide episodes in Africa and Eastern Europe have revived memories of the Holocaust. Further, as this document is being written there are significant movements going on in many parts of the world (including The United States) to prevent, reduce or discourage immigration and to enforce rigid and often unrealistic rules on those already at their new destinations. For example, the French ruling that Muslim girls could not wear headscarves in school was viewed by the dominant culture as a means of securing inclusivity, whereas for the Muslim culture it was interpreted as discriminatory.

Immigration in America

It has been said that America is a country of immigrants. This is true, in the sense that life did not originate here. Many scholars subscribe to the theory that 15,000 years or so ago hunters from what is now Siberia crossed over the Land Bridge now submerged beneath the Bering Strait and, when it became feasible, moved southward to become the “indigenous peoples”---free standing cultures--- inhabiting North, Central and South America (see Footnote 1.1). The peoples who settled in what later developed into The United States of America became known as Native Americans.

Permanent settlements by Europeans began with Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. Gradually more settlers from England and other parts of Northern Europe emigrated to America. By 1790 about 75% of the 3.9 million people living in territory now included in the United States were from either England or Germany (see Footnote 1.2). Of the balance, about 75% were African individuals brought here during the period beginning around 1640 (and culminating in 1865) to serve as slaves.

An early historical look at modern day US immigration is provided by de Tocqueville in his classic *Democracy in America*, written in 1835. A French civil servant from an aristocratic background, he often referred to the American people of the time as “Anglo-Americans”---inferring a body of more or less homogeneous English immigrants. De

Tocqueville described a young, uni-cultural America---rich in promise, potential and resources there for the taking. He said (p. 177):

“It would be difficult to describe the avidity with which the American rushes forward to secure this immense booty that fortune offers. In the pursuit he fearlessly braves the arrow of the Indian and the diseases of the forest; he is unimpressed by the silence of the woods, the approach of beast of prey does not disturb him, for he is goaded onwards by a passion stronger than the love of life.”

De Tocqueville was impressed with the general equality he found in America---so different from the highly articulated class structures of many countries in Europe. He remarked (p. 3):

“The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that this equality of condition is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated.”

In constructing an America featuring equality of condition, however, de Tocqueville was referring only to the segment comprising Whites. He dismissed the two major minorities of the times, as mentioned briefly above---Negroes (as African Americans were then called) and Native American Indians. Negroes were brought to America from Africa, to work the plantations in the South by those de Tocqueville understood as like European aristocrats. The Negroes so involved lived a culturally marginalized life. He wrote:

“The Negro of the United States has lost even the remembrance of (his) country; the language which his forefathers spoke is never heard around him; he abjured their religion and forgot their customs when he ceased to belong to Africa. But he remains half-way between the two communities, isolated between two races...”

(p. 201)

The only society that pre-dated the advent of the British settlers was the American Indian (The Native American). These de Tocqueville characterized as inferior in technology to the Europeans, who made no great attempt to integrate them but rather pushed them back as the European settlers advanced. He characterized the Indians this way:

“It is impossible to conceive the frightful sufferings that attend these forced migrations. They are undertaken by a people already exhausted and reduced; and the countries to which the new-comers betake themselves are inhabited by other tribes, which receive them with jealous hostility.” (p. 207)

Turning now to more modern times, for many years immigration flows to America conformed to The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 which updated country-specific immigration quotas initially established in 1924, essentially keeping the country of origin profile of The United States about the same as it historically had been.

In an article in *The Wall Street Journal*, (Crossen, 2006) Cynthia Crossen describes the beginnings of this system as follows:

“Under the so-called national origins system, created first on an ‘emergency’ basis in 1921 and renewed in a more restrictive form in 1924, the US census would count the number of foreign-born immigrants already in the U.S. and determine how many came from each country. Thereafter, 2% of the total of each nationality would be admitted annually. (The 1924 law fixed no quotas for immigrants from New World countries, including Canada and Mexico, whose seasonal laborers were crucial to the nation’s farmers).

To compute the number of people of each nationality living in the U.S. however, Congress used a little sleight of hand. Instead of utilizing the 1920, 1910 or 1900 censuses, it reached all the way back to the 1890 census to create its quota baselines.

Why turn the clock back more than 30 years to establish (then) current policy?
 Because before 1890, most immigrants came from northern and western Europe, including Britain...Germany, (The Netherlands) and other countries. Between 1890 and 1920, many more immigrants sailed from southern and eastern European countries like Italy, Poland, (Russia) and Greece.” (p. B-1)

To document this point, below are specific population and immigration figures published by the US Office of Immigration Statistics (2004, p. 6):

Table 1.1: Early US Immigration (000s):

	<u>US pop.1790*</u>	<u>1851-1880**</u>	<u>1881-1910</u>	<u>1911-1930</u>
England/UK	2,560	6,739	1,606	681
Germany	270	2,457	2,299	556
Italy	-	77	3,005	1,565
Greece	-	3	186	235
Russia	-	21	2,106	983

* (estimated---see Footnote 1.2)

** Origin country recorded from 1850, Poland N/A

In 1965, the 1952 Immigration Act was amended to eliminate country quotas and allow those already here (including very large numbers of Hispanic migrant workers) to bring over other family members (See Footnote 1.3).

According to the US Census Bureau, in the year 1960 75.0% of the foreign born population then living in The United States came from Europe, 9.4% from Latin America and 5.1% from Asia (all other = 10.5%). (US Bureau of the Census, 1999, Table 2). By the year 2000 only 15.8% were from Europe, 51.7% from Latin America and 26.4% from Asia (all other = 6.1%). In that same period the total number of foreign born increased from 9.7 million to 31.1 million. Of the 31.1 million foreign born living in The United States in 2000 21.6 million had come since 1980. Of these, 12.0 million came from Latin America and 6.1 million from Asia. Only 2.3 million came from Europe. (US Bureau of the Census, 2000, Summary File 4, QT, p.14). Just as the weather condition of “snow” is constructed and understood as different from “rain” or “sunshine” ---requiring a different agenda, at least for outside activity--- the change in the aggregate corpus of immigrants required new social scientific thinking. This change is covered in Chapter TWO.

As some subsequent sections of this document will focus on Hispanics as an important minority sub-culture in America, it is important to take a look at their figures. On 17 October 2006 the population of the United States reached 300 million. (US Bureau of the Census, 2006, website home page) According to The Pew Hispanic Center (the most up to date source of statistics about America’s Hispanics) at the end of 2004 there were 40.4 million documented Hispanics in the country (Pew, 2005, p.2). Additionally an estimated 78% of the estimated 12 million undocumented individuals in the US are believed to be Hispanic (Passel, 2006, pp. i and ii). This yields a total of 49.8 million total Hispanics, or about 17% of the US population currently. Hispanics have overtaken African-Americans as America’s largest minority group. The US Census Bureau estimates that by the year 2050 nearly one person in four living in America will be of Hispanic origin. (US Bureau of the Census, 2004 A, p.1) This sheer size, along with the vibrancy of the culture, has---in my opinion---created a kind of “critical mass” situation in America, a situation that demands careful attention.

Pew indicates that the above referenced super-flow of all immigrants (not just Hispanics) peaked in the year 2000 and declined thereafter, probably as an aftermath of 9/11. By

2004 the flow of immigrants was down 24% from 2000 (Passel & Suro, 2005, p.1). However, at least in the case of Hispanics, the seeds of future substantial continuing growth were already present. To quote a Pew Hispanic Center research report (Passel & Suro, 2005, p.1):

“As it continues to grow, the composition of the Hispanic population is undergoing a fundamental change: Births in the United States are outpacing immigration as the key source of growth. Over the next twenty years this will produce an important shift in the makeup of the Hispanic population with second generation Latinos---the US-born children of immigrants---emerging as the largest component of that population.”

The Wall Street Journal reported that the US Hispanic population increased 1.3 million from 2004 to 2005. Of this amount, only 38.5% came from immigration. The balance came from Hispanics already living here. Comparable figures for Non-Hispanic Whites were 500,000 total population growth, 40% from immigration (Kronholz, 2006, p.A6).

The other major recent immigrant group came from The Far East. In 2003 there were 13.5 million people counted by the Census Bureau as Asian, up 12.5% from the year 2000 (US Bureau of the Census, 2004, p.1) While in aggregate this is a substantial group it is largely made up of sub-groups who come from somewhat different Asian cultures and speak different indigenous languages. In a special report for the US Census Bureau, Reeves & Bennet (2004, p. 1) reported the populations of major Asian sub-groups as follows: Chinese 2.4 million, Filipino 1.9 million, Asian Indian 1.6 million, Korean 1.1 million, Vietnamese 1.1 million, Japanese .8 million, all other Asian (no single group more than 200,000) 4.7 million. Several interview narratives at the end of Chapter FOUR are conducted with Japanese immigrants. Admittedly, the Japanese population in America is relatively small. But, to the degree that they share the Asian traditions of hard work, self-discipline and accomplishment they serve to represent the broader Far Eastern segment.

The Stranger in Our Midst

Among the many things that happened in the early days of the twenty-first century were two rather surprising events that forced open the eyes of many Americans. I refer first to the availability of results from the 2000 Census of the United States, which by law enumerates the American population every 10 years. The pages of the 2000 Census spoke with imputed authority through the stark language of numbers of a strange and, for some, threatening “person” who had entered the familiar, cozy room. This person didn’t speak or act as Americans are supposed to. He didn’t hear the same voices “we” hear. Rather the voices he heard spoke to him in Spanish or Chinese or some other seemingly exotic tongue. This new person represented the deepening river of immigrants now coming from Latin America and The Far East. The “we” in whose voice I have been speaking was the generation upon generation of traditional Americans whose roots lay in Europe.

What was this new person like? How could we get to know him? What relationship would we have with him? These were important questions in the early twenty-first century. They were also difficult ones to answer. For like Janus, the ancient Roman God of entrances and exits, our new person had two faces---one pointing in each direction. The face we could see was the shining immigrant face similar to that which many of us remember from the now sepia-toned photographs of our parents and grandparents as they emerged from Ellis Island. The other face, pointing the other way and hidden from us, betrayed the longing for a deep-rooted culture left behind---a culture with a powerful and lingering allure, even if packaged in fading memories of the difficult day-to-day “real life” circumstances of the past.

The 2000 Census vividly documented something that had been going on for years, continuously building upon itself but below the cognitive radar screen of most of mainstream America. To see it presented now as a “big change” by an authoritative national organization with substantial credibility seemed for many a formidable challenge. Perhaps we should have been more observant of the changes. After all,

America had prior experience with large numbers of immigrants from Africa who came onto the American scene with not only a different history and belief structure but a distinctively different and indelible appearance as well. The discord of The American Civil Rights movement showed all too clearly, at least in retrospect, the dangers that can come from ignoring---some would say subjugating---a substantial minority. Today our laws are different and many feel our culture has been enriched by what Black voices and Black talents bring to our society.

The second event to which I refer is the tragedy of September 11, 2001. For the first time since Pearl Harbor America had suffered a large magnitude attack at home. This time, however, the attack came not from a country that had form, boundaries or substance but from an amorphous trans-national religious movement---built around an ideology to which its protagonists were deeply committed. As history would reveal, America did not reside alone in the bull's eye. Subsequent terrorist attacks in London, Madrid, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia, Bali, Indonesia and Mumbai, India along with the Paris riots, the assassination of Dutch film-maker Theo Van Gogh and the self-instituted exile of Ayaan Hirsi Ali showed us that the world had changed in significant ways.

Many felt that the days were gone when countries could disregard the presence and needs of minorities in their midst---minorities struggling to cope with local contemporary issues not even recognized by the mainstream while listening in the dark, late at night to voices whispering to them from afar of a different agenda. Gone were the days when governments could presume that the mainstream culture would automatically appeal to everyone within the borders of the country. What would now be required to build loyalty, to make immigrants feel welcome and to identify with the country they were in rather than with ideologies from outside? Gone were the days when any country---even if guarded, as America was, by oceans on its flanks---could afford to disregard ideas that began and thrived elsewhere. Gone were the days of presuming that immigrants were powerless, could do no harm and could be left to fend for themselves.

Certainly most in America and elsewhere felt that the days of safety were at an end. Random violence could now touch anyone. Here were the days when any immigrant could, beneath the surface, harbor ideas and potential for action quite different from what was outwardly portrayed. Here entered the days of distrust.

But here as well were the days of opportunity. For if America could overcome its tendency to focus on deficit rather than opportunity (Barrett and Fry, p. 31), and to open ourselves to non-American ways of life, to adopt a relational rather than an absolutist posture, then a new era of global collaboration might begin. We stand now at the crossroads.

Positioning Acculturation Study

Acculturation is only one of many types of adjustment to which immigrant communities are challenged throughout the world. Additionally the process not only affects first generation immigrants but often has a lingering generational effect---in some cases of indefinite duration. However, for analytical purposes, this dissertation will focus on acculturation alone and mainly as it pertains to immigrants.

Even though formal acculturation study began about 70 years ago the vast preponderance has been generated in the last 25 years, much of it in The United States. A substantial impetus was given to the field by a new generation of scholars from non-traditional American immigrant ethnicities, mainly Hispanic and Asian, who were largely writing about their own cultures as these have developed in America. Indeed the very nature of acculturation study has been heavily influenced by changes in American immigration patterns---based on changes in American immigration law and the re-defining of the agenda of ideas that were believed important.

The next chapter will contain a review of scholarly research work in this field. As a segue I will discuss the vision of *The Great American Melting Pot*, showing how it

developed in America and what changes caused it to cede some of its traction to an alternative construct---*The Bi-Cultural Personality*.

Footnotes:

1.1: See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_to_the_United_States, p. 2

1.2: 1790 American populations from other origin countries/areas (000): Africa 757, Netherlands 100, France 15, Sweden 2. Source: (same as Footnote 1.1 above)

1.3: For Immigration Act of May 26, 1924

see :<http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/legishist/470.htm>

For Immigration and Nationality Act of June 27, 1952

see: <http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/legishist/511.htm>

For Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments, as of October 3, 1965

see: <http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/legishist/526.htm>

Chapter TWO: The Rise and Decline of The Great American Melting Pot

As we saw in Chapter ONE, the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was marked by substantial increases in immigration to America, compounded by several factors. These “new” immigrants came from European cultures that were substantially different from those of the British, German and other Northern European peoples who came before. The new immigrants tended to be Catholic (and in some cases Jewish) rather than Protestant, often spoke languages unfamiliar to those already settled in America and often reflected urban rather than rural mindsets and lifestyles. These “new” immigrants were often fleeing adverse situations such as war, severe religious or ethnic persecution or food shortages. Starting over in America was a critical objective for many.

These “new” immigrants were often not welcomed by the “old” immigrants, who wanted to keep America the conservative, rural, Protestant society it had been. An example of the result was the 1924 quota law, previously described, intended to contain the new elements. Often there was severe discrimination against those newcomers who had made it to America. The conflict also led to debate among scholars of the time as to whether America in the future would more likely resemble a *homogenized* mixture of immigrants from diverse original backgrounds or a *plural society* where each distinct cultural group would essentially maintain its own individual identity. This debate, framed before the beginning of formal study of acculturation, was brought into public focus by a play entitled *The Melting Pot*. Written by a talented writer of British and Russian descent and capturing the essence of the debate, the play attracted large audiences and stimulated considerable discussion in the early twentieth century.

The Melting Pot by Israel Zangwill

The play pointedly articulated one of the great social issues of the time. Representing a strongly assimilationist viewpoint the play presents the character David, a violinist of

Russian peasant heritage making statements such as the following, in which he recalls , his anticipation of what life in America would be like (Zangwill, 1925):

“...You must remember that all my life I had heard of America---everybody in our town had friends there or was going there or got money orders from there. The earliest game I played at was selling off my toy furniture and setting up in America. All my life America was waiting, beckoning, shining---the place where God would wipe away tears from all faces” (p. 31)

Further on in the play David states his post-immigration construction of America in a passage that many felt represented the conceptual core of America’s first real acculturational experience:

“...America is God’s Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all races of Europe are melting and re-forming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand...in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won’t be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you’ve come to---these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians---into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American.” (p. 33)

Carrying the egalitarian theme over into the realm of intimate relationships, here is a conversation between the characters David and Vera---both Russian immigrants but of vastly different original European social classes:

“DAVID: It is a dream. You cannot care for me---you are so far above me.

VERA: Above you, you simple boy? Your genius lifts you to the stars.

DAVID: No, no; it is you who lift me there---

VERA: Oh, David. And to think that I was brought up to despise your race.

DAVID: Yes, all Russians are.

Considering this and similar passages, Thernstrom (2004) provides this perspective:

“Zangwill’s drama was a hymn to the power of assimilative forces in American life. The hero and heroine---he a Russian Jew, she a Cossack---could never have fallen in love and married in the Old World, but in America their historically antagonistic backgrounds were irrelevant.” (p. 48)

The contrary view stressing the importance of cultural maintainance appears as a minor theme in the play, as in the following exchange:

“MENDEL: Many Countries have gathered us (Jews). Holland took us when we were driven from Spain---but we did not become Dutchmen. Turkey took us when Germany oppressed us---but we have not become Turks.

DAVID: These countries were not in the making. They were old civilizations stamped with the seal of creed. In such countries the Jew may be right to stand out. But here in this new secular Republic we must look forward---

MENDEL: We must look backwards too.” (p. 96)

However, the main social impact of the play was to give voice and lend credence to an assimilationist viewpoint that was welcomed by many of the more recent immigrants. Immigrants from many different backgrounds could consider whether they wished to subscribe to a new homogeneous mono-culture---with roots often far different from their own but also often consistent with their reasons for emigrating, including the experience of living in a more open society.

Some immigrants chose alternatives to The Melting Pot. Many faced discriminatory behaviours and chose other adjustment strategies--facing an often negative welcome in America by preceding cohorts some of the “new” immigrants pursued a serious intent to separate and start completely new individual lives in America based on kinship felt with others of their original ethnicity. Many cities in America today maintain distinct sections dominated not by mainstream American culture but by particular ethnicities (eg. China Towns, Little Italys, Polish Sections) that have descended from that era. Other immigrant groups of the time pursued a hyphenated ethnicity (eg. Polish-American, Italian-American) that, in my view, for each pairing articulated a dual identity with separate original and new components that mixed together into a brew that did not correspond completely with either one identity or the other.

In relatively recent times some scholars have put forward the idea that America today still conforms to the assimilative Melting Pot model. Here are the words of Barone, written in 2001:

“What is important now is to discard the notion that we are at a totally new place in American history, that we are about to change from a white-bread nation to a collection of peoples of color. On the contrary, the new Americans of today, like the new Americans of the past, can be interwoven into the fabric of American life.” (p. 279)

While some would agree with this idea, I believe the appropriate way to conceptualize The Melting Pot period was that it was at one time a valuable transition between an early America where acculturation was not a major feature---ie. the White majority tended to be a homogeneous culture, with no real attempt being made to integrate the sizeable minorities of Negroes or Native Americans---and the coming periods which, from an acculturational viewpoint, would feature many more modalities of individual choice. In other words The Melting Pot, while once a viable idea for some, is now largely irrelevant.

Journalists Look at American Life After The Melting Pot

In 1998, as the second wave of immigration was cresting, *The Washington Post* ran a series of articles entitled “The Myth of the Melting Pot”. To set the stage for later discussions I would like to begin this section by quoting the words of William Booth, who wrote the lead article.

“In 1908...The United States was in the middle of absorbing the largest influx of immigrants in its history---Irish and Germans, followed by Italians and East Europeans, Catholics and Jews---some 18 million new citizens between 1890 and 1920.

Today, The United States is experiencing its second great wave of immigration, a movement of people that has profound implications for a society that by tradition pays homage to its immigrant roots at the same time it confronts complex and deeply ingrained ethnic and racial divisions.

The immigrants of today come not from Europe but overwhelmingly from the still developing world of Asia and Latin America. They are driving a demographic shift...(that)...will severely test the premise of the fabled melting pot, the idea, so central to national identity that this country can transform people of every color and background into ‘one America’ .

...Many historians argue that there was a greater consensus in the past on what it meant to be an American, a yearning for a common language and culture, and a desire---encouraged, if not coerced by members of the dominant white Protestant culture---to assimilate. Today, they say, there is more emphasis on preserving one’s cultural identity, of finding ways to highlight and defend one’s cultural roots.” (Booth, 1998, pp. 1 & 2)

Now let us listen to another kind of voice---that of Jorge Ramos, a distinguished Hispanic journalist writing at about that same time:

“The melting pot dried up. We, the Hispanic community, did not (merge) into U.S. Society as other ethnic groups had before us; we did so in our own way. Latino immigration to the United States differs from the immigration of groups that came from Europe, and the reasons are many.

To begin with, there is a geographic factor that has kept us in constant contact with our homelands...(additionally)...technology has also created the illusion of proximity. Making a long-distance telephone call no longer requires a great deal of money or the complicated systems that the European immigrants...had to deal with. Letters are now easily replaced by e-mail messages.

The Italians and the Poles...never had national television networks in their own language in The United States. Hispanics, however, do and they are very successful.

...Hispanics have built their identity on cultural roots and origins that are different from those of the rest of the population. That sets us apart from all other immigrant groups in the history of The United States.” (Ramos, 2000, Introduction, pp. xxix & xxx)

Ramos quotes well known Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa:

“It is the first time in history that an immigrant community has not had to go through the process of the melting pot which is that of conforming to the customs of the (primarily) English-speaking population in order to be recognized as Americans.” (Ramos, 2000, Introduction, p. xxx).

What has happened in the few years since these passages were written? As noted above, immigration has slowed for all groups, including Hispanics. However, the second generation of Hispanic immigrants from the 1990 wave---comprising those who were born here---is increasing in prominence. The internet has become even more developed. International phone rates have plunged. Satellite television in an array of languages is readily available. In fact, it has never been easier than it is right now for those of any immigrant culture to resist the forces that led to the popularization of the idea of the one-size-fits-all Melting Pot.

Scholars Look at Acculturation

In this context of social process change it is useful to explore the scholarly literature in the field of acculturation study. It is generally accepted that the first serious thinking about acculturation came from the anthropological community. In 1936, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits wrote as follows:

“Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.” (p. 149)

Of significance here is the *direction* of change, which could go from either group to the other. This initial idea of *dual directionality* differs both in concept and in voice from later constructs which proceeded from frameworks made up of “*original culture*” and “*dominant culture*” or similar value laden diadic descriptors. These conceptualize cultural change as being handed from a “main” cultural entity to a “subsidiary” one. Also of interest in the Redfield definition was the focus on *group*, rather than *individual*, change.

In the 1940s there was interest in how the establishment of European colonial empires affected the colonized indigenous peoples, again portraying a diad of cultures in a

superior/inferior mode. In 1945 Hollowell wrote (referring to the period leading up to World War I):

“As the expansion of European peoples continued to gain momentum...conditions were created that directly or indirectly forced native peoples to make all kinds of cultural readaptations for which they were totally unprepared. This was inevitable since the ultimate aim of European expansion was the colonization and economic exploitation of new regions, and the extension of sovereignty over the ...people who lived in them.” (Hollowell, 1945, p. 192).

Hollowell quotes earlier writing by Barnett in further denigrating societies that came to be colonized:

“...the socially unadjusted or maladjusted, the suppressed and , frustrated and those who have suffered a social displacement in their own society, more especially half-breeds, widows, orphans, invalids, rebels and chronic trouble makers have been in the vanguard of those accepting newly introduced patterns.” (Barnett, 1941, p. 216)

Also important at that time was the 1954 definition of acculturation issued by The (American) Social Science Research Council (SSRC). They described acculturation as:

“...culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences and the operation of role determinants and personality factors.” (p. 974)

Bearing in mind that the time-frame of the SSRC concept statement was prior to some important developments in the field that I will describe later, still it must be noted that

this definition lacked an explicit position on either of the two issues of acculturation study that came to be considered primary:

(1) *Whether acculturative change could be expected to go in one or both directions---directionality.* This positional vacuum on an issue that had been present since the work of Redfield et al. set up two different views of acculturation, which were debated for years. One side interpreted the SSRC statement as proclaiming acculturation as a one-way street. The other said it implied a two way street.

(2) *Whether acculturation was a uni-dimensional or orthogonal (multi-dimensional) construct---dimensionality.* The multi-dimensional construct was based on the idea that development of more than one personality could go on within the same person at the same time.

During the period following the 1954 SSRC statement the terms *acculturation* and *assimilation* were often used interchangeably. However, by the mid-1960s the view that acculturation---mainly affecting the newer group on the scene (directionality)---progresses in a straight line fashion from a native state, through transitional states to a fully assimilated state (dimensionality) was considered the traditionalist view (See Spindler and Spindler, 1967, as noted by Trimble in Chun, Balls Organista and Marin, 2003, p. 6).

Starting in the mid-1960s Gordon began what was to become a series of different looks at acculturation and assimilation within the social sciences. Note that this search for new directions roughly corresponded in time to the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration Act of 1952, the Amendments comprising an event which marked the beginning of the surge of immigration from Latin America and Asia and the broadscale appearance in America of immigrants who embodied a different personality profile. Gordon (1964) formulated an alternative framework that distinguished between *behavioural assimilation*, which he equated to acculturation (meaning the extent to which the minority group has absorbed

the cultural patterns of the host society, such as language, dress, diet, sport, art or religion) and *structural assimilation* (referring to the degree to which the minority group has become dispersed into the host culture---p. 140). In this dichotomy, acculturation was conceptualized as a sub-category of assimilation, rather than the other way around.

Following up Gordon's thinking, in 1974 Teske & Nelson put forth a different type of schema. They compared acculturation and assimilation as *overlapping processes*. Both were dynamic processes, fitting with either individual or group level analysis and derived from direct contact. Differences in their constructs included directionality (two way acculturation vs. one way assimilation), value change (required for assimilation but not acculturation) and presence of/acceptance by an outside reference group (also required for assimilation but not acculturation). (p. 365)

Paralleling Gordon's work, in 1967 Graves made an important contribution to the body of acculturation theory with his concept of *psychological acculturation*. Prior to this (even back to the previously cited work of Redfield et al some 30 years earlier) the context of acculturation study had been the group. Graves thinking is summed up as follows (1967, p. 347):

“The objective contact situation exists external to the minority group member, who must operate within it, and limits the amount of exposure to the dominant group and the type of opportunities open to him. These, in turn, may have a significant impact on the psychological beliefs and values which the minority group member develops”.

According to Kim and Abreu (2001, p. 396) there were several important elaborations on the idea of psychological acculturation. They cite Szapocznik et al (1978, p.113) as characterizing psychological acculturation as comprising *behaviours* as well as values. They further cite Padilla as adding *cultural awareness* and *ethnic loyalty* as important elements of psychological acculturational beliefs.

The basic topography of acculturation was expanded and pretty much settled by the work of John Berry, covered in more detail in the next chapter. His distinctions derived initially from early ethnographic work preparatory to psychometric study with Aboriginal peoples in Australia and elsewhere (Sommerlad & Berry, 1970, p. 23). Berry's work integrated early anthropological investigation featuring contextual impacts on acculturating groups with the individually oriented psychological acculturation focus of Graves and others cited above. The idea of treating acculturation strategies as resultant from the intersection of two dimensions---one pertaining to the original culture and the other the new, host culture---developed during this period (Berry and Sam, 1997, p. 296)

Work by others in the late twentieth century expanded on the Berry foundation and focused once again on the two historic issues of acculturation---dimensionality and directionality. First, regarding dimensionality, Sanchez & Fernandez stated: "In support of the bi-dimensional approach, our results provided evidence for the independence of the two identification dimensions. That is, the individual's level of Hispanic identification was unrelated to his/her American identification..." (Sanchez and Fernandez, 1993, p. 664) Another of the important bridging studies dealing with uni-dimensionality vs. orthogonality was done in 1997 by Cuellar, Nyberg, Maldonado and Roberts. Looking at young Mexican-Americans they concluded that: "High Biculturals were unique in that they had both high ethnic identity and were highly oriented toward other ethnic groups." (p. 546)

In further developments, Suarez-Orozco (2001) pointed out that "assimilation and acculturation themes predict that change is 'directional, unilinear, nonreversible and continuous' ...however this is not what occurs with immigrant populations. Ethnic or cultural groups select *portions* of a *dominant or contributing* culture that fit their original worldview and, at the same time, strive to retain vestiges of their traditional culture." (p. 7). Then, the Cuellar et al (plus other) results were taken by Phinney (2003) as a demonstration (at least for Hispanics) that "...ethnic identity does not diminish with greater orientation toward the host culture. Ethnic identity can remain strong without interfering with participation in the larger society." (p. 71)

Looking to broaden the idea, in 2000 Ryder, Alden and Pallhus wrote that:

“...people exposed to two cultures, either through birth or through heritage, can incorporate, to varying degrees, two coexisting cultural identities. Furthermore, it does not seem to be the case that the old cultural identity necessarily diminishes while the new one grows; rather the two identities can vary independently. In short, a *bi-dimensional conception*, with independent heritage and mainstream dimensions of culture, appears to be far richer and more functional than the traditional uni-dimensional approach.” (p. 63)

Phinney (2003, p. 78) endorsed the more ethnically comprehensive construct, saying “Currently in the United States, members of non-European immigrant groups generally develop *bi-cultural identities*---that is they become American but also retain their (original) ethnic identity over time”

So, as of the end of the twentieth century, those favoring an orthogonal (multi-dimensional) acculturation construct---at least for immigrants in the more recently dominant flow groups (mainly Hispanics and Asians)---seemed clearly to have prevailed in that part of the overall American acculturation debate.

But what about directionality? A study on the directionality of change that I consider key was done by Richman, Gaviria, Flaherty, Birz and Wintrob in 1987. They discussed the possibility that the *dominant* or *donor* culture may undergo a change process influenced by aspects of the *newcomer* culture or acculturating group (p. 7). This thinking echoed and resurrected the original anthropological ideas of Redfield et al as to which group had influence on which. (But still framed the argument in terms of the intrinsic assumption that the newer group was on a one-dimensional track). My own belief is that the directionality issue came to lose its relevance as it became obvious that late twentieth century mainstream American culture was, in fact, being heavily influenced by trends from immigrant groups, at least in domains such as entertainment and cuisine. For

example, *The Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture* (Candelaria, 2004) lists 73 Latino actors who had gained fame and recognition in The United States (eg. Edward James Olmos, Emilio Estevez, Jennifer Lopez, et al p. xvi), 68 musicians and singers (eg. Gloria Estefan, Ricky Martin, Mark Antony et al, p. xxiii) and 12 different dances (eg. cha cha, meringue, mambo, et al, p. xix). Hispanic foods that had crossed over to mainstream American society included tacos, enchiladas, chili and other Mexican foods readily available in stores and capable of being served at home or in country-wide restaurant chains such as Taco Bell, On the Border, Chili's, El Pollo Loco and many others. For a time more salsa was sold in American supermarkets than ketchup, the latter being a classic American favorite condiment.

Another example of everyday American culture absorbing features from immigrants' cultures was the Japanese influence, which was readily apparent in these same genres. Probably the most visible of the cross-over foods was sushi. However, other Japanese dishes and specialty cooking approaches such as sashimi, soba noodles, ramen, tempura, teriyaki, sukiyaki and tepanyaki (the cooking style made popular by the Benihana chain of restaurants) were increasingly to be found. In entertainment, genres such as the manga (adult comic book, often dealing with mature subjects) and the anime form of filmed entertainment have been popular and have carved out distinct niches in the American arts and entertainment scene.

More recently, even the relatively conservative Muslim culture has been somewhat successfully reaching out to a mainstream audience. Knaus (2004) writes about young Muslims in their 20s and 30s putting forward "...an increasing effort...to increase Muslims' impact on mainstream American society and to help non-Muslims understand the culture of Islam and, in the aftermath of 9/11, to see their Muslim neighbors in a non-threatening way." (p. 1). Muslim cultural development will be covered in more detail in Chapters FIVE and SIX .

A final noteworthy aspect of the development of acculturation study was the movement around the end of the twentieth century to *measure acculturation*. Studies by Zane and

Mack (2003, p. 53), Kim and Abreu (2001, p. 401) and The Antioch University Multicultural Center (2006, p. 1) each provide lists of scales that had been published in the social science literature. Integrating the lists shows that between 1978 and 2001 no fewer than forty-eight different “acculturation measuring” instruments had been developed (these are listed chronologically in Appendix A, full citations appear in the bibliography). Of these measures, 42 were designed for use with a specific ethnic group (26 Hispanic, 10 Asian and 6 other ethnic). Only six were designed for broader use. In many cases the intended subject constituency was a sub-group (eg. Mexicans, Chinese) or even a sub-sub-group (eg. Chicano adolescents). This demonstrates a design paradox that is built into this kind of research. It is generally accepted that ethnographic work should occur at the beginning of cross-cultural studies---so as to ensure, for example, that the wording of questions makes sense to the subjects. Yet the more diligent the ethnographic work the less the utility of the instrument tends to be outside the group for which it was designed.

Most of the measures tended to be framed within the dimensionality issue only and therefore had limited relevance for directionality. Most components were classifiable as behavioural. Kim and Abreu performed a content analysis of the scales in their list and found that in 85% of the instruments at least half of the individual items were really designed to measure behaviour (Kim and Abreu, *ibid*, p. 417). This is in line with my own analysis of the Zane and Mack list (based on data they present, Zane and Mack, 2003, p. 53) which found 73% of specific questionnaire items dealt with behaviours, 27% with values.

Both Kim and Abreu and Zane and Mack showed a wide variation in specifically what was being focused on from one instrument to another, all in the name of acculturation. Both teams found ranges from 100% behaviours to 100% values. This leads me to agree with the following statement from Zane and Mack (p. 52): “It is questionable whether the measures are assessing the same acculturation phenomena...(as) there is a lack of content overlap even among measures that were designed to assess the same ethnic group”. An appropriate analogy might come from the field of automobiles. A

mechanic's garage, a body shop, a new car dealership and an auto driving school all have to do with cars---everyone involved in any of those industries could say "I am in the car business." Yet the activity content and skill requirements of the 4 businesses are quite different. What matters is what they do with the cars.

I would go even further than Zane and Mack and say that this entire approach favoring dissection of acculturation into little pieces and subsequently studying each piece under an analytic microscope is of questionable broadscale value. My initial concern is with the tendency of social scientists to set up a specialized class able to speak a certain narrow "language" (eg. able to discuss acculturation behaviour changes among Cuban Americans---as in the Behavioral Acculturation Scale of Szapocznik et al, 1978, p. 13). This type of material, even if valid, would be of use mainly to academics or those from the clinical schools of psychology or psychiatry. Certainly such tools may be useful within these groups. But the empirical measurements are generally so limited, technical and complicated that there is little of practical value. One cannot understand where an ethnic immigrant is in terms of acculturative development and what one could reasonably expect his or her reactions to be in conversations or situations requiring some action.

I believe that, even though excellent insights have been generated in understanding acculturation, there are still some important and relatively unexplored areas. One of these is how to conceptualize the acculturation patterns of individuals who already embody more than one non-mainstream ethnicity. An example of this would be children of parents from two different non-mainstream cultures. I also believe that insufficient attention has been paid to beginning states of acculturation that occur prior to leaving the original culture. This is particularly important in this day of rapid mass communication (Chun and Akutsu, 2003, p. 112) and will be discussed more fully in Chapter SEVEN. In a related vein, the Self has been largely treated as a fixed entity rather than one that changes with changing social relationships and the natural bombardment of information positing a world that is far different from what has been experienced or imagined before.

I believe that even research intended to deal with individual facets of acculturation (rather than overall strategies) lump behavioral and psychological factors together and presume these to happen simultaneously---an equivalency not supported in the literature (Gordon, 1964, p. 140; Hsu, 1971 [quoted by Sue, 2003, p. xix]; Szapocznik et. al., 1978, p. 113; Mendoza and Martinez, 1981, p. 75; Mendoza, 1984, p. 61; Sabogal et. al., 1987, p. 408; Berry, 2003, p. 21; Phinney, 2003, p. 64; Marin and Gamba 2003, pp. 83 and 89). My own feeling is that, if these aspects are to be aggregated, that it is more productive to be less specific rather than more---stepping back and looking at overall patterns---relations and interactions---rather than trying to dissect them.

The decreasing belief in The Melting Pot as a broadly relevant acculturative construct and the increasingly sophisticated dialogue about acculturation among social scientists set the stage for important developments in the later part of the twentieth century. These were touched on by the journalistic accounts reported earlier in this chapter and will be discussed in more detail in Chapters THREE and FOUR.

Chapter THREE: The Emergent Bi-Cultural Personality

By the end of the twentieth century acculturation scholarship had advanced to the point where the two main historical questions had, in the views of many people, moved well along toward resolution. The original anthropological concept of Redfield et al (1936) that acculturation could affect both the original culture and the receiving culture seemed on balance to be accurate. Therefore it would be reasonable to expect at least some influence from each culture on the other---although the magnitude of the affects would, of course, not be exactly equal. Further there was a substantial body of research evidence and scholarly opinion that acculturation was a condition that could be analyzed on the basis of more than one dimension that could exist within the same individual at the same time---that it was a potentially *orthogonal* or multi-dimensional condition, as distinguished from earlier concepts of acculturation that pictured it as uni-dimensional (ie. the acculturating individual was earlier thought to progress in a straight line fashion from embodiment of an original culture through various stages of acculturation to an end-state of assimilation). Therefore, based on the more advanced, orthogonal concept it was considered at least conceptually possible for immigrants to continue to embody personalities formed around their traditional cultures while forming new, separate personalities modeled on what was experienced in their new surroundings.

The original idea of acculturation as a phenomenon relevant to groups continued to be applicable. However, this conceptualization had been supplemented with the idea of *psychological acculturation*---ie. adjustments by the individual, in response to contextual and sociological factors relevant to his (or her) new surroundings and cultures. These adjustments were not driven completely by external forces but had a direct relationship to individual factors brought along from the past.

There was at the same time, however, considerable semantic and conceptual confusion as to just what acculturation was. Values and behaviours were treated as if they were the same thing. And many different constructs were labeled acculturation---eg. ethnic identity changes, knowledge and beliefs. Many felt the need for an overall analytical

model to pull together concerns about original culture-relevant and new culture-relevant contextual and sociological factors involved in acculturation, and to show their interplay with the psychological set brought to the situation by the individual immigrant. There was a concurrent need to define the strategies available and chosen for acculturation purposes as well as a need for a way of understanding why a given immigrant chose the pattern he did. This kind of model would also be helpful in positioning acculturative phenomena and adjustment strategies within the wider context of the continual absorption of new realities, breakdown of boundaries, and re-formations of the self that pertained not only to immigrants but to all people.

The Berry Acculturational Model

One of the most significant developments in acculturation theory may be attributed to John Berry, a prominent cross-cultural psychologist from Canada. He has invested many years of scholarship in projects all over the world dealing with acculturation (see Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry, 2003). He is widely accepted as one of the top experts in this field and is often cited by others studying acculturative phenomena. It will be useful here to provide a summary of Berry's acculturation model along with my own critiques.

Berry deals broadly with individual and societal factors one must look at in coming to understand the acculturative process. He focuses heavily on strategies groups of individuals follow in working through how they will play the game of acculturation and how the receiving societies play their game of determining the treatment mode for "newcomers" or other minorities. Berry returns to Redfield et al (1936) on the issue of whether, within the context of groups in contact, acculturation can be expected to produce effects on both societies. He states (2003):

“...it is imperative that researchers root their work on acculturation in its cultural context...More broadly, the discipline requires practitioners to understand, in ethnographic terms, both cultures that are in contact if they are to understand the individuals (in those cultures---*parents inserted*). (p.19).

Citing Graves' analysis of *psychological acculturation* (1967, p. 347), Berry goes on to stress the importance of looking at individual adjustment from two different viewpoints ---first reviewing the impact of the direct contact the individual has with the new, host culture but also looking at the mediating effect of changes his own culture is going through at the same time, and how the individual is affected by these. Adjustments can be simple, such as changes in dress conventions or food. Or they can be more complicated or difficult to achieve, sometimes resulting in acculturative stress.

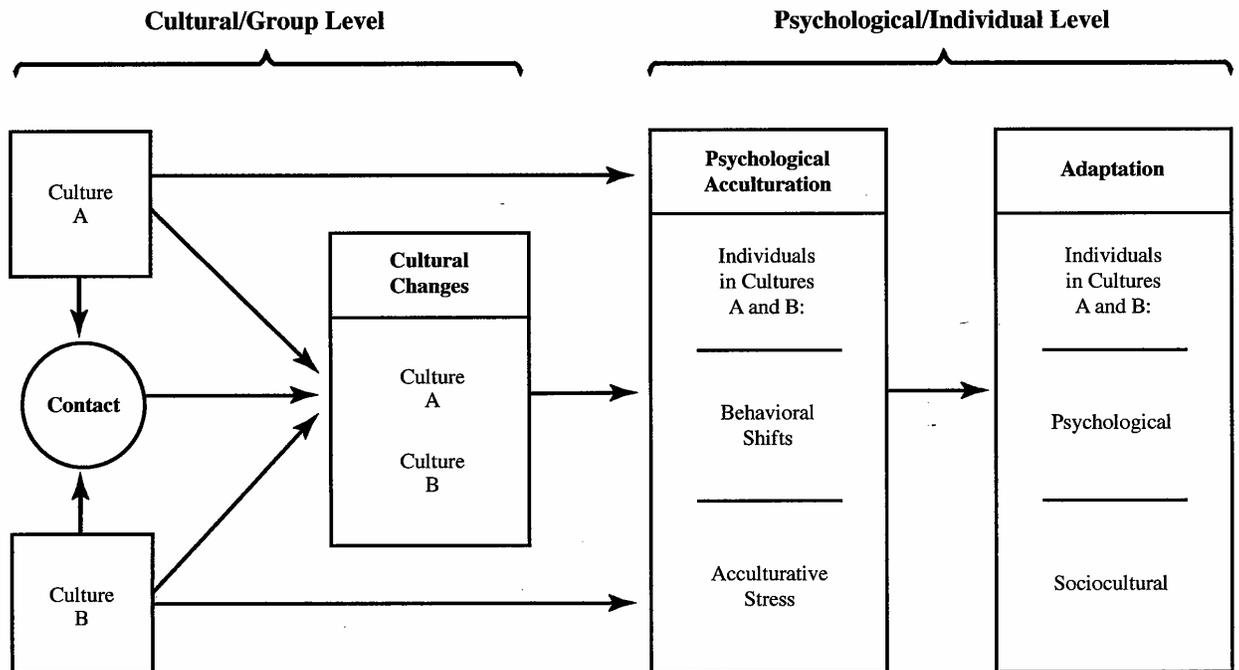
[Williams and Berry (1991) expand on acculturative stress with the following brief description (p. 634):

“The old social order and cultural norms often disappear and individuals may be disturbed by the change. At the group level, previous patterns of authority, civility and welfare no longer operate, and at the individual level, hostility, uncertainty, identity confusion and depression may set in.”]

Berry divides individual adjustment into the categories of *psychological adjustment*--- individual internal adaptation, similar to Graves' (1967) psychological acculturation--- and *sociocultural adjustment* (factors that link the individual with the new culture). He also makes reference to changes in the host culture group that can be expected, stemming from contact with the newcomers (2003, p. 20).

Recapping briefly, Berry describes the background factors involved in a specific individual's choice of acculturation strategy as including the direct effects on him of the new culture, the adjustments being made to the new culture by the members of his original culture that form his relevant sub-group, and finally the effects of that sub-group on the individual. Individual adjustments can be psychological, sociocultural, or both. Additionally, adjustments run the gamut from relatively simple behavioural adjustments to complex, difficult to achieve adjustments which can result in acculturative stress and

serious psychological issues if not addressed. Also relevant are changes in the new culture coming from contact with the sub-group of original culture individuals. The following chart from Berry (2003 p. 20) illustrates the web of relevant relationships:



These relationships then serve as background factors as Berry’s main emphasis shifts to strategies available to groups as they proceed with the acculturation process and to contextual alternatives that come about by virtue of the interplay of national policies and the patterns of beliefs, norms and prevalent behaviours in the receiving society.

Berry makes passing reference to individual differences inherent in individuals and how these affect choice of acculturation strategy. However, he does not elaborate on this point. He states (2003, P. 21) only that “Which strategies are used depends on a variety of antecedent factors (cultural and psychological).” He then goes on to point out that:

“...there are variable consequences of these different strategies (again cultural and psychological). These strategies consist of two components that are usually

related: *attitudes* and *behaviours*...Of course, there is rarely a one-to-one match...(and discrepancies are---*parens inserted*)...usually explained as being the result of social constraints on behaviours (eg. norms, opportunities, discrimination). Nevertheless, there is often a significant positive correlation between acculturation attitudes and behaviours, permitting the use of an overall assessment of individual acculturation strategies.” (p. 21)

Berry then turns his attention to discussing acculturation strategies pursued by groups. He starts by pointing out:

“In my view, it is essential to make the distinction between orientations toward one’s own group and toward other groups. This distinction is rendered as a relative preference for maintaining one’s heritage culture and identity and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural (ethnic) groups.” (p. 22)

In this crystallization of his thinking Berry envisions two separate dimensions---one dealing with the original culture and the other dealing with the receiving culture. The *original culture dimension* runs between the condition of *Separation* and that of *Assimilation*. The dimension dealing with the new *host culture* runs between *Marginalization* and *Integration*.

He describes the four conditions as follows (p. 24):

- *Separation*---individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interacting with others.
- *Assimilation*---individuals do not wish to maintain their (original) cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures.

- *Marginalization*---individuals perceive little possibility and have little interest in cultural maintenance and at the same time have little interest in having relationships with others.
- *Integration*---Individuals have an interest in maintaining their original culture during daily interactions with other groups.

Here are some of my own formulations of examples of these conditions among groups in America---

- Hasidic Jews in New York or the Mennonite people of Pennsylvania could be examples of groups whose acculturation strategy is heavily influenced by the *Separation* concept. They essentially want to keep living mostly within the boundaries of their traditional cultures.
- Some second or subsequent generation Americans whose ancestors came from Western Europe (those with more affinity for The Melting Pot idea) follow the *Assimilation* strategy. Even though many still think of themselves as of French, German, Italian or other descent the main choice of these people seems to have been to devote themselves to what they understand as “the American ideal”---a somewhat vague construct which I conceptualize as engendering the predominant use of the English language, an expectation of opportunity in response to hard work, a lack of hierarchy inherent in the overall society, an informality in day to day relationships, an orientation to others in terms of their being “fellow Americans” and an acceptance of diversity as a way of life.
- Homeless people living on the streets of American cities would be an example of those who are living a strategy of *Marginality*, sometimes by choice but often by virtue of factors beyond their control.

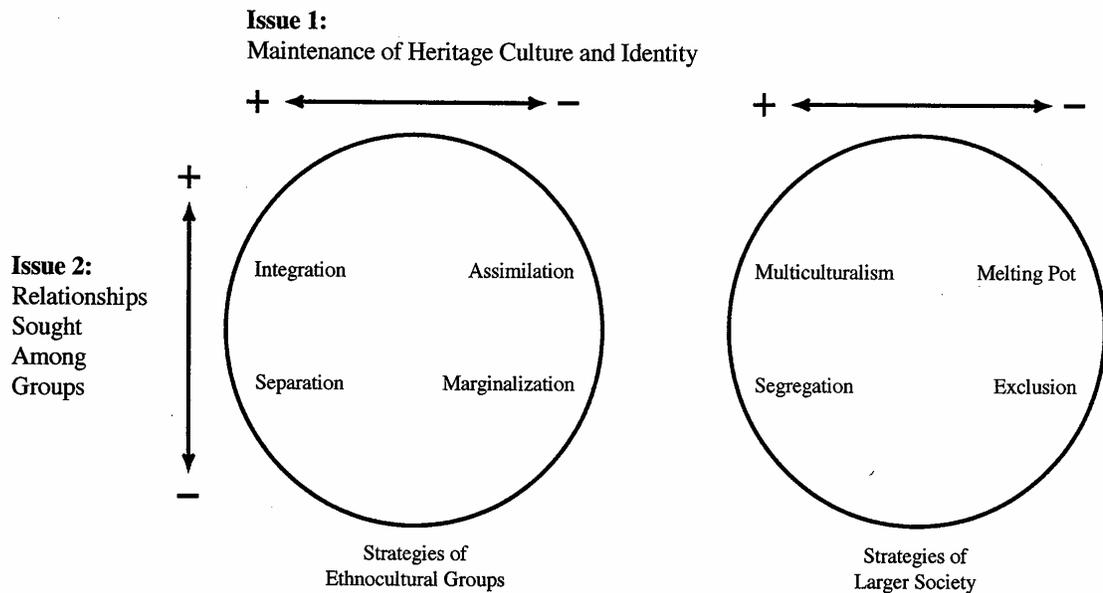
- Bi-Cultural American immigrants from Latin America or the Far East would be examples of groups many of whose members follow the *Integration* strategy (the next Chapter will deal with this phenomenon in more detail).

Berry continues his own discussion of acculturation strategies: “(My) portrayal of acculturation strategies was based on the assumption that nondominant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. This is, of course, not always the case.” (2003, p. 24). He elaborates as follows: “...people in voluntary contact are more likely to seek greater participation...than those who are not in voluntary contact, such as refugees.”(p. 30) Kim & Berry (1986, p. 159) add: “Those whose appearance makes them distinct from the dominant population may be less attracted by assimilation or be kept away by racism and discrimination.”

Turning to other contextual factors Berry states (op cit, 2003): “Social ecology and vitality (ie. sheer numbers of people in the group) ...may increase the possibility of (and perhaps preference for) cultural maintenance...(additionally)... the positive or negative multicultural ideology encountered in daily interactions with members of the dominant society may reinforce certain preferences.” (p. 30)

Berry incorporates into his overall acculturation model national and societal policies relative to immigrants to show how the everyday context for immigrant life could be affected by the intent of their adopted societies toward them. Just as the above-described part of the Berry model has four strategies for immigrant groups to choose from for acculturative adjustment purposes, Berry sees a roughly corresponding set of four national and societal policy approaches. Accordingly, the immigrant acculturation strategy of Separation (preferring interactions within one’s own culture) would have as its national policy correlate *Segregation*---a policy such as was manifested in the late nineteenth early twentieth centuries in The United States by the dominant white culture toward blacks---a policy which could tend to force the non-dominant group into a Separative or possibly Marginalized posture. The immigrant acculturation strategy of Assimilation (seeking interactions with the dominant group rather than with one’s

original culture group) would correspond in the national/societal part of the model to a *Melting Pot* construct, such as was discussed earlier as an idea popular with some parts of mainstream early twentieth century America even if it was only partially accurate with respect to the immigrants themselves. The Melting Pot societal idea would infer that distinguishing features of particular immigrant cultures would, over time, recede relative to mainstream characteristics---for example with respect to food, language and similar everyday domains. Marginalization, withdrawing from both one's own culture and that of the receiving society, would correspond to *Exclusion*---for example, episodes of attempted ethnic cleansing such as occurred in Hitler's Germany or present day Darfur, the objective of which was to eliminate a specifically targeted minority group. Finally, Berry's Integration strategy, in which individuals demonstrate an interest both in maintaining their original culture and having daily interactions with other groups, would correspond in Berry's thinking with *Multiculturalism*---the understanding of the society as essentially plural as in Canada. The diagram below is used by Berry to illustrate his acculturation model (ibid, 2003, p. 23):



Four acculturation strategies based on two issues---views of ethnocultural groups (*left*) and of larger society (*right*).

I believe that the mirror-like nature of the two parts of the Berry model, as illustrated

above, provide an interesting visual conceptualization and starting point for an integrated understanding of acculturational development.

My concern in the balance of this chapter is with Berry's Integrative quadrant (upper left part of the left circle in the diagram above). For this is where the *bi-cultural personality* would reside if placed within the Berry model. The bi-cultural personality is a construct that many scholars feel is characteristic of many immigrants to America in the most recent wave---coming largely from Latin America and the Far East.

Here are Berry's thoughts as to the societal environments necessary for this individual strategy of Integration to become actualized (ibid, 2003):

“Integration can only be freely chosen and successfully pursued by nondominant groups when the dominant society has an open and inclusive orientation toward cultural diversity...Thus, a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples within the civic framework of the larger society. This strategy requires nondominant groups to *adopt* the basic values of the larger society, and at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to *adapt* its national institutions...to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in a plural society.” (p. 24)

Specific pre-conditions for achieving integration include:

- The prevailing presence of “Multi-cultural ideology”---ie. acceptance by all parties of diversity as a desired value
- Relatively low levels of prejudice in the society
- Absence of inter-group hatreds (positive inter-group attitudes being the norm) (p. 24) and

- An identification by all groups with the larger society (Kalin & Berry, 1995, p. 1)

For all its complexity and incisiveness the Berry model does leave issues open to question.

He states: “Although many psychologists...do categorize individuals, I believe this practice loses valuable information about the complexity of an individual’s acculturation situation and pigeonholes a person in a stereotypical way.” (Berry, 2003, p. 28) My belief on this point is that exactly the opposite is true. By essentially disregarding the influence of individual background experience in analyzing choice of acculturation strategy the person is abandoned in favor of a group analysis with much of value left unsaid about him. Therefore it becomes difficult to think about why he has chosen that particular strategy. I hold that the picture that could be formulated with more detail on this point would engender less stereotypy, not more. I further believe one of the main deficiencies of the Berry model is its non-specificity with respect to individual acculturation. My main concern, then, is with Berry’s Integration quadrant as it pertains to *individuals*.

Bi-Culturalism at the Individual Level: The ACES Framework

I view the Berry model of acculturation as a major accomplishment in relating constructs that had previously been studied in relative isolation and structuring the entirety into a web of relationships that is easy to understand. The two dimensions that connect Berry’s four strategic acculturation quadrants give substance to the more abstract idea of “*orthogonality*” meaning multiple dimensionality (ie. more than one relevant dimension can exist within the same individual at the same time). Moreover, the mirror-like four quadrants comprising strategic options for the *larger society* (on the right side of the model) give a *symmetry* to the system that I find helpful, while putting into a clear

perspective just what is meant by terms such as “*contextual factors*” or “*environment*” and further enriching the idea of “*directionality*”.

Yet the Berry model is, in my view, incomplete in some important respects. First, I believe that ---while comprehensive in a sense---it is at the same time too simplistic, in that the end result is that the individual ends up in a defined, conceptually bounded state that ignores the larger *spectrum of influences* from other domains that introduce constant change and personal growth. For example, a Chinese immigrant with a more or less bounded personality may come to enjoy Mexican food, or learn to speak another language (or even a different dialect of Chinese so that he can communicate and relate to a broader spectrum of his own basic ethnicity), thereby transitioning from Separation to Integration Quadrants.

Another respect in which I believe the Berry model incomplete is that it stops short of placing the individual more *precisely* within the acculturation strategy quadrant that has been chosen. Consequently, using the model as a prism through which to view and understand an immigrant person one would only know as much about him as the group of which he is a member. The relevance of this shortfall, it seems to me, is that using only the Berry model by itself it is difficult to predict how a particular immigrant would react in conversations or serious dialogues, in attempts to persuade him/her of particular points or to get commitment to an action scenario. In essence the model is an abdication of the texture and richness of relationship that could be there.

Of course, it might be possible to utilize a set of empirical measurements to fill in the missing knowledge. However this course of action is both impractical and limited. To do this, a full list of available scales (see Appendix A) would need to be examined to see which one or ones were suitable---in the sense of matching the ethnography of the subject and the situation. This selection would still be biased by the researcher’s stereotypes. Then the actual instrument would need to be acquired, administered and scored. For example---

- If the subject was of Mexican descent and the popular *Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Revised* (Cuellar et. al., 1995) was used it would be necessary to administer two separate questionnaires---one of thirty items and the other of eighteen items. Then an extensive scoring exercise would yield his numeric score on any one of six different scales and provide a reading of his acculturation level as one of five possible (each determined by a numeric result). Certainly there are clinical or other situations where this data would be very valuable. However this would seem to me, in the context I am discussing now, a time consuming, cumbersome procedure that would produce data of unknown relevance to the particular individual.

- If the subject was a Vietnamese immigrant it would be possible to use the *Acculturation Scale for Southeast Asians* (Anderson et. al. 1993). However this would require administering a thirteen point scale and would only yield as a result which language, type of food and social situation was preferred and not, for example, the ability of the person to move back and forth between Vietnamese and American cultures without difficulty.

In my view, using empirical acculturation measurement scales is not an attractive option for developing a better understanding of the immigrant and his particular context. This presents an improvement opportunity.

In pursuit of this possibility I will put forward in the next sections an interpretive framework that I call *ACES*---an acronym for *Anchoring (A)*, *Communication (C)*, *Enjoyment (E)* and *Sensitivity (S)*. *ACES* utilizes subjective judgments on a few factors that I have found particularly important in both my professional and non-professional lives to establish the *degree* to which an individual, whether immigrant or not, has achieved *full bi-culturality*. Full bi-culturality is, for many, a desired condition in that it enables a richer and more articulated view of life---an important goal for many immigrants, as will be discussed in Chapter FOUR---and an ability to envision and evaluate more options for planning and action, thereby often enabling superior

performance in an organizational setting. For example, in international business scenarios, such as large multi-national corporations frequently encounter, managers who are having difficulty reaching full states---or at least advanced states---of bi-culturality could encounter difficulty making effective, culture-sensitive decisions in functions such as international product planning, marketing strategy, distribution analysis, sales force management, operational and organizational development, first line supervision of ongoing production operations or human resources. These are examples of domains where being able to construct a bi-cultural understanding of emergent and potential scenarios is key.

My own experiences in international business taught me that it is easy to misjudge the depth and breadth of an individual's real cultural understanding by overlooking important but less salient factors that could become decisive for success later. I have, on a number of occasions, had to decide between candidates for important international positions based on how well I thought the candidates would understand a prospective non-native posting when he got there. On one occasion I mistook a Japanese executive's proficiency with the English language for comprehensive understanding of the American culture, with less than optimum results. In fact, my own career was influenced by my own less than full bi-culturality as I chose to focus my Hispanic Marketing consulting practice on the US Hispanic Market rather than necessarily seeking client work in Latin America.

When I first started working on the formulation of ACES my intent was that it be an *example* of a way to further position immigrants in the Berry model's Integrative Quadrant so we can know them better quickly and easily. As it has developed I have recognized the usefulness of its principles not only with respect to immigrants but to others as well. ACES can be used with a *broad range of people who are or wish to be bi-cultural* and are therefore psychologically located within Berry's *Integrative* quadrant (Berry, 2003, p. 24).

Exploring the ACES Interpretive Framework

ACES works within the context of the Berry model (and particularly with those who are situated in the Integrative quadrant) by bringing the analytical focus down to the level of the *individual*. ACES adds to the Berry model a dimension of subjective understanding of where individuals are with respect to *full accomplishment of the bi-cultural condition*. This understanding applies to a variety of situations. When applied in an international business setting for example, it allows for more informed judgments regarding assignments, training needs and strategic business opportunities. In a non-business setting, as when applied to immigrants (my original and continuing intent), it shows more clearly how the individual constructs life in America and gives clues as to how to relate to him, communicate with him and help him accomplish his objectives.

In the complete condition of *full bi-culturality* the individual should be able to relate to changes in contextual situations through *either* of the interpretive prisms built into his two personalities, *without excessive biases* coming into play emanating from the personality not operative at that time. Moreover, the fully bi-cultural person should be capable of moving back and forth between personalities easily and transparently---as would be required when analyzing a potential cross-cultural scenario from alternate viewpoints. He should be able to relate to others from either of his two component cultures as if he were *uni-cultural* in that culture---being fully able to communicate and understand communications, dialogues, nuances and context whether the operative culture at that time is his original culture or the newer, alternate culture.

Many immigrants to America have told me that it is possible after living here for a few years to have enough of a familiarity with the country to begin to think of themselves as bi-cultural, and in essence to self-select Berry's Integrative acculturation strategy quadrant, perhaps without knowing that they are doing so. Yet my observation is that there are *degrees of bi-culturality*. For example, a Russian woman interviewed for material presented in Chapter SEVEN---someone I consider very advanced in engineering areas and who speaks what sounds to me, a native American English

speaker, to be impeccable English---told me that even after living in America for years she was still not able to pick up subtle but important nuances in domains like Americans' non-verbal communications, jokes in and out of the Boardroom where significance resides in being able to decipher different levels of meaning and metaphoric language in newspapers and other media requiring a deeper understanding of American culture. In other words, she is bi-cultural to a large but not complete degree.

The four factors of ACES have been distilled over many years of my own experience to represent what I believe are *important aspects of mastery of a culture*. Many people who have gone through normal socialization in a particular culture are already at high levels of A, C, E and S in that culture. However, *full bi-culturality* requires similar levels in a relevant second culture. ACES starts out with individuals who *want* to be bi-cultural and who have accomplished this to a greater or lesser degree---ie. they have self-selected the Berry Integrative quadrant, whether they were aware of the construct or not, and made at least some progress toward the full bi-culturality condition. ACES, then, places them more specifically within the Berry Integrative Quadrant---yielding a more sophisticated understanding of their individual condition and corresponding keys as to how to communicate effectively with them and help them move toward a greater degree of bi-culturality should they wish to do so.

ACES is based on my own synthesis of key factors. Certainly there could be other frameworks, for the Berry Integrative Quadrant as well as for other quadrants or other models. However, my years of organizational experience give me confidence that ACES is at least one valuable tool. ACES is essentially subjective and makes no pretense of having the high powered statistical validity that would allow use of correlational techniques. Rather it is a way of speaking a different language about relationships with immigrants and others---a language rooted in qualitative understanding of basically qualitative demands and a qualitative adjustment process.

What is ACES?

I'll initiate discussion of my ideas about ACES by explaining what I mean by each component and giving for each a brief illustrative example showing what an immigrant to America might consider doing to help establish a fully bi-cultural condition with his original ethnicity as one component and his new American persona as the other.

The first of the four ACES factors is *Anchoring (A)*. I intend this to mean the connection to a culture that initially comes from knowledge about it---understanding the nature of the society, its history, its laws, geography, economics, and place in the world to at least the level that should be expected of a reasonably intelligent, well informed citizen---for example, a university graduate. Additionally anchoring comprehends the ability to appreciate and internalize these inputs---to the point where one can act out the game of life in that culture in a way similar to those who are native to it. Someone who wishes to be *fully bi-cultural* must demonstrate that he/she is at that level with respect to both cultures.

For example, an English immigrant might want to study the development of American law and government to understand differences compared to corresponding old English constructs from which the American versions descended. This would serve both to strengthen anchoring with America through more detailed understanding and lend additional perspective to pre-existent anchoring with England.

The next ACES component is *Communication (C)*. Here I am referring to the ability to speak, read and write a language well enough that one can engage in dialogue using not only standard language but well known slang and metaphoric terms to the level where other people who might be involved in the dialogue *do not* feel compelled to choose their words carefully---avoiding more complex or specialized words that might convey a more sophisticated meaning. Here again, most people would more or less automatically have this ability with respect to their own culture. But getting to that level in the second

culture is not always easy. I am not talking about having accented speech but about the real level of fluency that is behind it.

As an example, consider a Chinese immigrant who, in addition to learning what he could in the classroom about speaking English, sought out Americans for conversation, asking them to please not simplify their phraseology for his sake. This would serve to increase familiarity with sounds from the English language that are not present in Chinese (such as l and r), assure practice with verb tenses that are missing in Chinese and introduce commonly used slang terms from colloquial English that are frequently encountered in everyday life.

The third component is *Enjoyment* (E). Most people have typical activities that they enjoy in their own culture such as theatrical entertainment, parties and sports. The person who aspires to full bi-culturality needs to learn to genuinely enjoy the typical leisure activities of the alternate culture as well and be able to adapt smoothly to different ways the alternate culture approaches activities that are common to both.

Consider an immigrant from Russia for whom “a night out at the theatre” comprised going to the opera, ballet or other classical pursuits. Such a person could go to stage plays (such as Broadway shows) in the musical or comedy genres to gain an understanding and appreciation for the types of theatrical experiences enjoyed by many Americans, so that he could more easily relate to them when this is called for.

The final component of ACES is *Sensitivity* (S). This means understanding the subtle cultural nuances that often change the meaning of what is said or done, such as body language and other forms of non-verbal communication, as well as metaphors and other cultural cues that are embedded in what people say and do that alter or extend their intended meaning from what is apparent on the surface.

In the Japanese culture there is a mode of speaking called *tate mai*. This prototypically Japanese concept means saying or doing things either because they are expected or

because not to do them would cause unwanted confrontation. Often inaccurate or potentially misleading information or response is given out in conversations and most Japanese understand from context that the information should be ignored. In American society this would be considered lying, something many Americans would prefer not to do personally or even witness being done by others. So Japanese immigrants sometimes need to try to move toward understanding that overt differences of opinion are acceptable in America---in fact, a part of many Americans' everyday outlooks---and that open interpersonal confrontation is not necessarily the negative condition that it often can be in Japan.

Establishing Individual Position Using ACES

ACES is not intended to be used in large scale quantitative research efforts requiring regression or other similar types of statistical analytic work. Nevertheless, I believe it would be useful to have some way of relating immigrant (or other) individuals wishing to be fully bi-cultural to each other in terms of the degree to which they have achieved their objective. In this section, I will offer some thoughts in that direction.

Returning to the basic concept of ACES and its relationship to the condition of full bi-culturality, to achieve full bi-culturality an individual would need to exhibit high levels of performance in *both* cultures on *each* of the four dimensions of ACES. To allow at least some informal measurement I will stipulate 3 positions for each dimension---A, C, E and S: a position of 3 would mean that the individual was judged to have *full performance capability* on the dimension in *both cultures* (eg. A = 3 would mean that the individual was fully anchored, as defined above, in both cultures). A position of 2 would indicate that full performance capability was evidenced with respect to *one culture but not the other* (eg. C = 2 would mean that the person had complete communications command in one culture's language---in most cases this would be his own---but that command in the other language was either deficient or missing). A position of 1 would mean that full performance was *not evidenced in either culture* (eg. S = 1 would mean that the person was not highly sensitive to nuances in either culture---even his own).

A fully bi-cultural person would have a *full bi-culturality rating (FBR)* of 12---earning the maximum of three points on each of the four relevant dimensions (A, C, E and S).

ACES can be used either for self-evaluation (S) or for the evaluation of others (O), based on personal knowledge and/or the observation of behaviors and performance. Putting these together would allow comparisons of S ratings with O ratings or for different others' ratings of the same person to be compared to build up a picture of how a fully bi-cultural S is seen by the various Os in his particular reference group.

As an example, I will evaluate myself with respect to *the diad American and Hispanic*. Then, in the next section I will present narratives from interviews with 8 immigrants (or their children) from two different cultures---all of whom considered themselves (or their parents) at least at one point to be bi-cultural but, as ACES will show, only some of whom have actually achieved full bi-culturality.

I give myself an (S) FBR of 10 (3, 2, 2, 3) out of a possible 12. This is detailed as follows---I believe myself to be fully anchored (A) in both American and Hispanic cultures, including not only Mexico, where many US Hispanic immigrants come from, but other Latin countries as well. Therefore my self-rating on this dimension is 3. I read, write and speak English with native language fluency. Additionally, I can read and write Spanish with almost the same degree of fluency. When I speak to other Spanish-literate people in Spanish they can usually understand what I am saying. However, I sometimes have a problem understanding when others speak in Spanish to me, particularly if they are using regionally nuanced Spanish that I am not completely familiar with or speak too quickly. So, falling short of full capability in that one respect I earn a 2 for Communication (C). I believe that I have a range of activities I enjoy in America that is similar to most Americans. However, many Hispanic leisure time activities are quite opaque to me. Since I demonstrated full capability in only one of the two cultures I earn a 2 for Enjoyment (E). Finally, despite not understanding some types of Hispanic games and leisure activities, still I believe I have at least an average (for Hispanics)

understanding of the culturally nuanced areas of Hispanic life. Accordingly I rate myself as 3 on Sensitivity (S). My FBR is $(3 + 2 + 2 + 3) = 10$ out of a possible 12.

As the illustration above shows, I am not fully bi-cultural in the diad American-Hispanic. This has had a career impact in the sense that I have tried to avoid situations where critical information was expected to be delivered to me in spoken Spanish only. To more closely approach full bi-culturality I know what I would need to do, at least isolating the general areas where improvement was needed. If others were to rate me in a similar fashion they could know this as well. If I could achieve full bi-culturality I would be able to add to my current ability to function at the level of a competent uni-cultural person in the American culture a similar level of ability in the Hispanic culture. I would be able to move back and forth between the two cultures more completely and transparently than I can right now. Finally, my capability for handling complex, culturally sensitive (American-Hispanic) scenarios in business and in life would improve---ie. I would be capable of more informed, more sophisticated decisions and, by virtue of this, become more valuable not only to a multi-national corporation but to myself.

Additional Dimensions for ACES

Earlier in this Chapter I criticized the Berry Model on several grounds. I felt that the spaces in the Berry quadrants were too large to detect small but conceivably significant changes in an individual's position representing movements toward his original culture, toward his new culture or both. An additional criticism was that the individual ends up in a conceptually bounded state that does not recognize influences that serve to introduce constant change and personal growth. I introduced the ACES framework---built on four factors which my experience indicated were important for accomplishing the condition of bi-culturality---as a way to position an individual more precisely in Berry's Integrative quadrant. I also introduced a way of ascertaining the individual's degree of success in achieving the fully bi-cultural condition where he was capable of moving back and forth freely and seamlessly between his two relevant cultures, acting in each as if uni-cultural in that culture. To accomplish the fully bi-cultural condition the individual would need to

demonstrate, or be considered able to demonstrate, full capability with respect to each of the four ACES dimensions in both of the cultures being reviewed. Chapter FOUR will contain case examples of individuals who did and did not succeed in accomplishing this advanced condition.

If one were looking for ways to criticize ACES, as described so far, it could be said that ACES is too narrowly focused in that the quantitative positioning described above results in a determination that the individual is or is not fully bi-cultural, with that end condition reached by factor bi-culturality achieved on each of the four basic ACES components. Those who are determined not to be fully bi-cultural are left with an indication of the particular ACES dimension or dimensions where additional capability needs to be demonstrated. However for some applications additional information might be helpful. Additionally, the same criticism of not being flexible enough to measure movement over time that I levied against the Berry model could be leveled against ACES, as so far described. In anticipation of these criticisms I will point out that there could be other ways of reviewing an individual's position through the ACES framework that might serve these particular ends.

One example, relating to the procedure in the section above, might concern situations where the individual was rated as 2---fully capable in one of the two cultures but not the other. If more detail was desired this intermediate category (between 3 meaning capable in both cultures and 1 meaning not capable in either culture) could be expanded through stipulation of the *culture where the shortfall occurs* and the *degree or nature of the shortfall*. Referring back to my own self-rating, given above, for the diad American-Hispanic, I rated only a 2 in Communication (C), meaning that I was fully capable in one language but not fully capable in the other. To extend the system I might be rated in more detail on Communication (C) with factors pointing to Spanish as being the location of deficiency and perhaps b (out of a possible range of a, b and c) as showing how close I was to full accomplishment---resulting in a rating of 2/S/b or something similar in this example. An alternative might be to signal the *nature* of the deficiency rather than the *degree*. To continue with the example, a four point dimension might be used---for this

application possibly w-z, where w = speaking, x = understanding speech, y = reading and z = writing). Thus, in this approach my Communication (C) rating might be 2/S/x, indicating with greater precision that my weakness in the area was in understanding spoken Spanish. Additionally a combination of these two approaches could be designed. Addressing the issue of individual change over time, sequential ACES ratings could be done at different times and the results compared to yield a picture of how the individual had changed. Continuing with the same example, if I were to enroll in an intensive one month course in understanding spoken Spanish to improve my one area of weakness I might possibly get a *pair* of ACES Communication (C) ratings that might look like this: 18/9/07/S/2/x-18/10/07/S/3 meaning that between the date this is being written (18 September 2007) and one month later (18 October 2007) I had eliminated the area of deficiency and gone to a condition of full Communication (C) capability in both languages, at least qualifying me for full bi-culturality in the Communication (C) dimension.

My purpose in this section has been to point out that ACES concepts could fit with other ways of scoring to accomplish objectives other than the determination of whether the individual was or was not fully bi-cultural. To avoid excess complexity I will in the balance of this dissertation utilize the original rating system, oriented only to determination of full bi-culturality. In Chapter FOUR I will examine Hispanic and Japanese immigrants not from a theoretical viewpoint but in terms of the actual experiences they are having in America. The underlying question I will be dealing with is whether individuals from at least these two seemingly dissimilar original cultures can, with equal ease, develop the full bi-culturality condition in America. After that, in Chapters FIVE and SIX, I will examine the Muslim immigrant culture and review what acculturational adjustment often means for them.

Chapter FOUR: Bi-Culturalism---The American Game of Hispanic and Asian Immigrants

In this Chapter I will move from treating bi-culturalism as a theoretical construct to examining it as a way some immigrants play the game of life in America. To do this I will start with the words of Phinney (2003, p. 78) quoted earlier in Chapter TWO: “Currently in the United States, members of non-European immigrant groups generally develop *bi-cultural identities*---that is they become American but also retain their (original) ethnic identity over time”. In this and the next two chapters I will examine how well Phinney’s capsulization really fits with characteristics of groups from several different non-European original cultures now living in America. Additionally, in this chapter it will be helpful to explore whether it seems easier for some groups than for others, or for some individuals within the same group compared to others in that group, to achieve the condition of full bi-culturality---an idea introduced and developed in Chapter THREE. The present chapter will deal with bi-culturalism among Hispanic and Asian immigrants---groups known to me from substantial personal experience. Chapters FIVE and SIX will discuss modes of adjustment among Muslim immigrants.

I will first look at American Hispanic immigrants through the writings of prominent scholars, supplementing these with my own observations. Then I will provide quotes and interpretations from a number of in-depth interviews with immigrants who, now or in the past, believed themselves to be bi-cultural (having at one point self-selected Berry’s Integrative quadrant). The first four of these are with Hispanics and add an additional individual texture to the preceding analysis through examination via the ACES interpretive framework, particularly related to the end-condition of full bi-culturality. I will contrast the stories of three Hispanics from different backgrounds who set out to become fully bi-cultural and largely achieved their objectives with one who tried but, not succeeding, changed acculturational strategies to pursue Separation. I will discuss some factors that might have contributed to this latter outcome. Then I will turn to Japanese immigrants and discuss bi-culturality from their perspective. In this group of four interviews I will present one case where full bi-culturality was, in my view, achieved

compared to another where the individual tried for but fell short of full achievement. I will show an example of developing bi-culturalism through interviewing children being raised in two-culture (American-Japanese) households and finally introduce an individual, in this case my own wife, who had at one point achieved the full bi-culturality condition only to back away to a lower level of bi-culturalism in response to important contextual changes. Finally I will examine the objective of achieving full bi-culturality from the viewpoints of the two different cultures, showing similarities and differences in the obstacles that must be overcome.

The Hispanic Culture in America

Dr. Felipe Korzenny, a professor at Florida State University, is one of America's top experts on Hispanic immigrants and the culture they have developed here. Korzenny (2004) reviews the Berry acculturative model, granting it acceptance as a legitimate way of constructing reality for Hispanics. He summarizes Hispanics' current relationship to the model as follows:

“Generally, these days, Hispanics in the United States tend to either integrate (become bi-cultural) or remain separate but few seem to assimilate or to remain marginalized ... Acculturated (integrated) individuals...are people who can navigate between the Hispanic and Anglo (non-Hispanic---phrase in parens mine) cultures...they have a more ample repertoire of behaviours available to them...A tendency toward acculturation or bi-culturalism is now the strongest emotional objective most frequently endorsed by Hispanics. Those who are relatively new to the United States understand the need to learn the second culture. Those who in the past had abandoned their Hispanic orientation are now reclaiming it themselves or through their children. That is because it is now a positive experience, in general, to be Hispanic in the United States. Despite remnant prejudice and discrimination, the overall balance of Hispanic experience in the United States is now more positive than it had been at other points in time.”
(p. 135)

Looking into the future Korzenny adds: “Hispanics will likely preserve their cultural roots due to the pride and desirability of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture in the United States. Thus, instead of assimilation, bi-cultural acculturation is more likely to take place.” (ibid, p. 40) He continues: “In many ways this quadrant (referring to Berry’s Integration---reference in parens mine) represents what the bulk of Hispanics will be in the future.” (ibid, p. 140)

Consistent with this position Stephen Palacios, a researcher with Cheskin, Inc.---a company that has done extensive psycho-social research and consulting among US Hispanics---described their results as follows: “Cheskin has based its view that Hispanics are seeking to be bi-cultural on many of our attitude and behavior studies. For example, we have done three waves of national studies with Yankelovich and have consistently found an expressed interest in becoming bi-cultural both from less acculturated and by assimilated Hispanics---retroacculturating.” (see Footnote 4.1)

What does it mean for a Hispanic to become bi-cultural? In 1991, well known Hispanic market researcher Isabel Valdes, drawing on earlier work of U. Bronfenbrenner (1979) and C. J. Falicov (1988) designed the following summary table, to show how the traditional values of a Hispanic working class family in America differed from those of a modern Anglo (not Hispanic) family (see Footnote 4.2)

Table 4.1: Comparison of Hispanic and Anglo Values

	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Anglo</u>
What is important	Family relationships	Individual achievement
Self perception	Family, group	Individual
Orientation	Relationships	Tasks

Families	Defined roles, age important	Democratic
Children	Dependent	Independent
Extended kin	Inclusive	Exclusive
Interactions	Complementary	Symmetrical
Physical closeness	High touch	More distant
Emotions	Show	Hide
Valued	Social background	Skills
Institutions	Believe unreliable	Believe reliable
Authority figures	Respected	Often questioned
Fate	Yes	No
Personal differences	Stressed, respected	Minimized
Service preference	Personalized	Efficient
Time	Relaxed	Scheduled
Fashion	Sensitive	Relaxed

This comparison might suggest that a Hispanic who wants to pursue a bi-cultural lifestyle needs to do more than just change to a different language when the situation requires. A

Hispanic who moves into bi-cultural space must be able to change personas, literally flipping a switch to change one broad array of personal traits and value orientations to another. Is this possible? My own personal experience has largely been with bi-cultural Hispanics. I have done business with them, made presentations to and with them, dined with them, spent many an evening in deep philosophical discourse with them---many of these occasions in group situations involving a number of Hispanics. Based on this I believe that it is not difficult for Hispanics to move back and forth between personas that are fundamentally different. To recap briefly, Korzenny reviewed the Berry model of acculturation and opined that Integration was the Quadrant most American Hispanics prefer. Analysis of what is really needed to exist in bi-cultural space indicates that it appears difficult on the surface but is, in reality, readily accomplished by Hispanics. Korzenny adds that some Hispanics prefer Separation but that few choose either Assimilation or Marginality.

Integration as an Acculturation Strategy

Why would Hispanics gravitate toward integration as an acculturation strategy? Korzenny tells us (ibid): “The best of both worlds describes the position of those (Hispanic immigrants) who acculturate (become bi-cultural). They have the opportunity to select attributes of both cultures that they enjoy. Those who acculturate, as opposed to assimilate, have a more complex view on life.” (p. 136)

In my own view, one major reason for the preference for integration involves the potential for improvement of finances through use of bi-lingual capability. To illustrate this point, many times in the past I made tutorial presentations about The US Hispanic Market. I often began these with a question. I provided as background information that there was a company in Los Angeles called The Lexicon School of Languages. This business sold very elaborate Learn English kits that were extremely expensive. Purchase normally required the use of installment financing, which was provided by the company. The target customer was a poor, recently arrived Hispanic (probably Mexican) with little money and no credit history. The question I asked the class was how many thought the

company would be successful. Usually no one raised his hand. Then I asked how many thought the company would be a complete failure. Then usually everyone raised their hands. At that point I took off the covers and told the class that The Lexicon School of Languages was one of the most successful enterprises serving the US Hispanic Market. If their advertising is examined it is found to be aimed at working class Hispanics offering improved English ability as the means to the end of a better paying job and a better life in America. The success story of this one company, while certainly not conclusive of anything, does in my mind demonstrate the attraction of American economic opportunity for Hispanics. So why do we not see more Hispanic Assimilation?

Social philosophers such as Jorge Ramos, quoted earlier, might say this is because of the differences and enduring appeal of the Hispanic culture. Certainly there could be some validity to this argument. Yet I remain somewhat skeptical. My personal belief is that the key ingredient is the substantial infrastructure of Spanish language media readily and inexpensively available in the US. To quote Korzenny again (ibid): “Univision, Telemundo (large Spanish language broadcast tv networks---material in parens mine), radio networks, newspapers and magazines have been dedicated to reach the Hispanic Market for a long time. The spectrum of media outlets has been dramatically expanded over the last few years and consolidation has also played a role. Now there are (cable tv channels such as Galavision and---material in parens mine) specialized internet channels like AOL Latino, Terra Nova Networks and Yahoo en Espanol that also facilitate targeting in the virtual interactive world. Notable new broadcast media channels include Mun2, Telefutura, and Azteca America.” (p. 24)

In print there are many new successful offerings as well, such as *People en Espanol* and *Latina Magazine*.

I believe that the real significance of this vast Spanish language media infrastructure is that it is not necessary for Hispanics to let their original culture erode when they come to America and move up the largely English speaking economic ladder. They can easily have existences in both worlds. Moreover, as pointed out in Chapter ONE, the Hispanic

segment of America is increasingly made up of second generation Hispanics, born here, who have a natural affinity for Bi-Culturalism by virtue of having one foot in each culture.

Yet, as Korzenny has also mentioned some Hispanics (a minority within a minority that is further declining in numbers and importance) gravitate toward Separation. The Spanish media infrastructure just discussed relative to Integration also supports those who choose Separation. However I believe there is more to the phenomenon than that. In some cases the Hispanic individual may not yet have learned to speak English well enough to feel comfortable in the mainstream culture (and may or may not ever be able to do so). In other cases the person's physical appearance, together with the likelihood of prejudice and discrimination, may cause the individual to steer away from the mainstream and seek to maintain traditional cultural relationships. Some individuals may also be undocumented and be living with friends or family members who are undocumented. Because of the risk of legal action or deportation such individuals usually shy away from excessive participation in mainstream activities.

Beyond that, many Hispanics come to the US with a constructed sense of inferiority that dates back to the days of Spanish colonial rule. This is difficult to overcome and introduces awkwardness into possible relationships with Anglos. Here are the words of Lionel Sosa---a highly regarded Hispanic advertising executive and Latino social critic (1999):

“The Spanish taught us subservience in the name of good manners....It didn't stop there. If we questioned their ways we were referred to *their* Spanish priests who “in the name of God” set us straight. ‘To be poor’ they preached ‘is to deserve heaven. To be rich is to deserve hell.’ It is good to suffer in this life because in the next life you will find an eternal reward...The way I see it, the Spanish conquerors deliberately created an oppressed underclass whose collective psyche became rooted in passivity and underachievement.” (p. 2).

Sosa continues:

“...We do not come from a puritan tradition, and so do not share the overachieving ethic it engendered. Our roots, like the African-Americans’ lie in slavery, so we expect to earn our living by the sweat of our brow and the muscle in our back...” (p. 20)

Sometimes the Hispanic sees commercial advantages accruing from the perception by other Hispanics that he/she remains mostly Hispanic. Or possibly it was never the Hispanic immigrant’s objective to stay in The United States long term. Thus, in some cases, substantial contact with mainstream America is unnecessary.

Voices of Bi-Cultural American Immigrants

As an American I have been privileged to have had extensive contact with individuals with Hispanic and Japanese backgrounds. In the former case, a business I ran for many years dealt largely with consulting to companies who wished to know more about Hispanics so as to pursue The US Hispanic Market in a strategically appropriate way. In the latter case, I lived in Japan for some time, married a Japanese woman and still have extensive dealings in that country and with its people. In this section I am going to document long conversations I have undertaken with individuals in both groups who have at least considered themselves Bi-Cultural at some point in order to show through real life examples how ACES applies and how those of differing background relate to the fully bi-cultural condition. Those whose stories I will tell are all known to me and are generally successful, articulate people. My belief is that the points that are being made are generally applicable to a broader spectrum of those who consider themselves bi-cultural. Both groups contain four interviews. The Hispanic group comprises a former college professor turned businessman, an investment banker, an advertising professional and an insurance executive. The Japanese group contains a dance therapist, a pairing of two children both raised in two culture, two language households (English and Japanese), an

administrator in an accounting firm, and my own wife Yuko, an executive in a Japanese marketing company working now in America.

Eduardo's Story

Eduardo was born the eldest child in a large, close-knit Mexican middle-class family living in a small town in Northern Mexico. His parents were both deeply religious, enjoyed the Mexican culture which was much in evidence in their home and were optimistic about the future. His father worked for a customs broker. His mother worked in a restaurant that catered to visitors from America. As a child, Eduardo and his brothers and sisters mingled with the restaurant customers embellishing their school-taught English whenever they could and watched intently English language television programming which was broadcast from the American side of the border, imagining a future when they too would live in America and enjoy the suburban lifestyle they were exposed to in the programming. An excellent student, Eduardo earned a series of scholarships to universities in America---first for bachelor's level work, then master's and PhD. He applied only to universities relatively close to his family's home---at most just a few hours drive away, so that he could easily return home for religious holidays, birthdays and other celebrations. He majored in Economics as a university undergraduate and took business management courses at higher levels. He worked part-time throughout most of his higher education student career mostly in local retail businesses that catered to bi-lingual, bi-cultural Hispanic students. He cultivated circles of friends from both cultures. Having grown up with a Mexican's love of soccer he started as an undergraduate attending American football games when his schedule permitted. There were years when his school's team was very strong, sometimes nationally ranked. Eduardo enjoyed the excitement of the crowd and the feeling that he was on the winning side.

After being awarded his PhD Eduardo began teaching at college level, first at a university in the American Southwest, then in South America. In all cases he taught International Business. When the *machiladora* (Mexican factory to which labour intensive work was

outsourced, mostly from the US and usually located near the northern border of Mexico) movement came to his original area he returned and worked, first as a production executive in one factory, eventually running a group of several factories. He met and married an aristocratic Mexican woman (Viviana) who spoke limited English but whose family controlled several businesses on both sides of the border. They have two sons, both of whom are bi-lingual and are comfortable in both Mexico and The United States. Both attend college in America.

Eduardo became active in promoting his local area as an investment destination for American production outsourcing with some success, eventually heading the local Mexican area Chamber of Commerce. After several years his wife's relatives asked Eduardo and Viviana to move across to the US to help manage the family's American based enterprises---taking advantage of Eduardo's international political connections, experience, business and language skills. They were able to obtain the necessary permits and moved, but kept their Mexican citizenship.

I first met Eduardo about 5 years ago, when he was in his late 40's. We kept in touch and I recently asked for his input for this dissertation. Here are some excerpts from our conversation:

Marvin:

How do you compare living up here in The United States with life in Mexico?

Eduardo:

Each is appealing, but in different ways. Here (in America) life is in many ways easier. You can pretty much find whatever you would want in stores. There is often a great deal of choice. Getting from place to place is easy. But I found life in Mexico to be more elegant. Maybe it was because I could afford to hire people to do things I might have to do myself up here. But, for example, when you go to a fine restaurant in Mexico the waiters are professional, the cooks take a personal interest in the food they serve you, they always have your favorite wine, or at least a wide selection. Here my impression is

that it is more like a factory, efficiency being an important concern. I don't mean to over-emphasize restaurant experiences and the like but I enjoy the atmosphere in Mexico---a bit more formal, more like Europe.

Marvin:

Did you or Viviana have any difficulty adjusting to living in America, particularly at the beginning?

Eduardo:

For me the transition was easy, as I had gone to school up here, lived up here, was completely fluent in the language, had taught at an American university and generally knew my way around. I was comfortable from the beginning. For Viviana it was a little more difficult, because her English was not great. She is taking lessons now and trying to improve. She enjoys seeing the parts of her family that are up here more often. My own parents are still alive and fairly healthy but getting on in years. Except for the time when I was in South America teaching I have always tried to live reasonably close to them so I could see them often. It is not so easy now, but a lot of the problem lies in being busy with work, which I enjoy. They say they understand but I'm not sure they really do.

Marvin:

Do you find it easier to do business here in America?

Eduardo:

There are fewer laws and regulations here than there are in Mexico, but generally they are more rigorously enforced. Many of the businesses I deal with now export products back into Mexico, so I am not so far from that side of it. The fact that there are often two different languages involved of course doesn't bother me at all. I am equally at home in either---or in conversations where both are in use.

Marvin:

Do you think you will live in America permanently from this point on? If so, have you considered applying for American citizenship?

Eduardo:

As far ahead as I can see now we will be living here. As to American citizenship, we have talked about it. But we see our Mexican citizenship as a continuing connection to Mexico where after all we came from originally. It is a place we still love and want to stay connected to.

Marvin:

How has your leisure life changed?

Eduardo:

It is easier for me to get to see American football games, which I have really grown to enjoy, played at the stadium. Viviana does not enjoy them very much and prefers to do something else. So I guess that means that at certain times of the year we spend less leisure time together. I often go to the game with my male friends. Out of respect for Viviana they always ask why she didn't attend and I make some excuse. But all of us understand that it is better if she doesn't come, as the atmosphere of male camaraderie and bonding would not be there with a woman present. On the negative side, we don't get to see our friends from Mexico as often. But when we do go back down there they are very happy to see us.

Marvin:

Are there times or places where it is difficult for you being Mexican in America?

Eduardo:

Not here in this area (South Texas). Of course there are places in the US where we would be seen as different, maybe not on the same level as others regardless of our accomplishments. But around here a large proportion of the population is originally

from Mexico. A more relevant question would be if it would be a disadvantage here to be Anglo (not Hispanic). Truthfully there are some who would have that feeling. But I think not many.

Perspective:

I consider Eduardo to be fully bi-cultural. He seems anchored and comfortable in both cultures---having been raised in a traditional Mexican home but with substantial living and working experience in America. He can speak and understand both Spanish and English with native fluency. He is able to enjoy leisure pursuits from both cultures---for example traditional Mexican religious holiday celebrations and American football games. Finally, he is sensitive to cultural nuances in both places---the real feeling of loss of closeness he knew his parents felt when he and Viviana moved to America inspite of how they said they felt about it. His understanding that his American friends really preferred him not to bring his wife to the football game in order to preserve the relationship they were able to have in that context, inspite of their saying that they did want her to come. In my rating of him he would be given a 3 on each of the four dimensions of ACES--- fully capable on each dimension in both cultures. He is able to move back and forth between the two cultures easily and seamlessly.

Ricardo's Story

Ricardo grew up in an upper class Mexican family with homes in Mexico City and in the countryside. His father was a lawyer with extensive political connections in the government. His mother pursued charity work. He has an older brother and two younger sisters. While the family enjoyed the advantages of being at top levels in a socially stratified society, at the same time they felt some compassion for the poor and disadvantaged, of which there were many in Mexico.

Ricardo's father often traveled to The United States on business, taking his sons along when they were old enough and the entire family sometimes enjoyed holidays in America. On such trips, Ricardo's father often pointed out that, in America, status

usually had to be earned rather than develop because of inherited social position as often tended to be the case in Mexico. Moreover, he tried to pass along the value that there is an important measure of self-respect that comes from earning a position in society, and that if the individual comes from a background where it is not necessary for him to work then the actual orientation to hard work is especially valuable. His role model was John F. Kennedy, former President of the United States.

Like other children from wealthy Mexican families Ricardo attended elite private Catholic schools. Of course these stressed the value of maintaining serious connection to the Catholic Church. They also stressed the importance of enjoying and preserving the Mexican culture---the Spanish language with its Mexican nuances, Mexican food, holidays, related traditions and the social system. English language study was offered as an elective and almost all students chose to study it. This led Ricardo to think that, perhaps underneath the love of Mexico that was an overt value at the school, many students secretly savoured a future life in America.

When Ricardo was 16 years old his older brother went to college in America---a large school in the Midwest part of the country. Keeping in touch with the family, he complained about the cold Winters, but enjoyed the freedom from socially stratified life. There weren't many expectations for him emanating from American society. He felt that he was free to become whatever he could and wanted to be. When he returned home for school holidays he seemed to Ricardo a different person---more worldly and able to explain in greater depth and with more objectivity than before the differences between American and Mexican societies. This type of worldliness was new for Ricardo, whose views had previously been largely appropriated from his father. Today Ricardo's brother is a successful lawyer in Chicago.

As he approached the age where he too would soon need to apply to college Ricardo began thinking about building a bi-cultural life in America, taking on the characteristics of an American while at the same time maintaining a fundamental Mexican self-concept,

maintaining close ties to his family (parents and two sisters) still in Mexico and to his brother.

Ricardo chose and was admitted to a prestigious engineering school in the Eastern part of The United States. After graduating with honours he went on to earn a masters degree in engineering. After that he continued his studies at a well known Eastern Business School, specializing in finance, mergers and acquisitions. In graduate school he met his wife, an attractive Russian. In time they were married and had one child, a daughter.

Ricardo went on to have an excellent career, settling into the niche of buying and selling companies in Latin America for a New York based investment banking firm. Now in his late 30s, he travels much of the time---sometimes to Mexico and sometimes to other places in Latin America.

I now work with him on a pro bono project involving a Latin art museum in New York. Here is a summary of our discussion.

Marvin:

How did you reach the decisions to come to America to study and then to stay here?

Ricardo:

Since I was young I had a lot of familiarity with America. I had often visited here and had reasonable fluency in the English language. While I initially wanted a technical education and knew there were good engineering schools in Mexico, still the idea of coming up here (America) to study was appealing---it presented a broader initial opportunity, to make some American friends and get to better understand another country's way of doing things. Also, longer term, I felt the opportunities for me here to accomplish a rewarding career based on my own ability rather than my family's social prominence were better here.

Marvin:

How did you pursue your post-educational career and end up where you are now?

Ricardo:

It started for me when I was studying for my master's degree in engineering. I began to think that a career as an engineer was not really what I wanted. Rather I wanted something more comprehensive---where I could put my engineering training to use for some broader purpose. That is when I decided to go to business school. When I finished there I had quite a unique educational background. At that time many big financial players in The United States were interested in Latin America. But there were not many people around who came from and understood the Latin culture, including the Spanish language, while also having the analytical skills that are necessary. I was recruited by some good merger and acquisition firms, joined one to get some experience and now am a partner, in charge of buying, helping to build up and then selling companies in Latin America.

Marvin:

How has your relationship with your original family changed?

Ricardo:

My father was always open toward possibilities in America. So for him, this has been a satisfying thing to see. My mother and sisters would have preferred if I had stayed in Mexico, but they understand that I have to go my own way. Fortunately I go to Mexico often on business. So it is not difficult for me to spend a few days with them from time to time. It isn't like I'm on the other side of the world. Besides that, I bought a modern computer for the family and showed them how to use it. So I can keep in touch with them via e mail in addition to telephone. I try to talk with my brother every week or two.

Marvin:

How has your life changed now that you have a family of your own?

Ricardo:

It has added a new layer of challenge for me. My type of work is very demanding. There is a lot of travel and long hours at the office even when I am home in New York. I have to balance time demands from relationships I need to maintain with American investors and understanding of trends in the American stock market with making sure that I have the widest possible view of opportunities in Latin America, including some oversight responsibilities related to companies we have bought but not yet sold. My wife has also been to business school and understands the demands of my business. While she is fully capable of excelling in business herself, for now she devotes her energies to raising our daughter, who only understands that her father is away a lot. I think a great deal about the kinds of sacrifices my wife is making for our family. My wife did not grow up in America. But she has learned to be like other American mothers who live the same type of lifestyle that we do. What free time I do have I try to spend on family activities---the kinds of activities that Americans enjoy, for example going to the beach or taking a trip to Disney World. Sometimes we go out to eat, often at Mexican restaurants. Of course I like this cuisine and my wife has learned to like it. Our daughter has certain dishes that she likes, like quesadillas, which to her resemble a toasted cheese sandwich.

Marvin:

In your work now you sometimes speak Spanish and sometimes English, is that right? (Yes) Do you find that changing to Spanish has some psychological effect on you that is different from just changing from one linguistic tool to another?

Ricardo:

Yes, definitely. It is a little complicated but I'll try to explain. First if I am talking to another Mexican we both come from a country that has sharp and clear class lines. Early in the conversation there will usually be some small talk intended to establish the relative social positions of both parties. Then each will know the right tone to take. It isn't so much at the beginning the actual words as the way the words are said and then how the response is phrased---it must be proper, in line with the relative status positions of the two people. When I am talking to people from other Latin

countries there is a similar phenomenon, but in that case it involves national pride that the other person feels and how he looks at Mexico. This can be tricky but is really just a matter of practice ---the more you do it the easier it is to have that kind of sensitivity. Of course here in The United States this kind of factor is much less important.

Marvin:

How about gender? Does it make any difference if you are talking with a woman as compared to a man?

Ricardo:

There was a time when it did make a difference. If you were dealing with a woman you had to go out of your way to be complementary to her---her appearance, things like that. But today in Latin America it is different, particularly among young people. Today men treat women in pretty much the same way as they treat men, and the women play the same modern game.

Perspective:

My view of Ricardo is that he has also achieved a condition of full bi-culturality. His deep roots and subsequent anchoring in Mexico were supplemented with exposure to America that started at an early age and then continued to build to the point where he could function in each culture as if uni-cultural in that culture. He is completely fluent in both Spanish and English. Even though he does not have much time for leisure pursuits, what time he does have is devoted to moving his family in the direction of being more, rather than less, cosmopolitan. His early recognition that the pro-Mexican feeling among students at his school was something of a veneer covering a real desire to move North showed his sensitivity on the Mexican side. On the American side, his sensitivity was shown by genuine understanding of the unspoken sacrifices his wife was making for the family. Ricardo would, in my view of him, receive a full bi-culturality Rating of 12.

Alfredo's Story

As Cuba began the year 1959 the Garcia family would, each night, huddle around the radio listening to the news of Fidel Castro and his rebel army advancing, moving closer and closer to Havana. Over a morning cup of Cuban coffee the next day Senora Garcia would chat with neighbors about what it would really mean if Castro was successful in overthrowing the Batista dictatorship then in power. Most of the neighbors talked of a socialist paradise they imagined being just around the corner, where wealth would be shared by all---not just those connected with “American capitalists and other foreign elements” as one neighbor put it---and the government would be kinder and treat everyone the same. But Senora Garcia suspected that the reality to come would not correspond so closely to this Utopian picture. Senora Garcia was largely right.

The new Castro regime brought with it repressive measures that were for many worse than what the people of Cuba had experienced before, as those suspected of actual or potential disloyalty to the revolution were systematically brought in, questioned and often incarcerated. Nevertheless a resistance movement was forming---one that had appeal to the older Garcia children. Alfredo, one of five, was at age twelve really too young to understand the situation completely. But he had listened to quiet family dinner conversation over the last few months as his father detailed the unfolding of a plan to purchase a boat and keep it hidden but ready for exit from Cuba at a moment's notice if needed. One night that moment arrived, as Alfredo's father rushed in before dinner telling of an arrest warrant that he had learned had been issued for Alfredo's sister, the eldest of the Garcia children. He told the family to leave everything, including the food on the table, pick up those precious things they could carry and follow him. They were leaving Cuba.

The escape and sea voyage to Miami had been well planned and proceeded according to that plan. The Garcias had alerted family members who had preceded them to America that they would probably also make the journey sometime soon. These relatives were ready to welcome the Garcias into their homes. After a time the Garcias began to adjust

to their new surroundings and their legal status clarified. Sr. Garcia found work, they rented a home and settled into a routine.

Alfredo initially knew very little English. But he worked hard, picking up what he could from special school classes, schoolmates, American media and books. Within about a year he could more or less understand what was being discussed in English in school and around him. As time went on he became more and more fluent. By the time Alfredo was 18 years old the family was firmly established financially and Alfredo could look ahead to college. He applied to and was accepted at a highly ranked American university. Following this there was law school. Finally a business degree. He was ready to go to work.

I have known Alfredo for years. He now owns one of the leading Hispanic advertising agencies in New York. Here are some excerpts from our discussion.

Marvin:

The story of your departure from Cuba could make an exciting book or movie.

Alfredo:

It was in fact not so unusual. Many families had suspicions that the Castro Era would not be so pleasant and had made plans to leave. In fact, in the early stages of the exodus from Cuba many of the people who left were accomplished professionals such as doctors or lawyers. In looking back at it I believe that is one reason why Cubans who came to the US early on did very well economically. They were well educated and prepared to perform well up here.

Marvin:

I know that your departure from Cuba happened nearly 50 years ago, when you yourself were just a boy, but can you recall any details of that night?

Alfredo:

Yes, I have a pretty clear memory of at least some parts of it. Other parts I learned about later from my brothers, sisters and relatives in Miami.

My father had rented a garage near the shore. That is where the boat was kept, sitting on a little trailer, like a wagon with wheels. We left the house and walked over there. I recall that there were not many people on the streets. We got to the garage and we all worked at getting the boat out and into the water.

In those days the new Castro government was not so organized as to have navy patrols to pick up those attempting to leave Cuba. So we exited Cuban waters without incident. The next step was to get to Miami. My father had maps that he had been studying ahead of time and a good compass. He also knew the basics of celestial navigation and could make at least some corrections if we strayed too far off course. It was a clear night with a moon nearly full, the stars clearly visible. Still it was 90 miles of open ocean to Miami, something of concern to all of us. Soon the shoreline of Cuba faded away. We were on our way.

Even though we could now talk normally I recall that there was silence on the boat, the whirring of the engine being the only noise. My father was concentrating on piloting the boat and navigation, assisted by my two older brothers. My mother's mind was looking ahead---what would it be like living in America? A new land, a new language, strange foods. My sisters had mixed emotions. The one who would have been arrested probably around this very moment felt relief, as did my other sister. Yet they both recalled later feeling a sense of loss as friendships that had been there for many years were left behind. They understood that there was a good chance we would never see our homeland again. Nevertheless one of them said to me "Do not worry little brother. We will be back." I pretended to agree, but deep down I had my doubts.

After a time I fell asleep. I'm told that the trip took about 9 hours---luckily my father had thought to bring along extra fuel for the boat. The next thing I remember is my sister shaking me and saying "Alfredo wake up. We are in America."

We got the boat to shore. I don't know what eventually happened to it. It was early in the morning. My father knew how to work the American telephone. He called my uncle who lived in Miami. My uncle came down to get us in his car. Then, what a celebration!

Marvin:

What do you recall of your early days in America? What problems did you have to overcome?

Alfredo:

My father explained to me later that the American immigrant country quota system that existed at that time didn't apply to Cubans. So immigration was largely a formality. It wouldn't have affected me much anyway as I was mainly focused on getting adjusted to American school and making some new friends. The main problem I had at the beginning was the language. I did not know more than a few words of English. Certainly I didn't know how to put any kind of complicated thought I had in my head in Spanish into good English. That early time was very frustrating for me.

Luckily there were a lot of other Cuban immigrant kids enrolled in the school I first attended. I could speak Spanish with them. So it was not like I was all alone. In fact I found that we Cuban kids were ahead of Americans at our grade level in science and math. Where we struggled was, of course, in English Language and American History. Eventually we caught up, at least I did. I came to enjoy speaking English. As my fluency levels in the two languages gradually reached rough equivalency it became less and less of an issue what language everyday conversations were held in. If somebody wanted to speak English, fine. If Spanish, fine. All during this period I was adding American friends to my existing circle of Cuban immigrant friends. Speaking in English with these Americans was very helpful in building my ability in their language.

Marvin:

I know that you had a very solid higher education in America, with college, law school and business school. But let us skip ahead to what happened after that.

Alfredo:

My education was as productive in helping me develop contacts potentially useful later as it was in terms of the things I actually learned in the classroom. Through conversations with some friends I came to have an interest in consumer packaged goods ---the kinds of products you would find in a grocery store or supermarket. I went to work for a big international company in that business. They didn't have many Hispanics working there but understood the potential in the US Hispanic Market. So I was assigned to learn everything I could about the Hispanic Market and devise strategies for successfully marketing the company's products to that group. I learned quickly that "Hispanic" was not the same as "Cuban" and that there were segments from other countries of origin---many much larger than the Cuban segment. After awhile I learned what the differences were. I also found that I had a choice in thinking about and signaling my own identity---I could be Cuban-American or Hispanic-American, or just Hispanic as appropriate in the situation.

The part of the business that I liked the most was dealing with advertising agencies. Eventually I left to join one of the specialized Hispanic advertising agencies that were starting to form in those days. I was hired as Managing Director. After a few years there I decided it was time to go out on my own, so I formed an agency with two partners. One stayed with me and is still my partner today. The other left with one of our biggest clients and now has his own company. I was one of the founding members of a national association of Hispanic advertising agencies that shares notes on best practices.

I've always enjoyed this business. It keeps me involved with American society in that most of my clients are Americans. At the same time I can continue involvement with Hispanics as that is the direction the clients want to go and is one big reason they chose to work with me to begin with. I enjoy the social aspects of the business---taking clients

out to dinner at either fine restaurants that serve Cuban or other Spanish cuisine or other fine cuisines.

Marvin:

How has your family life developed in America?

Alfredo:

I have been married three different times, so on the surface that part did not work out so well. In all three cases my wives were Cuban émigrés. During my college years both of my parents died. My brothers and sisters were concerned with their own growing families, although of course we kept in touch frequently. Still I felt the need to be close to someone who shared my connection to Cuba, now perhaps somewhat romanticized with the passage of time. The first two times my wives did not understand the time demands of the kind of work that I do. In each case we had one child--both of these are now grown with families of their own. Finally, in the third round, I found someone who understood the subtleties of American business and what was required of someone like me who had a payroll to meet every month. Finally I believe I have the balance about right.

Perspective:

Alfredo is the third of the Hispanic interviewees that I would classify as fully bi-cultural. Looking back over his experiences, I believe his realization that other Hispanic country of origin groups were different from Cubans and the effort he went through to learn the nuanced lifeways and thoughtways of these groups gave him a pan-ethnic Hispanic anchoring that matched the anchoring he developed in America. He reads, writes and speaks both languages with total fluency, although with a slight accent in spoken English. He clearly enjoys the American version of the advertising business, featuring lavish entertainment of clients in both Hispanic and Anglo settings. He shows sensitivity toward both the American culture, as demonstrated by his understanding of the unstated (by the university) future importance of personal contacts made at school, and the Hispanic culture as demonstrated early by his understanding that his sister's soothing remarks in the boat coming over, while intending to mitigate his feelings of sadness in

leaving his homeland, were not really sincere. In my view Alfredo shows full performance on each of the four dimensions of ACES in both cultures and therefore my assessment of him would be a full bi-culturality rating of 12.

Ramon's Story

In the introduction to this chapter I alluded to the Hispanic interviews being made up of three individuals who had sought to achieve and did achieve the condition of full bi-culturality plus one who did not achieve full bi-culturality but instead re-oriented himself to a strategy of Separation. The former were the stories of Eduardo, Ricardo and Alfredo, told above. Now we come to Ramon.

I have known Ramon for many years. Now in his late 50s he is a naturalized Chilean-American living in Los Angeles. He had a difficult youth, more or less estranged from his parents and growing up in the environment of a strict boarding school run by Silesian priests. Living in a country moving politically to the left and destined for dictatorship under Salvador Allende, Ramon was a leader of the student right---a political mindset he maintains to this day.

Trained at university as an economist he was on his way to a solid but limited position in Chile. As he tells it, Chilean society is highly stratified. At one point he said: "*With a last name like mine you have a permanent position reserved for you in the underclass.*" He felt that this was true no matter how intelligent or resourceful he was. He married and had 3 children, always thinking of moving to America. Finally, as he was approaching middle age, he got his chance---he could come to America to get an advanced degree and find a way to stay here to pursue opportunities he felt he wouldn't have if he stayed in his native land. After a time he brought his family up to America from Chile. In America they had one additional child.

During his early years in America his days were divided into two parts. He worked during the day and went to school at night. During the day he followed the traditional

Hispanic immigrant's career path. He began as a construction worker, then was hired for a sales position in a furniture store serving mostly Hispanic clientele but also some Anglos (non-Hispanics) who lived in the area. His marketing talent soon moved him into the fast growing field of Spanish language television and telecommunications, mainly marketing these media to Anglos. In my view, this sequence is significant in that Ramon was drawn increasingly into a bi-lingual, bi-cultural world where everyday interactions included some that were conducted in English and required higher levels of knowledge of the American culture.

He taught Beginning English as a Second Language (BESL) at university level some nights, other nights taking more advanced ESL classes himself. He began studying industrial management under Professor Peter Drucker at Claremont. After class Ramon would drive Professor Drucker home and they would continue the classroom discussion in the car. All throughout this period Ramon believed himself to be moving further and further along on the road to bi-culturalism. His English was getting stronger, although he was far from being completely fluent. He felt he had learned a great deal about America from just living here for a substantial amount of time and through the insightful remarks of Professor Drucker. On the other hand, his wife Patti spoke almost no English and maintained most of their Chilean traditions at home. His children, mostly grown now, continued to orient toward Ramon in the deferent way they had when younger and living in Chile. Further, Ramon never felt comfortable in social situations with English speaking Americans. He and Patti chose to socialize only with Hispanics, where cultural nuances came more naturally to them.

Several years ago Ramon began to encounter business problems. He became involved in the possible sale of a large, attractive Hispanic owned and operated business to Anglo financiers. After a great deal of effort and money had been expended the deal collapsed. Then Ramon formed a group with some of the original operators of the Hispanic business and attempted to start a similar one on a venture basis. This effort also failed. This sequence caused Ramon to re-think his strategy for continuation in America. Perhaps he had really not understood the institutional or personal situations on either side

(particularly the American side) as well as he thought he had. Perhaps it was time to withdraw from bi-culturality as a main intended strategy and channel his full efforts into being successful within a basic strategy of Separation. After all, looking back on what he had done so far, he concluded that being a clever, resourceful Hispanic had been the one trait that had energized his success in America. Ramon is an example of a person who can gain from choosing the Separation strategy in that there is value to him in some other Hispanics relating to him as “still Hispanic”. His opportunity came soon. He was recruited by a financial services company that mainly sold insurance to US Hispanics, using advertising, telemarketing and other direct-to-consumer tactics phrased in Spanish. He has been very successful in this new role and has no immediate plans to change course.

Here are some excerpts from recent conversations (conducted in English):

Marvin:

How are things going in the new job?

Ramon:

They are going very well. I mostly sit at my desk and call Hispanics in all the states where I am licensed to sell insurance and talk to them, build rapport and finally try to sell them our insurance. Insurance is a new concept for many Hispanics, particularly recent arrivals, so I have to explain what it is and why it is needed in America. I find I really enjoy this kind of work. I'm much more relaxed now. The deep-down tension is gone---the one that I started having that came from doubts as to my own ability to understand and deal with situations that had a larger English language content, the language and the need to anticipate how Anglos would react.

Marvin:

You used to have in your daily work a balance of interactions between those in English and those in Spanish. Now I gather these are mostly in Spanish. How are you affected by this change?

Ramon:

Of course it is much easier for me speaking Spanish almost all the time. But there is more to it than that. There are some cultural things that come into play more often. For example, the “rules of engagement” are different in a conversation conducted in Spanish. Hispanic people are accustomed to bargaining---maybe you would say haggling---over many different things in the course of a day, usually prices. It is just something that comes naturally in the culture. So if the person you are talking to makes what he sees as a concession you can bet that he will expect a favor in return. Sometimes this can become problematical---particularly in my present business as the prices are fixed and cannot be negotiated. Another thing is that Hispanics tend to be polite and often prefer to avoid giving bad news or doing anything else that could possibly lead to confrontation. So the person you are talking to will often paint a rosy picture when he knows it is not so rosy in reality. Finally, Hispanics are---as you know---careful about family relationships. Often when you believe you are talking to a person you are, in reality, talking to his family as well. He is unlikely to take any lasting position at odds with what key family members want. If you are hearing in his speech something different then you have to be careful to maybe doubt it a little.

Marvin:

Has your career change affected relationships within your family?

Ramon:

Not too much. We have always spoken Spanish at home and kept up traditions from our native culture. The one place where I see some effect is when my daughter Anna comes home from college. Unlike the rest of us, she was born here in America, is truly second generation and speaks much better in English than the rest of us do. Now that I use English less I find I forget the meaning of some of the words Anna is using. She jokes with me that I am getting older and losing my memory. There might be some truth in that. But I think it is just that I am not getting the amount of practice that I used to get.

Marvin:

Have you experienced any recent changes in your social life or leisure pursuits?

Ramon:

No, not really. I have never been completely comfortable in Anglo or mixed situations where I have to express myself at a higher level in English. So I am happy that this happens less often now. Additionally my wife Patti speaks practically no English, so for her social situations that require a lot of English are often embarrassing. We socialize almost entirely with Hispanics. And additionally we do a lot of things as a family---we go out to dinner together, we all get in the car and take a drive to Las Vegas. Even though my children are grown up now this is what we all really like to do. Anna is the only one of us who is completely bi-cultural. When she is along and something happens that we don't understand because it requires a better understanding of the American culture than the rest of us have we rely on her to explain it.

Perspective:

Ramon started out with the objective of becoming bi-cultural. However several aspects that I believe contribute to full bi-culturality, or at least to an advanced state of bi-culturality, were weakly presented in Ramon's case. While he had achieved some degree of dual-culture Anchoring (A) he had problems with Communications (C) on the English side. He clearly did not enjoy (E) social activities conducted with non-Hispanics. And the business activities he attempted prior to settling into the insurance domain might possibly have indicated that his sensitivity (S) was questionable on at least one side and maybe both. If I were to rate Ramon on an ACES basis he would come out only as 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 = 8, far from a full bi-culturality Rating of 12.

It is appropriate to now consider why the first three men, in my opinion, achieved the full bi-culturality they were seeking whereas the fourth did not. While there could be many contributing factors, several common threads seem worthy of note. In all three of the successful cases the individual had extensive contact and involvement with America and

Americans from a relatively early age. In the unsuccessful case these years of learning and appropriation did not occur as Ramon emigrated to America as a grown man with a wife and three children. Additionally, in all of the first three cases there was some measure of active support for a bi-cultural strategy coming from some person of importance to the individual. For example, in Eduardo's case Viviana possibly supported it because it was the key to continued success of her family business in The United States. In Ricardo's case his father actively supported his developing as an American, even if his mother had second thoughts. In Alfredo's case his parents decided to make a break from their traditional culture, at least geographically. Even though there was little choice, nevertheless there was a degree of consensus that the family agenda needed to include adapting to America. In Ramon's case there was much less support for his pursuing a bi-cultural strategy. His wife did not speak English and had only a limited understanding of the things that were going on around her that were phrased in English. His children were relatively passive, rather than strongly encouraging moves toward greater bi-culturalism.

Finally, the first three were successful in pursuing life objectives using a strategy of bi-culturalism whereas, for Ramon, the strategy led to serious setbacks in areas that were important to him. It was only when Ramon turned to Separation that he was able to move forward with his life.

The Japanese Interviews

Now I will add more texture to the discussion via four Japanese-American stories about real people, with background and dialogue from additional interviews. It is appropriate to observe how those from the Japanese culture relate to bi-culturalism in America and whether there are suggestions of differences in difficulty achieving a condition of full bi-culturality compared to Hispanics. The first story concerns a dance therapist named Eri who, in my view, has become fully bi-cultural. Part of the interview material will be devoted to providing a picture of her youth---growing up in a dual culture household, even though both of her parents were Japanese. Early in-depth exposure to the second

culture was also a characteristic of those Hispanic individuals interviewed previously who had achieved full bi-culturality in later life. This aspect is developed for Eri within a retrospective framework, from the viewpoint of an adult. Then the next Section will contain a discussion with two teenage girls growing up *now* in dual culture (American-Japanese) households---in order to provide a contemporary child's viewpoint on many of the same issues and an additional angle for consideration of the role of early socialization (providing an in-depth familiarity with the second culture) in eventual bi-culturalism or, as we will see in Chapter SEVEN, other more complicated states. The third interview will feature Keiko, a middle manager in an accounting firm who at the moment desires full bi-culturality but falls short in one respect. Keiko has also had a life with substantial international involvement. However one feature of possible importance is missing in her case. Finally I will talk about my own wife, Yuko, whose case illustrates approach to and then achievement of the full bi-culturality condition followed by backing away from it in response to important contextual changes.

After these explorations I will make some comparisons between the two cultures and the effect differences might have on immigrants from each culture pursuing advanced stages of bi-culturality in America.

Eri's Story

Eri was born in New York City. Her father was an expatriate Japanese businessman who was sent to America by his company before Eri was born, then decided to stay here permanently. He left his former employer and struck out on his own. After a time and with hard work and well honed English language skills he became a successful businessman. He took out American citizenship. He felt comfortable in America. Eri's mother, however, was having a different type of American experience. While enjoying a more physically comfortable life than she had in Japan nevertheless she missed living there. She never felt comfortable in America and, not making much of an attempt to raise her ability to speak English, it stayed at a lower level. She maintained a Japanese atmosphere at home, including language, meals, following of cultural traditions and

holiday celebrations and the display of artwork in her home. She tried to stress the use of Japanese language communications media, but of course most available radio and television programming was in English. While the fundamentally different orientations of her two parents---her father identifying more with America and her mother more with Japan---could have become a problem they worked hard to avoid open conflict about it. Her father acquiesced to the continuing (mostly) Japanese theme of his in-home scenario but lived the lifestyle many associate with middle-class American businessmen outside the home.

When Eri was 4 years old and starting nursery school in New York her ability to speak English was found to be deficient and she had to take lessons in English as a Second Language. As she progressed through elementary school her English strengthened. She began answering in English questions posed by her father in Japanese. She always talked only Japanese with her mother. By the time she reached high school she was fully bilingual and had a circle of friends from both cultures, including some girls who overlapped, having also grown up with a mixture of the two cultures.

Eri attended private English language school during the week and private Japanese language school on Sundays. She was a good student in both systems. Her main extracurricular activity was dancing. She began with ballet as a small child and progressed through other dance genres as she grew older, particularly enjoying non-traditional dance forms. Privately her mother was troubled by Eri's continuing drift away from a strictly Japanese lifestyle but understood that there was little she could do about it at that time. Occasionally the family visited relatives in Japan for short intervals. But Eri's mother always felt that the visits were not enough. From time to time, mother and daughter would enter into dialogue about this particular subject. Initially Eri resisted the idea that she could do more to raise the level of the Japanese part of her life experience. But eventually her attitude changed. By the time she graduated from the American college she had chosen to go to she was ready to look at additional avenues of personal growth.

Around that time many prominent American banks and financial service companies were opening up offices in Japan. They were eager to recruit young people who could speak both languages and understand both cultures---for initial training in the US, followed by an entry level but permanent job in Japan. Eri's decision to sign up was welcomed by her mother, although outwardly she expressed regret that Eri was going far away. Her father expressed genuine regret at Eri's leaving but was resigned to accept whatever resulted from this decision. When Eri got to Japan there were, of course, many colleagues in her workplace who had grown up in Japan. But there were also some young Americans. One of these was Michael, an American Caucasian security analyst whose father had been a US Naval officer and who had lived in various places around the world, including Japan once before. Eri and Michael began dating. He introduced her to Japanese dance forms, which she studied and added to her repertoire. After a time they were married and moved back to America to raise a family, settling in Princeton, NJ. They had two daughters, one of whom became close friends with my daughter Nicole (see interview of the two girls in the next section). Eri decided to concentrate on dance as a career and secured employment as a dance therapist in a rehabilitation center---work she finds fulfilling and consistent with her extra-curricular background.

Eri's mother was satisfied that Eri had experienced a significant period of living in Japan. Eri's father was particularly glad to have her back and was thankful to her Gaijin (non-Japanese) husband for having precipitated this result. They all laughed at the Japanese moving company workman who, while picking up furniture for shipment to America, had initiated this conversation aside with Eri:

Workman:

Is it true that your husband is Gaijin?

Eri:

Yes, so what?

Workman:

Just that you have to be careful.

Eri:

About what?

Workman:

Just careful, that's all.

Here are excerpts from my conversation with Eri.

Marvin:

What do you imagine the workman meant by that remark?

Eri:

I believe it had more significance than you would think. Many Japanese have had little contact with life in the West and really don't know much about it. It is frightening to them to think of other Japanese moving into situations like they might have seen in American action movies like "Terminator" or "Independence Day."

Marvin:

Do you think your parents were happy about your move to Japan?

Eri:

I think it was a way of resolving something that had been an unspoken issue for years between them. My mother said in a kind of tate mai that she was sorry to see me leave but I understood that underneath she felt a satisfaction that her desire for me to have a more intense Japanese experience was finally happening. My father also said that he was sorry I was leaving. But in his case I have always believed the feeling was genuine ---more the kind of expression of true feeling an American would make.

Marvin:

Did the differences your parents felt on this issue ever get in the way of your relationships with them as you were growing up in America?

Eri:

No, I didn't really think about it. It was just something natural that I was living in two different worlds at the same time. It helped that I had friends as I was growing up that were in the same situation. We just tried to be American kids when that was called for and Japanese when that was called for.

Marvin:

Were you prepared for your move to Japan? What were your impressions of it?

Eri:

I was more prepared than most Americans who visit Japan because I could speak the language---at least basically. There are always trendy new words in Japanese, as there are in English. At first I didn't know them all. Maybe I seemed a little old fashioned until I got up to speed. Also, I had been there before, but for short visits where we mainly spent time with family. These were, of course, worthwhile but there is a lot more to Japan than that. To me the most amazing thing was the contrasts you can experience in Japan. Most Americans see the dazzling lights and pulsing energy of a place like Shinjuku or seek out the leading edge electronics in Akihabara or look for the famous things from ancient Japan that are still around. But there are places, even in big cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto where people live the same way now as their great grandparents did one hundred or so years ago. It is not only in the rural areas. The old culture is still alive and well in the big cities. Looking back on that time now I can understand how my mother was never comfortable in America and why she wanted me to have the experience of living in Japan. I feel that the Japanese part of me is much stronger---much more genuine---now that I have had that experience.

Marvin:

What do you particularly like about Japan on the one hand and about being of Japanese descent in America on the other?

Eri:

Of course I enjoyed the shopping in Japan. Most American women would. But to me as a dancer the availability of unique Japanese art forms was something special. I am referring to Japanese dance as well as traditional Japanese theatre such as Noh, Kabuki and Bunraku. Most of these traditional Japanese art forms are rarely if ever available in the West. Of course in America we have ready access to genres that don't often come to Japan such as classical ballet or opera. I grew up eating Japanese food most of the time and with specialties tied to holidays and special occasions. But if you order those things in Japan they are often prepared to a higher level than I could get at home, even though my mother was a very good cook. Maybe it is because of the ingredients.

Marvin:

Why did you and Michael decide to return to America?

Eri:

In spite of our connections to Japan we are both Americans. We had decided that we wanted children. We felt that, while we wanted them to be raised in an environment where they would be exposed to other cultures, their base culture was American. Additionally, both my parents and Michael's live in America. We wanted for our children to have access to their grandparents without having to travel to other countries far away.

Marvin:

Does your husband prefer life in America?

Eri:

Like me he enjoys both places. He has lived in a number of different countries and has a sensitivity to differences in lifestyles from place to place. Of course, as I mentioned we are Americans, this is our country. But we have, I think, a more international outlook than many of our neighbors.

Marvin:

I know that your daughters go to Japanese school on the weekends as you did when you were their age. Beyond that are you making efforts to build up their Japanese personas?

Eri:

The main thing is to spend time in Japan whenever we can get them there. It is not just the language, although that is important. Having a lasting Japanese experience to me means having significant levels of exposure to the way life is lived there---the physical setting, the relationships between people, the role of things like loyalty, commitment and obligation---not just as we make our best efforts to reproduce them here. I don't mean living there---just having enough exposure that it has an impact.

Marvin:

Speaking of the language, do you prefer speaking one language or the other? Do you find that you become a different person when speaking Japanese compared to English?

Eri:

No, for me it doesn't make any difference. Either one is fine. I do admit however that I shave a little off the language on each side. When talking English I can't help thinking in Japanese about some of the things I need to say in English. And vice versa when I need to speak Japanese.

Perspective:

I consider Eri to be fully bi-cultural. Growing up as an American and going to school as an American while at the same time having those same experiences delivered out of the

Japanese culture produced, in my opinion, more than sufficient Anchoring (A) in both cultures to earn a 3 rating on that dimension. Eri is completely fluent in both languages. In speaking with her myself I don't detect any accent in her English. Those such as my wife who are native Japanese speakers say the same thing about her Japanese---no trace of any English accent. I rate her as a 3 for Communication (C). She can appreciate the art related leisure activities that are important to her as they are expressed in either culture. Therefore I would rate Eri as a full 3 on the Enjoyment (E) dimension. Finally, her understanding of the real meaning of the remarks of her mother and father upon her departure for the job in Japan shows her Sensitivity (S) to the difference between the two cultures in unwritten rules regarding how overtly feelings can be expressed, earning her a 3 for Sensitivity (S). Eri's Full Bi-Culturality Rating as I see her is a full 12.

The preceding description of growing up in a bi-cultural household was produced in retrospect from the viewpoint of an adult. In the next section I will provide a contemporary child's viewpoint as I interview Eri's daughter and my daughter together---two girls of strikingly similar backgrounds growing up right now in dual culture households.

The Story of Allegra/Miho and Nicole/Hiromi

One of the daughters of Eri, interviewed immediately above, is named Allegra in English and Miho in Japanese. She is the same age as my daughter, named Nicole in English and Hiromi in Japanese (13 years old at the time of this writing). The girls are experiencing similar socialization processes, growing up in dual culture/dual language environments. The girls are classmates both in English language school, which they attend during the week and Japanese language school which they attend on Sundays---often being instructed by the same teachers in the same classrooms. They are both good students in both systems and are very creative children. They are close friends and often share their experiences dealing with both cultures at the same time. I interviewed them together as it enabled them to be more relaxed. Their outlooks were quite similar, so I will refer to

their responses below as “Girls” rather than specifying one or the other. Even though I am Nicole’s father and often see Allegra at our home I made it clear that I was talking to them as a PhD student and that they should try their best to disregard any other relationship they felt they had with me.

Marvin:

Even though you girls have a lot in common there is one thing I can think of that might make you different. Nicole’s mother was raised in Japan and came here as an adult immigrant whereas Allegra’s mother was born and raised in America.

Girls:

We don’t see that much difference in our situations. We are like sisters. While it is true that Allegra’s mother has always been American, Allegra’s grandmother is very traditional Japanese even though she lives here. So Allegra’s mother picked up a lot that way. When our mothers talk to us Nicole’s mother is more likely to use all Japanese where Allegra’s mother uses English maybe half of the time. But to us it doesn’t make any difference. We have been going to Japanese school since we were four years old and have spoken Japanese a lot at home all this time. So we are ok either way. Nicole’s father doesn’t speak much Japanese and talks to her in English. That kind of balances out that Allegra’s mother uses both languages. Allegra’s father speaks ok Japanese for a Gaijin but is more comfortable in English.

Marvin:

The Japanese school that you girls go to on Sundays was originally started for students in a different situation---children from families where the father was an expatriate businessman here for a limited time period and with the intention of returning to Japan after the family’s time in America was finished. The school was to keep the Japanese students from getting behind their classmates still in Japan, so that when they were reunited in Japan the ones who had been in America wouldn’t have a problem---particularly with recognizing and writing kanjis (ideographic characters that make up the ancient way of writing the Japanese language---one of four writing modes used in the

current Era). Now there is a mixture of some students that are in the situation I just described and some like yourselves that are from mixed families permanently in America and who are in the school because their parents want them to have a solid Japanese foundation. Do you relate differently to the students that are going back compared to the ones that are going to stay?

Girls:

The students that are going back usually have an advantage over us in speaking the Japanese language. Japanese is their first language and they usually hear only Japanese at home. So their vocabularies are bigger and they can be comfortable saying more things. On the other hand, we have an advantage over them when it comes to understanding the American experiences that we all have outside of school and that we bring with us when we come to class. Our relationships with individual students really come down to whether we get along with them as people, not so much on who can do what better. Our mothers have discussed between themselves and with us that the school has a problem in trying to figure out what level to teach at---at least that has been the case until this year. Any level is likely to sometimes be a stretch for us but too simple for the students who are going back. But I guess they do the best they can to find a happy medium. It is only a problem with respect to language training. A lot of what goes on in the school involves teaching us about the history and traditions of Japan---even more than we get at home. This year there is a difference. Up until now all students the same age attended the same class, like in Japan. Now there is a split. Those who are going back continue as before but at an accelerated rate. Those that are staying here from this point on will take a different kind of course. It is a little bit easier but that isn't the main thing. The course that we are taking is intended to prepare us for the college Advanced Placement (AP) Japanese exam which we will take in a few years when we are in high school headed for college in America.

Marvin:

Did either of you find that the two languages got in the way of each other when you were little? In other words, did you have a harder time learning English seeing that you had to also know how to say the same things in Japanese?

Girls:

It seems like a long time ago. But we don't remember having much of a problem. We kind of learned it as one big language. When we were speaking to our fathers or other Gaijins we used English. When we were speaking to Japanese we simply switched over to that language. Lately it has gotten a little harder because we want to say more complicated things. The ways of saying things are often different---more indirect in Japanese. So you have to think not only of the words but how to express it.

Marvin

This is more of a problem now?

Girls:

Yes it is. When we are speaking Japanese we don't want to seem--I guess you would say unrefined. So we often don't say anything when we could possibly be participating in the conversation if we could just come up more quickly with the right way to do it.

Marvin:

Is it better or worse when you go to Japan?

Girls:

It is worse for a number of reasons. We start out with the original problem. Then usually the person you are talking to doesn't speak much English so our safety net is gone, if we have something important to say we can't go to English as a default. Finally, there are different expectations for kids in Japan. You are expected not to say much, if anything, in the company of grown ups. So when we don't say anything they are not able

to tell that we are frustrated by not being able to say what we want. They just think we don't have anything to say.

Marvin:

Aside from the language differences, do you find that the teachers treat the students differently in Japanese school compared to American school?

Girls:

Yes, definitely. In English school students are treated as individuals and the objective is to accomplish all you can as an individual. In Japanese school students are treated as members of a group, not as individuals. The objective is to be a productive member of the group.

Marvin:

Are you treated any differently in English language school because you can speak another language?

Girls:

A lot of students in our school come from families that are not American. The school stresses the importance of living with diversity so it is not that I'm any better or worse than you because I'm partly Japanese rather than Chinese or Indian or from somewhere else. In fact friends that are just American seem envious that we can talk to our mothers in another language. In our school everyone has to take some kind of foreign language. So there is some understanding of how hard it really is to get to the point where you can have even a basic conversation.

Perspective:

It seems to me that these girls, in addition to providing us with a different vantage point on growing up in a dual culture household, are demonstrating that they are on their way to becoming fully bi-cultural adults, although they have not reached that point yet. If I were to rate them (assessed as if they were one person, because of their similarities) via

ACES now I would assign the following scores. As they have not yet had intense living experiences in Japan I would rate them as 2 on Anchoring---anchored in one country (America) but not the other. On Communication (C) I would also rate them as 2. Even though they are fluent in Japanese to a certain degree, by their own admission they are not at native language fluency yet. For Enjoyment (E) I would rate them as 3, because of the stress placed both at home and at school on enjoying Japanese cultural traditions, in addition to American ones. On Sensitivity (S) I believe a 3 is justified because of their recognition of the different expectations for children between the two cultures---America stressing through selective emphasis individual factors versus group factors in Japan. It may also be of at least some importance that, if comparisons are made between these girls now on the one hand and Eri and the Hispanics Eduardo, Ricardo and Alfredo on the other hand---all four of whom had achieved full bi-culturality---there are some present and projected commonalities. As noted earlier, Eri and the successful Hispanics all had in-depth contact with the second culture at an early age, just like these girls. All had someone of importance to them strongly stress the importance of bi-culturality---as the girls' mothers do now. Finally, Eri and the Hispanics were successful following a strategy of bi-culturalism, just as the girls are admired in school by friends from uni-cultural American families now. I will return to Nicole in Chapter SEVEN, discussing her possible subsequent transition to a post cultural state.

Keiko's Story

Keiko was brought up in a middle class family living in downtown Tokyo. She was the youngest of three children, having two older brothers. Both of her parents worked full time. Although they had relatively little actual travel experience themselves, Keiko's parents displayed active interest in life in the West and often talked about it with their children. Both of Keiko's brothers married Caucasian European women and moved to Europe. Keiko went to secretarial school in Japan. When she graduated she went to work for a joint venture pharmaceutical company in Japan---a company that had one Japanese corporate partner and one American corporate partner. The role of the American partner was to provide access to certain drugs on which it held patents for

Japan, plus a share of the company's funding. The Japanese partner was to provide a Japanese corporate structure, expertise in marketing in Japan, a Japanese working environment and its share of the required funding. So, even though the company was theoretically half American the atmosphere at the office was similar to 100% Japanese companies. At this company she met Takakazu, a bright, well educated Japanese administrator.

Takakazu's home background was similar to Keiko's. His parents also expressed openness to his possibly having the experiences available in the West. After working at the joint venture pharmaceutical company for a few years he heard of an opening at The United Nations, applied for it and was accepted. Takakazu and Keiko were married and set off for their first UN posting, in Papua-New Guinea.

For a young couple who had never before been outside of Japan this new environment seemed especially unusual. Frequently there were episodes that were unlikely to ever happen in Japan. One example involved golf. Keiko was not permitted to work in Papua-New Guinea. So she decided to use some time improving her golf game---taking advantage of the many golf courses that were available in Papua-New Guinea, in contrast to Japan where there were very few. One unforeseen circumstance of golf in Papua-New Guinea was the presence of bandits who would hide in bushes or behind trees on the golf course, then jump out to threaten and hopefully rob foreign women golfers. After this happened several times Keiko noticed that they would not confront certain women. When she asked why she was told that those particular women carried loaded pistols in their golf bags. While she never heard of anyone actually using the pistols, just displaying them on occasion was enough to spread the knowledge among the bandits that a particular woman should be left alone. So Keiko bought a gun---an act that would be illegal in Japan where, with only minor exceptions, civilians are not allowed to purchase or own firearms. When a new Japanese arrival joined the UN mission in Papua-New Guinea the envoy's wife wanted to play golf with Keiko. Keiko brought up the idea of the gun and, when the horrified woman asked if it was really necessary, Keiko answered

that of course it was not necessary, smiling in such a way that both women knew that it was necessary, or at least advisable.

After two years Takakazu was transferred to UN Headquarters in New York City---a place that seemed to the young couple refreshingly more like Tokyo than like Papua-New Guinea. In fact, it was similar in the sense of being a large, important world city but with important differences compared to Tokyo. Some of these were a heterogeneity in the ethnic backgrounds of many of the people that one would encounter in daily life and a level of comfort with confrontational situations that made many Japanese uneasy.

Keiko was allowed to work in America and joined a prominent accounting firm as an executive secretary. Keiko and Takakazu, now in their early 50's, have been in America, with the same respective employers, for the last fifteen years. They have moved up the organizational ladders within their respective organizations. Keiko is now a middle manager.

Keiko has known my wife Yuko for many years. When Keiko arrived in New York they re-established their relationship and see each other from time to time. Keiko and Takakazu bought a condominium back in Japan for use in eventual retirement. They never had children. Here are some of Keiko's comments about her life in America.

Marvin:

How did you handle the English language when you first arrived in America?

Keiko:

I had some knowledge of English from my studies at school and the years I spent in the joint venture company, even though the working language there was Japanese. However, in America particularly at the beginning I often felt that even though I knew in Japanese what I wanted to say I did not have the vocabulary tools to express the ideas in English. For that reason I was often angry at myself at the beginning. As I stayed here (in America) longer my vocabulary grew, along with my knowledge of how Americans

understand the way things should be said---much more direct than in Japan, where often statements are purposely worded in a way that would be considered vague here. But still there were some problems. In Japan there are regional accents but these are only slight variations from place to place. Here, with all the diversity of backgrounds and regional patterns, there are many more extreme types of accents that it took me awhile to master for understanding. Now it is not that much of a problem. Also it seemed at the beginning that Americans spoke rapidly and seemed to jump from one thought to another unrelated one. By the time I figured out what the person had said they were on to another topic. After awhile I adjusted to this and the pace of speech and topic switching seemed to slow down. Of course it was just that my own expertise was growing and it was not so difficult for me to follow it any more.

Marvin:

Do you have any problems related to the language now?

Keiko:

One I can think of is that when I am in meetings at the office I still have trouble putting forward an opinion and arguing a point in English in front of colleagues. Maybe this is because American meetings are different from Japanese ones. Often in Japan the conclusion is reached before the meeting and the meeting is kind of a formality. Attendees, particularly women, are expected not to say anything. Here meetings are usually not a formality but a way of talking together to reach some agreement. Often there is controversy at the meeting as different people put forward different approaches. I selected an accounting firm to begin with because I felt most of the communication would be done with numbers. This has proven to be true to an extent. But still I can't seem to get over my reluctance to speak up, even when I have something to contribute. Usually I pass it along outside the meeting afterward.

Marvin:

Were there other things that you found hard to get used to in America?

Keiko:

One was the tradition surrounding gifts. In Japan we give gifts all the time. And often gifts are designed to carry meanings. For example the nature or value of the object chosen for a gift or the place it was purchased or the type of wrapping. Here much of that doesn't seem to matter. Even the idea of what to do if you receive a gift is different. In Japan we always give a return gift that must have a relationship to what has been given. Also a thank you note is very important and must be done in a certain way. Here few people would consider giving a return gift and thank you notes are often very casual, not much time or thought devoted to it.

Marvin:

How do you and Takakazu spend your leisure time?

Keiko:

That is one of the things we like most about America. There is so much that we can do. I always loved the ballet but never had much chance to see it in person. Here I belong to The American Ballet Theatre viewing group and often visit Lincoln Center to see live performances. My husband enjoys target shooting and belongs to a private pistol range club. He still has the pistol I bought in Papua-New Guinea, which is legal to own here with the correct permit. He has gotten to be a very good shot. Of course we socialize with Japanese, often attending events at The Japan Society in New York. But we also enjoy American company. We play golf every chance we get with a variety of American friends, as well as some Japanese. I note that the Japanese are much more careful about following the rules of golf. Sometimes having seen the skill levels of Americans I play with I wonder how they could report the scores they do. However I would never say anything about it.

Perspective:

Keiko has lived in America for 15 years now and could stay here for many more. She is bi-cultural in many respects. She has gotten over her initial technical difficulties with English and now speaks both English and Japanese with a high degree of fluency (C = 3).

She and her husband seem to enjoy life in The United States, pursuing avenues they find attractive sometimes mainly incorporating Japanese culture and sometimes American culture (E = 3). And sensitivity is, in my opinion, shown by two of the above points related to golf---the discussion with the Japanese woman regarding whether the pistol was necessary on the Papua-New Guinea golf course and Keiko's comments about reported scores of Americans (often signaling an aspirational ability level) perhaps understandably not corresponding 100% to the game as played (S = 3). The one place where I believe she would earn only a 2 would be in anchoring (A). I believe Keiko is still not fully anchored in America. This conclusion comes mainly from her description of the trouble she still has in adjusting to the difference between Japanese and American business meetings---operationally referring to her reluctance to put forward a viewpoint that could be disputed by colleagues present at the meeting. Of course, many people are reluctant to speak up in meetings. However, she made a point of relating it to Japanese social process. Additionally, the fact that Keiko and Takakazu bought a retirement home back in Japan could show a construction of their time in America as essentially temporary.

I had mentioned in the discussion of Keiko's early life that her family was positively oriented to Western culture, even though they had little direct experience with it. My belief is that Keiko's family embraced all of Western culture, not specifically America. The fact that both of her brothers married women from Europe possibly works to confirm that direction. The experience in the joint venture pharmaceutical company did not enhance Keiko's construction of or identification with America very much because the operating environment she was in every day was more typically Japanese. The fact that the company was half owned by Americans was largely irrelevant. Finally, the period in Papua-New Guinea while providing interesting and exotic experiences was also largely not relevant to America. So Keiko arrived in America as an adult without having had a great deal of actual day in-day out experience living in the American culture---similar to the Hispanic Ramon. This factor could have contributed to what I saw as a lack of her anchoring (A) on the American side (A = 2), which in turn prevented her from receiving a full bi-culturality rating of 12---at least in my view of her.

Yuko's Story

The last story in this group which I will tell involves my wife Yuko, whose history illustrates another aspect of relationship with bi-culturality. Yuko was brought up in a small agricultural town in Western Japan. The Second World War had ended only a few years before and the American military still had a presence in the town. The soldiers were kind to the local Japanese children and provided a positive first exposure to America. While Yuko's mother was a conservative woman, her father was very open to the changes then happening in Japanese society, including more knowledge of and influences from Western culture. At age twenty Yuko asked for and received her father's permission to leave Japan temporarily, to spend two years going to college in England studying academic subjects plus improving her ability to speak English. During school holidays she travelled around most of Western Europe. At the end of the two year period she returned to Japan, intellectually greatly incremented by her experience in the West.

During her time away she had missed the distinctive culture of Japan. She missed her friends and family in Japan. Even though she corresponded with them regularly and occasionally spoke to them by telephone she knew they were far away. At the same time, she had developed a real affinity for the West and even after returning to Japan, maintained the desire to re-visit the West someday. She pursued those elements of a Western lifestyle that were available to a young Japanese woman, who was at the same time bound by strong Japanese societal traditions. She moved to Tokyo and went to work for the Japanese subsidiary of an American multi-national, Franklin Mint Corporation. Unlike the early work environment of Keiko, described previously as similar to a regular Japanese company, Yuko's was much more of a culturally plural situation. There were a number of American expatriate executives in the company who spoke little if any Japanese, eventually including myself. The working language that connected the far distant subsidiary with the parent company was English. All Japanese workers in positions where they would have interactions with the parent company were required to have at least a basic knowledge of English. Yet at the working level the Japanese spoke

their native language among themselves. Some of the daily work rituals and office routines derived from America, some from Japan. As she was there longer the cultural duality of the situation had more and more appeal to Yuko. She became more and more involved in those aspects of the company's operations that were conducted in English. She was often called on to translate written or verbal messages in one direction or the other. Years later, having saved some money, Yuko decided she would take time off to finish her college education, begun earlier in England. She applied for and was admitted to The University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

I was one of the few people she knew in America. She called one day and we began seeing each other socially. Yuko entered a period of intense relationship with the English language, building on the base she had acquired in Japan and England. She heard English all day on campus (there were probably other Japanese students or faculty members at the university but she didn't go out of her way to meet with them). Later each day she conversed only in English with my friends and myself. She grew more and more interested in how America worked. She took courses in American History. She read book after book written in English, even outside of her required school work. After four years, on a beautiful Christmas Eve---snow softly falling and with spiritual music in the background---we were married in a 300 year old American country inn.

At this point Yuko would have qualified as Fully Bi-Cultural. While still anchored in Japan she had made a strong effort to build up an American persona. While she didn't have much chance to interact with Japanese people, when those opportunities came she was able to move back and forth between the two cultures and languages easily. She was anchored in both cultures (A = 3). She was completely fluent in both languages (C = 3). She enjoyed leisure activities related to both cultures (E = 3) and, being from the beginning sensitive to the nuances of Japanese culture, she had reached a comparable level vis. a vis. American culture (S = 3). Attending social occasions involving Japanese people she became Japanese again. With Americans she mirrored American culture, with just a trace of Japanese and British speech accents betraying the fact that she hadn't lived in America her whole life.

The impending birth of our daughter Nicole (interviewed earlier in this Section and discussed again in Chapter SEVEN as a twelve year old) marked the beginning of another of Yuko's transformations, this time in the direction of turning back to Japanese roots. She became firmly focused on ensuring that the part of Nicole that was Japanese would not be overwhelmed by her American persona. Yuko went to work for the American subsidiary of a Japanese company, ensuring that at least part of her daily work life would involve Japanese language communications and the understanding of Japanese culture even though she was living in America. She rose through the ranks to eventually become President. She spoke mostly Japanese at the office. After Nicole was born Yuko spoke to her almost exclusively in Japanese from the very beginning. She read Nicole stories in Japanese. She enrolled Nicole in the Japanese school referred to in the earlier interview. She went back to reading Japanese novels herself. She spoke frequently with family and old friends in Japan. Little by little she lost bits of the American cultural capability she had worked so hard to develop earlier. She was no longer able to relate to Americans as if she was uni-cultural in their culture.

Today my belief is that Yuko is bi-cultural but not fully bi-cultural. Since her return to a strong Japanese orientation I feel that she has lost some of her American Anchoring (A) and has dropped to a 2 rating on that dimension---Fully anchored in Japanese culture but not American---and thus retreats from a full bi-culturality rating of 12.

Here are some excerpts from discussions with Yuko (as with Nicole previously I asked Yuko to try as much as possible to relate to me in interviews as a PhD student):

Marvin:

Why did you decide to leave Japan and come to America?

Yuko:

It had been over ten years since I returned to Japan from England. Japan is a very demanding place to live and work, at least for Japanese. You expect to and are expected

to work long hours without complaining. People think nothing of calling you at home at all hours to continue a conversation begun that day that could easily wait until the next morning. You are caught up in a web of relationships and rituals that are pretty much required and leave little time for privacy, for just being yourself. In a way this is comforting, like a security blanket. People who have never known anything else are used to it. But I had experienced another kind of life, even if as a foreigner. I had grown tired of Japan---physically and mentally tired. I needed a break. I considered going back to England but I had already done that. I wanted to do something different. I had worked for a long time for an American company in Japan and I knew at least something about America. Why not go there? I hadn't finished my degree in England when I had to leave. So the plan began to form in my mind to go to America and study for awhile to finish it. One of my co-workers had enjoyed going to The University of Pennsylvania. So I applied there and was accepted.

Marvin:

What were your early impressions of America?

Yuko:

The thing that struck me at the beginning was how casual everything was. For example with clothing, appearance in public, even relationships with friends and business colleagues. Americans think nothing of calling co-workers or even superiors by their first names from the very beginning. In Japan this would rarely happen. Likewise in Europe. You could work at the next desk from someone for years and still address him as Yamamoto-San or Mr. Jones.

Marvin:

Did your experiences at The University of Pennsylvania correspond with your expectations?

Yuko:

No, it was much more difficult than I had imagined. First of all I had to take an English language test, which found that I needed to intensively study English and raise my level in the language before I would be allowed to attend lectures. Then when the real courses began I had to struggle, at least in the beginning, to keep up. In Japan college students don't work very hard. The difficult thing is to get into a good college in the first place. Once in the school many do not do a great deal of work. Many play mah jong until late each night rather than study. I think that if I were to have the American college experience again now I would try harder to take advantage of the cultural things that the university offered---like concerts, get together with other international students, sports and so forth. But then I had the feeling that maybe I had gotten into something that was over my head. Eventually I did well but the beginning was difficult.

Marvin:

What happened after you graduated from the university?

Yuko:

At first I worked for a Japanese insurance company in New York. But I found that the atmosphere at the place was even more Japanese than I was accustomed to in Japan. I concluded that I had made a mistake and should look to change direction. Around that time I got a call from some old friends---male colleagues from Franklin Mint Japan who had gone out on their own to start a similar company. They needed to add a person in their Princeton, NJ office to take care of certain things in America. This seemed an ideal solution and I have been there since. By that time Marvin and I were married and we moved to Princeton where we still live.

Marvin:

After you had been in America for awhile did you feel that you were becoming less Japanese?

Yuko:

Yes I did, in the sense of being Japanese but not completely Japanese. I was totally immersed in American culture. I loved the country. I had made some big decisions to get where I was and now had the feeling that I was on the right track. My English had improved to the point where I didn't have to struggle to speak it. In fact I began to forget the meaning of some kanjis that you come across in Japanese newspapers or in letters from Japan. I was becoming American. Or at least I had the feeling that an important part of me was American.

Marvin:

Does this feeling continue as strongly today?

Yuko:

No, I have gone back a little toward being Japanese. I'll tell you how this happened. I was at a party with some Chinese people who had a little daughter, maybe three or four years old. The mother started talking to the child in Chinese and the child answered in Chinese. I turned to the person I was with and said how remarkable it was that the little girl could speak Chinese. My friend asked what was so unusual, seeing that she was Chinese. Being at that time pregnant myself I began to think of the future of my own child. Having an awareness of being part Japanese could be of great value. And of course I had an obligation to do what I could to maintain the baby's Japanese part. How could I do this if I was American? So I began drifting back toward Japanese. I began to seek out situations where I would be expected to speak Japanese. I read Japanese books, magazines and newspapers more often. From the point when Nicole was born I did everything I could to ensure she grew up in an environment with two parts---American and Japanese---each of which would eventually contribute to her personality as an adult and each of which needed to be kept separate.

Perspective:

Yuko's early background in Japan had some similarities to that of Keiko, interviewed above. Both grew up in the early post-War period, when Japan was still in the process of

adjusting to more contact with and influence from Western culture. In both cases parents accepted this trend and saw their children's possible future connections with the West as positive potential developments. In both cases events happened early to move Western culture closer---in Keiko's situation the marriage of her older brothers to European women, followed by their re-locations to Europe; in Yuko's case the time she spent beginning her college career in England. However at that point it seems to me that the histories diverge. Keiko's time working at the joint venture pharmaceutical company in Japan really did little to acquaint her with American culture as the office environment was heavily Japanese. However, Yuko's next move had been to an American multi-national in Japan with a plural work environment, providing more exposure to at least some American values and further increasing her understanding of the English language. As noted earlier, Keiko's posting to Papua-New Guinea with her husband did virtually nothing to acquaint her more with American society. Consequently, when her husband was subsequently assigned by the UN to New York Keiko arrived there knowing far less about America than Yuko, who had developed some first-hand knowledge of American culture while still in Japan, had come to America at an earlier age, had attended an American university, had married an American, and had already worked for some time in America in a setting that required integration of Japanese and American values. Additionally, since Yuko had made many of her major moves by choice (going to England, going to America) and had lived among Americans for some time she was much more self-confident, outspoken and even argumentative regardless of the audience when the situation called for it than Keiko who had not had those experiences and was still subject to the extreme reserve expected of Japanese women in Japan. In my opinion, these factors may have been important in allowing Yuko to achieve the full bi-culturality (at least temporarily) that Keiko did not completely achieve.

The fact that Yuko, anticipating her baby's birth, began a cultural journey away from a fully bi-cultural experience provides at least some directional evidence that full bi-culturality, once achieved, is not necessarily a permanent condition.

The Game of Bi-Culturalism

I set out in this chapter to examine the cultures of Hispanic and Asian immigrants to America through the prism of Phinney's quote reprised from the literature review in Chapter TWO and comprehending non-European immigrants developing bi-cultural identities (Phinney, op. cit., p. 78). I first reviewed scholarly writings of Korzenny and others bearing on the point and found them generally in accord with Phinney, at least with respect to Hispanics. Then I documented four interviews with Hispanic immigrants. The first three were selected based on their having different socio-economic starting points---one being from a wealthy family, one middle class and one who had emerged from a situation where he and his family needed to start over in America, having left most of their belongings and wealth behind to emigrate here under emergency circumstances. I found that all three had achieved the fully bi-cultural condition, with ACES ratings of 12 (highest attainable) and with the ability to now move easily between the two cultures (Hispanic and American) acting as if uni-cultural in each one. Then I reviewed the case of a fourth Hispanic who was not able to achieve full bi-culturality, finding Separation a more appropriate personal strategy. I examined similarities and differences and found---at least within this highly limited sample group---some elements of commonality and difference. In the successful Hispanic cases all three had extensive early contact with American culture, emotional support from at least one person of importance to them for movement toward a bi-cultural adjustment strategy and success in using bi-culturality to play the game of life in America. The unsuccessful Hispanic did not display any of these factors.

Then I turned to Japanese respondents---as with the Hispanics, people I knew intimately. I presented the case of one Japanese who I felt had achieved full bi-culturality. Among other topics I dialogued with her regarding her early background, containing elements of both Japanese and American cultures. Then I presented the results of interviews with two children who are growing up now in dual culture households, to look at the impact of early socialization on eventual bi-culturality from a different perspective. Next I presented the story of a Japanese woman who wanted to achieve full bi-culturality but

who fell short of accomplishment, offering some possible rationale for this result. Finally, I interviewed my own wife, who showed yet another pattern---achieving full bi-culturality and then backing away from it in response to contextual changes that were important to her---providing at least some momentum for the idea that full bi-culturality, even if achieved, is not a permanent condition.

Of course these few interviews are not sufficient to do anything more than point to some possible directions for future study. However, it would seem that the observed trends were consistent with Phinney's assertion. From this initial limited look it would seem that there is nothing *inherent* in either the Hispanic or Japanese cultures that would prevent individuals from those cultures from achieving full bi-culturality. However, certain life patterns seem to affect ease of accomplishment. It might be more difficult for Japanese in that their original culture and language are more distant from what is expected in America, requiring a more energetic effort to build up an American persona. Additionally, for many Japanese, opportunities for intense early exposure to America and American culture might be less easily acquired than would be the case for Hispanics---stemming from geographical, contextual or other factors.

In the next Chapter I will review acculturational adjustment among Muslim immigrants.

Footnotes:

4.1: Source: e mail, S. Palacios to M. Shaub, 26 December 2005. Yankelovich and Company is a prominent market research firm. In the last few years they have partnered with Cheskin in a longitudinal study dealing with Hispanic attitudes and certain aspects of consumer behavior.

4.2: From corporate tutorial presentation, see Valdes, I. in References section.

Chapter FIVE: Hybrid Culture and the Muslims

In tracing the development of acculturation as a social process among American immigrants to this point I began with an early period described by de Tocqueville---a time when there was a more or less homogeneous majority culture of White, mainly English and North European settlers and two main minorities Negroes and Native Americans. Little effort was made by the majority to integrate these minorities and the period is perhaps best characterized as *Pre-Acculturational*. Late in the nineteenth century immigrants from other different and distinct European cultures began arriving in America in substantial numbers, precipitating what was in my view America's first real period of *need for acculturational adjustment*. There was selective discrimination against some newcomers by those already here, at times severe in nature. An intellectual debate developed among prominent and respected thinkers of that time as to whether America would develop as a heterogeneous country with various races and ethnicities mixed in together or whether a culturally plural result was more likely. Some consider this dialogue the precursor of the systematic study of acculturation (ref. Redfield et al, 1936, op cit). Against this backdrop an influential play entitled *The Melting Pot* made its debut early in the 20th Century. The play described a society in which all, regardless of origin, could participate on equal terms in the forging of a distinct and open American culture thereby giving strong voice to the *assimilationist* viewpoint. As the idea gained acceptance more recently arrived immigrants were increasingly in the position where they had a *choice* of pursuing a hoped for *mono-cultural* American existence or---as individual preferences dictated---adopting other adjustment strategies such as joining with those of similar original ethnicity in efforts to maintain their original culture as much as possible. In my view, the emergence of America as a society presenting wide ranges of *individual cultural choice* represented an important influence in the development of *less bounded* personality forms in subsequent periods.

In the second half of the twentieth century revisions to American immigration law led to immigrant flow changes that were not only large in magnitude but brought into essential focus a *different type of immigrant*. These latest newcomers tended to be from Hispanic

or Asian points of origin rather than from Europe. They brought with them a different approach to acculturation---often preferring to maintain their original personalities while developing separate American personalities, either one of which could be called on as desired. This phenomenon, referred to as *bi-culturality*, became an important acculturation strategy in the late twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century. That is not to say that all immigrants, whether Hispanic, Asian or from some other group chose the new strategy of bi-culturality. But a very large proportion of immigrants did choose bi-culturality, making this distinctive *bi-cultural period* the second of what I consider to be four phases of acculturational development in America.

This chapter will continue the examination of acculturation as a developing social process with review of a *third phase*---this time highlighting *hybrid culture* as the main theme. Possibly developing from origins among those immigrants who, during The Melting Pot period, chose dual, hyphenated, mixed identities (eg. Italian-American, Polish-American) the American of *hybrid culturality* is conceived as developing in the form of a *pastiche* of *individually selected appropriated cultural bits and pieces*, added onto a basic ethnic or other identity that may or may not remain as a strong chord in his personal symphony of personality development. Those of hybrid culturality are not necessarily trying to enter the mainstream or alternatively to produce a new version of it or abandon it altogether. They are not trying to lead two separate existences. Rather they are involved in a process of *blending*---appropriating some elements from the mainstream, mixing in some from their traditional culture, adding some from new sources that come onto their personal radar screens that are neither mainstream nor, for them, traditional. It could be argued that many different types of immigrant groups developed in this way---or that there is at least a hint of this type of profile embedded in other patterns. Hybrid culturality contributes to America's development as a *cosmopolitan society*---a theme I will return to in Chapter SEVEN---by making available a constant stream of eclectic individuals who can both borrow pieces of personality from others (as well as from characters in media and stories) and contribute some parts of their own personality. At the same time hybrid culture *benefits* from the *openness* of American society and its ability to provide comfort

to those whose pastiche of individually determined personality elements does not follow any particularized set of *cultural imperatives*.

For purposes of this dissertation I am selecting *American Muslim immigrants* as the model for discussion of *hybrid culturality*. Many Muslim immigrants have a strong, trans-national identity based on the faith of Islam which extends across many diverse ethnic or country of origin groups. This identity is at least partially based on the ideas of *divine authorship* of their scripture, its *exact maintenance* as it was given to them fourteen centuries ago, the *avowed completeness* of Islam as a religious system and its extension into detailed *rules of behavior*, variously articulated, that transcend what many would understand as expected correlates of particular religions. On the other hand, *individual adjustment patterns* are encouraged by the very *diversity of original ethnicities* of American Muslims---presenting, for many, ranges of exposures to new behaviours unheard of (or unthinkable) in their respective original cultures---combined with the openness of America and its tolerance for individually tailored solutions. American Muslims must operate in a context where there is no strong centralized Muslim religious or administrative infra-structure to stress uniformity, nor does this pressure come from American society itself as was the case for many in their original settings. Additionally, Muslim immigrants must deal with the constant condition of many mainstream Americans having little real knowledge of Islam and sometimes orienting toward them in terms of inaccurate, often negative stereotypes.

Many Muslims seek an individual solution through adoption of a *hybrid culture* in America---selecting and blending together partial solutions that relate to parts of their overall condition in ways that seem individually appropriate. To better understand this relationship it is productive to examine the origins and early international growth of Islam, then to consider Islam in America, the latter mainly through the lens of hybrid culturality---the *blending of cultures* that has affected many---and finally to discuss *perceptions of terrorism* and other issues that define some parts of current Muslim context in America and serve to drive some toward more openly mainstream behaviours while increasing salience for others of traditional Muslim practice.

The Prophet Muhammed and the Early Development of Islam

While some Islamic scholars trace the roots of Islam back to the Biblical figures of Adam and Eve and others regard Abraham's son Ishmael as the father of the religion, most accept that the modern era of Islam began with The Prophet Muhammad. Muhammad was born to a family of exalted lineage whose fortunes had declined, leaving them poor, in the city of Mecca in what is now Saudi Arabia in 570 AD. Mecca at that time was a thriving commercial hub and center of the then current idol-based pagan religion. It was also a society sharply divided along tribal lines. While still a child Muhammad's parents died, leaving him to be raised by an uncle, Abu Talib.

Muhammad proved to be a thoughtful man and also a good businessman. At age 25 he was commissioned by a wealthy woman named Khadija, many years his senior, to take a camel caravan of her merchandise to Syria. Based on his superior performance Khadija approached him with a proposal of marriage, which Muhammad accepted making Khadija the first of his four wives. At that point Muhammad was no longer poor.

But Muhammad began to feel disenchanted with Meccan society, observing that with commercial riches had come a reduction in caring for the predicaments of the poor. Muhammad would wander off into the countryside to meditate. One day, at age forty, he underwent a transformational experience while meditating in a cave. The cave filled with an intense sense of presence, but no human being was visible. This was, according to Islamic tradition, The Angel Gabriel, sent from Allah to reveal the essential Holy Scripture of Islam *The Qur'aan*. This was the first of many visitations that would occur until Mohammad's death twenty-two years later.

Shaken by the experience, Muhammad consulted Khadija and together they visited some clergy from other religions. They told Muhammad that the experience of mortal people receiving divine Word was not unique and that he should be prepared to accept the responsibility of being The Prophet of Islam. Muhammad continued to have these divine revelations. Each time he would reportedly go into a trance-like state where he was

receiving the Word directly into his being. As he was illiterate throughout his life, Muhammad would upon awakening dictate the Word he had been given to scribes who would write it down. The Word was given to Muhammad in Arabic and reportedly survives to this day with no change from what the scribes had written fourteen centuries ago---establishing a heritage tradition that is important for many Muslims.

Muhammad began on the task of converting the people of his home town of Mecca. However this activity was ill received by members of his and other clans, who had a vested interest in maintaining Meccan society as it was. When various offered inducements failed to stop Muhammad from preaching his monotheistic religion his enemies set up an embargo on the family business. A precipitous financial decline ensued, during which Khadija and Abu Talib died.

Just as things seemed hopeless, according to Islamic tradition The Angel Gabriel once again visited Muhammad and took him to Jerusalem where he reportedly ascended to Heaven from the site that is, in the present day, known as al-Aksa Mosque (or alternatively The Dome of the Rock). During his time in Heaven, Muhammad was given by Allah a comprehensive set of guidelines for living a good Muslim life and when he returned they were written into *The Qur'aan*. Some of these rules form part of the present day *Shari'a* (comprehensive rules for Muslim behaviour).

Eventually his Meccan enemies conspired to kill Muhammad but he escaped to Yathrib (the site of the present day Medina), where he was welcomed. Yathrib was, at that time, mostly a community of Jews but with some Muslim inhabitants. Historically wracked by feuding between the Muslims and the Jews and among the various Muslim tribes Yathrib came into a peaceful period as Muhammed rose to local power and showed his growing mastery of diplomacy. Eventually differences with the Jews developed (for example, they viewed a self-proclaimed non-Jewish Prophet with suspicion) and Muhammed expelled them from Medina. Muhammed's ability as a soldier and field general developed further as he built and led an army back to conquer first Mecca and then other places in what is now Saudi Arabia. Ultimately, in control of about 100,000 people

spread over a substantial geographic area and with many options for governing style he chose to allow pre-existing locally oriented social and governmental systems to continue in force while personally operating through alliances. This approach became important as Islam spread to other areas---the pattern comprising first conquering resistance by force in the name of Allah but subsequently allowing local tradition to prevail in day-to-day secular and religious practice matters. While many in conquered lands embraced Islam, usually no requirement to do so was imposed. Muhammed died in 632 AD. At that time *The Qur'aan* as we know it today had been revealed, to be joined as Muslim Scripture by a book containing the teachings of Muhammed and referred to as *The Hadith*. (See Footnote 5.1)

Islam spread rapidly after the death of Muhammed. Subsequent leaders moved against the Byzantine and Persian Empires. By the beginning of the fourteenth century The Ottoman Empire had formed, uniting vast areas under the banner of Islam.

“The Ottoman Empire...also known in the West as the Turkish Empire, existed from AD 1299 to AD 1922. At the height of its power, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the tri-continental Ottoman Empire controlled much of Southeastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, stretching from the Strait of Gibraltar...in the west to the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf in the east, from the edge of Austria and Slovakia in the hinterland beyond Ukraine in the north to Sudan and Yemen in the south. The empire was at the center of interactions between Eastern and Western worlds for six centuries.” (See Footnote 5.2)

Following the example of Muhammed himself, the Ottomans constructed the governing of their territories as an *administrative* rather than a *religious* challenge. While Islam emerged as the dominant religion of The Ottoman Empire there were great differences between one region and another concerning religious practice and what it really meant to be a Muslim. These differences were tolerated---some believe even encouraged---by the Ottoman leadership.

In World War I The Ottomans chose the side that eventually lost and forfeited their vast land holdings---which became thirty-nine different countries, many of which exist with their original boundaries today and with their widely varied traditional cultures, treated with respect by The Ottomans, still largely intact. This point is important today because, unlike Europe where particular countries' Muslim immigrants tended to come from relatively few origin countries--- usually with some pre-established colonial or other connection---the immigrant stream to America drew from original countries and cultures spread throughout the former Ottoman Empire and from other places. When this culturally heterogeneous Muslim group reached America many individuals found themselves interacting with other Muslims who were quite dissimilar to themselves.

Islam in America

In the international sphere Islam has a very large presence---about 1.2 billion individuals worldwide, a total roughly equal to the entire population of The People's Republic of China (See Footnote 5.3). In the United States recent estimates of Muslim population have stretched from a low of 1.1 million to a high of 7 million (See Appendix C) --- government information restrictions making a tighter definition difficult in the Muslim case. It is clear that American Muslims are a small percentage of the worldwide Muslim total, but with possibly an importance out of proportion to their small numbers in that they live in a country where they are free to experiment openly with cultural revisions if desired.

American Muslims come from diverse original ethnic backgrounds. Afridi (2001) offers this comment:

“Muslims in the United States reflect the diversity of the Islamic world and the diversity that is America. American Muslims represent a rich mosaic of ethnic, racial, linguistic, tribal and national identities that stretch from the Middle East to South Asia to Africa and beyond. The community (in America) includes immigrants with roots in more than 50 nations across the globe.” (p. 1)

The original Muslims on American soil were slaves from West Africa brought over mostly in the eighteenth century. They brought their religion---acquired during Ottoman Times---with them. However, as this cohort became more and more displaced their original culture, including religion, was largely abandoned. In the nineteenth century other Islamic immigrants began to seek citizenship in the United States. Haddad and Lummus (1987) provide a brief history of this early Islamic development in America:

“(These) immigrants...were young men from rural areas who were often illiterate and with little knowledge of English....Concerned with economic survival in a new land, they attempted to maintain a low profile and not draw attention to themselves or their religion. For the most part they had little Islamic consciousness or even knowledge of the fundamentals of the faith. Not having attended the mosque regularly at home they did not look to do so in the new land. ...Often little integrated into American society, they had to bring young women from overseas to be their wives.” (p. 156)

Looking at more recent times (twentieth century) Haddad and Lummus (ibid) continue:

“...different (later) waves of immigrants have brought to America different ideas and expectations of what it means to be Muslim. They came representing the consensus of what their fellow Muslims thought Islam should be at any given time. In the 1950s, nationalist Muslims emigrating to America brought a rational interpretation of Islam in which the particulars of Islamic observance such as regular prayer and attendance at the mosque are less important than living an ethically responsible life. At the same time, a few imams came holding up the ideals of specific Islamic practice with a stress on law and ritual.” (p. 156)

After the US immigration laws changed in the mid 1960s (See Chapter ONE) it became easier for Muslims to emigrate to America. During that period large numbers came from many diverse original countries. For example:

- Arabs from the Middle East brought a more orthodox version of Islam with them.
- Muslim Iranians fled political chaos in the Khomeini Era. While Muslim they came from a Persian culture.
- Turks came from a culture that was, from the beginning, secular by design.
- Muslims from South Asia embodied a number of traditions. Following independence from England in 1947 many brought a strong post-colonial viewpoint. But there were differences. Indian Muslims came from years of living successfully, in relative harmony, side by side with a seemingly exotic, polytheistic Hindu culture. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, on the other hand, emerged from a recent history of splitting from each other, each to pursue their own destiny.
- Many Palestinians and Lebanese came as wartime refugees.
- Muslims from West Africa came fleeing political upheaval and to pursue a better life.

After 9/11 the pendulum swung the other way and it became much more difficult for Muslims to emigrate to America. Nevertheless, as we have seen with Hispanics, the seeds of further growth in the American Muslim aggregate were already here. The birthrate among Muslim immigrants was significantly higher than in the American mainstream (Leonard, 2003, p. 4). Another source of growth in the overall American Muslim community came from (primarily) African-American converts to Islam. Today a substantial portion (sometimes estimated as high as 30 to 40%) of American Muslims comprise African-Americans who converted to Islam and their descendants (Leonard ibid, p. 4). Though not immigrants, nevertheless African-American converts contributed a unique sociological background and perspective to the overall American Muslim

community. Here is a brief thumbnail history of African-American Islam, taken from Cateura (2005):

“Islam returned as a significant aspect of African-American identity in the early period of the twentieth century. The movement was traced to the mysterious W. D. Fard, who appeared in Detroit. He trained Elijah Poole to be his disciple, bestowing the name Elijah Muhammad. For a period of almost fifty years, Elijah Muhammed led what was known as The Nation of Islam. Many immigrant Muslims have retrospectively objected to the association of the term Islam with this movement as they have perhaps correctly pointed out that The Nation of Islam had little in common with the global practices and teachings of Muslims....Indeed the racial (black supremacist) teachings of Elijah Muhammad...can best be seen as a mirror of the racist (in the other direction) Christian teachings of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. The active leadership of the movement passed to Malcolm X, who attempted to radically turn the movement in the direction of orthodox Muslim belief. Malcom X was assassinated and the transition was completed by Elijah Muhammad’s son Warith Dean Muhammad.” (p. 13)

Today most African-American Muslims follow the orthodox (majority) Sunni Islamic tradition.

American Muslims’ Fundamental Cultural Identity

Many Muslims have had to formulate a life in America that takes into account a strong religion originally developed in ancient times but with an ambiguous relevance today---argued variously as completely relevant by some, less relevant by others, necessarily more all-consuming by some, less by others. With this condition as background, additionally many Muslims now live in a country that is culturally far different from their original country, less understanding of the Islamic religion (in fact often misunderstanding it) and among other Muslims who are, in many cases, quite different

from themselves. What patterns of adjustment are sought out? Haddad and Lummis relate to the point as follows (1987, p. 166):

“...it is...important for Muslims in America to view Islam as an overarching identity, linked with and yet finally independent of ethnic and national associations, a common bond holding together those of different backgrounds and customs.”

Haddad and Lummis' above quoted view of *Ummah* (worldwide community of Muslim believers) membership being fundamental to American Muslim identity formation is by no means universal. An example of a dissenting view comes from Leonard, who in *Muslims in the United States* (2003) wrote as follows:

“...secular (American) Muslims do take pride in the high achievements of Islamic civilizations but do not identify themselves primarily through their religious heritage.” (p. 46)

While I respect Leonard's position I believe that it is at most applicable to a small proportion of Muslims. Data I will present later in this chapter plus interviews in Chapter SIX will tend to support what I believe is the majority view---that being part of the world-wide Ummah is an important and fundamental value for many Muslim immigrants.

The Sorbonne's Jocalyn Cesari provides helpful additional perspective (2004):

“The emergence of a ‘New Muslim’ minority, whose membership is rapidly growing, has been an unexpected consequence of Muslim settlement in the West. Its novelty resides in its *separation of religion from ethnicity* (italics mine). New Muslims have anchored their identity primarily within the transnational concept of *umma* (the timeless community of believers) rather than in national culture...

...Muslims within the West generally base their religious identities upon one of two foundations: either a secularized bond with Islam that relativizes its demands or a fundamentalist attitude that demands respect for Islamic tradition in its totality, minutiae included ” (p. 85)

Cesari’s concept raises the (ethnically diverse) Muslim Ummah in affiliative importance over the individual immigrant’s original ethnic identity (eg. Pakistani, Iraqi) and, by implication, possibly over American self-definition as well. Cesari also establishes a conceptual division between a more *conservative*, traditionally bounded Muslim immigrant group and a more open, less bounded *liberal* group. Those who choose the conservative path would be more closely tied to the historic, detailed day-to-day living imperatives of the Islamic religion. Those who choose the liberal path are free to build on their fundamental Muslim structure by appropriating any of the broad range of non-Muslim behaviours and ideas available in America as part of a pastiche formation, or indeed to borrow alternate definitions of Islam from Muslims with different, (eg. more liberal) origins and/or to mix in those parts of their original ethnic culture that they wish to maintain. This allows *multiple new forms of Muslim identity* to evolve and change on a constant basis.

Here are the words of Hassan, a liberal Pakistani Muslim living in America (2000):

“It is an exciting time to be an American Muslim. We stand at the threshold of redefining a centuries-old religion and carrying on Muslims’ legacy of achievement. American freedom of thought, and separation from cultural amplifications of religious practice, are allowing American Muslims to adopt a leaner, more accurate Islam. This Qur’anic Islam is very compatible with Western lifestyle, as the vestiges of non-Western culture are dropped.” (p. 176)

In my view, America is one of the few places where Hassan’s “leaner” Islam, more “compatible with Western lifestyle” could develop today---at least among liberal Muslims like herself. For this reason, America’s population of Muslims---relatively

small in numbers compared to the world-wide presence of Islamic believers---may have disproportionate importance.

Muslim Identity Through a Research Lens

The American Muslim immigrant segment has not experienced the relatively large amount of empirical identity or lifestyle research that we saw earlier in the Hispanic case. Recently however a study of Muslims that was in my view well designed and executed by a reputable research company became available. This study (Pew Research Center, 2007) featured phone interviews with 1,732 Muslim individuals, of whom 65% were immigrants and 20% were African-American converts. Male/female split for the entire sample was fairly even at 54%/46%. In many cases sub-sample data were available for examination based on immigrant vs. convert respondent status, age and gender---thus allowing for selected more detailed looks inside the Muslim community. In some cases results were compared to parametric results for the entire country (sampled Muslims were roughly comparable to US totals in most demographic respects but slightly lower in age, income and education---not surprising for a mostly immigrant grouping). For immigrants, reasons for emigrating were divided, about half being pursuit of educational or economic opportunity, one quarter family issues and one fifth to escape conflict or avoid persecution. I reviewed the study particularly from the viewpoint of whether it did or did not support the idea of a basic split between those who could fit Cesari's descriptions of Muslim *conservatives vs. liberals* and whether there were judgmentally important *sub-group trends*. In doing this I focused particularly on four questions from the study which I felt were more relevant to my thesis. Questions, responses and brief discussions are presented below.

Table 5.1: Cultural Maintenance

<u>Muslim immigrants should:</u>	<u>Total sample</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>
Adopt American customs	43%	47%
Remain distinct	26%	21%
Both	16%	18%
Neither	6%	5%

Data showed only about one-fifth to one-quarter of the total favoured remaining more or less completely distinct as Muslims---the lower figure for immigrants. Most of the remainder favoured at least some degree of openness to mainstream customs. Men's responses were about the same as those of women. However deviations occurred when controlled by age (39% of 18-29 year olds wishing to remain distinct trended down to only 17% for those 55+). Additionally, African-American converts also scored high on this dimension (39% wishing to remain distinct).

Table 5.2: Construction of *Qur'aan*

<u>Believe <i>Qur'aan</i> was:</u>	
Written by Allah	86%
Written by men	5%
Should take literally	50%
Open to interpretation	25%

Nine out of ten respondents indicated Islam was important to them and nearly all of these (the 86% above) accepted that *The Qur'aan* contained the words of God. However, fully half as many said that the words in *The Qur'aan* could be interpreted in light of modern context as said that it should be literally followed. This result seems to me to show at least some sub-group acceptance of introducing individually relevant factors when constructing meaning from *The Qur'aan*.

Table 5.3: Self-definition

Think of yourself as:

Muslim first	47%
American first	28%

The same two sub-trends appeared as we saw earlier with respect to cultural maintenance. First there was again an age skew that indicated more religious investment on the part of younger people (Muslim first: age 18-29: 60%; older categories: trending down from 43% to 39%). Additionally African-American converts scored 58% on Muslim first identity). These trends could possibly be interpreted as responses to discrimination---experienced more frequently by young people (age 18-29: 42%) and African-American converts (46%) compared to the overall Muslim sample (33%). To provide a *rough external benchmark*, Pew (ibid) quotes another study they administered (Pew 2007A) among US Christians finding that 42% thought of themselves as Christian first, 48% American first. To the degree the studies were comparable these results could possibly suggest that young Muslims and African-American Muslim converts feel more strongly about the primacy of Ummah membership than older, primarily immigrant Muslim groups whereas the latter more closely approach overall patterns in American Christian faith taken as a whole---in some cases possibly due to older and maybe less discriminated against Muslims having absorbed at least some mainstream values.

Table 5.4: Adherence to prayer requirement

Frequency of prayer:

Five times per day	41%
One to five times per day	20%
Less or never	39%

Praying five times per day is one of the most fundamental and important requirements of Islam. Prayers do not always have to be said in a mosque. Roughly four in ten report

following the requirement exactly. There appears to be a less observant middle group that complies but at a lower commitment level. Then there is a substantial percentage that fall well below the requirement. This could be suggestive of both a basic conservative vs. liberal split and a possible more blended group in the middle.

I believe these above reported results are directionally supportive of Ciseri's conservative vs. liberal dichotomy. This observation, and sub-group trends featuring some more extreme response by younger people and African-American converts, are further explored in interviews in Chapter SIX.

An earlier quantitative study (Zogby 2004) showed some results that were similar to Pew (2007) above and some that were different. I haven't presented the Zogby data because I believe the results to be flawed by sampling errors. Looking further back, a largely qualitative study of Muslims by Haddad and Lummus (1987), authors quoted on conceptual points earlier in this chapter, found in their interviews an array of "worldviews" which included the following three:

1. *Liberals*---These were the least religious, (often incorporating influences from outside Islam into their American lifestyle--- material in *parens mine*).
2. *Conservative but Westernized*---These adhered to the minimum Islamic requirements dealing with personal piety, dietary restrictions and prescribed practices.
3. *Evangelicals*---These emphasized scripture and emulating the life of The Prophet Muhammad. They (took) special care to fulfill *all* the minute prescriptions and proscriptions of Islam. They tended to be isolationist and centered in a small group of like minded Muslims." (p. 170)

These results again directionally support the presence of a group of American Muslim immigrants dedicated to following the imperatives of the religion exactly and other groups which take a less literal viewpoint, apparently blending a basic Muslim identity with customs appropriated from other domains of life in America.

Drivers of Muslim Cultural Hybridity

While American freedom and openness to individual choice have provided a *welcoming environment* for those Muslims and others who have opted to pursue an adjustment strategy of cultural hybridity there are also factors that advance the *need for at least consideration* of this kind of individually based blended strategy among those who have not yet decided how to form their life patterns in America. In this section I will, *for illustrative purposes*, discuss a few of these factors---particularly as they apply to Muslims. I believe that some similar factors could be found in other immigrant cultures, particularly those such as Indian Hinduism that feature concepts, practices and ideologies that are far from the American mainstream---equating to potential attraction of cultural hybridity to a wider range of immigrants.

Perceptions of Terrorism

I believe that fundamentalist terrorism, whether on American soil or elsewhere, affects the majority of peace-loving American Muslims in several ways, foregrounding for some the possible appropriation of behavior patterns likely to be seen by the mainstream as less Muslim and more mainstream (more liberal). Others wish to continue to be viewed as more committed to the moral compass built from basic Muslim values, specifically excepting terrorism. Some Muslims are concerned that negative stereotypes of them which exist among the mainstream make it harder for them to adopt aspirational American lifestyles. Some Muslims are concerned that extreme interpretations of Islamic requirements, used by some to justify terrorist acts, are contrary to the intent of those who shaped Islam in ancient days.

Historically, mainstream America has not known very much about Muslims or about The Islamic Religion. Particularly in the Post 9/11 era this vacuum has often been filled by a negative stereotype. As Cateura explains (2005):

“Much of the confusion and fear that Americans are experiencing may arise in part from the fact that many in this country know nothing about the vast majority of its American Muslim people, who do *not* comprise a like-minded mass of white-robed fundamentalists, as they do in some North African and Middle Eastern countries, but who are individuals in mostly Western dress, with diverse personal opinions, beliefs and accomplishments. They are our doctors, police, teachers, grocery and restaurant owners, bureaucrats, taxicab drivers, construction workers, small business owners, travel agents.” (p. 265)

A new Pew Research Center project (2006) reported polling over 3,000 *American mainstream* adults and finding that 58% responded that they knew “Not very much” or “Nothing” about Muslims. Asked to sum-up impressions of Muslims, respondents were twice as likely to select negative descriptors (eg. “fanatic, radical, terrorists”) as positive ones (eg. “devout, peaceful, dedicated”). 70% constructed the Muslim religion as being “very different” from their own.

Returning to the Pew (2007) poll of *Muslim* respondents discussed earlier in this Chapter, many (76%) also felt strong concern about Muslim fundamentalist extremism. Only 5% had a favourable view of al Qaeda. Both the mainstream American public and the Muslim minority tend strongly to reject terrorism. However, many in the mainstream American group seem often not to distinguish between the small number of Muslim individuals who are actually involved in planning or carrying out terrorist activities in America and the vast majority of American Muslims who simply want to pursue a peaceful life. As mentioned earlier about one third of Muslims reported having experienced some discrimination in America. Over half (53%) believe the environment for Muslims in America has gotten worse since 9/11.

I believe that this context of lack of understanding of their minority culture by mainstream America, suspicion and sometimes actual discrimination against them could lead to different types of Muslim responses. Some could move toward the mainstream by, for example, dressing and acting in such a way as to minimize the perception or characterization of them as Muslims---ie. to effect individual adjustment by appropriating elements of the mainstream culture. Others could purposely try to avoid contact with the mainstream. Some could move in the opposite direction, seeking solace through even closer association with conservative Islam. These adjustments are discussed in personal terms by interviewees in Chapter SIX.

As alarming for some Muslims as the prejudice and discrimination directed toward them by the mainstream is what they believe to be misuse of traditional Muslim concepts in the interests of advancing Islamic fundamentalism in the present day or, even worse, the complete disregarding of these concepts---of ancient origin and believed by many to be still valid. Muslims need to find a way to rationalize these conflicts, an individualized way of constructing reality that makes sense and allows them to go forward with their lives in America.

In the publication *What Does Islam Say About Terrorism?* Momin (2006) states:

“Islam considers all life forms as sacred. However the sanctity of human life is accorded a special place. The first and foremost right of a human being is the right to live.” He goes on to quote *The Qur’aan* 6:151 ‘...take not life, which God hath made sacred, except by way of justice and law...’

Even in a state of war, Islam enjoins that one deals with the enemy nobly on the battlefield. Islam has drawn a clear line of distinction between the combatants and the non-combatants of the enemy country. As far as the non-combatant population is concerned such as women, children, the old and the infirm etc. the instructions of the Prophet Muhammed (Peace Be Upon Him) are as follows: Do

not kill any old person, any child or any woman. Do not kill monks in monasteries. Do not kill the people who are sitting in places of worship.” (p. 3)

Indiscriminate mass bombings carried out in recent years, both in America and elsewhere, could seem to many Muslims inconsistent with these ideas.

Abdalati provides classic Muslim concepts as follows (op. cit.):

“...life is a dear and cherishable asset and no sensible or normal person would like to lose it by choice. Life is given to man by God, and He is the only Rightful One to take it back; no one else has the right to destroy a life. This is why Islam forbids all kinds of suicide and self-destruction...” (p. 28)

Yet suicide bombers claim hero status through what they believe is martyring themselves for a righteous cause---believing themselves to be on their way to Paradise.

Abdalati (ibid) presents this position:

“Everything we do in this world, every intention we have, every move we make, every thought we entertain, and every word we say are all counted and kept in accurate records. On the Day of Judgement they will be brought up. People with good records will be generously rewarded and warmly welcomed to the Heaven of God, and those with bad records will be punished and cast into Hell.” (p. 13)

I believe that conflicts like these are not clearly understood by the American public, who take public statements of extremists as representing the views of many, if not all, Muslims. Additionally, many in the Muslim community understand the lack of mainstream comprehension. Some Muslims could react by attempting to appear more in the American mainstream by, for example, living among mainstream Americans rather than with many other Muslims close by, borrowing behaviours they see around them in the mainstream and moving further toward a pastiche hybrid personality combination.

Dealing with Apparent Inconsistencies Within Islam

Even though Islam stresses the importance of living in accord with *Shari'a* law which encompasses many aspects of both religious and secular life, often Muslims find ambiguities and inconsistencies with which they must deal if they are to have a meaningful life in America, where Muslims of many different backgrounds and traditions have come together. An example of this kind of issue is the wearing of the *hijab* or head covering by Muslim women. The original requirement, as stated in *The Qur'aan* does not comprehend head covering at all. Here is the passage (33:53):

“...and when you ask (the Prophet's ladies) for anything you want, ask them from before a screen: that makes for greater purity for your hearts and for theirs.”

The transmogrification of this statement into a requirement for women to wear a head covering was an interpretive decision by an Islamic judge or scholar later in a particular time and place. There are Muslim countries today where the wearing of the hijab has become a legal imperative (eg. most Arab countries). On the other hand, there are some countries where it is optional. In Turkey it is illegal to wear the hijab. Consequently there could be a legitimate ambiguity as to what is the right course of action regarding wearing the hijab in America---with options open involving appropriation of alternate interpretations that might not have been present in the original country.

Some ambiguities come from *The Qur'aan*, for example relationships with Christians. All three of the major monotheistic religions surviving to this day are believed by Muslims to be descended from a common source: Abraham. This common origin is, according to Muslim tradition, to be taken seriously. And practitioners of any one of these religions are to be treated as “brothers” and “sisters” in the sense of worshipping the one God in their own way.

The Qur'aan, 3:84 states: "...We believe in Allah, and in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Isma'il, Isaac, Jacob, and the Tribes, and in (the Books) given to Moses, Jesus and the Prophets from their Lord: we make no distinction between one and another of them..." (see Footnote 5.2)

On the other hand, in the following passage from *The Qur'aan* (as well as others) it is established that all Sins can be forgiven by Allah except acceptance of God(s) other than Him.

4:48: "Allah does not forgive that partners should be set up with Him; but he forgives anything else, to whom He pleases; to set up partners with Allah is to devise a sin most heinous indeed".

The Christian construction of Jesus as The Son of God thus sets up a dialogic conflict between Muslims and Christians which echoes in Islamic fundamentalist rhetoric even today. The basis for the conflict is that Muslims reject The Holy Trinity. Therefore they can look at Christians as violators of 4:48, cited above, and other similar passages they consider mandated to them directly from Allah. Muslim rejection of The Holy Trinity can add to the distrust of Muslims among Christians. The resolution of religious issues like this could lead to a compromise or blended solution as many Muslims might find some aspects of Christian culture attractive.

Imported Issues

Sometimes Muslim immigrants bring with them issues that were current and unresolved in their home countries. Such issues may not even be relevant in America.

Alternatively, the immigrant individual may choose the solution that seems best to him in America and blend it into his overall personality mix. An example comes from present day Saudi Arabia. Conflicts between the Saudi version of Shari'a and international culture impinging from outside are discussed in House's *Wall Street Journal* article (7 April 2007) entitled [For Saudi Women, A Whiff of Change:](#)

“The tug of war between tradition and modernity plays out in virtually every aspect of Saudi society, but nowhere more so than in the lives of its women. Unmarried men and women are forbidden to speak alone unless they are related. Yet the internet now makes it possible for them to exchange phone numbers---and then phone calls. Couples who dine out are segregated behind portable partitions to keep them from being seen by single men. Yet the sexes mix at the new Al Faisaliah shopping mall food court as they select from Dunkin’ Donuts and McDonalds. Women are supposed to wear a long garment called an abaya when strangers are present, yet increasing numbers don it only outdoors and dress in Western clothes at the office....The Saudi monarchy faces these and other social forces...that it constantly strives to balance to maintain its monopoly on political power.” (p. A4)

Saudi women who come to America can usually choose between wishing to maintain behaviours from their home culture or to appropriate adjustments from other Muslim cultures or perhaps to adopt a more American outlook. In America it tends to be an individual decision.

No Institutional Mechanism for Resolution

Dealing with the kinds of issues described above, where there are legitimate opposing positions possible, could be more impactful in America than in many Muslims’ countries of origin, where there is a strong prevailing Muslim societal tradition favoring one viewpoint or another. In America the mainstream society usually does not stipulate “the answer” for Muslims and the lack of a central religious or administrative authority could become a more serious issue. Gelineer discusses the conceptual rationale for the lack of Islamic infra-structure as follows (1981)

“Islam is the blueprint of a social order. It holds that a set of rules exists, eternal, divinely ordained, and independent of the will of men, which defines the proper

ordering of society. This model is available in writing. It is equally and symmetrically available to all literate men, and to all those willing to heed literate men. These rules are to be implemented throughout social life.

Thus there is in principle no call or justification for an internal separation of society into two parts, of which one would be closer to the deity than the other. Such a segregation would contradict both the symmetry or equality of access and the requirement of pervasive implementation of the rules. The rules of the faith are there for all, and not just or specially for a subclass of religious specialists---virtuosos. In principle, the Muslim, if endowed with pious learning, is self-sufficient or at any rate not dependent on other men, or consecrated specialists...*Thus, officially, Islam has no clergy and no church organization, (italics mine)...*" (p. 1)

Some Muslim countries have panels of Islamic scholars to render interpretations of issues made ambiguous by the *technical* progress of their societies. Some have specially constituted religious courts, which operate independently of the civil court systems. America does not have these institutions. Accordingly, appropriateness of courses of action to be chosen in situations of ambiguity is often a matter of individual preference for American Muslim immigrants---an individual choice that is consistent with individually determined hybrid culturality.

The American Laboratory for Muslim Cultural Experimentation

Approaches to governing constituent regions which began with Muhammed, featuring the allowance of *local culture, tradition and piety* to continue to prevail within an overall framework of Islam, were maintained through the great Ottoman Empire which ended with the close of World War I. At that point there were many countries and societies which followed Islam as a basic foundation but had built on that foundation in different ways. Some, such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and heavily Arab countries, had become closed, bounded societies where close adherence to Islamic imperatives was expected,

and where in many cases the society formed its daily rhythms around the requirements of Islam to provide support. Others, such as Turkey and the Muslim countries of North Africa headed in a more secular direction, but again in a way that respected a national ethnicity. Not all people in any particular country reacted to their particular context in the same way. Some were more devout than others, depending more on the specific socialization practices in particular families than on the rules of their particular society--- which had to be followed but not necessarily strongly believed in. Some individuals were more curious than others about what life was like in other places. The stream of Muslim immigrants to America contained a substantial *diversity of backgrounds*. When this complex, multi-faceted, heterogenous stream of people got to America many found that they were in a place very different from where they came from---a place where individuals could develop not necessarily along lines set down for them by their government or their society but in ways in which they as individuals found comfort. While some felt the right way for them was to continue closely following Islam, or to closely follow the lifeways of their ethnic country background many felt that a *blended* result was right for them. These embarked on what could be described as a great experiment in open individual development for Muslims, an experiment in hybrid culturality.

Outside of America such experiments have been rare in the Muslim world. In view of terrorist attacks by radical Islamic fundamentalists that we read about with unfortunately increasing frequency (along with almost universal condemnation of these attacks) it may be fair to ask whether Islam can afford not to see the American experiment as an attractive cultural alternative. Certainly American Muslims represent only a small proportion of the worldwide total of the followers of Islam. But can the results from this numerically tiny laboratory spread to other parts of the wider Muslim world? Will those of other countries that have a commitment to Islam and possibly also a strong sense of national identity come to America to live in a society where other themes can be blended in and adopt a similar hybrid culturality? These are important questions for the future.

Interviews in the next Chapter will look at the Muslim experiment in America from several different viewpoints. The first group of five discussions will be with adults who are in one way or another experts in American Islam. These will provide their opinions about particular major issues, in an attempt to texture the material in this now ending Chapter in a more personal way. The second batch of Chapter SIX interviews are all with college students, of different backgrounds. These young people are in a more formative period of their lives and give us some insight into the experience of being Muslim in America.

Footnotes:

Footnote 5.1

This section was compiled from three sources. These covered basically the same material but from different perspectives. The first source, Kronemer and Wolfe (2002), was a documentary program developed for viewing on US Public Television. The second source was Wormser (1994), pp. 16-19. The third was a presentation by Mr. Moustafa Zayyed, an Islamic scholar and expert on the life of Muhammad. Mr. Zayyed was also interviewed for this dissertation (see notes containing his comments in Chapter SIX).

Footnote 5.2:

See---

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire, p. 4
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad>, p. 1

Footnote 5.3:

See---

- <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0872964.htm>
- http://www.factbook.net/muslim_pop.php

Chapter SIX: Muslims Speak About Islam in America

In order to supplement and texturize the preceding material about Islam I undertook ten interviews with Muslims, segmented into two batches. The first batch of five were intended to provide an informed level of opinion about certain specific topics of interest, most initially brought up in Chapter FIVE and all having to do with the development of Muslim society in America. I sought out expert individuals of different ethnicities and country of origin backgrounds to add further perspective. The first interview was with an Egyptian writer, the second with a Palestinian college professor, the third with a Lebanese Imam (religious leader in a mosque), the fourth with a Canadian college professor who had converted to Islam from a Protestant faith and finally a British convert from Catholicism who had lived in Saudi Arabia with her husband and had come to live in America to teach art and help run a Muslim parochial school. The second batch of five interviews were all with college students, all in the formative period of their individual identities as Muslims in America. The first two were foreign students who intended to remain in America after graduation---one a Pakistani and one from Saudi Arabia. The third was a Bangladeshi who had come to America with her parents early in life. Next was a second generation woman of Indian heritage. The final interviewee was a second generation Pakistani who was President of his Muslim Student Association. The full names of the students were not revealed.

As with other interviews, protocols can be found in Appendix A. The first batch of interviews was more conversational and tailored to areas of individual expertise (pursuing issues that seemed germane to the interviewee, and forming some questions in the interview, depending on the direction taken by the interviewee). The second batch was more formalized with standard questions. Interviews were conducted in person, by phone and by internet exchange. At times I added clarifying questions or changed the wording of questions slightly in the interests of helping the interviewee to understand the question. In the interview write-ups I will provide at the beginning of each a brief introduction with additional detail about the interviewee and related material. Following the ten interviews I will provide a summary interpretation of what this diverse group told

us about development of hybrid culturality among Muslims in America and with particular reference to the theory and research presented in Chapter FIVE. In the final section of this chapter I will relate the Muslim experience with hybrid culture to its possible relevance for other immigrant groups, in preparation for a later dissertation Chapter contemplating *post culture* in American and possibly other societies.

Mustaffa Zayyed---Viewpoints of a Muslim Writer

Mr. Zayyed, a man about forty years old, is a well known Islamic scholar, author and lecturer about Islamic topics. He emigrated to America from his native Egypt twenty years ago. The discussion encompassed distinctions between life in a conservative Muslim country vs. in America, the distinctive viewpoints of Muslim youth and the differences in outlook between Muslim converts and Muslim immigrants.

Marvin:

Do you think that when Muslims come to America from other countries that their relationship with the religion, or even more broadly with the Muslim way of life, changes---beliefs, practices or in any other way?

Mr. Zayyed:

In my opinion America is, for many, Heaven and Hell at the same time. If you are a righteous person you can go on behaving in this way, grow more righteous and no one will be bothered by this. On the other hand, if you are by nature a Sinner, then there are a lot of ways open to you here. I think America has the effect of moving people toward more intense participation one way or the other. Some become more conservative. Others feel the freedom that is offered here to everyone. Each can become the kind of Muslim he or she wants to be. Especially now. When I first came here 20 years ago it was difficult to find even a mosque for the Friday prayers. Sometimes we used to pray in churches, or offices, homes and so forth. Now the increase in Muslim population in America is so tremendous that there are mosques all over the place. You can see the

polarization and personal attraction for each person towards being the kind of person he really is.

To clarify, certainly America spreads people out (so they don't have to stay in a narrow niche defined for them) but the point is that America allows you to be and become who you really are. When you are in a closed Muslim community you have no choice but to be in the mainstream. You have to be politically correct. If you are not, then that would limit your opportunities as long as you stay in that system. This affects the kinds of jobs that are open to you and so forth. But when you come here you are free to be who you are. The people I know who are good people, they get even better. And those that are inclined to go in the other direction they are drawn towards that direction too.

Marvin:

I've heard that there is, among young Muslims, a kind of re-birth of dedication to Islam. In many immigrant societies there is a move in the second and subsequent generations away from the hard-core ethnicities that their parents embodied. Here the children in many cases seem even more devout---maybe a search for Muslim identity that their parents don't feel quite so strongly. Do you have any feeling for that?

Mr. Zayyed:

Yes, like any teenagers, Muslims are searching for their identity. So many become conservative with respect to Islam, more than their parents. I wouldn't say this is an overwhelming phenomenon but it is visible, it's out there. On the other hand, you have Muslim kids that were born here. They go to American public schools and become as American as anyone else---often meaning that they might not follow the roots that their parents come from. I have often lectured at churches and have a lot of good Christian friends. I've noticed that the Christian churches are not full of kids. Mostly adults and older people. We don't have that problem in Islam. Maybe our kids are not completely conservative but there is some measure of relationship to their religion.

Marvin:

Is there a relationship between the country particular Muslims come from and how devout they start out being? Maybe related to being politically correct and being used to operating within a strict government structure?

Mr. Zayyed:

There are some countries that are well known for being very conservative, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and The Gulf Area. That doesn't mean that someone from, let's say, Tunisia is not a good Muslim. It is just that in countries like Tunisia there are laws whose intent is to more or less banish religion from public life. So people from countries like this are conditioned not to be as open to mainstream Islamic conservatism as those from places like Saudi Arabia. Your behaviour as a Muslim is really more a function of the house you were raised in.

Marvin:

You yourself came from Egypt? (Yes, that's right.) Speaking of your own experience did you feel when you initially came here that you were in a kind of cultural diaspora---that you felt a compulsion to reach out to other people who were from the same place?

Mr. Zayyed:

Actually, to the contrary. America is liked in the Middle East. American products, American technology and innovation. So popular that you cannot imagine (it remains so today, as much as when I came here 20 years ago). The political shenanigans and the military situation like in Iraq might lead Americans to believe otherwise---(but in fact) the American government politics are vastly different than the American way of life, which is looked up to. In my case I was an engineer and I wanted to continue my education here. When I got here there were some things that were different. From movies and media that we saw in Egypt I had the impression that everything was like California's lush suburbs or maybe Connecticut. That it was nice and clean and all that. In that sense, New York was a shock. In Cairo we have streets cleaner than this. So I moved to a different state. I lived in America for awhile. There were things that didn't

make sense to me at the beginning but I went on and eventually understood how they came about.

Marvin:

I have the impression that there is a big segment of American Muslim society that is made up of African Americans who have converted (and their descendants)---that many made a journey starting first with The Nation of Islam (which, of course, is well away from Orthodox Islam) but have gradually moved over to be orthodox Sunnis. How much of an issue is this---the mixing of the immigrant Muslims with African American converts who, after all, have come from what is probably a very different cultural tradition?

Mr. Zayyed:

The (African American converts) do not differ so much in the way they practice Islam but rather in terms of the mosques they go to. There are West Africans, for example some from Mali, Gambia, Nigeria etc. that come here and practice more or less orthodox Islam. There are others who got into Islam as part of the expansion that happened in the '60s---a part of the civil rights movement. Then leaders like Malcom X found that what was going on was not like real Islam. So they started moving toward the mainstream. Some of them come here to this mosque (suburban New Jersey). Or they stay where they were and practice the way they want and don't get involved in the politics of Islam (that they see around them). I think more and more of those who converted in the '60s are moving toward the mainstream. And certainly our door is always open.

As with other religions---Christianity, Judaism and others---some religious leaders look at it as a source of power. It happens all the time. But the great thing about Islam is that, being the last religion, you can deviate as much as you want but the unaltered truth of Qur'aan and The Prophet's quotations (Peace Be Upon Him) is out there.

Professor Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad---Discussion with a Prominent Educator

Dr. Ahmad is a man in his late 50s. He teaches Muslim topics at both Georgetown University and The University of Maryland. Dr. Ahmad is a member of the Executive Committee of The Association of Muslim Social Scientists. However, Dr. Ahmad has stated specifically that his opinions are not given in that capacity. Rather they are his own convictions and do represent the official positions of The Minaret of Freedom Institute of which he is President. The interview covered reactions of Muslims to American stereotyping of them, the effect of emigration to America on Muslim religious beliefs and/or practices, differences in outlook between Muslim converts and Muslim immigrants, viewpoints of Muslim youth growing up in America, viewpoints of Muslim women on life in America and finally research issues in Muslim ethnography.

Marvin:

I believe there is a gap between Islam as it is practiced by the vast majority of Muslims here in The United States and the perception of Islam and Muslim individuals on the part of the American public---basically reacting to hysterical stereotypes from the media which correspond in fact to the activities of a very small number of people. Could you comment on this?

Dr. Ahmad:

Based on polls I've seen, I believe there are three groups (in the American public). The first, which unfortunately is large but I think falls far short of a majority would believe as you have outlined. Then there is a second group who don't know much about Muslims and know that they don't know anything about Muslims. This would be about 35% to 45% depending on what is going on at the moment. The rest, a much smaller group, have an understanding of Muslims that is more accurate and in perspective.

Marvin:

Do you believe that when Muslims come here from their original countries of origin that their beliefs and practices change or not?

Dr. Ahmad:

You have to start by recognizing the huge diversity of Muslims when they come here. I don't mean just diversity of national origin, although that is an important element. At the individual level there is a big range not only in piety but in the understanding of what it means to be a Muslim, among Muslims, differences about the teachings of the religion.

My experience with the immigrant community, first-off, is that a very significant fraction of the immigrant community is not very observant and does not necessarily have any claim to having a deep understanding of the teachings of Islam. They have a basic understanding of the teachings of Islam, just like in America Christians have a basic understanding of the teachings of Christianity. The immigrant Muslims' understanding of the Qur'aan or of the teachings of The Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) are not necessarily any greater than Christians in America have of their religion.

Of those who do consider themselves as pious, that piety takes the form of prayer, giving to the poor, not backbiting against other people, not indulging in adulterous behaviour etc. Of those who have unusually stringent interpretations of Islam, those interpretations really have to do with the regulation of their own lives and those of their families---rarely moving into political issues or the things that you see in the mass media. Then there are areas where Muslims have opinions that may or may not be attributed to their religion in terms of reaction to current events. But even there you have a degree of diversity.

Marvin:

These differences that you are referring to now, do you think they are completely individually based or do they reflect differences inherent in the ethnicities that the people come from?

Dr. Ahmad:

The greatest differences are among individuals, regardless of ethnic background. A lot of them, however, are culturally based, of which ethnicity could be a contributing factor. For example, if you consider the Pakistani community vs. the Bangladeshis, while the

attitudes are individually determined you will find that the distributions, while they overlap, are very distinctive. And that the average Pakistani Muslim is more conservative, more pietistic in religion and political views than you would find with the average Bangladeshi American.

Marvin:

I have only a superficial understanding of the part of the Muslim religion that comprises African Americans that converted first to The Nation of Islam and then over to more orthodox Sunni Islam. Do you find any differences in the practice of Islam as between those African Americans who have converted and those Muslims that have come as immigrants?

Dr. Ahmad:

There is a big difference. The cultural element winds up being more important in the long run (in the convert case). Having gone through this self-critical process they have a better understanding of The Qur'aan and are much better informed about the range of scholarly teachings than you tend to find among immigrant Muslims. The immigrants tend to see whatever culture they were raised in as Islam (with a capital I).

Marvin:

Have you ever seen any reliable figures on what percentage of the American Muslim community comprises African American converts?

Dr. Ahmad:

This is a hotly debated issue as there was no census ever done. However the studies I have seen with whose methodologies I have been most impressed give figures of around 40 percent. This would include both the African-American converts and their offspring.

Marvin:

Does that include those immigrants who came from West Africa and were Muslim to begin with?

Dr. Ahmad:

No, those are counted as immigrants, not converts. Also, the term Afro-Americans is reserved for those who came here during the slave era. In fact the term is problematical because of the (Caucasian) immigrants who have come here from North Africa (eg. Algeria, Tunisia) and are now American.

Marvin:

I've seen all kinds of estimates as to what the total number of Muslims is in The United States. The Immigration Service can't ask religion and so you don't have that kind of base, like when you are investigating how many people in America are from Kazakhstan and so forth. Do you have any estimates yourself as to how many Muslims there are in The United States?

Dr. Ahmad:

A few years ago I convinced myself that the number was around 6 million. Whatever the real number was, certainly since then it has increased significantly---8 million as an educated guess.

Marvin:

Regarding research procedures, many studies I've seen tend to draw their respondent samples from Muslims who go to mosques. That would include the Zogby study that is frequently quoted. Yet I've seen estimates of those who pray outside of the mosque or don't go there at all for whatever reason as high as 90% of the total Muslim population. If that is anywhere near correct, it would mean that a very high proportion of American Muslim ethnographic group study would be coming from a very small proportion of the society.

Dr. Ahmad:

I would agree, but it is not as bad as you might think. For example, Zogby does different kinds of studies. In his studies of Muslims that is true. But in his other studies he will

frequently ask for the religion. As these latter are not based on mosque attendance he must have some idea of what the degree of bias might be. Certainly those who go to the mosque are more pious. But also they are less afraid to be perceived as Muslims. So it is not just a question of how pious someone is, but there is a segmentation between those who are more open about their practice and those who are covert. Also there is an issue as to those who go out and those who do not. The more traditionally minded Muslim women might not go to the mosque even though they themselves are very religious. Then there is another group who may be just as pious but simply cannot go to the mosque because of their circumstances. They can't get the time off from work, etc. Muslim Holidays are not generally recognized in this society. While some can try to get the time off, there are many, particularly newer immigrants, who don't know that they could possibly get the time off if they asked for it, or are afraid to ask for it.

Marvin:

In the Wahabbi tradition (a conservative sect, characteristic of Saudi Arabia and similar countries---material in parens mine) women are supposed to stay in the house aren't they? Not supposed to go to the mosque at all?

Dr. Ahmad:

The Wahabbi teachings do not prohibit women from attending the mosque, but many of the followers seem to think it is disliked for them to do so. It definitely is a cultural thing.

(following discussion of Hispanics compared to Muslims)

Dr. Ahmad:

To the degree that there is a similarity between Hispanics and Muslims it might be in the passing of a basic identity on to the children. The Muslims, of course, have first and foremost a religious identity. When I was growing up Muslim young people often disregarded religion whereas today that seems less true.

Marvin:

It's almost the reverse situation today is it not? The younger (Muslim) generation is, if anything, more pious than the previous one?

Dr. Ahmad:

That's correct. (Many) build their identity as being Americans of the Muslim faith. This is helped by the tradition of respect for religion in America...In America (at least before 9/11) the fact that they might be pious Muslims was respected.

Imam Hamam Ahmad Chebli---A Muslim Holy Man Speaks Out

Imam Chebli is also a man also in his late 50s. He is the religious leader of a liberal mosque in an American middle class neighborhood. The discussion covered the effect of emigration to America on Muslim religious beliefs, the importance to Muslim immigrants of closely following the Shari'a life practice rules and the role of an Imam in America.

Marvin:

Could you tell me about your early experiences before coming to America and after you got here?

Imam Chebli:

I was born in Lebanon in 1948 and educated there. I visited Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Turkey before coming to America. I left Lebanon for America in 1982. I prepared for going to America by studying books and films about the US. As further preparation I moved for a few years to Beirut, to a place near The American University there so I could meet and talk with American visitors whenever possible. Still I was not completely familiar with the American culture until I got here. Originally I went to work in Louisiana, also visiting Texas, Alabama and other Southern states. In 1986 I visited the Islamic Society of Central Jersey. They approved of the approach I intended to take ---that is reaching out to churches, synagogues and other religious organizations in the area. I joined them and have been here since.

Marvin:

Based on the reading I've done I get the impression that many Muslim immigrants are struck by the differences between the way the religion is practiced in their home country and here---that in their home countries Islam was more than a religion. There were specific ways you had to act and do things. Here, those requirements are still present but there are additional activities that get in the way. Do you think that when Muslims come here that their beliefs and practices change, or is that just an impression that non-Muslims have? And in what direction do they change? Do they become more religious? Less religious? What is the nature of the change?

Imam Chebli:

If you look at Muslims that are here as students, tourists etc. you can see a lot of differences. We don't have any Islamic state anywhere in the world today where the religion is practiced exactly the way it was revealed to The Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Islamic constitutions are there certainly. But what has happened is that, for example, the Tourist Minister allowed the sale of liquor all over the country, everywhere. The country is a Muslim country but there are streets where you can have public fornication. Beirut was like this in the 50's and 60's. My point is that we don't have any Islamic country today saying "This is The Qur'aan. Let us implement it as it is." So no one can come here and practice the Muslim religion just as it was written in The Qur'aan.

We don't come here and try to get everyone to be Muslim. That is not the message. We deal with other people, Jews, Christians. We meet them, we share food with them. Sometimes we get married with them. What kind of person would say there is nothing to be gained from any relationship with them? What kind of world are they trying to build if they come here and say "This is the way I want to practice my religion. I don't want anybody else." If they haven't studied about America before they come here then they have to educate themselves...If you close the door we must open a window. It means that we must be open-minded, and open our hearts.

Going back to your question, if someone comes here and wants to practice his religion exactly as The Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) said I think it would be very difficult. Some people here don't have much religion. They don't come to the mosque. Maybe they pray at home. Maybe they drink alcohol. They're still Muslim. Maybe they eat pork. They're still Muslim. Maybe they allow their girls to go without scarf. They're still Muslim. Some Muslims come here and reject the entire way of life of the others...They will be judged based on what they actually do.

I'll give you 2 cases. Before 9/11 we had people who walked in this society and we had a dialogue with them. In the other case there were mosques where the Muslims said don't let a non-Muslim enter the mosque. They created suspicion around their behaviour. This second kind of people they paid a price after September 11th.

Professor Katherine Bullock---A Muslim Woman Intellectual

Dr. Bullock is a woman in her late 30s. A noted authority on women's issues in the Muslim context, she is also Vice President of The Association of Muslim Social Scientists. The discussion covered the nature of Muslim identity formation, the viewpoints of Muslim women on life in America, relationships with men and clothing imperatives

Marvin:

It strikes me that the Muslim religion seems different from many other religions in that one's fundamental identity as a Muslim seems to transcend any external ethnicity. So one question might be whether it is appropriate to think of Islam as an ethnicity? Is it in a separate category do you think?

Dr. Bullock:

I think that it is in its own category. It's really complex and it depends on what type of person you are referring to. There are some people who would put their Muslim identities first, but there are others who would not do that. You could not really generalize about identity in that way.

Marvin:

I'm aware that the Muslims who came here early were not particularly devout. Then I believe there was a period when Muslim immigration included many Imams who were brought over from the Middle East and brought with them a distinctly conservative viewpoint. Is that accurate?

Dr. Bullock:

Yes, but I wouldn't start with Imams. Rather it was the individual Muslims who arrived during that period who brought with them a renewed sense of religious identity---a sense that one's Muslim identity ought to transcend all other identities, that there is a global connection between all Muslims and all other Muslims as brothers and sisters. If a black man from Somalia wanted to marry a white girl from Bosnia that would be allowed because they are both Muslim.

Marvin:

Then the other ones---those who did not think of themselves as members of the worldwide Ummah (community of Muslims)---would not have this kind of identity?

Dr. Bullock:

The identity would pertain to all levels of religious Muslims---conservatives, moderates and liberals. But then there are others who are just regular people, who have strong ethnic identities and for whom Islam would not transcend their ethnic identities.

Marvin:

(Moving over now to family, gender and women's issues) It seems to me that there are many areas of Muslim practices and beliefs that have more of an impact on women than on men. The clothing issue, for example---wearing or not wearing certain types of clothing---it seems to me that the end result speaks to being more visibly a Muslim. It looks to me that, on balance, Muslim women are potentially more affected by this than Muslim men. Men can "get away with" clothing that is not visibly different. Does that really make a difference or not?

Dr. Bullock:

Yes it does make a difference. Women who, for example, want to cover their hair: it might affect their career prospects or interfere with their interactions with the world around them---you could have acts of discrimination by the bus driver, the librarian, the teachers at the children's school---these kinds of situations affect both working and non-working women.

There are, of course, men who choose to dress in such a way as to signal that they are Muslim. For example, they could have a little cap on their head or wear more Muslim type clothing. This could have an impact on their employment as well. But they can choose their clothing in a way that a Muslim woman cannot.

Marvin:

There do not seem to be any references in either The Qur'aan or The Hadith to inherent differences between men and women. Of course there are rules about inheritance and who has what financial responsibilities and that sort of thing. But I believe it is true that The Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) said specifically that women should not be treated as any kind of inferior being, as not on the same level as men.

Yet there are some (Muslim) countries where you have a type of "male chauvinism"---where the men feel that they are, in fact, on a higher level than women. Is that really due

to the ethnic characteristics of those particular countries or is there some religious basis for it that I am not seeing?

Dr. Bullock:

That's a complicated question. It is not really a question that is answered directly by the religion. But rather it is a matter of the interpretations of religious scholars that have been put forward over the centuries in conjunction with customary (local) paternalistic or patriarchal attitudes towards women. So I think it is both interpretation and some cultural factors. I don't believe it comes from the text. For example, there would be some who would interpret a text in a kind of superior way. Then there would be others who would have a different interpretation. Overall I don't think it would be so much a matter of whether a man or woman is superior but rather it would focus on how they should interact together.

Tanveer Amad---A Fine Artist and Middle Class Mother

Mrs. Amad is a Muslim convert in her late 40's. She is the wife of one of the founders of the local mosque. A converted Catholic from the industrial North of England she met her husband in college, where he taught her about Islam and she made the decision to convert. She is a talented artist and art teacher. We had the interview in her home, which was filled with her artwork---mainly beautifully executed calligraphic phrases from *The Qur'aan*, geometric patterns and abstracts. There was no representational art anywhere in the house. She is respected at the Mosque, where she plays a role in assisting the Imam with operation of the Muslim parochial school on the premises. We discussed her conversion, Islamic education, Islamic art and reactions of Muslim immigrants to life in America.

Marvin:

Why did you convert to Islam?

Mrs. Amad:

I was brought up Catholic. As I got older, through my teenage years, I began to feel that it was somehow not a complete religion, that there was something missing. I would go to church with my family on Sundays but then, after mass, I just put it out of my mind until the following Sunday. When I got to college my future husband Abad, who I was then just dating, told me about his religion, Islam. It seemed to me a path to religion that offered a more complete experience. So I decided to convert.

Marvin:

I have seen research that could possibly indicate that marriages where at least one party was a convert to Islam could have a more difficult time with adjustment than where both parties were Muslim. Were you strongly affected by the difference in backgrounds?

Mrs. Amad:

No, that didn't happen in our case. I was not forced to convert but did so on my own initiative. Maybe that is the difference. Anyway, I'm not familiar with the trend from observation of Muslim couples I know.

Marvin:

Could you tell me a little about the Islamic school at the mosque?

Mrs. Amad:

We have 425 students enrolled, covering all grades from elementary school up through high school. The school teaches the same subjects as the regular public schools but in addition teaches the Arabic language, Qur'aanic studies and courses on how to behave properly as a Muslim. Some students, usually boys, who are particularly religious can sign up for a special track, where they learn The Qur'aan by heart. Completion of this track is considered an honour and the family must sign an agreement at the beginning that the child will continue through to completion. So it becomes like a long term required extra-curricular activity. Some of our parents send their children to our school because they want them to get a good Muslim education. But others choose this path

because they are concerned about drugs and inappropriate behaviour in the public schools.

Marvin:

Are there special rules in Islam regarding art?

Mrs. Amad:

Yes, it is forbidden to show images of people or animals. That is why you are not likely to see portrait paintings in a Muslim home. The recent problems in Europe having to do with inappropriate illustration of The prophet Muhammed were made worse by the prohibition I am referring to, even though the intended audience was assumedly non-Muslim.

Marvin:

Could you tell me a bit about your adjustment to American life?

Mrs. Amad:

Initially what impressed me was the degree of freedom in America to pursue legitimate objectives without undue restriction. But there is another side, which doesn't affect me but does affect many Muslims. These feel that there is a problem in the lack of more severe moral constraints in America compared with where they come from. They feel like they are floating without direction here and that it makes them uncomfortable thinking of raising children in such a place.

Muslim College Students Speak About America

The next five interviews are all with Muslim college students between the ages of 19 and 22 and from diverse ethnicities. The first two (Ali and Muhammed) are immigrant students who came here specifically to study at an American university, with intent to remain in America after graduation. The third (Sanjida) came to America with her parents as a child, was raised here and intends to remain in America. The fourth and fifth

(Sahanna and Omar) are second generation Muslims, having been born and brought up in this country. All were asked the same questions (See Appendix A). Some answered questions directly, others did not. Some added points that were not asked for. In presenting the material below I have sometimes edited the questions slightly for easier comprehension of answers, which were not edited except for correction of grammar and other minor errors. The overall intent was to gain insight into identity formation among younger Muslims, still in their formative years.

Ali Speaks About Adjustment to America

Ali is a Pakistani Muslim student, 19 years old and a sophomore at an American university. He had never visited America prior to coming here to study and discusses his impressions of the differences between life in Pakistan and America. Ali intends to remain in America to pursue opportunities here after graduation.

Marvin:

Were you brought up in a family that was devout with respect to Islam?

Ali:

We were active in going to the mosque and went often during the week and usually for Friday prayers. Sometimes, except Friday, we prayed at home or wherever we were. It was natural to stop what you are doing and pray in Pakistan because everything stopped for that period. When I was in high school the school would stop so the students and teachers could pray. The prayers were really expected, really a part of our lives. But I have discussed it with my parents. In a way the prayers were also so that we would not lose our traditional cultural/religious ties.

Marvin:

After you got here did you feel that you were in a cultural diaspora---that you needed to find a way to establish new bonds here that would replace or supplement your traditional ties to your native homeland and culture?

Ali:

After I got here I definitely felt I was (still am) in a cultural diaspora. I felt like I needed to reach out to others who were from the same ethnicity as me. Part of doing so was because I saw that people would always ask me where I was from and I would feel comfortable if someone spoke my mother tongue.

Marvin:

What did you do to try to establish some kinds of ties to your culture?

Ali:

The Muslim Students Association has been very helpful. They have students from Pakistan and also other Muslim countries and American Muslims. They have made me feel a little more comfortable. Maybe when I've been here longer I will feel like I can have non-Muslim friends, but not right now.

Marvin:

If someone were to ask you how you define yourself as a person now, how would you rank the importance of the following possibilities: Your traditional ethnicity; Your status as a member of the Ummah; Being a student at your particular college; Being in pursuit of education in a particular specialty or profession; or something else?

Ali:

While it is important to me now to pursue my education (more than my traditional ethnicity as a Pakistani) still more important---#1---is being a Muslim.

Muhammed Talks About Early Muslim Experience in America

Muhammad is an international student from Saudi Arabia and a junior at an American University. He is 20 years old and has been in America for 3 years. He intends to stay in America after graduation.

Marvin:

Before you came to America to study did you have a picture in your mind of what life in this country would be like?

Muhammed:

Before I came to America I thought my life would be harder; in terms of spiritual activity (whether I would be able to do my acts of worship to God as freely as I would in my country) and my studies (with the language barriers) and my life (would I be able to face all the challenges in life alone; without having my parents by my side?). All these worries proved to be somewhat wrong and the reality turns out to be not as bad as I thought it would be.

Marvin:

Did you do anything to maintain a sense of contact with your culture after you arrived here in America?

Muhammad:

When I first got here, of course, I looked for my “people”; the students from my country who were studying in the university I currently study in. I felt the need to find the nearest mosque and to be near to other Muslims. Therefore, some of the seniors (from my country) took me to the mosque and we go there every weekend.

Marvin:

If someone were to ask you how you define yourself as a person now, how would you rank the importance of the following possibilities: Your traditional ethnicity; Your status as a member of the Ummah; Being a student at your particular college; Being in pursuit of education in a particular specialty or profession; or something else?

Muhammad:

It is important as we all learned that all Muslims are considered as one Ummah; we are brothers and sisters. When I think about it, my traditional ethnicity is, indeed, important but not so important for me to digress from the true Islamic teachings and principles.

Marvin:

Do you find that, since being here, your participation in the “requirements” and “prohibitions” of Muslim daily life have increased relative to what they were at home, decreased or remained about the same?

Muhammed:

My participation in the ‘requirements’ and ‘prohibitions’ of Muslim daily life have increased. Weirdly enough, I learn more about my religion when I am here in the United States. I guess I took things for granted when I was back home and just kept following others without really going out and learn the true teachings of the religion of Islam.

Sanjida Relates Religion, Ethnicity and Life in America

Sanjida is a 21 year old senior at an American university. She came to America as a young child and was raised here by immigrant Bengali parents. She spent most of her early life living in a relatively closed, strongly ethnic Bengali-American community. When she went to college she began to gain exposure to other cultures and started establishing a more defined relationship to Islam. She is currently in a relatively fluid period in terms of personality development.

Marvin:

Was it difficult growing up in a situation where there were influences from two different strong cultures in your life? What adjustments did you have to make?

Sanjida:

Even though I was raised in North America and have been to public schools and widely exposed to “western culture”, I was still raised to keep most of all our Bengali heritage. I don’t mean to brag here but unlike some young people I know who came from my country I can speak fluently (without any accents) my mother-language and I am used to eating Bengali food everyday (the usual rice and curry, etc.) As a Muslim I don’t really like it when I see some of the other Muslims doing forbidden things such as dating and drinking alcohol.

Marvin:

Did your parents insist on your maintaining connections to their homeland? Do they play an important role in your life now?

Sanjida:

I have lived here since I was 4 years old and feel really pretty confident. In this area I am pretty lucky, unlike some of the other “brown” or “Asian” families that I know. My parents told me to become whatever I liked...as long as I have a PhD.

Marvin:

As you have gotten older have you found that the requirements and prohibitions that go along with being Muslim play any stronger a role in your everyday life?

Sanjida:

For the ‘requirements’ and ‘prohibitions’ of Muslim daily life, it has increased but from my choice only. Before, my family and I were not that strict in maintaining the laws of Islam and they never enforced it on me either. But recently...I have acquired a great amount of surplus knowledge in Islam and I strive to follow.

Sahanna, a Second Generation Muslim of Indian Heritage

Sahanna is a 22 year old senior at an American university. With the exception of brief visits to India and a few other places she has spent her entire life in America. She intends to remain in America after graduation.

Marvin:

To the best of your knowledge, when Muslim individuals come to America do they tend to keep the personality they had at home, adopt a new American style personality or maybe do both at once?

Sahanna:

It seems to more often be the case that Muslims take on the new, sometimes at the cost of what they have with them from their old culture. But, this varies by ethnic background and I can only speak of the South Asians I have come across.

Marvin:

Thinking of students that you know, would you estimate that the individual following of the daily living “imperatives” and “prohibitions” of the Muslim religion are greater than if the student had opted to attend a university in his/her home country, less or about the same?

Sahanna:

With students of university age there really is no forcing to obey different Islamic regulations. Most of what Muslims do is a private duty, so I really don't know. In terms of attending Friday prayer, again it's hard to say because people have different schedules. Overall, people come when they can.

Marvin:

Even though you are American and have always lived in America, do you ever feel the need to reach out to others either in India or here who share your heritage?

Sahanna:

I was born and raised in America and my family also lives in America. My parents have been here for the majority of their lives. So I don't feel culturally ill at ease. I am used to having my own way and my own culture while existing within a larger society. I don't feel like it's difficult in any way. I respect other people's differences and they do the same for me. It has not affected me at all. I know of many South Asian Muslim girls who have not had my experience, however, and I am troubled by the way they seem to lose themselves. Personally, though, I have not had any problems with it.

Omar, President of a Muslim Students' Association

Omar is a 21 year old senior at a large university. He is the President of his school's Muslim Students' Association, an organization chapters of which are found on many campuses in North America. Omar is a second generation Pakistani, a comparative religions major going to dental school after graduation. The conversation covered his observations relative to adjustment of Muslim students to college student life and the types of activities his MSA provides to make all Muslim students---whether American or international---feel welcome and secure.

Marvin:

Your membership includes both American Muslim students and those who are here from other countries?

Omar:

Yes we have some of each. The makeup of our membership varies from year to year. Right now we have more Americans.

Marvin:

What proportion of your activities are religious and what part are primarily social?

Omar:

It's hard to look at it that way. We are Muslims and the religion is our whole life. So even though we are really playing basketball we are also fulfilling a mandate to stick together and help each other--- fellow Muslims.

However there are different kinds of activities. I would say the range splits about 60% social and 40% religious. Even the social ones are responsive to Islamic imperatives which tell Muslims to mix and enjoy the company of other Muslims. Examples are swimming, going to a game, ice skating events, a field trip---that type of activity. Usually there is some discussion of the religion. Some events are kind of academic, where we convene specifically to discuss the religion, share interpretations of the Qur'aan, things like that. There are also interfaith outreaches.

Marvin:

When Muslim students come here from abroad do their practices and beliefs having to do with Islam change? Is it hard for Muslim foreign students to adjust to life here in the US?

Omar:

The international students find a big difference. There is a lot of freedom. It is not like at home where there is a lot of support for Islam coming from the surrounding community. So, one of the important things we (MSA) do is try to make them feel at home---feel that they are a part of a real family.

Also it really depends on the individual. If someone wasn't that religious when he came here then he just goes about that part of his life as before---he comes here and just sort of blends in. On the other hand, if you have someone who is very serious about the religion then he will probably seek out other students of like mind, so they can do the prayers together and the other things devout Muslims are expected to do--- and generally be more careful. American students sometimes also have trouble adjusting. But I think that could have as much to do with just being at college as opposed to being Muslim.

Marvin:

Do you ever have discussions of identity---for example whether national identity is more important for students in your MSA than being a member of the worldwide Ummah?

Omar:

The nationality is something that comes after the identification as a Muslim. You are a Muslim first, an American, Indonesian, Pakistani etc. after that.

In the next section I will weave many of these dialogic and other points together and relate them to hybrid culturality, particularly as an adjustment strategy for American Muslims. Taking observations and remarks from the preceding interviews, and occasionally supplementing with references to additional research, a textured picture emerges of an immigrant society tied together by a fundamentally important religion but struggling to rationalize many kinds of differences, important at the individual level. These differences, combined with an open societal context often itself at odds with individuals' origin cultures, lead some to an individualized adjustment pattern---blending many different cultural traits into a complex that does not have to conform to a specific, strictly enforced code of behaviour.

What did these Muslim voices tell us about the nature of life and adjustment among American Muslims? Did the college student group, just in the formative period of their identities, agree in all cases with the older, more experienced group of experts? Or did they have their own viewpoints? Did the interview material agree with theory and research about Muslims that was presented in Chapter FIVE? What sub-groups are now visible?

What is it like living in a conservative Muslim country or a liberal Muslim country? How important are individual differences? How do these compare with differences that are defined by ethnicity? What role does the Muslim family play? Is American freedom

a two-edged sword for Muslims, encouraging some toward a more satisfying self-definition while leaving others with doubts and fears? How does cultural hybridity allow for a complex and multi-faceted pastiche to form around the fundamental identification with the worldwide Ummah, which many orient to as the #1 influence in their lives?

These questions will be addressed in the next section, which de-constructs the interviews and puts the points back together in ways that address the above issues, making additional reference to some research not covered earlier.

Hybrid Culture and American Muslims

Some American Muslims come from societies that, while relatively closed to non-Muslim lifeways are, at the same time, supportive of Islamic ritual. The writer Zayyed, originally from Egypt, remarked “When you are in a closed Muslim community you have no choice but to be in the mainstream. You have to be politically correct. If you are not, then that would limit your opportunities as long as you stay in that system.” The student Ali spoke of his high school in Pakistan shutting down at times so that the students and teachers could engage in the required prayer. He said “The prayers were really expected, really a part of our lives.” Omar remarked that being in America “...is not like at home, where there is a lot of support for Islam coming from the surrounding community.” Omar’s point is accurate with respect to some Muslim countries (such as Pakistan, his own heritage country) but not others. Some Muslim countries are less observant, but also less supportive of Islamic requirements and prohibitions. Imam Chebli referred to Muslim countries where alcohol was sold “all over the country” and to some places, like his native Beirut at one time, which allowed prostitution to operate openly. Zayyed referred to “...countries like Tunisia (where) there are laws whose intent is to more or less banish religion from public life.” Imam Chebli provided a broader view---that “...We don’t have any Islamic state anywhere in the world today where the religion is practiced exactly the way it was revealed to The Prophet Muhammed (Peace Be Upon Him).”

Even for those who come from the same origin country there are individual differences that could become more significant in America, where there is a relatively open culture, more accepting of individual variation. In a discussion with Dr. Ahmad about the importance of original ethnicities he observed “The greatest differences are among individuals, regardless of ethnic background.” He added: “You have to start by recognizing the huge diversity of Muslims when they come here. I don’t mean just diversity of national origin, although that could be an important element. At the individual level there is a big range not only in piety but in the understanding of what it means to be a Muslim...” Zayyed added: “...Your behavior as a Muslim is really more a function of the house you were raised in.”

Added to the diversity between individuals from the same non-American culture and the diversity between those from different non-American cultures is the diversity as between immigrants in general and American converts to Islam, most of whom are African-American and come from a separate cultural tradition. In discussing this, Dr. Ahmad said: “There is a big difference (between African-American converts and immigrants). The cultural element winds up being more important in the long run (in the convert case). Having gone through this self-critical process they have a better understanding of *The Qur’aan* and are much better informed about the range of scholarly teachings than you tend to find among immigrant Muslims. The immigrants tend to see whatever culture they were raised in as Islam.” Continuing to characterize Muslim immigrants, Dr. Ahmad indicates: “My experience with the immigrant community...is that a very significant fraction is not very observant and does not necessarily have any claim to having a deep understanding of the teachings of Islam.”

Once established in America, there could be additional conflicts affecting individuals stemming from factors such as generational differences in acculturational development. While I did not observe this factor in my own research it was described in theory by Santisteban and Mitrani (2003):

“...*Integration* refers to retaining the original culture while also accepting values and beliefs of the new culture. This complexity increases exponentially within a family because the family brings together members who may show very different acculturation responses. When a father showing the ‘separation’ response rejects the ‘American’ ideas espoused by an ‘assimilated’ daughter, it is very difficult to distinguish between his separate rejection of the culture and rejection of his daughter as a person. Consequently, family bonds are threatened...” (p. 123)

In some cases, such differences could result in second generation individuals rejecting the Muslim religion, at least psychologically. A case in point is Wormser’s (1994) contrast between two second generation Muslim girls:

“Most Muslims are comfortable with their religion and with being Muslim in a society that is often in conflict with their values. Suzani (a student) says: ‘I love Islam. Islam is a way of life, not just a religion. It’s my language, my culture, my history, my morals. I consider myself a Muslim-American and when people ask me which side of the hyphen is stronger, I say (that) I love America and I owe a lot to this country but I am a Muslim first.’ ” (p. 58)

The contrasting view is presented through the words of Hane (another student):

“My father is very strict about the religion. I do a lot of things because he wants me to, but if I had my choice I would not do them. It sounds awful but that’s the way I feel. When I get married, I don’t want to have someone select my husband for me. I want to get to know him beforehand to be sure he will be kind to me. He doesn’t have to be a Muslim as far as I am concerned. All he has to be is a good person. I would never tell my father this, because he would never understand. But I feel more American than Muslim. I try hard to practice Islam, but it’s to please others, not myself.” (p. 65)

With all of the differences and conflicts that are built into the daily living situations of immigrant Muslims how is adjustment to take place? If the immigrant students (Ali and

Muhammed) are representative of broader segments of the Muslim immigrant community there could be, for a time, a feeling of being in a *cultural diaspora* and a seeking out of those of similar background. Ali offered the thought that "...Maybe when I've been here longer I will feel like I can have non-Muslim friends, but not right now." On the other hand, Sahanna represented an emerging second generation adult who had resolved her identity. She advised "...I don't feel culturally ill at ease. I am used to having my own way and my own culture while existing within a larger society." Sanjida was an example of a young Muslim in flux---growing up with one foot in the ethnic Bengali culture and one in American culture she is now becoming more aware of her identity as a Muslim, as she showed when she said: "...recently I have acquired a great deal of surplus knowledge in Islam and I strive to follow." The immigrant student Muhammed, now on his own and missing the cultural support system from home, said: "Weirdly enough, I learn more about my religion when I am here in The United States. I guess I took things for granted when I was back home and just kept following others without really going out and learn the true teachings of the religion of Islam."

Where is the commonality? Is commonality needed? Zayyed spoke of the open American culture tending to spread people out. He said: "I think America has the effect of moving people toward more intense participation one way or the other. Some become more conservative. Others feel the freedom that is offered here to everyone." Omar offered the observation that "...If someone wasn't that religious when he came here then he just goes about that part of his life as before---he comes here and just sort of blends in. On the other hand, if you have someone who is very serious about the religion then he will probably seek out other students of like mind, so they can do the prayers together and the other things Muslims are supposed to do. Imam Chebli showed an appreciation of the substantial individual differences within the Muslim community when he said: "Some people (meaning Muslims) here don't have much religion. They don't come to the mosque. Maybe they pray at home. Maybe they drink alcohol. They're still Muslim. Maybe they eat pork. They're still Muslim. Maybe they allow their girls to go without scarf. They're still Muslim."

For some the openness of America could be a mixed blessing. Mrs. Amad indicated that some Muslims living here felt that "...there is a problem in the lack of more severe moral constraints in America compared to where they come from. (These Muslims) feel like they are floating without direction... and it makes them uncomfortable thinking of raising children in such a place." She describes the preference for Muslim parochial schooling among some parents as sometimes chosen "...because they are concerned about drugs and inappropriate behavior in the public schools". Dr. Bullock spoke of the risks for some of acting too overtly in a way that signals being Muslim. She remarked: "Women who, for example, want to cover their hair: it might affect their career prospects or interfere with their interactions with the world around them...(And for men, dressing as a Muslim)...this could have an impact on their employment as well."

Almost all Muslim interviewees acknowledged the primacy of membership in the Ummah (worldwide community of believers) in personal identity development. As research reviewed earlier indicated, this seemed particularly strong with respect to the young (and African-American converts). The student Ali said "(While other things are important) #1 is being a Muslim." The student Muhammed said "...my traditional ethnicity is, indeed, important but not so important for me to digress from the true Islamic teachings and principles." The student Omar, the President of a Muslim Students' Association, said "You are a Muslim first, an American, Indonesian, Pakistani etc. after that...We are Muslims and the religion is our whole life." Even the enjoyment of popular leisure activities is effected by the construction that they are done at least partly in response to the Islamic imperative to enjoy the company of other Muslims. Reflecting on his own youth, Dr. Ahmad observed: "The Muslims, of course, have first and foremost a religious identity. When I was growing up Muslim young people often disregarded religion whereas today that seems less true."

Others point out the importance for some of individual preferences. Speaking of young people, Zayyed remarked: "...like any teenagers, Muslims are searching for their identity. So many become conservative with respect to Islam...I wouldn't say this is an overwhelming phenomenon but it is visible, it's out there. On the other hand, you have

Muslim kids who were born here. They go to public schools and become as American as anyone else...”. Dr. Bullock added “The identity (identification with the Ummah) would pertain to all levels of religious Muslims---conservatives, moderates and liberals. But then there are others who are just regular people, who have strong ethnic identities and for whom Islam would not transcend their ethnic identities.”

I believe that, because of all of the differences and conflicts that American Muslims need to resolve in their daily lives, hybrid culturality is a good fit for many. The idea of *individual choice* in many lifestyle areas is accepted. Muslim individuals enjoy freedom to build on to a fundamental identity pieces that they appropriate from elsewhere that they feel are right for them and which allow them to go on. A particular combination, right for the moment, does not have to continue in effect. Additional attractive aspects may appear in the future, replacing earlier choices and contributing to a constantly evolving identity.

Certainly not all Muslims adopt hybrid culture. Some choose to adapt in other ways--- including maintenance of their traditional culture. Some choose to reject Islam completely. But for those Muslims who choose an individualized identity, forged out of a blending of their traditional culture with newly appropriated elements, hybrid culturality can be a satisfying choice.

Constructions of Hybrid Culturality

Earlier I gave a definition of *hybrid culture* that I intended as a *working definition*, useful for writing the two chapters I am now finishing. Reprising this material: “...the American of *hybrid culturality* is conceived as developing in the form of a *pastiche of individually selected appropriated bits and pieces*, added onto a *basic ethnic or other identity* that may or may not remain as a strong chord in his personal symphony of personality development.” Now, as I approach the end of this part of my dissertation it is useful to look at *hybrid culturality* more broadly.

My original construction positioned hybrid culturality as a *stage* in the development of acculturation viewed as a social force---part of a sequence of altered adjustment modalities, each responding to important contextual changes and each progressing in full recognition of the preference of some individuals for earlier or other phases. First came the mono-cultural Melting Pot described in Chapter TWO. Then came The Bi-Cultural period, discussed in Chapters THREE and FOUR, leading to the focus on hybrid culture in Chapters FIVE and SIX. This *sequential construction* is useful in that it leads one to the *post cultural idea* (to be discussed in Chapter SEVEN)---where the very *tradition of unified cultures* with fixed boundaries yields to a condition of *constant movement, blending and re-formation*.

In contrast to this sequential construction that, at least theoretically, connects hybrid culturality to preceding and succeeding stages let us review some constructs that could be understood as having a more “stand-alone” nature. Stuart Hall (1993) spoke of individuals who are “products of the cultures of hybridity.” He goes on to say:

“These ‘hybrids’ retain strong links to and identifications with the traditions and places of their ‘origin’. But they are without the illusion of any actual ‘return’ to the past. Either they will never, in any literal sense, return or the places to which they return will have been transformed out of all recognition by the remorseless processes of modern transformation. In that sense, there is no going ‘home’ again.” (p. 361)

Tomlinson (1999) relates hybridization to *detritorialization* which, for many, goes along with *globalization*. He says:

“...cultural mixing is unquestionably increasing with the advance of globalization...hybrid cultures may be a useful idea for grasping the sort of new cultural identifications that may be emerging...These complex transmutations of cultural practices and forms as they pass rapidly and effortlessly across national boundaries through the transnational cultural economy perhaps provide a figure

for what a future 'globalized popular culture' may turn out to be like: different in character from the integrating, essentializing nature of national cultures, looser textured, more protean and relatively indifferent to the maintenance of sharp discrimination of cultural origin and belonging." (p. 147)

Rushdie (1991) refers to the "radically new types of human being" emerging from mass migrations...

"...people who have been obliged to define themselves---because they are so defined by others---by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves." (p. 124)

A characterization which, in my view, is particularly useful comes from Renato Rosaldo's *Foreward* to Garcia Canclini's book *Hybrid Cultures* (1995). Rosaldo writes:

"...Hybridity can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contain no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation (two way borrowing and lending between cultures)" (p. xv)

In my view, looked at in this last way it becomes easier to comprehend that, to a degree, cultural hybridity is intrinsically embedded in many other forms of adjustment, encompassing many different types of immigrants, not only Muslims and not only in America---a condition that is at the very heart of acculturational process. With this in mind I will progress to the final step of my dissertation, focusing on the rise of Technology and Post-Culture.

Chapter SEVEN: Technology and Post Culture

In Chapter FOUR I compared Hispanic immigrants to Japanese immigrants with respect to whether it seemed more difficult for one group or the other to achieve and maintain the condition of *full bi-culturality*. In conducting a limited number of interviews with individuals in both groups---in all cases people I had known personally for substantial periods of time---I found suggestions that full bi-culturality could be a more difficult condition for Japanese immigrants even though there did not seem to be anything inherent in their culture to prevent it. There were certain life patterns that seemed to consistently show up in the backgrounds of *individuals* who became fully bi-cultural, patterns that were not as consistent for those who were not able to achieve and maintain the condition suggesting the hypothesis of greater Japanese difficulty. An example of such a pattern would be intense early exposure to America---possibly not as easy for many Japanese to accomplish because of geographical or other factors.

In Chapters FIVE and SIX I showed how some American immigrants of Muslim background utilized a strategy of *hybrid culturality* to structure their adjustment to life in America. In their case hybrid culturality, which is neither universal to Muslims nor restricted to them, commenced with a *strong basic identity* (the feeling of belonging to the worldwide community of believers in the Islamic religion) and was further articulated and individualized by the *appropriation of different cultural elements* to which they were exposed resulting in a *cultural blend* whose exact makeup at any point in time varied at the level of the *individual person*. These different cultural elements reached them through, for example, exposure to co-religionists who had grown up with different interpretations of what it meant to be a Muslim, as well as other cultural influences.

In this Chapter I will discuss *post culturality*---an orientation which, like hybrid culturality, could pertain to potential or actual immigrants as well as more broadly to those who are not immigrants. In the *post cultural orientation* all semblance of bounded culture has disappeared. For purposes of this dissertation I define a *post cultural person*

as one who can *perceive and react to contextual and interpersonal changes fluidly---an orientation favoured by the various conditions that the person might have experienced*. A post cultural person constructs understandings of changes that make sense to him, allowing him to move in and out of various orientations, depending on what is favoured or seems appropriate at the time. I will put forward the idea that, like the Hispanic/Asian comparison above, it seems easier for some people to contemplate post culturality than for others. I will suggest that a deep understanding of and relationship with newly emerged *advanced information and media technologies* is helpful in such contemplation. However such understanding and relationship *do not seem absolutely critical*, as broader forces which introduce the potential for a *less bounded, more cosmopolitan outlook---* such as travel, schooling, friendships, leisure reading, artifacts and exposure over time to more traditional media such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, motion pictures and other news and entertainment vehicles---can, for some, have a similar or supplementary effect.

In pursuing this argument I will start with a discussion of *the technologies of social saturation* as first described by Gergen in 1991. I will show how these have developed massively in a relatively short period of time. I will show that one of the key new technologies, the internet, has to date developed at different rates in different places around the world---a differential that is undergoing some correction in that the places “furthest behind” in terms of internet penetration are also seeing the fastest growth in internet presence. In my view, this trend could possibly foreshadow a day when increased international connectivity, instant and easy access to large amounts of information and exposure to new opinions and ways of life will be even more broadly available worldwide, independent of geographic location, political or social boundaries. This environment should allow a greater number of individuals to develop a *more cosmopolitan outlook* and accelerate the tendency even now observable for discrete, bounded cultures to recede as the characteristics of a post cultural era are more clearly and broadly articulated. I will once again look to the social scientific literature for insights to clarify the breakdown of conventional cultures in this environment. At that point I will interview three highly cosmopolitan American immigrants whom I believe

are already living in a post cultural orientation, or are headed in that direction---one of Russian origin, one a Syrian and one a Japanese. I will show how the technologies of social saturation have proven helpful in situating them in that position but were usually not critical.

Subsequently I will draw on my own experience and that of my teenage daughter Nicole to better focus the differences in developmental context between someone who is growing up with advanced technology today and one who grew up without it many years ago. This comparison will address the *helpfulness but non-essentiality* of advanced information technology in structuring post culturality as an end-state. Finally I will offer some hypotheses regarding factors that lead individuals toward or away from post culture. The next and final chapter will provide an overall review of the development of acculturation among American immigrants as a social process, along with some personal reflections.

The Technologies of Social Saturation

In 1991 Gergen predicted an information technology revolution. In writing about *the technologies of social saturation* in *The Saturated Self: dilemmas of identity in contemporary life* he said:

“These developments---computers, electronic mail, satellites, faxes---are only the beginning. Innovations now emerging will further accelerate the growth of social connectedness. At the outset is the digitization of all the major media---phonograph, photography, printing, telephone, radio, television. This means that the information conveyed by each source---pictures, music, voice---is becoming translatable to computer form. As a result, each medium becomes subject to the vast storage and rapid processing and transmission capabilities of the computer. Each becomes subject to home production and worldwide dissemination. We now face an age in which pressing a button will enable us to transmit self-images ---in full color and sound---around the globe.” (p. 60)

At the time these words were written advanced information and media technologies were just beginning to gain momentum. In 2006 Friedman observed:

“...at this point---the mid-1990s---the platform for the flattening of the world (phenomenon of enabling easy, quick and complete individual connectivity between and among individuals anywhere in the world) had started to emerge. ...the falling walls (decline of Communism in Europe and consequent elimination of barriers to communication between millions of people), the opening of Windows, the digitization of content, and the spreading of the Internet browser seamlessly connected people as never before.” (p. 80)

Developing Friedman’s point further I view the emergence of the internet over the last decade or so as an important key to major changes happening in the world of 2008. The internet delivers instant, easy access to vast amounts of information and provides a wide range of instant research, option definition and problem solving. It compresses time and space and has spawned applicational technologies which have increased local, national and international connectedness to an unprecedented degree.

The viral growth of *websites* could be interpreted as one marker of the internet’s growing importance. Numbers recently published by Netcraft, a supplier of data to the information technology industry, showed that in 1991 (the year when Gergen wrote the words above) there were few, if any, websites as we know them today. As of May 2007 there were 118 million websites, situated on server computers all over the world but each accessible via computers in any other part of the world. Websites were being added to the world total at the rate of over 4 million per month. (Netcraft, 2007, p. 1) While some of these sites are guarded by passwords and other devices that preclude entry into that specific site, nevertheless the amount of information that has become available seems to me impressive.

Search engines such as Google use advanced technology to respond almost instantly to inquiries requesting identification of the *addresses* of websites containing specific information. An entire industry (web search engine marketing) has developed based on commercial companies' desires to appear in an advantageous position when consumer searches for their kinds of products are initiated.

Many websites feature *internet chatrooms and bulletin boards*. In my view the importance of these resides in allowing the formation of relationships with people previously unknown (and, for all practical purposes, unknowable) all over the world, connected by similar interests. In fact, many utilize chatrooms to *play* at being someone else---a boy can "become" a girl, an old person can "become" young, an American can "become" British, a person anticipating a new life style interest can "try out" a new, different identity to determine comfort level in advance. Many websites have been developed involving games that can be played either individually or against other people who log on to the site at the same time, even if not known to the original player.

With internet connectivity came *derivative communication technologies* such as *e mail*--- a much easier and quicker method of communication than written memos and much more cost-effective than use of the telephone in situations where voice communications are not a necessity. It is not necessary to know where a potential recipient is physically located to send him an e mail. E mails can be responded to or forwarded with just a few keystrokes. Millions upon millions of e mails are sent every day. Recently *e mail marketing* (sending out large numbers of specialized e mails aimed at selling products or services, sometimes personalized to the recipient, at relatively low cost and collectively called *spam*) has developed as a separate medium, spawning services known as *spam filters* for interception and to keep the incoming volume of e mails under control. *Links* embedded in e mail messages and websites allow instant transfer from one screen or site to another. *Instant messaging* has also grown, enabling subscribers to particular services to carry on a text dialogue on-line at virtually no incremental cost and usually independent of physical distance between participants. The internet has enabled a new medium called a *web log* or *blog*---a popular type of personal website often used to voice

an originator's private opinions about topics of interest and allowing for input from visitors to the site. Anyone with access to the internet can initiate a blog. *Social networking sites* such as MySpace and Facebook have made it possible for millions of people, often young and looking for contacts with others, to expand their circle of those with whom they could have some relationship. In fact, these sites have generated some controversy as the openness with regard to personal detail can work against the interests of individual privacy. A further advance, presently centered in a site called YouTube, allows personally made videos to be sent over the internet and posted on a server. Often these videos are made with digital cameras, in lieu of still pictures, and sent through the computer over the internet in a process called *streaming*. Word of particularly important or otherwise noteworthy videos can spread quickly, building up a substantial audience through individuals logging on to the website and downloading the chosen video.

Even such previously staid institutions as the encyclopaedia have been transformed by the internet. *Wikipedia*, sometimes used as a source of information in this dissertation, is such an *open document*---changeable at the discretion of the user and further providing the opportunity for people to connect across time and space. This is an example of a broader transition in media involving the *moving of control of content and access over to users*---a phenomenon I believe to be of great significance to consumer marketing companies, who had grown accustomed to a passive consumer with limited control over the content to which he was exposed. Rochelle Lazarus, the Chairperson of Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide, a major advertising and communications company, said in a recent speech:

”The role consumers play has changed profoundly---they decide when, where and how they are going to consume entertainment.” She added that while previous generations of advertisers worked as an intrusion, consumers can now “work around” them. “We have to be invited in,” she said. We have to entertain or provide information that is valuable. We have to do things well enough to surprise and delight our consumers so they want to engage with us.” (reported by Lauren Bell in industry weekly *DMNews*, October 17, 2007)

The grand array of electronic advances and offerings faces an equally impressive array of *internet users*. The Miniwatts Marketing Group provides information on worldwide internet usage (see Footnote 7.1). Their figures show that---as of 2007---1.1 billion people worldwide had access to the internet---a rate of over 16%. While, as a subsequent section will show, there are still many places left in the world where internet penetration is currently negligible, on balance one person in six worldwide has at least theoretical access to the internet at this time. .

An additional device for connectivity is the cell phone, of which there are about 2 billion presently extant (See Footnote 7.2). In a 26 March 2007 *Wall Street Journal* supplement entitled What's New in Wireless, Sharma (2007) looks at likely future trends in the *expansion of functionality of the cellular phone*:

“In the next two to three years, consumers will be able to get TV broadcasts on their cellphones with better picture quality than current video offerings---and a greater range of live programming from major networks...Users will also get sophisticated software applications for surfing the mobile Web, and more services to connect with friends, share videos and exchange photos. And they'll likely see mobile devices that can roam seamlessly across Wi-Fi hotspots (places where wireless internet is available), cellular networks and new high speed data networks, bringing a much faster and smoother surfing experience.” (p. 1)

In other domains, *Voice-Over-Internet Protocol (VoIP)* telephony has reduced the cost of international phone calls to just pennies per minute, allowing more frequent and longer phone conversations with friends and family far away. While this easy and low cost connection could tend to maintain anchoring to a more bounded culture (as when an immigrant calls home) yet it introduces new horizons of information and input for those on the other end of the call. Additionally, *satellite delivered television* has fundamentally changed the nature of ethnic diasporic experiences in many places. In America, for instance, it is now possible to receive live local news and entertainment programming via satellite from home country or some other possibly unfamiliar country in 22 different

language/culture formats---from French, German and Italian to Farsi, Hebrew, Urdu and Vietnamese (See Footnote 7.3). *Cable television and associated technologies* (eg. VCR, TiVo) have spread rapidly in industrialized countries, vastly increasing the range of viewing options---often up to levels of 500 or more simultaneous channel availabilities---and even eliminating the requirement to watch the programming in real time. News coverage has vastly improved. Now reporters from CNN and other specialized networks provide close-up, live coverage of major events happening around the world. It is often possible to watch contrasting coverage of the same far away event—and rather than accepting only the first reporter’s construction of it, to allow for a fuller, more informed perspective on what is happening, its meaning and its importance. Even enemies can now easily communicate with each other. Television stations such as Al Jazeera supplement terrorist websites by serving as vehicles for communication and propaganda to the mainstream world as well as to terrorist followers.

In America and other advanced countries *internet cafes, libraries and other public access points and attractive equipment installment purchase or rental plans* allow even those of modest means access to the most up to date technology.

It seems to me that one effect of these great advances in technology, at least in America, has been to substantially raise the degree to which many people here are actually or potentially connected to others---being therefore in an improved position to acquire unusual knowledge, appropriate new behaviours and reduce reliance on traditional culture for the making of meaning. The next section will start to elaborate a worldwide picture by examining international internet penetration.

The International Presence of the Internet

This section will provide a closer look at the international spread of the internet, a key component of the technologies of social saturation. While there are other components, the internet carried with it many of the important *specific connectivity feature advances* enabled by the overall revolution in information technology. The Miniwatts Marketing Group, a supplier of information to the technology industry referred to previously,

periodically publishes statistics on internet development worldwide on its website (see Footnote 7.1). The tables below present selected data arrays developed from their 2007 report. The tables show a wide discrepancy in current internet presence but also a situation that is rapidly changing.

Table 7.1: Continental population and internet penetration

<u>Region</u>	<u>% world pop'n</u>	<u>% country pop'n with i/n access</u>
Africa	14.2%	3.6%
Middle East	2.9%	10.0%
Asia	56.5%	10.7%
S. America	8.5%	17.3%
Europe	12.3%	38.9%
Oceania	0.5%	53.5%
N. America	5.1%	69.7%
Total	100%	-

In Africa, with over 14% of the world's population (about 1 person in 7), less than 4% have access to the internet. In Asia, with over half the world's population, only slightly over 10% have internet access. This seemingly low Asian percentage (in an area known for high technology development) could be related to the presence within the total Asian continent of large countries with both high (Japan, South Korea) and relatively low (India, Indonesia, Phillipines) internet development (See Table 7.2 below). The Middle East and South America both currently have relatively low percentages of access. Europe and the United States both have relatively high percentages of access. Oceania could possibly be an aberration, perhaps caused by the unique geography of the area and its relatively small population.

Table 7.2: Countries with over 50 mm population with high and low internet usage rates

<u>> 50% i/n usage</u> <u>(mm usage/mm pop'n)</u>	<u><10% i/n usage</u> <u>(mm usage/mm pop'n)</u>
USA (211/302)	India (40/1,130)
Japan (86/129)	Indonesia (18/224)
Germany (50/83)	Pakistan (12/168)
UK (38/60)	Phillines (8/87)
S. Korea (34/51)	Nigeria (5/162)
France (31/61)	Egypt (5/72)
Italy (31/60)	Bangladesh (<1/137)
	Myanmar (<1/54)
Total (481/746) = 64.4%	Total (88/2,034) = 4.3%
% total world usage: 43.7%	% total world usage: 8.0%
% total world pop'n: 7.8%	% total world pop'n: 32.5%

Table 7.2 above looks separately at large countries (over 50 million in population) with either high (left column) or low (right column) degrees of internet usage among their people. The Table presents in parenthesis first the reported internet usage for the country, then the population of the country. It shows vast current disparities in proportionate usage among large countries---with seven countries (corresponding to almost 1/3 of the world's population, 32.5%----bottom of right column) having an average usage penetration (usage number divided by population number) of only 4.3% and together representing only 8.0% of the world's total internet usage. Conversely technologically more advanced countries with only 7.8% of the world's population (left column) have almost two thirds (64.4%) using the internet, together representing 43.7% of the world's total of

internet usage. China currently has 14.8% of the world's usage---therefore not appearing in Table 7.2.

Another way of looking at the Miniwatts data is to compare *current usage rates* within the various areas with *growth in that area's usage*. Table 7.3 addresses this perspective.

Table 7.3: Usage vs. Growth

<u>Region</u>	<u>i/n usage, yr 2007</u>	<u>growth 2000-07</u>
Africa	2.0%	638%
Middle East	3.0%	491%
S. America	8.0%	433%
Europe	29.0%	200%
N. America	21.0%	116%

This data points to a *basically inverse relationship* between the percentage of the area's population using the internet in the year 2007 and the percentage growth of those numbers over what they were in the year 2000. Of course the smaller usage areas were forming the growth percentages on a smaller base, representing some distortion of the overall impression. Nevertheless I believe the trend possibly points to at least some "leveling out" in the future and to the possibility that---to the degree that use of the internet often *contributes* to the development of individual post culture by expanding potential connectivity and available data---geography could become less of a factor in influencing the development of post culturality than it might be now.

The Emergence of Post Culture

Data in the previous section could lead to anticipation of a day when access to the internet and ability to use it for increased connectivity and information could be less

concentrated among those who happen to live in more advanced countries than it is now. In my view the arrival of that time could produce an impact on some potential immigrants to America. This is because many more could, if they wish, *begin earlier* on developing a *more cosmopolitan, less traditional outlook*---characteristics that could prove useful in easing their transition to the relatively open society of America by allowing some to move more easily beyond their previous more bounded cultures---to more easily approach over time the post cultural condition. The central concept of *cosmopolitanism* which I would like to use in this discussion was articulated by Hannerz in 1990 as:

“... an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity.” (p. 240)

As an illustrative example, this openness characterized some of the Muslims interviewed in Chapter SIX. Here is a portion of the interview with Moustaffa Zayyed, not discussed earlier and dealing with his preparation for emigration from Egypt to America.

Marvin:

You mentioned movies---was that the main way that you learned about America before you came here (from Egypt)?

Mr. Zayyed:

Yes, movies were the main thing. But there were also books, comics, papers where we read about life in America...Then there was music---all the American music I used to learn back then. When I came here as a teenager it was not so totally new. It was just more of what I was used to (the American culture being so important to me even then)...

Of course, not all immigrants would be interested in incorporating this type of open, cosmopolitan outlook in the future even if they were able to do so (a feeling that would be shared with many present immigrants, such as the conservative Muslims also discussed in Chapter SIX). This too, would be an individually determined result.

Everyone with internet access does not become cosmopolitan. Additionally I believe it is possible to become cosmopolitan reacting to other contextual and experiential factors, not necessarily only the internet. Important and formative experiences could also come from work or life, from friendships with unusual people or from exposure to media such as radio, television and motion pictures which present appealing characters, beliefs, ways of life and values for possible appropriation. A *cosmopolitan outlook* can be encouraged by exposure to information, artifacts, goods and information that freely circulate around the world ignoring borders and pre-existing cultural boundaries.

One way of experiencing unfamiliar cultural input is to travel to different places. In Chapter ONE I showed that fully 3% of the world's population presently comprises migrants---those living in a different country (and in many of these instances a different culture) from that where they were born---a number approaching 200 million people. Bammer (1994), quoting Sutter (1990), estimates the number of refugees (displaced persons who are part of the migrant flow) to be at least 60 million in the period since 1945. The World Health Organization estimates that leisure and business travelers made more than 800 million international journeys worldwide in 2006 alone, most returning to their homes after the trip (See Footnote 7.4) Whether voluntary or forced, whether one way or round trip these voyages allowed for the experiencing of new worlds, new people, new ways of life and a possible weakening or breakdown of the conception held by some that nothing of significance or value existed beyond their neighborhood.

Before the internet there were so-called "conventional" media which have continually played a role in breaking down traditional cultures and in encouraging cosmopolitanism around the world. Let us briefly examine some of these. Newspapers have been bringing news of unusual events and attractive people to the literate public since 1605, when the first newspaper, believed by many scholars to be the German language *Relation aller Fuernemmen und gedenckwuerdigen Historien* (*Collection of all distinguished and commorable news*) was published in Strassburg (See Footnote 7.5). Wire services, such as Associated Press have since 1846 documented events in lands far distant from the reader, introducing ways of life that many found new and exotic (See Footnote 7.6). I

believe these services played an important part in broadening the traditional role of newspapers which was binding people to their localities by reporting local news--- opening up new vistas to some degree. Today, The World Association of Newspapers reports that 395 million people worldwide buy a newspaper every day (up from 374 million in 1999) and that more than one billion people read a newspaper every day (See Footnote 7.7). About half a century after newspapers magazines began to appear as a specialized media format, carrying information of interest to specific sub-audiences. Today literally thousands of magazine titles are published around the world, bringing updates for some readers, totally new ideas to others.

In 1896 the electronic era of modern media began, when Marconi was granted a patent for what we know as radio, going on to start the first primitive radio station the following year (See Footnote 7.8). Navia and Zweifel (2004), quoting World Bank data, report that in 2004 there were 293 radios for every 1,000 inhabitants worldwide . Electronic television as we know it began in the United States in 1936 and, by 1939 had also appeared in Germany, The United Kingdom, France, Poland, The Soviet Union, Japan and Italy (See Footnote 7.9), spreading around the world from there. Navia and Zweifel (ibid) report a current period worldwide average television penetration of 150 sets per thousand inhabitants. In my many years in the advertising field, in America, Europe and Asia, I came to consider electronic media as particularly effective in quickly and pro-actively transferring the listener or viewer to an imagined world where he could, for a time, experience a life very different from what surrounded him physically.

All of these so called conventional media, even though today thought of by many as somehow not modern nevertheless began and continued a process of bringing the world into one's living room. In the words of Tomlinson (1999):

“...the paradigmatic experience of global modernity for most people...is that of staying in one place but experiencing the displacement (movement to a different place) that global modernity brings to them.” (p. 9)

Tomlinson continues by saying:

“The experience connected with the routine use of media technologies must be counted as one of the most significant and widely available sources of cultural deterritorialization---indirect travel.” (p. 202)

Writing in 2006, Shohat adds this point:

“...within postmodern culture, the media not only set agendas and frame debates but also inflect desire, memory and fantasy. The contemporary media shape identity; indeed many argue that they now exist close to the very core of identity production.” (p. 307)

In the next section I will return to the literature and show how additional scholars with diverse perspectives articulate the process by which cultural diffusion---the spread of information, images and possibilities for appropriation around the world---leads to the breakdown of bounded traditional cultures and prepares the way for many to experience a new post cultural condition.

Scholars Discuss Cultural Diffusion and the Breakdown of Tradition

One of the more prominent and comprehensive recent models of cultural diffusion and the breakdown of tradition is that of Appadurai. In *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996) he identifies media and migrations as two basic ingredients for breakdown. He advises (p. 9): “...only in the past two decades or so (have) media and migration become so globalized, that is to say, active across large and irregular transnational terrains.” Even though Appadurai is mainly talking about the broader process of globalization, his thoughts are useful in understanding the dynamics that lead to a post cultural condition. He proposes “an elementary framework” for

exploring relationships among five dimensions of global cultural flows.” (ibid), characterized as types of landscapes. These are specified as follows:

*Ethnoscap*es are “...the landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and individuals (who) constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree ...*Technoscap*es refer to the global configuration...of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries....*Financescap*es refer to currency markets, national stock exchanges and commodity speculations (which) move megamonies through national turnstiles at blinding speed, with vast, absolute implications for small differences in percentage points and time units...*Mediascap*es...refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations and film-production studios) which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world and to the images of the world created by these media...(Finally) *Ideascap*es are also concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with...ideologies...” (pp. 34-36)

Apparadai’s vision of the implications of the interworkings of his five “scapes” is that the individual is encouraged to imagine new worlds and new forms of relationship freed from the bonds of previous culture. Apparadai’s thinking is reviewed by fellow Anthropologist Ted C. Lewellen who, in *The Anthropology of Globalization* (2002) writes:

“In Appadurai’s imagery...patterns overlap, flow and are transformed to create ever new and more complex patterns of interaction and thought. For example, mass migration is normative in world history, but when conjoined with the electronic media---television, radio, movies and the Internet---new patterns

emerge. Whereas in the past, imagination was the property of the artist, the shaman, the poet, and the scholar, imagination is now part of everybody's everyday life. Mass media creates new scripts for possible lives and possible futures. The limits of what can be conceived, of what is possible, have been enormously extended." (p. 96)

There are many other articulations of the effects which modern technologies have had on traditional cultures, both in America and in other countries, allowing for a post cultural condition to begin to emerge. As early as 1991 Giddens commented as follows:

"...we live 'in the world' in a different sense from previous eras of history. Everyone still continues to live a local life, and the constraints of the body ensure that all individuals, at every moment, are contextually situated in time and space. Yet the transformations of place, and the intrusion of distance into local activities, combined with the centrality of mediated experience radically change what 'the world' actually is...Although everyone lives a local life, phenomenal worlds for the most part are truly global...in very few instances does the phenomenal world any longer correspond to the habitual setting through which an individual physically moves." (p. 37)

Writing in 1999, Tomlinson stated:

"...People's phenomenal world(s)---come to include distant events and processes more routinely in their perceptions of what is significant for their own personal lives. Deterritorialization involves the ever-broadening horizon of relevance in people's routine experience, removing not only general 'cultural awareness' but, crucially, the processes of individual 'life planning' from a self-contained context centered on physical locality or politically defined territory..."

...(the) choice provided by new media technologies contributes to deterritorialization. Being 'better informed' implies having available a range of

perspectives on events beyond that of the 'home culture', being able to situate oneself at a distance from the (national, local) 'viewpoint'. Whatever this may promise for the development of cosmopolitan cultural dispositions, it also represents a loss of the cultural certainty, even of the existential 'comfort' involved in having the world 'out there' presented to us from the still point of an unchallenged national/local perspective..." (p. 116)

A sociological perspective is added by Eade, writing in 1997, who notes:

"...an emphasis on boundedness and coherence traditionally dominated the sociological treatment of the idea of culture, particularly in the functionalist tradition where collective meaning construction was dealt with largely as serving the purposes of social integration. So a 'culture' parallels the problematic notion of 'a society' as a bounded entity occupying a physical territory mapped as a political territory (predominantly the nation-state) and binding individual meaning constructions into this circumscribed social, political space. The connectivity of globalization is clearly threatening to such conceptualizations, not only because the multiform penetration of localities breaks into this binding of meanings to place but because it undermines the thinking through which culture and fixity of location are originally paired." (p. 25).

Garcia Canclini (1995) discusses the phenomenon with reference to "emerging countries" such as his native Mexico:

"We have gone from societies dispersed in thousands of peasant communities with traditional, local and homogeneous cultures---in some regions with strong indigenous roots, with little communication with the rest of each nation---to a largely urban scheme with a heterogeneous symbolic offering renewed by a constant interaction of the local with national and transnational networks of communication...How can we explain the fact that many changes in thinking and taste in urban life coincide with those in the peasantry, if not because of

commercial interactions of the latter with the cities and reception of electronic media in rural houses which connects them with modern innovations?" (p. 207)

Garcia Canclini continues:

“...the interactions of new technologies with previous culture makes them part of a much bigger project ...Although many works remain within the minority or popular circuits for which they were made, the prevailing trend is for all sectors to mix into their tastes objects whose points of origin were previously separated. “ (p. 228)

Finally he adds:

“There is an implosion of the third world into the first. The notion of an authentic culture as an autonomous internally coherent universe is no longer sustainable, except as a ‘useful fiction’ or a revealing distortion.” (p. 217)

Tomlinson (ibid p. 71) quotes Hannerz (1990): “... the world has become one network of social relationships and between its different regions there is a flow of meanings as well as a flow of people and goods.” (p. 237)

Tomlinson (ibid) goes on to say:

“...(in) the individual’s ‘phenomenal world’: people probably come to include distant events and processes more routinely in their perceptions of what is significant for their own personal lives. This is one aspect of what deterritorialization may involve: the ever broadening horizon of relevance in people’s routine experience, removing not only general ‘cultural awareness’ but crucially, the processes of individual ‘life planning’ from a self-contained context centered on physical locality or politically defined territory.” (p. 115)

Morley and Robins (1995) add: "...we should reject all images of 'pure, internally homogeneous, authentic, indigenous culture(s) and recognize that every culture has, in fact, ingested foreign elements from exogenous sources, with the various elements gradually becoming 'naturalized' within it." (p. 129)

I will close this array of perspectives on cultural breakdown with these words from Kahn (1995). In *Culture, Multiculture, Postculture* he observes:

"...in challenging the fixity of cultural boundaries...discoveries serve to preserve the myth of the cultural center...centers, like boundaries, become arbitrary points in cultural space, acquiring their significance only when something outside of that infinite variation is imposed, thus defining this or that point as the focus of cultural purity. Cultures, like races, no longer exist." (p. 130)

It seems to me that, in one way or another, each of the quotes above contributes to the idea that often new or unusual information, sometimes emanating from a far away source and speaking of new and different ways of life, weakens ties to traditional culture, thereby reducing the exclusive reliance on pre-existing cultural prisms for the viewing and interpretation of contextual or interpersonal change. In the next section I will once again add texture to the discussion by interviewing three people whom I believe are examples of post cultural personalities---now or in the making.

The Children of Technology

My belief is that it is not absolutely necessary to have worked extensively with and become comfortable with advanced information technology in order to become post cultural. However I believe that the instant worldwide connectivity, easy access to great amounts of information and general speeding up of interactions that are enabled by the internet and derivative communications technologies over a long period of time become an advantage. In this section I will document three interviews with individuals who have grown up with information technology and for whom it has become almost an extension

of their human personalities. The first is Lara, a Russian woman in her early thirties. The second is Adar, a Syrian in his late thirties. The third is Hideki, a fourteen year old Japanese boy. All now live in America. All grew up with heavy exposures to multiple ethnic cultures and in a world where technology was fast developing. All now spend substantial amounts of time each day in a place that I call *The Ether-World*---a world entered and exited at will via connection with the technologies of social saturation and representing an endogenous counterpart, a condition that comprises relationship with both technology and potentially with other people articulated in an electronic cosmos. The Ether-World is a world of instant connectivity, instant access to a wide variety of information, opinions and description of life options, compressing time and space.

Lara's Tale

Lara was brought up in Moscow and attended elite schools there. Her curriculum from grade school on included study of the English language. She majored in mathematics and completed most of the work required for a PhD in that field when her circumstances changed and she went to work for a prominent investment banking firm in Moscow, working also in London. After a few years she left Russia to attend The Harvard Business School in The United States where she met her husband, a Mexican national. Recently she was recruited by an American fashion magazine that was starting a Russian edition to interview celebrities in The United States and write articles about them in Russian. Lara and her family now live in New York and have one child. Following are excerpts from discussions we had both in person and by phone.

Marvin:

How well did you understand the American culture before you came here?

Lara:

I had studied the language and had some foundation there. Also, some of my colleagues at work were American so I gained some knowledge through them, both socially and through research projects I did jointly with them and others, some part of which dealt with America. I had visited America as a tourist a few times. But the subtleties such as

jokes and some things you read in the paper---some things on that level you really have to live here to understand.

Marvin:

Did you find after moving to America that there were big changes relative to living in Russia?

Lara:

No, I did not think that the changes were that big. I lived in Moscow, which is like New York in many respects. In both places you have people living there and walking around on the street from many different countries---all kinds of different people. I felt that Russia was more of a class-based society---here everyone is mixed together. Also, the entertainment was different. There it would not be considered high class to go to a musical such as you can do in the theatre district in New York. The entertainment is more classical in nature, such as ballet. And people tend to read a lot.

Marvin:

Do you keep in touch with family and friends in Russia? What do you do to accomplish that?

Lara:

My parents still live in Moscow. I talk to them nearly every day by phone. Also I use a lot the e mail. For example, I e mail my brother a lot. He doesn't speak much English but we have worked out a system. I don't have a keyboard with Russian (Cyrilic) letters so I spell out the sounds of the Russian words using the Western letters. He can read the letters and make them into the sounds and understand pretty much what I mean.

Marvin:

Do your friends here tend to be Russian?

Lara:

My husband and I have a pretty wide circle of friends. Of course we sometimes see Russian friends or Mexicans that he knows. But also there are people who were former consulting colleagues of mine who now live here in New York. In addition we have a lot of people we socialize with who are from other countries in Europe. I guess you would say that where somebody is from does not make that much difference to us. We enjoy being with a wide range of people.

MHS comment:

I consider Lara to be a good example of a Post Cultural adult. She can move into and out of The Ether-World easily and seems to relate to people and events openly, without either an American or a Russian bias. Of course she has lived in a number of countries and so may have reached a Post Cultural Condition even without the benefit of The Ether-World.

Adar's Tale

Adar was born in Venezuela, a child of one Arab and one Syrian parent. He grew up in Japan and graduated Summa Cum Laude in Economics from Waseda University, working completely in Japanese. Concurrently he earned a BS in Chemical Engineering from Oriente University in Venezuela. He went on to earn two Masters degrees---one from a joint program at Harvard and Tufts Universities in Business, Law and Environmental Management, the other at Instituto Superiores de Administracion in Venezuela. He is 39 years old, unmarried and currently a Vice President at The Bank of Tokyo, managing operations in South America, Central America and the Carribean. I interviewed him by e mail exchange.

Marvin:

What cultures have you had major involvement with? How would you compare them?

Adar:

There have been four. First Latin, which was my birth culture. I would describe it as all encompassing and easy going. A young culture with an emphasis on developing new paradigms---as against, for example, a Chinese one where the basic tenets of the culture are quite developed and it's a case of fit in or leave. Very rich genetic history makes up a very lively cultural surface. Second, Arab-Syrian, my parents' culture combination. The marriage of a horizontal non-hierarchical egalitarian culture (Arab) with a hierarchical, extremely rich history that goes back to the very beginnings of civilization itself (Syrian). Third Japanese, my culture of upbringing. I would characterize it as an injection molded type of culture with no flexibility whatsoever, emphasizing form over substance. Finally Anglo-Saxon, my culture of adulthood. This seems to me to be the ultimate utilitarian culture. It requires an unrivaled insightful mind to flourish within it. The culture is straight jacketed by a mistaken religious fanaticism proving that no matter how bright you are it is lonely at the top.

Marvin:

Do you feel more connected and comfortable with some of these than others? Why do you think that is?

Adar:

Not really. There was a time when I felt overrun by all of them---it's exhausting to do maintenance work on all of them (if you don't use it, you lose it). I have learnt to pick and choose. It's a process everybody goes through.

Marvin:

What use do you make of the internet and other advanced information technology in your personal or business life? Do you see any relationships between advanced technology and personal identity?

Adar:

Get the most out of it. From alerts to life pacing. Not too much with identity but maybe personality. IT may influence who you become.

Marvin:

What kinds of leisure time activities do you seek out? If you are doing something with someone else does it matter what their background is?

Adar:

I enjoy board games such as chess or backgammon. I particularly enjoy playing against Persians or Russians. Maybe it is because I am more often successful against this type of opponent. Maybe a coincidence or a function of the particular people I played against. I don't know. Maybe stereotyping plays a role. (FYI, I do think that stereotyping is bad but probability theory is basically built on tendencies, which lie at the heart of stereotyping. Stereotyping is particularly bad when discrimination takes over.)

MHS comment:

Adar seems to me post cultural in that there is a wide range of cultures to which he has been exposed, no longer attempting to maintain his own four different identities as separate entities. He “picks and chooses” depending on the situation. He can and does take advantage of technology without allowing it to control his life.

Hideki's Tale

Hideki is a 14 year old Japanese boy who came to America with his parents at age 6. While it is difficult to tell how someone that age will eventually evolve, he does show early signs of being at least potentially Post Cultural in outlook. I met with him in person.

Marvin:

What use do you make of electronic resources like the internet?

Hideki:

I use the internet, e mail, instant messaging and text messaging on my cellphone all the time. I keep in touch not only with my friends here but also with my old friends in Japan. It is interesting to see the differences in our lives since I came here. I made an English language website for use by Gaijin (not Japanese) high school students, so that they could understand our culture better. It explains situations like I have seen in school where the English kids didn't understand why we reacted to things the way we did.

Also I started three different blogs (weblogs). One of them was mainly a Japanese kid's understanding of Americans.

Even though we have a close family life, still I would like to go to private boarding school (here in the USA) as soon as possible. I believe that the levels of math and science taught in private school are higher than in public school. It seems to me that to get ahead in America, you have to understand a lot of the different countries that families have come from and be very good at using electronics and making them work for you. I also enjoy teaching other kids about computers and the internet---you know, little tricks that allow them to do things.

Every summer I go to Japan to spend time with my Grandparents. Even though I am American now I still want to keep up the part of me that is Japanese and these trips help. Of course I want to see my Grandparents too. They don't understand electronics as well as I do and sometimes I can help them figure out what to do with their computer to make their lives easier. But that is after I have been there with them for awhile.

Marvin:

Do you have friends that are in comparable situations to yours, perhaps from expatriate

families---either Japanese or from some other country? If so, could you describe your relationship with them?

Hideki:

Yes, I do have international friends as you describe. There are two parts to the answer. First there is how long the student has been in America. If they have been here awhile then it is not that different from my American friends, as our experiences are American. If they are newer then it is more complicated. Then it depends on where they are from. If Japan, then we have more in common---for instance we can speak Japanese whenever we want, like if we want to have a private conversation and others in the group are Gaijin. No one seems to mind that. If they are from another country then it is more difficult. I try to make them feel at home and speak English using simple words if I can. Also I try to bring in whatever I might know about their home country. If they are from the Far East, like China or Korea, then chances are they will know something about Japan. If they are from somewhere else then they may or may not know anything about Japan. Either way I try to teach them what I can.

MHS comment:

Hideki understands the technologies of social saturation very well, as do many people his age. He moves freely between The Ether-World and the practical world of everyday life. He shows signs of being able to move beyond being Japanese or being American and to understand those from different backgrounds on their own terms.

What these interviews might suggest

In Lara's case we have someone who seems to have already achieved Post Culturality. While she chooses to maintain some connection to Russia, for the most part she is cosmopolitan. She chose a husband from a completely different culture and the life they have together seems pretty much independent of the cultures they came from.

Adar seems a good example of a person who has developed in a pastiche pattern---having had in-depth exposure to many different cultures he has become post cultural---no longer subscribing to any one culture but reacting to situations around him according to what pattern seems right at the time. As with Lara, he treats technology as a tool rather than as a driving force in his life.

Hideki is still Japanese. Yet he seems to show an aggressive openness toward other cultures. Unlike the two adults in this section, technology does play an important role in his life and will possibly prove helpful in moving him toward a post cultural condition at a later date.

Post Culture and Early Backgrounds: A Case of Contrasts

Previously in this chapter I discussed the construct of *post culturality* as I intended to use it within this dissertation. Reprising this material: “In the *post cultural condition* all semblance of bounded cultures has disappeared...I define a *post cultural* person as one who can *perceive and react to contextual and interpersonal changes directly, without having to relate through a mediating cultural lens formed from the forces of particular cultural tradition...*” (p. 172)

I said in my dissertation Prologue that I considered myself *post cultural* and that my daughter Nicole was developing as a post cultural---in both cases defined as in the preceding paragraph taken from the current chapter. Later in this chapter (p. 191) I stated my belief that “...it is not absolutely necessary to have worked extensively with and become comfortable with advanced information technology in order to become post cultural. However I believe that the instant worldwide connectivity, easy access to great amounts of information and general speeding up of interactions that are enabled by the internet and derivative communications technologies over a long period of time become an advantage.”

In this section I will once again contemplate my own and my family's life experience in order to add dimension to post culturalism as a condition that can be reached by more than one route. I will do this by presenting a matched pair of portraits of some every day life activities of my daughter Nicole and myself when we were the same age, timeframes that were of course years apart in real time. The 1952 material below shows pieces of my own life as a 12 year old (as I remember it) growing up in a college town (Ithaca, NY) in mid twentieth century America. 2007 will show corresponding pieces of Nicole's life when she was 12 years old growing up now in another, similar college town (Princeton, NJ) early in the twenty-first century. Whereas she had full access to the technologies of social saturation (as they are now defined) I did not. My intent is to show how our lives were experientially different at that life stage and relate that difference to our similarity in outlooks now.

1952---Marvin's Story

My mother was a housewife, almost always home and able to serve dinner at about 5 PM each night. After dinner I did my homework without the aid of the electronic devices available to virtually every American student today. I did the laborious calculations of my math homework by hand (There were no calculators in those days). Then I waited. When 7 PM finally arrived (the time when the one available television station started broadcasting) I could sit in front of our twelve inch, black and white television set screen for a few hours watching grainy transmissions of programming which invariably presented a picture of a bounded, singular culture before going to bed. Still, this was a big change from a period only two years earlier when no one in our neighborhood, including ourselves, had a television set at all and the evening's entertainment comprised the family sitting around the living room sharing the experience of listening to the radio.

In 1952 we had recently experienced an advance in our telephone capability. Before this we had shared a party line with several neighbors, never knowing when we would be able to call out or receive calls and knowing that any who wanted to could invade our privacy by listening in on our phone conversations. While we still had only one telephone handset we now had our own phone line. We could call out or receive calls anytime. For

the most part we only made calls to friends and relatives in our town, long distance calls to places further away being in those days considerably more expensive.

We wanted to capture important family moments then, as we do now. To take still pictures we had an enormous, fixed focus box camera. The cumbersome operating procedure involved inserting film, taking pictures until the film exposures available were exhausted, then removing the film, taking it to a local shop for processing and receiving it back in a few weeks. For moving pictures we had a primitive 8mm film camera that needed to be wound up with a crank. The processing procedures were similar to those for still pictures. We did not have the ability to record sound to accompany the grainy, often disjointed images that appeared when the developed film was eventually shown at home.

The limited world I lived in every day extended also to travel, which was usually by car or sometimes train. Car trips were normally to locations in or around our home in Ithaca. Occasional trips to New York City for holidays and other special occasions were usually by train---the trip being constructed as a substantial journey, even though the actual distance was then as it is now only about 200 miles, a distance we would today consider short.

2007---Nicole's Story

By comparison, my daughter Nicole's life at the same chronological age was relatively complicated, more externally connected, faster moving and full of options. When she came home from school (where she had spent the day mostly studying topics I did not encounter until I reached high school or, in some cases, even college) Nicole could watch any one of 300 cable tv channels, presenting programming in a wide variety of genres and cultural traditions, on a 42 inch high definition television set. Having gone to Japanese language school on weekends since age four and having lived her entire life in a bi-lingual Japanese-English household she was completely fluent in Japanese and had a choice not only between programming genres but between English language and Japanese language programs. The Japanese television was delivered either live or tape delayed from Tokyo via satellite---the same programs that were aired the same day in Japan---thus transporting herself in her imagination half way around the world. If she

wanted to she could tape any program in either language for viewing later. She sometimes watched pre-recorded programming such as movies or instructional videos on DVDs or VHS tapes.

She often sent and received e mails and instant messages on her own laptop computer, establishing instant connectivity with those of her friends in compatible time zones. Or when appropriate she could communicate on a time-altered basis with those in Europe or Japan. She often attached to e mails documents that were available in electronic format, including coloured pictures. She sometimes initiated or received streamed videos over the internet.

After dinner Nicole used the internet in doing her homework---taking only a few minutes to accomplish research that would have taken me weeks to do manually. Using the search engine Google she could enter a keyword and almost instantly find on her screen a broad variety of websites from all over the world that deal with that topic---some in English and some in other languages. Reaching any website she wanted to explore could be done with one or two clicks.

When she was finished she often relaxed by playing games on her computer which were either embedded in her computer's hard disk or alternatively could be downloaded from seemingly thousands of internet sites. She and her friends often played internet games against each other, each from her own home using her own laptop computer, by logging onto the same website. She could also play against complete strangers who happened to be logged on to the game site at that time.

We have three telephone handsets in our home, two of which are cordless and can be carried anywhere in the house for additional privacy. These are connected to the same high speed cable that provides our broadband internet service---assuring high quality, low cost telephone access to anywhere in the world (Nicole can talk to her friends in Japan for hours, experiencing quality levels similar to calling just down the street, for US\$3 per hour---an amount that corresponded to the cost of only one minute of US-Japan telephone airtime as recently as 20 years ago). One of our handsets is also connected to a fax

machine. And we have our choice of several different phone answering machines to use when we are out, so we never miss calls. Additionally Nicole has her own cellular phone, as do my wife and myself. Thus she is virtually always potentially in touch with her parents and friends. Her cellular phone has other uses, such as playing games that are embedded in it or for text messaging.

Nicole has her own conventional style film camera, that can be used in preference to low cost disposable cameras that are readily available almost anywhere in the US. However, usually she uses her digital camera, which produces high quality pictures that are instantly viewable (and errors accordingly correctible). These digital images can be sent anywhere in the world via internet and arrive in seconds. We can, and often do, receive other people's digital images, sent to us over the internet. Additionally the digital camera can be used as a video camera, recording sound as well and replacing a traditional Super-8 VHS camcorder which we had for many years---itself a former revolutionary improvement over historic conventional home movie cameras. The digital camera, of course, does not use film. Its electronic output pictures can be printed on either regular or specialized computer printers.

Because of our family history and international connectedness my daughter may have done more traveling than some of her contemporaries. However, it is not unusual today for children to travel vast distances by plane. Nicole has made 11 trips to Japan and visited many countries in Western Europe, including The Netherlands, England, France, Germany, Austria and Italy. She is familiar with a number of the top museums in Europe, such as The Rijksmuseum, The Louvre and The British Museum as well as many other important European cultural sites. She has also made two trips to Hawaii. The sophistication she has developed from this travel exposure to other cultures, added to her bi-lingual daily living context dwarfs the sense I had when her age of the world outside of neighborhood, town and maybe state. Now, when she goes to Japan or makes other long trips she often travels alone.

Different Routes, Same Destination

In Chapter FOUR I treated Nicole for interview purposes (with her friend) from the viewpoint of growing up in a bi-cultural household. Now I am treating her as potentially post cultural. My intent is similar to the case of the Japanese boy Hideki, interviewed earlier in this Chapter. Now thirteen years old it is difficult to predict how Nicole will eventually develop. What I can say now from observation is that bi-culturality for her has been a stage en route to post culturality. However I believe that the types of adjustment described in this dissertation---mono-cultural, bi-cultural, hybrid cultural and post cultural---are not necessarily arrayed in a linear sequence for everyone. Rather I feel they are conditions that any individual seeking adjustment can relate to *on an individual basis* at any time, moving from one to another as seems appropriate.

That question aside, how is it that father and daughter with such different childhoods could both approach the post cultural condition---as individuals who can relate to changing contexts and interpersonal situations directly, without the intervening mediation of particularized culture? In Nicole's case she has had exposure to both a wide variety of cultures and at the same time has grown familiar with, and is comfortable with what I have called earlier The Ether-World. In my own case, as I outlined in my Prologue, I have absorbed aspects of many different cultures through living in countries other than America for many years at a time, through my marriage to a Japanese and through my business experiences where I have at various times played the role of entrepreneur, business owner, manager in large organizational settings, consultant, educator, writer and student. In these various roles I have worked in, or at least had exposure to 45 different businesses all over the world. I have become post cultural over a long period by the steady accumulation of life experience rather than operating on the compressed schedule of one who lives a large part of life in The Ether-World. Both Nicole and I contemplate a state of post culturality, although having travelled by somewhat different routes to get there.

Perspectives on Post Culture

When I started writing this chapter I had pictured a relationship that did not prove out completely. I understood the technologies of social saturation. It was not difficult to document their growth, elaboration or (decreasing) unevenness of international development, particularly the internet. Nor was it particularly difficult to find the quotes of scholars who related the breakdown of traditional cultures to the general international advance of technology, whether the internet was included or not. However I had imagined what I have called in this chapter The Ether-World to be a more intense endogenous phenomenon that came *by itself* in time to dominate some people to the point where their cultural anchoring, as I have used the term in the Chapter THREE discussion of ACES, would be to a degree displaced---in other words, my original idea had been that the internet was the key to understanding cultural disintegration in many cases. That could still be true for some people. However, in the interviews I had, and reflecting on my own and my daughter's life experiences, it was not consistently demonstrated. I now believe my original idea was too simplistic and in need of re-formulation.

I have come to regard post culturality as a condition that is developed through exposure to intense amounts of new and unusual information, *which could come in many forms*. It could be in the form of encounters on the internet, real or imagined travels to new lands, appropriations of new life styles observed directly or through electronic or other media or in other ways. Based on what I have seen and read it seems that the main commonality that runs through conditions of preparedness for post culturality is what Hannerz, quoted earlier in describing *cosmopolitanism*, observed as "...an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences..." This then allows for the regarding of contextual or interpersonal changes directly, without the mediating influence of particular culture. My belief, in other words, is that cosmopolitanism (as defined by

Hannerz) tends to enable post culture. We saw in the preceding two chapters how hybrid culturality began by building pieces onto a stable base identity. Post culture then might be contemplated as a more extreme version where the stable base identity has also, in effect, disappeared.

Footnotes:

7.1: From the website <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm> . The site is maintained by Miniwatts Marketing Group. Data is current as of March 2007. Sources of data are www.world-gazeteer.com ,Nielsen//NetRatings, ITU and Computer Industry Almanac.

7.2: See <http://www.paulallen.net/2005/12/06/2-billion-cell-phones-in-use/>

7.3: See <http://www.myrateplan.com/sat/international-programming-on-satellite-TV.php>

7.4: See <http://www.who.int/bookorders/anglais/detart1.jsp?sesslan=1&codlan=1&codlan=18&co>

7.5: See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Carolus

7.6: See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Associated.Press>

7.7 See <http://www.wan-press.org/article7321.html>

7.8 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/radio>

7.9: See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_introduction_of_television_in_countries

Chapter EIGHT: Summary and Reflections

America is known---rightfully---as a country built by immigrants. So it seemed appropriate for me, as a person from an immigrant background, to build my dissertation through telling the story of the development of American immigrant acculturation as a social process. Immigrants have come to America for many different reasons. Some were seeking freedom from physical or intellectual persecution. Some were fleeing war or famine. Some were seeking a setting where they could start a new life, characterized by economic or lifestyle opportunity. Some came to join family members who were already here. One thing that most had in common was that they found in America a place that was probably quite unlike wherever they had come from. Pursuing a fulfilling life in America involved individual choices about strategies likely to accomplish what they had set out to do.

I have constructed American acculturational development history in the form of periods ---beginning my story with a time late in the eighteenth century when predominantly white immigrants largely from England, Germany and other countries in Northern Europe (See Footnote 8.1) came here in considerable numbers, bringing with them a more or less contained, rural, Protestant culture to continue to follow as best they could while developing the new land. They had been preceded by groups we know today as Native Americans---felt by many scholars to have migrated to America from Asia over the land bridge that existed thousands of years ago and is now below the level of the Bering Sea---groups that migrated southward when they were able, to form tribes many of which continue to exist today throughout North, Central and South America.. While there was some mixing of American white settlers with the tribes that were here in the territory that eventually became The United States often this mixing had an adverse result, such as European diseases destroying substantial parts of Native American Indian populations, wars and other negative results. On balance the groups largely remained apart, basically distrusting each other, often warring against each other and generally preferring to

maintain their respective traditional ways of life. A third group with a separate and discernable culture comprised the Negro slaves who were initially captured in Africa and brought to America to work in adverse conditions as the economy of the American South developed. Even though displaced from their original cultures the slaves were, for the most part, not welcomed into the white society that prevailed in the areas where they were. In short, this was an era when the three main groups---each clearly different culturally from the others---did not fully integrate with each other. And acculturation, as I have used the term in this dissertation (meaning the process of adjustment to stresses brought on by prolonged contact with unusual or different cultures), was in my view of limited importance in American life at that time. This period is discussed in Chapter ONE.

Beginning around 1880 a change in the character of the immigrant flow to America became evident. In response to deteriorating conditions in many parts of Europe, many “new” immigrants came not from Northern Europe but from Central and Southern Europe. These immigrants were culturally much different from those who came before---often Catholic or Jewish rather than Protestant, speaking languages and following conventions of food and clothing that seemed unusual to the previous settlers, and embracing a basically urban rather than rural lifestyle. The substantial presence of these new groups, who at least shared a European origin, led to considerable stress at the time including discrimination against the new immigrants by the old---presenting what was in my view America’s first large-scale need for acculturational definition. Scholars throughout the country debated the future of America---whether it would develop as a heterogeneous mixture of different peoples or whether the result would be a plural situation where each of many cultures maintained its essential features. As this debate was going on a play entitled *The Melting Pot* opened in New York---a play that was to have substantial impact in that its assimilationist message of a single America came to define the aspirations of many immigrants. Of course, not all attempted to fit into the mold of a single America. Some chose other adjustment strategies. But many did identify with the melting pot idea and the construct, defined in the period of the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remains popular in some places today. This period is discussed in Chapter TWO.

In 1965 there was a major alteration in US immigration laws. Among other changes, a country quota system for potential immigrants, which had been put in place some forty years before, was dismantled and many more were free to emigrate to America. A largely unexpected consequence of this change in legal framework was that American immigration surged, while also changing in origin. In the ensuing period, rather than immigrants tending to come from Europe, most came from Latin America and the Far East. These tended to adopt a quite different strategy for acculturation and adjustment to America. Rather than aspire to assimilate into American life they tended to chose to develop an American personality while also maintaining their original personality---a condition called bi-culturality, allowing for either formation to rise to the surface as desired. A cohort of social scientists came to prominence studying this phenomenon and such related issues as whether personality development was inherently a uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional (orthogonal) process and whether new immigrant cultures could make a lasting impact on receiving cultures already established in the new land. A fuller discussion of this material can be found in Chapters TWO and THREE.

These issues came to be resolved through the work of Canadian cross-cultural psychologist John Berry in a model of adjustment which he developed late in the twentieth century. Feeling that the Berry model, while useful in many respects, was not as powerful as it could be in placing immigrants in acculturational space I developed a framework, described in Chapter THREE, which I called ACES---an acronym for Anchoring, Communication, Enjoyment and Sensitivity, variables my experience suggested were important for adjustment. My ACES framework is designed to complement the Berry acculturational model in defining the degree to which an individual is bi-cultural. Chapter FOUR describes how Hispanic and Far Eastern immigrants play the bi-cultural game of life in America, using interviews reviewed using the Berry model and ACES framework to determine whether particular interviewed individuals had moved into the space of full bi-culturality---a condition where the

individual is essentially able to act in each cultural role as if uni-cultural in that culture, reacting to changing contexts and relationships without undue influence from the non-active alternate personality. Once again it is important to understand that not all Hispanic or Far Eastern immigrants follow an acculturational strategy of bi-culturalism. The strategy is contemplated as the modal method of adjustment for those groups, but adjustment is still an individual matter. In Chapters FIVE and SIX I begin to deal with hybrid culturality as an adjustment strategy, using the situations of immigrant Muslims to illustrate the point. In this condition, a strong base identity is elaborated by the addition of pieces of other personalities and modes of adjustment observed and appropriated for use as desired in an *individually appropriate blended mix*. In the Muslim case these pieces could come from exposure to other Muslims who come from different backgrounds, from non-Muslim Americans, from media or from other sources.

In Chapter SEVEN I begin discussing the technologies of social saturation described by Gergen in 1991. Essentially comprising a revolution in information and media technology that has grown massively since then these technologies have helped many individuals develop *post culturally*---an orientation which I have characterized for purposes of this dissertation as engendering the ability to react to contextual or interpersonal changes fluidly, an orientation favoured by the various conditions which the person might have experienced. I review relevant literature and interview three immigrants who I believe have moved into post cultural space while showing through comparisons within my own family that the technologies under discussion, while helpful, are not absolutely necessary to allow a post cultural profile to develop.

To summarize, I see American acculturational development as having gone through what I have constructed as four phases---the mono-cultural, bi-cultural, hybrid cultural and post cultural. While many of these phases were initiated by specific contextual modifications situated in time, such as changes in immigration origin points driven by conditions in Europe or new US immigration laws the acculturational development phase constructs are not intended as contained segments that necessarily start and stop at defined times. Nor are they intended as a linear sequence that individuals must move

through. Rather, the phases are modal adjustment strategies of individual immigrants---not all immigrants at that time but rather those who believe that the particular strategy is then right for them. In some cases it is not difficult to imagine how an immigrant embracing, for example, hybrid culturality could move into post cultural space later or for other movements to occur. As always, adjustment is an individual matter, expressed individually according to forces in play at that particular time.

Reflections

I have approached my dissertation not as someone who has spent a lifetime as a social scientist but as a businessman with a background in the social science field---far distant in time but of abiding significance. Much of my work in the business world involved studying behavior patterns of consumers, making judgements of how they would react to marketing strategies and tactics. That concern was a major factor in my choosing acculturation as a topic to write about.

For many years I was active as a consultant, lecturer and writer in the field of marketing to Hispanic consumers. This field has grown significantly in recent years and I am proud of the part I played in developing the specialized methods needed to reach and satisfy the needs of this group. I became aware of acculturation status being of extreme importance in constructing marketing strategies for Hispanics as this variable often governs the type of media that the individual is exposed to, the kinds of products that would or would not be of interest, the kinds of advertising that would be most effective in producing action, the nature of the people who would influence purchase decisions and other similar factors.

In seeking to improve my ability as a marketer of products and services to Hispanics I came to be aware of the relative lack of materials discussing acculturation as a social process, as opposed to simply talking about action correlates. So I set out to at least start to fill this vacuum in my doctoral work. I am most grateful to the faculty and staff of

Tilberg University, to my advisors Professors Gergen and Rijsman and to the Taos Institute for giving me the chance to do what I wanted to do.

Some years ago I wrote an article entitled *Dehomogenized Marketing for the Twenty-First Century* in which I argued that the white, suburban, middle class consumer who formed the core of the idealized target for many American product and service companies would, based on demographic changes that were then beginning to surface, become a minority. Conversely, groups then considered minorities would ascend in aggregate into the majority, with the consequence that America would become a place where one size no longer fitted all, or even most. Since then I have witnessed the continued growth of non-mainstream groups and a new interest in more exotic, non-mainstream cultures. I believe these trends will continue and I intend to do my best to put what I have learned in writing this dissertation to use in spreading a greater understanding of the non-traditional condition in America.

I began my dissertation by welcoming you, my reader, and hoping that you would enjoy travelling with me on this voyage. Now, having reached the end of the voyage (at least for now), I would like to thank you for your attention to what I have been saying and let you know that I am free now, as always, to accept your critique and your suggestions for improvement.

Marvin H. Shaub
Princeton, New Jersey
USA

Footnote:

8.1: As of the year 1790 there were an estimated 750,000 Negro individuals in The United States, most serving as slaves in the American South. Additionally there about 3.2 million Whites---including 2.5 million from what we now know as the United Kingdom, 270,000 from Germany, 100,000 from The Netherlands and just over 300,000 from Sweden, France and other countries combined. The number of Native American Indians living in America at that time is not known exactly. However The Indian Removal Act of 1830 is believed to have displaced over 100,000 Native American individuals, from East of the Mississippi River to West of it. Accordingly the total of Native Americans would probably be a number in excess of that.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/native_Americans_in_the_United_States

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Appendix A: Dissertation Interview Protocols

This dissertation contains write-ups of twenty-one interviews. Some of these were intended (in whole or part) as traditional, designed to get answers to specific questions from multiple respondents (for directional trends rather than statistically projectable results). Some were intended more as conversations---in the framework of a preliminary exploration, pursuing issues that seemed most germane for the person interviewed and responding to the direction taken by the interviewee rather than necessarily testing out a hypothesis that was fixed in advance. These various intentions, outlines and instruments are detailed as follows.

Chapter FOUR

There are eight interviews in this group, four with Hispanics and four with Japanese. The intent of the interview group taken as a whole was to see if factors of communality related to the achievement of full bi-culturality could be hypothesized both within culturally homogeneous groups and across such groups. All of the respondents were personally known to me for a long period of time, in a few cases being members of my own family. Basic questions to be covered in the course of conversations, listed below, while broadly stated in order to avoid restrictive guidelines, were the same for both groups. Reformulation of specific wording of questions (to aid in respondents' understanding of the questions) and the addition of questions to pursue particular points was allowed in the interests of having as rich a collection of dialogues as possible. Occasionally quotes from the interview were embellished with other quotes from recent conversations with the same person.

1. Describe any early impressions you might have formed of America, particularly as they may have contrasted with your own country.
2. What were the circumstances of your coming to America?
3. What early problems did you have in adjusting to America?
4. Provide a brief history of your life in America, highlighting developments that were important to you.
5. How do you feel about your relationship to America now, compared to your present relationship to your home country? (1-5 Anchoring)
6. How well do you speak, read and write the English language? (6 Communications)
7. Describe your leisure life in America touching on whether you enjoy American activities as much as those more associated with your traditional homeland. (7 Enjoyment)

8. Could you describe situations in both your home country and America where it was clear that a speaker's intent was different from what he or she was actually saying? (8 Sensitivity)

Chapter SIX

The first five of ten total Muslim interviews were all with experts in particular aspects of that culture. Questions, some of which were the same across interviews and some different, were designed to contribute individual texture to the constructions of Muslim viewpoints about life in America which appear in Chapter FIVE. Interviews were taped and transcribed, and transcription drafts were sent back to the interviewee to review for accuracy and to provide opportunity for further embellishment.

Particular dialogic areas---

Mr. Zayyed:

1. General features of life in a conservative Muslim country vs. America.
2. Effect of emigration to America on Muslim religious beliefs and/or practices.
3. Viewpoints of Muslim youth growing up in America.
4. Differences in outlook between Muslim converts and Muslim immigrants.

Dr. Ahmad:

1. Reactions of Muslims to American stereotypy of them.
2. Effect of emigration to America on Muslim religious beliefs and/or practices.
3. Research issues in Muslim ethnography.
4. Differences in outlook between Muslim converts and Muslim immigrants.
5. Viewpoints of Muslim youth growing up in America.
6. Viewpoints of Muslim women on life in America.

Imam Chebli:

1. Effect of emigration to America on Muslim religious beliefs and/or practices.
2. The importance to Muslim immigrants of closely following the Shari'a life practice rules.
3. Role of an Imam in America.

Dr. Bullock:

1. The nature of Muslim identity formation.
2. General viewpoints of Muslim women on life in America.
3. Viewpoints of Muslim women on relationships with men and on clothing imperatives.

Mrs. Amad:

1. Differences in outlook on life in America between Muslim immigrants and Muslim converts.
2. The nature of Muslim parochial schooling and Muslim parents' attitudes toward children having a Muslim education.
3. Particularities of Muslim art.

The last five Muslim interviews were all with Muslim college students. All were asked their age, their year in school, whether they were native born or of non-American ethnicity and, if not American, their origin country. Additionally they were asked the following combinations of questions:

1. (Asked of all) If someone were to ask you how you define yourself as a person now, how would you rank the importance of the following possibilities: Your traditional ethnicity, your status as a member of the Ummah (worldwide community of believers in Islam), being a student at your particular college, being in pursuit of education in a particular specialty or profession or something else?"
2. (If immigrant) When you got to America did you feel you were in a cultural diaspora? How has your life changed since coming to America? What differences do you see in the support provided by American society to Islamic pursuit and practice compared to your home country? What, if anything, have you done to maintain ties to your traditional culture?
3. (If native born) As you were growing up what effort, if any, did you make to strengthen your connection with your origin culture? What differences do you notice between American born Muslims and immigrant Muslims?

Additionally, where possible, the nature of on-campus activities of The Muslim Students' Association (MSA) were probed.

Chapter SEVEN

The three interviews in Chapter SEVEN were intended to assist in developing hypotheses related to the development of post culturality, its possible relationship to intense use of advanced media and information technologies and to exposure to multiple ethnic cultures and other sources of new or unusual input. Discussion areas included---

1. What role do electronic connectivity devices like the internet or cellular phones play in your life in America?
2. What exposure have you had to cultures other than your original culture?
3. When you experience some major new situation or relationship in America do you usually look at it from the perspective of someone from your traditional culture, from an American perspective, from a combination of these two or neither?

Appendix B: ACCULTURATION MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

Between 1978 and 2001 48 different scales were published in the social science literature. Of these, only 6 were intended for general use, across ethnicities. Of the remaining 42, 26 were for Hispanics, 10 for Asians and 6 for other specific ethnicities.

Full citations are provided in the Bibliography section.

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1. Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS---Szapocznik et. al, 1978)
 2. Chicano Adolescent Acculturation Scale (AMCA---Olmeido et. al., 1978)
 3. Value Acculturation Scale (VAS---Szapocznik et. al., 1978)
 4. Acculturation Scale for Chinese Americans (ASCA---Yao, 1979)
 5. Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire (CBIQ---Garcia and Lega, 1979)
 6. Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA---Cuellar, Harris and Jasso, 1980)
 7. Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ---Szapocznik et. al., 1980)
 8. Padilla Acculturation Scale (PAS---Padilla, 1980)
 9. Acculturation and Biculturalism Scale (ABS---Triandis et. al., 1982)
 10. Biculturalism/Multiculturalism Experience Inventory (B/MEI---Ramirez, 1983)
 11. Children's Acculturation Scale (CAS---Franco, 1983)
 12. Navajo Family Acculturation Scale (NFAS---Boyce and Boyce, 1983)
 13. Navajo Community Acculturation Scale (NCAS---Boyce and Boyce, 1983)
 14. Children's Hispanic Background Scale (CHBS---Martinez, Norman and Delaney, 1984)
 15. Language Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans (LASMA---Deyo et. al., 1985)
 16. Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey (RPOS---Hoffman et. al., 1985)
 17. Media-Based Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans (MAS---Ramirez, Cousins, Santos and Supik, 1986)

18. Acculturation Scale (AS---Caetano, 1987)
19. Los Angeles Epidemiological Catchment Area Acculturation Scale (LAECA-AS--Burnam et. al., 1987)
20. Multicultural Acculturation Scale (Wong et. al. 1987)
21. Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (SAS---Marin, Sabogal, VanOss Marin, Otero-Sabogal and Perez-Stable, 1987)
22. Suinn-Lew Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA---Suinn et. al. , 1987)
23. Cultural Life Styles Inventory (CLSI---Mendoza, 1989)
24. American-International Relations Scale (Roysicar-Sodowsky and Plake, 1991)
25. Hispanic Stress Inventory (HIS---Cervantes et. al., 1991)
26. Minority-Majority Relations Scale (Sodowski et. al., 1991)
27. Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992)
28. Mexican American Acculturation Scale (ARS---Montgomery, 1992)
29. Acculturation Scale for Southeast Asians (AS-SEA---Anderson, Moeschberger, Chen, Kunn, Wewers and Guthrie, 1993)
30. General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ---Levenson, 1994)
31. Latino/Latina Adolescent Acculturation Scale (Felix-Ortiz et. al., 1994)
32. Na Mea Hawai'I Scale (NMHS---Rezentes, 1993)
33. African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS---Landrine and Klonoff, 1994)
34. Bicultural Scale for Puerto Ricans (BSPR---Cortes et. al., 1994)
35. Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth (SASH-Y---Barona and Miller, 1994)
36. Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Revised (ARSMA II---Cuellar and Maldonado, 1995)
37. Acculturation Measure for Hispanic Adolescents (AMHA---Epstein et. al. 1996)

38. Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Short Form (Dawson et. al., 1996)
39. Bidimensional Acculturation Scale (BiAS---Marin and Gamba, 1996)
40. Brief Acculturation Scale (BrAS---Norris, Ford and Bova, 1996)
41. Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist (CADC---Sodowsky and Lai, 1997)
42. Internal-External Ethnic Identity Measure (Kwan and Sodowski, 1997)
43. Ethnocultural Identity Behavioral Index (EIBI---Yamada et. al., 1998)
44. Acculturation Scale for Vietnamese Adolescents (Nguyen et. al., 1999)
45. Asian Values Scale (AVS---Kim, Atkinson and Yang, 1999)
46. African American Acculturation Scale (AfAAS---Snowden and Hines, 1999)
47. Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS---Stephenson, 2000)
48. Cultural Values Conflict Scale (Inman et. al., 2001)

Appendix C: SELECTED MUSLIM POPULATION STATISTICS

This Appendix is designed to provide an idea of the scope of Islamic population in the world and in America in relationship to the world. There are two sections. The first lists the 10 countries with the largest number of Muslims living in it, along with the % of all world Muslims living in that particular country. The second provides various estimates of the number of Muslims living in America.

Largest Muslim Countries

Here are the 10 most populous Muslim countries, listed with the number of Muslims living in each and the corresponding percentage of the complete worldwide Muslim population---

<u>Country</u>	<u>mm Muslims</u>	<u>%/all Muslims</u>
Indonesia	196.3	17.4%
India	133.3	11.8%
China	133.1	11.8%
Pakistan	125.4	11.1%
Bangladesh	104.6	9.3%
Nigeria	77.9	6.9%
Iran	65.4	5.8%
Turkey	62.4	5.5%
Egypt	59.8	5.3%
Ethiopia	37.1	3.3%

The cumulative total (right column) is 88.2%. Over 40% of Muslims live in The Far East (first 3 entries). No country from Western Europe is included in the top 10. Only 15% of Muslims are Arabs (speak Arabic as their first language). Note that a world total of 1.1 billion Muslims was used to calculate the figures above. There are other estimates for this number, up to 1.6 billion.

Source: http://www.factbook.net/muslim_pop.php

Muslims in America

There is no *certain* number representing the total of Muslims in America as The US Census Bureau is precluded by law from asking for respondees' religion, Islam being considered a religion. There have been various recent estimates, many of which are presented below in ascending order, for background only.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>mm American Muslims</u>
2001	City Univ. of NY	1.1
2006	General Social Survey	1.2
2007	Pew	1.4
2000	Glenmary Research Center	1.6
2001	American Jewish Committee	1.9
2000	Hartford Institute for Religious Res.	2.0
2003	<i>World Almanac and Fact Book</i>	2.8
1992	American Muslim Council	5.0
2007	Wikipedia	6.0
2006	Dr. Ahmad (see interview, Ch.6)	6.0
2001	<i>Britannica Book of the Year</i>	6.7
1997	Ba-Yunis Research	6.7
2006	Cornell University Population Stdy	7.0

Sources: Pew (2007), Public Broadcasting System (2002), Numan (1992), Boorstein (2006)

