

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
Do Second Generation South Asian Canadians
Want a Traditional Partner?

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Two studies examined the influence of Eastern cultural heritage on relationship preferences among second generation immigrants to the West, and explicitly tested the mediating roles of interdependence and familial cultural influence in mate preferences. The first used a between-subjects approach to compare the preferred mate attributes of South Asian Canadians ($n = 97$) to those of Euro-Canadians ($n = 89$). The second study used a within-subject approach by using the strength of cultural identity of South Asian Canadians ($n = 92$) as a predictor of preferred attributes. Both studies found a culture influence on “traditional” mate attribute preferences. Moreover, familial cultural influence (e.g., family allocentrism) was a better mediator of the culture-traditional attribute preference relationship than the more generic measure of interdependent self-construal. The results further suggest that a cross-cultural approach, rather than a strength-of-cultural-identity approach, is better suited to tap into non-conscious influences of culture on behavior.

Keywords: mate selection; interdependence; family allocentrism; South Asian; cross-cultural

It is generally recognized that the “norms, roles, rules, customs, understandings and expectations” of interactions in relationships are primarily defined and transmitted by culture (Berscheid, 1995, p. 531). Cultural influences, however, have been found to extend far beyond the interpretation and expression of interpersonal interactions. Culture has been found to influence not only the external (i.e., behavioral) but also the internal (e.g., representational) aspects of relationships. For example, there is a considerable body of evidence indicating cultural differences in the representations of emotions that underlie personal relationships (Planalp & Fitness, 1999). Dion and Dion (1996) have described differences in the interpretation and meaning of romantic love and intimacy across cultures. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that culture also influences the characteristics that make up our representation of an ideal romantic partner (Buss et al., 1990; Hatfield & Rapson, 1996). It is this aspect of relationships that is the focus of the studies reported here. Specifically, this article is concerned with cultural influences on mate preferences among second generation South Asian immigrants to Canada.

A primary reason for examining mate preferences in this population was to explore the mechanisms by which culture has its effect on relationship partner ideals. Researchers examining cultural variations in relationships have typically emphasized the distinction between individualist and collectivist cultures (Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). It can be argued,

AUTHORS' NOTE: This research was supported by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to the first author. Correspondence regarding this article should be sent to lalonde@yorku.ca

JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY, Vol. 35 No. 5, September 2004 503-524
DOI: 10.1177/0022022104268386
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however, that much of this research has used this distinction as an explanatory mechanism rather than studying its effect at an empirical level. Thus, one purpose of the current studies was to directly assess the effect of a measure of collectivism on preferences for traditional attributes in a mate.

INDIVIDUALISTIC AND COLLECTIVISTIC CULTURES

Two fundamental values that clearly differentiate between Eastern and Western cultures are individualism and collectivism (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988). Individualism emphasizes the rights of the individual and the importance of individual goals. Collectivism focuses on the rights and well-being of the groups that individuals belong to. Individuals internalize these cultural values, which then affect the ways in which they relate to important others in their environment.

Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, and Nisbett (1998) have stressed that cultural core ideas, customs, and norms are expressed within the political, legal, and educational systems of a culture as well as through its language, media, and caretaking practices. These cultural expressions are continuously replayed in the individual's daily interactions at home, school, and the workplace. These recurrent episodes shape an individual's internal representation of self. The end result is that individuals from different cultures develop a very different sense of self, especially with respect to how the self is related to important others. Those from a European American tradition will tend to have a stable and autonomous view of the self, or independent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These individuals "often regard relationships as competing with personal needs and regard group pressures as interfering with personal goals" (Fiske et al., 1998, p. 920). In contrast, individuals from the East Asian tradition develop an interdependent self-construal, a more fluid and flexible view of the self that is bound to others. For Eastern individuals, relationships are inextricably bound to the self, and personal needs and goals cannot be considered without thinking of the implications for others.

Perhaps the most striking ramification of these cultural influences are the differences between Eastern and Western perspectives on marriage and, in particular, on arranged marriages (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). In Western cultures, marriage is seen as the union of two individuals. Although family approval is desirable, young adults are expected to find their partners without their parents' assistance. Marriage, in Western cultures, is assumed to be a consequence of a couple's feelings or romantic love. In contrast, in many Eastern cultures marriage is seen as the alliance between two families (Dion & Dion, 1993). This is particularly true within East Indian culture (Sprecher & Chandak, 1992). Although children's approval of an arranged marriage partner is desirable, because of the importance of group and family ties in a collectivistic culture such as India, obligations and duties are seen as more important than personal preferences. Adolescents and young adults are thus expected to respect their parents' desires regarding the choice of a spouse, and not surprisingly, love may be better conceptualized as a state that follows marriage rather than one that precedes it (Goodwin & Cramer, 2000).

CULTURE AND MATE PREFERENCES

Given these different cultural perspectives on marriage, it follows that cultural differences should be observed in mate preferences. The most important study to examine the desired characteristics in a mate across cultures was conducted by Buss et al. (1990). This

study examined the views of individuals from 37 countries representing a cultural, religious, linguistic, and geographic diversity of groups. The focus of this study was the universality of gender differences in preferred mate characteristics, and indeed, the findings revealed remarkable similarity in gender differences across nations. There were, however, important cultural differences. The attribute for which there was the largest cultural effect was a desire for chastity in a mate, and India and China were among the nations to judge chastity as relatively important. In fact, a multidimensional scaling analysis of the respondents from all nations indicated that India and China were the most distinct (i.e., greater distance from other cultures) on a dimension that included chastity as a central element. Buss et al. (1990) labeled this dimension traditional versus modern industrial values. Importantly, Buss et al. assume that their observed cultural differences could be accounted for by an individualism-collectivism distinction. This cultural variable, however, was not actually assessed in their study.

Since the Buss et al. (1990) study, others have also documented cultural similarities and differences in preferred mate attributes. Hatfield and Sprecher (1995), for example, compared students from the United States (individualist culture), Japan (collectivist culture), and Russia (intermediate culture) in their preferences for attributes in a marriage partner. Once again, they found considerable similarity in the responses of individuals from different cultures, although Americans were "choosier" (i.e., more traits rated as indispensable) than the Japanese and Russian students. As with Buss et al. (1990), Hatfield and Sprecher (1995) explained their observed cultural differences in terms of an individualist-collectivist distinction. However, they also did not directly assess this cultural construct.

Betancourt and López (1993) have appropriately indicated that if a cultural variable is assumed to underlie an ethnic group difference, a direct measure of that cultural element should be obtained to ensure that the groups actually differ with regard to that variable. Moreover, the role of the cultural variable in mediating the relationship between cultural group membership and the observed cultural difference needs to be explicitly tested. This point has also been made by Matsumoto (1999) regarding self-construal as a mediator of cultural differences in psychological phenomena. He observed that the research that has been cited in support of Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory of self-construal typically only tests whether countries differ on psychological variables rather than explicitly testing the mediational role of self-construal.

In summary, it can perhaps be inferred from Buss et al. (1990) that a cultural measure of individualism-collectivism was mediating the relationship between cultural group (e.g., Indian vs. American) and preference for traditional attributes in a mate (e.g., chastity), but this mediational hypothesis was never actually tested. This hypothesis will therefore be directly tested in this study, but the focus will be limited to second generation South Asian immigrants.

THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

It is often observed that a potential for conflict exists between Eastern immigrants to the Western world and their adolescent/adult children (e.g., Segal, 1991). The heritage culture of the first generation is typically well grounded before arriving in a new host society; they have experienced their heritage culture both sociostructurally (schools, language, media) and interpersonally (family, peers, partners), and their self-concept is well rooted in this culture. The second generation, on the other hand, experience most of their heritage culture through their families. At the same time, much of their social structure and the majority of their peers

belong to the host culture. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that second generation immigrants experience internal conflict that has a cultural basis (e.g., Dugsin, 2001; Weston, 1994). In lay terms, it is stated that the children of immigrants are caught between two cultures. In psychological terms, we can speak of bicultural individuals (e.g., LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton 1993; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000).

Bicultural individuals have access to two potentially distinct sets of cultural norms (i.e., values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors) and have the potential to experience identity conflict (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985). These individuals, however, are not in a constant state of conflict because different cultural groups share similar norms (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), although these may differ in degree (e.g., politeness). Moreover, an individual's social identity is contextually driven, and only one culture of the bicultural individual is typically salient in a particular context (e.g., home vs. school). Clément and Noels (1992) have referred to this later phenomenon as a situated identity. A conflict between the two sets of cultural norms of the bicultural individual, therefore, is more likely to be evidenced when these norms are in opposition and when both social identities are salient (these are not independent events).

The realm of close relationships is one area where there is the potential for cultural conflict in bicultural individuals, particularly when one culture is rooted in an Eastern tradition (i.e., with traditional values) and the other in a Western tradition (i.e., with modern-industrial values). Indeed, a recent review of the literature on immigrant families has indicated that the issue of dating and relationships is often associated with considerable tension, particularly for the daughters of immigrants (Hynie, 1996). For second generation Eastern immigrants in a Western culture, close relationships are typically associated with two distinct, and often contradictory, sets of norms (see Tang & Dion, 1999). The studies reported in this article will focus on the norms related to one issue within the realm of close relationships, namely, preferred mate characteristics. The pertinent question is whether or not the traditional norms of the heritage culture are still having an effect on the preferences of bicultural second generation immigrants from South Asia.

SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

South Asian immigrants have received an increasing amount of attention in the research literature. Whereas earlier studies focused on first generation immigrants (e.g., Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Naidoo, 1985;), more recent studies have focused on intergenerational differences among immigrants (e.g., Goodwin & Cramer, 2000) or comparisons of first to second generation immigrants (e.g., Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Aycan & Kanungo, 1998; Kwak & Berry, 2001). Some of these studies have focused on issues of personal relationships. Goodwin and Cramer (2000), for example, examined a sample of British South Asian couples (Hindus from Gujarat) and found that older couples were more likely to have a completely or partly arranged marriage, whereas younger couples were more likely to have a partly arranged marriage or to be self-introduced. These issues also have been explored in a number of qualitative studies of South Asians immigrants living in Canada (Talhani & Hasanali, 2000; Weston, 1994) and the United States (Das Gupta, 1997; Dugsin, 2001; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998; Segal, 1991). In fact, one of the most consistent themes in these studies is cultural conflict with regard to issues of dating and marriage (Dugsin, 2001; Segal, 1991; Talhani & Hasanali, 2000).

Many of these qualitative studies have focused exclusively on second generation women or female adolescents (Das Gupta, 1997; Dugsin, 2001; Talhani & Hasanali, 2000; Weston,

1994), whereas others have focused on families (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998; Segal, 1991). The tendency of qualitative research to focus on female respondents is probably a reflection of the observation that greater socialization demands are placed on daughters compared to sons in immigrant families (see Dion & Dion, 2001). Much of the issues on cultural conflict have been recently captured in a measure developed by Inman, Ladany, Constantine, and Morano (2001), which focuses specifically on cultural values conflict for South Asian women. The current studies will extend the existing literature on second generation South Asian immigrants by examining the area of mate attribute preferences. The context of the study is particularly appropriate given that India is a country having a high level of emigration, and Canada is a country having a high level of immigration (Dovidio & Esses, 2001).

STUDY 1

We know that when individuals from an Eastern culture move to a Western culture, many of their heritage norms will remain intact—particularly those that are related to issues of family and relationships (e.g., Naidoo & Davis, 1988). But what happens to the children of these immigrants who develop two sets of cultural norms? These young adults know what their family would like and expect in their intimate relationships, but they also know of the choices and expectations of their Western peers. Given that family is the primary carrier of heritage culture for the children of immigrants, the expectations of the family should play a role in their mate preferences. Moreover, the influence of Eastern culture is expected to still be found among second generation Eastern immigrants (e.g., South Asian Canadians) in their self-construals, and it is predicted that they will differ from their Western peers on a measure of interdependent self-construal (Singelis, 1994), as well as in their preferences for more traditional attributes in a mate. This study tested these predictions using a cross-cultural approach (i.e., between-groups design). The specific hypotheses for this first study were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: South Asian Canadians were expected to score higher on a measure of interdependent self-construal and traditional family expectations than Euro-Canadians.

Hypothesis 2: South Asian Canadians were expected to have a greater preference for traditional attributes in a mate than Euro-Canadians.

Hypothesis 3: Interdependent self-construal and family expectations would mediate the relation between culture and traditional attribute preference.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 97 South Asian Canadians (42 women and 55 men; age $M = 20.73$, $SD = 2.00$) and 89 Euro-Canadians (46 women and 43 men; age $M = 20.71$, $SD = 1.90$) participated in the study. South Asians fell into one of three primary religious affiliations: Sikh (48%), Muslim (30%), and Hindu (20%). Euro-Canadians fell into one of three primary religious affiliations: Catholic (27%), Protestant (26%), and Jewish (16%). The majority of participants were born in Canada (76% of South Asians and 94% of Euro-Canadians). Almost all of the South Asians indicated that their parents had an arranged marriage (92%) in contrast to the Euro-Canadians (2%).

Measures and Procedure

Respondents who were born in Canada or who arrived as children were recruited by the third author using a convenience sampling approach (Lonner & Berry, 1986) either through the university or the broader community. They were given a brief questionnaire composed of three parts. The first part included a number of randomly mixed items, including the Singelis (1994) measures of independent and interdependent self-construal, as well as items that focused on issues of dating and marriage. These items were associated with 7-point Likert-type response scales (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*). The second part of the questionnaire consisted of the preferred mate attribute ratings, and the third part collected background information.

The measures that are central to the study are as follows:

- *Interdependent self construal* ($\alpha = .62$).¹ The 12-item Singelis (1994) scale was used (e.g., I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in). This measure of collectivism was developed to reflect the Markus and Kitayama's (1991) concept of interdependent self-construal and is the most cited measure of this construct.
- *Traditional family expectations* ($\alpha = .75$). Five items concerning marriage (e.g., I am expected to marry from the same cultural background as myself) and dating (I hide the fact that I date from my parents) were combined to form a measure of family expectations.
- *Preferred mate attributes*. Respondents were asked to rate, using a 6-point Likert-type scale, the extent to which a number of attributes would be desirable in someone they would want to marry (ranging from *strongly undesirable* to *strongly desirable*). Twenty-one of these items were derived from Buss et al. (1990), while 5 items were chosen because of their potential cultural relevance for South Asians (social class, family reputation, dowry, parents' approval, and caste—see Sprecher & Chandak, 1992).

RESULTS

Selection of “Traditional” Mate Attributes

The 26 mate attribute ratings were factor analyzed using a principal components analysis.² An inspection of the scree plot indicated that a four-factor solution, which accounted for 36.91% of the variance, was suitable for extraction. Varimax rotation was used. The first factor of this orthogonal solution was defined by six items, using a minimal factor loading criterion of $\pm .50$ to insure an independent factor. The items defining this factor are best described as traditional attributes: family reputation, dowry (defined as gifts from his/her family), parents' approval, caste, good heredity, and chastity. An internal consistency analysis of these items indicated that all item-total correlations were above .35 and Cronbach's alpha was equal to .71. The internal consistency of the three remaining factors was too weak to warrant further analyses.

Tests of Cultural Hypotheses

All of the primary measures were examined in a series of Cultural Group by Gender³ ANOVAs to test the first two hypotheses. A summary of these analyses can be found in Table 1, where means are reported by gender within each culture.

The first hypothesis of this study was that South Asian Canadians would score higher than Euro-Canadians on the measure of interdependent self-construal and traditional family expectations. The hypothesis was supported by the moderate effect of cultural group for the

TABLE 1
Means and Standard Deviations by Culture and Gender for the Primary Measures Used in Study 1

	<i>South Asian Canadians</i>		<i>Euro-Canadians</i>	
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Interdependence	5.01 (.62)	4.42 (.53)	4.42 (.50)	3.68 (.67)
Traditional attributes (composite)	4.50 (.87)	4.51 (.57)	3.62 (.87)	2.95 (.83)
Family expectations	5.24 (.96)	4.48 (.87)	2.78 (.62)	2.52 (.82)

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

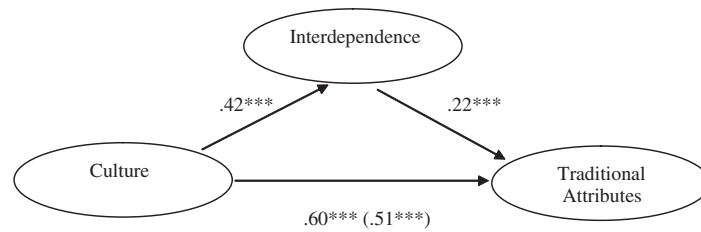
measure of interdependence ($\eta^2 = .25$, $F[1, 182] = 60.28$, $p < .001$). As predicted, South Asians ($M = 4.68$, $SD = .64$) scored higher than Euro-Canadians ($M = 4.06$, $SD = .70$) on this measure. Moreover, a moderate effect for gender ($\eta^2 = .25$, $F[1, 182] = 60.82$, $p < .001$) also was found, with women ($M = 4.71$, $SD = .63$) scoring higher than men ($M = 4.05$, $SD = .70$) on interdependence. The Cultural Group Gender interaction was not significant ($F[1, 182] = 0.84$, $p = .36$).

Hypothesis 1 was also supported with regard to family expectations, given the strong effect of culture ($\eta^2 = .64$, $F[1, 180] = 320.72$, $p < .001$), which indicated that traditional expectations regarding marriage and dating were more strongly felt by South Asians ($M = 4.81$, $SD = .98$) than Euro-Canadians ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .74$). There was also a weak effect of gender ($\eta^2 = .08$, $F[1, 180] = 16.81$, $p < .001$), with women ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.47$) reporting more traditional family expectations than men ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.30$). Both of these effects were qualified by a significant Culture \times Gender interaction ($\eta^2 = .02$, $F[1, 180] = 4.01$, $p = .047$). As can be seen in Table 1, there were no differences between Euro-Canadian males and females in their reported family expectations ($F[1, 180] = 2.12$, *ns*), but South Asian women reported stronger expectations than their male counterparts ($F[1, 180] = 19.93$, $p < .001$).

The second hypothesis predicted an effect of culture on preferred traditional mate attributes. This hypothesis was supported by a moderate effect of culture ($\eta^2 = .38$, $F[1, 182] = 112.58$, $p < .001$), as South Asians ($M = 4.50$, $SD = .71$) scored higher than Euro-Canadians ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .91$). A significant gender effect ($\eta^2 = .04$, $F[1, 182] = 8.18$, $p = .005$) was also found, with women ($M = 4.06$, $SD = .97$) scoring higher than men ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.04$). These main effects were qualified, however, by a significant Culture \times Gender effect ($\eta^2 = .04$, $F[1, 182] = 8.50$, $p = .004$). As can be seen in Table 1, this interaction was largely driven by Euro-Canadian males who scored significantly lower than their female counterparts ($F[1, 182] = 16.38$, $p < .001$), whereas South Asian men did not differ from South Asian women in their preference for traditional attributes ($F[1, 182] = 0.00$).

Test of Mediational Hypotheses

To test the hypothesis that interdependent self-construal would mediate the relation between culture (predictor) and preference for traditional mate attributes (criterion), a series of regression analyses were conducted (Baron & Kenny, 1986).⁴ In these analyses, South Asian Canadians were coded as 1 and Euro-Canadians were coded as -1. A summary of these analyses can be found in Figure 1, which presents the standardized beta coefficients for each path. The previous univariate analyses established the first two steps of mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, culture was a significant predictor of interdependent self-



The beta coefficient in parentheses is associated with the path between culture and traditional attribute preference after the mediator was introduced into the equation.

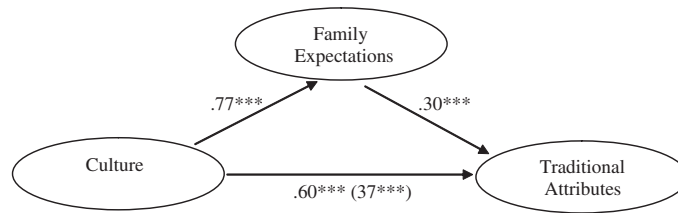
*** $p < .001$

Figure 1: Testing Interdependence as a Mediator of the Culture-Traditional Attribute Preference Relationship

construal. As a second step, it was established that culture significantly predicted preference for traditional mate attributes. To determine whether interdependence mediated the relation between culture and preference for traditional attributes, interdependence was included as a second predictor of traditional attribute preferences in a hierarchical regression, following the effect of culture. The inclusion of interdependence resulted in a significant increase in the overall R^2 from .36 to .40 ($F[1, 183] = 12.08, p = .001$). For complete mediation to occur, the path between culture and preferred mate attributes should no longer be significant. This was not the case, however, as can be seen in Figure 1. To determine if partial mediation had occurred, a Sobel test of mediation was conducted. This test was significant ($z = 3.46, p = .001$), indicating that interdependent self-construal partially mediated the relationship between culture and preference for traditional attributes in a mate.

A second mediational analysis was conducted to determine whether traditional family expectations would mediate the relation between culture and preference for traditional mate attributes. A summary of the regression analyses can be found in Figure 2. When family expectations were included as a second predictor of traditional attribute preferences in a hierarchical regression, following the inclusion of culture as a predictor, there was a significant increase in the overall R^2 , from .36 to .39 ($F[1, 181] = 10.58, p = .001$). Complete mediation did not occur, however, as the path between culture and attribute preference remained significant. A Sobel test of mediation ($z = 3.19, p = .001$) indicated that partial mediation had occurred.

It should be noted that when a third mediational analysis was conducted that examined the simultaneous mediational effect of interdependence and family expectations (i.e., both were entered in the second step of the hierarchical regression), there was a significant increase in the overall R^2 , from .36 to .42 ($F[2, 180] = 8.67, p = .001$). Moreover, the independent contributions of both interdependence ($\beta = .17, t = 2.54, p = .012$) and family expectations ($\beta = .22, t = 2.26, p = .025$) were significant. When both mediators were entered into the equation, the beta coefficient between cultural group and preference for traditional attributes dropped from .60 to .37. Only partial mediation was observed because this latter value was still significant ($t = 2.26, p = .025$).



The beta coefficient in parentheses is associated with the path between culture and traditional attribute preference after the mediator was introduced into the equation.

*** $p < .001$

Figure 2: Testing Family Expectations as a Mediator of the Culture-Traditional Attribute Preference Relationship

DISCUSSION

Three hypotheses were tested in this first study. The first two hypotheses were supported; second generation South Asian Canadians scored higher on a measure of interdependent self-construal and traditional family expectations, as well as a greater preference for traditional attributes in a mate in comparison to Euro-Canadians. These results suggest that these young bicultural South Asian Canadians have retained some of the values of their parents. Our assumption is that South Asian Canadian parents would have been more likely than Euro-Canadian parents to socialize their children to have an interdependent self-schema and to value traditional attributes in a mate.

The third hypothesis was that interdependent self-construal would mediate the relation between culture and traditional mate attribute preferences. The rationale for this hypothesis was that South Asians come from a much more collectivistic culture than Euro-Canadians and that this would be reflected in their interdependent self-construal (i.e., how they see the self in relation to others). It had been hypothesized that an interdependent self-construal underlies the observed cultural differences in approaches to relationships, such as a preference for traditional attributes in a mate. Some support was found for this hypothesis, as interdependence was found to partially mediate the relationship between cultural group and preference for traditional mate attributes, but full mediation was not achieved.

Because socialization in the heritage culture for second generation immigrants occurs largely at the level of the family, family expectations were also hypothesized to mediate the culture-attribute preference relationship. Here, too, evidence was found for partial mediation, indicating that cultural influence is in fact taking place at the level of the family. Moreover, the strength of these expectations was greater for South Asian women than for men.

The results of Study 1 suggest that second generation South Asian immigrants to Canada, who are exposed to two different sets of norms regarding mate selection, have internalized the values of their family and heritage culture, and these contribute to a preference for traditional mate characteristics.

STUDY 2

The second study extends the results of Study 1 in three ways. First, rather than using a between-groups (i.e., cross-cultural) design, this study utilized a within-group design, with the effect of culture examined from a strength of heritage cultural identity perspective. Huddy (2001) has recently observed that “there is a growing recognition among identity researchers that the effects of group membership depend to some degree on identity strength” (p. 145). Lalonde (2002), for example, reviewed a number of field studies and found that the strength of identification with various types of in-groups (ethnic, national, political, and organizational) was related to positive intergroup differentiation (i.e., a more favorable view of the ingroup relative to a relevant out-group). Moreover, Jetten, Spears, and Manstead (1997) predicted and found partial support for the hypothesis that individuals who identify more strongly with their in-group were more likely to behave in accordance with their in-group norms. It was predicted, therefore, that second generation South Asian immigrants who identified more strongly with their heritage culture would be more likely to adopt the norms of this culture with regard to mate preferences and to prefer more traditional attributes than individuals who had a weaker cultural identification.

In addition to the measure of interdependent self-construal, this study also included a more family-focused measure of cultural influence. As mentioned above, it is recognized that the primary source of heritage culture influence for second generation immigrants comes from their family. Schönplflug (2001), for example, demonstrated that collectivistic values were more likely to be transmitted in Turkish families (in Germany and Istanbul) than individualistic values (see also, Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000; Phaet & Schönplflug, 2001). Likewise, in Study 1, family expectations were found to partially mediate the relationship between culture and traditional mate preferences. Thus, in Study 2, we included a measure that should reflect the extent of the family’s cultural influence—namely, family connectedness.

Lay et al. (1998) developed their measure of family connectedness by comparing individuals in Canada who came from either Eastern or Western heritage culture backgrounds. All items within this measure are conceptualized within the family (e.g., I respect my parents’ wishes even if they are not my own) in comparison to the more generic items that are found in the measure of interdependent self-construal developed by Singelis (e.g., I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in). Because heritage culture among second generation immigrants is embodied in the family, it was predicted that a measure of cultural influence that is more closely related to the family (i.e., family connectedness; Lay et al., 1998) would be a better mediator of the relationship between cultural identity and traditional close relationship choices than a more general indicator of collectivistic cultural influence (i.e., interdependent self-construal; Singelis, 1994).

Finally, a measure of gender role ideology was included as an additional predictor variable. Given the centrality of gender roles in the responses of South Asian immigrants in qualitative studies, the inclusion of this variable seemed necessary for this cultural group. There are numerous gender differences in preferred mate attributes (e.g., Buss et al., 1990), and likewise, there were gender differences in Study 1. Gender did interact with culture in the prediction of traditional mate attribute preferences in Study 1, although differences were found in the Euro-Canadian sample alone. South Asian women, however, reported greater traditional expectations from their parents than did their male counterparts.

The latter finding is consistent with Dion and Dion's (2001) suggestion that there are greater gender-related socialization demands on the daughters than the sons of immigrants, particularly with regard to traditional ideals. There is considerable evidence that gender roles are more traditional in Eastern than Western cultures (e.g., Williams & Best, 1990). In addition, differences have been reported between first and second generation South Asians in the United States (e.g., Dasgupta, 1998) and differing perspectives on gender roles have been cited as a source of intergenerational conflict by South Asian women (e.g., Weston, 1994). Dion and Dion (1996) report that gender roles represent an important issue in the acculturation of the Chinese in Western culture, and Tang and Dion (1999) found that male Chinese Canadians scored higher on a measure of traditionalism (that included sex role ideology) than their female peers. Thus, the greater family pressure that South Asian women reported in Study 1 may have been a reflection of this greater effort at socialization on the part of their parents.

The presence of this pressure, however, does not indicate whether the attempts at socialization were successful. In fact, the women's awareness of this pressure might even be evidence that they were resisting their parents' expectations. Gender roles were therefore examined directly as a measure of socialization and as an additional predictor of preferred mate attributes. Men with traditional gender attitudes may prefer a traditional mate because she is more likely to conform to their role expectations. On the other hand, women who endorse traditional gender roles may prefer a traditional mate because their belief in traditional gender roles reflects a greater internalization of family expectations. A traditional gender role attitude may therefore be a good predictor of a preference for traditional attributes in a mate.

The specific hypotheses for this second study were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: South Asian Canadians having a stronger identification with their heritage culture would score higher on the cultural measures of interdependent self-construal and family connectedness.

Hypothesis 2: South Asians having a stronger identification with their heritage culture would have a greater preference for traditional attributes in a mate.

Hypothesis 3: (a) Both interdependent self-construal and family connectedness would mediate the relation between strength of heritage culture identity and preference for traditional attributes in a mate; (b) family connectedness, however, was expected to be the better mediator.

Hypothesis 4: A traditional gender role attitude was expected to additionally predict a preference for traditional attributes in a mate.

METHOD

Participants

The 92 South Asian Canadians (53 women and 34 men; age $M = 21.31$, $SD = 2.69$) were recruited by a South Asian researcher who contacted respondents who were born in Canada or who arrived as children. The majority of the sample was composed of Canadian citizens (92%) who were born in Canada (66%). There were three primary religious affiliations: Hindu (30%), Sikh (29%), and Muslim (24%). When asked what language they spoke with their parents at home, respondents indicated either English (34%), a mixture of English with their ethnic language (37%), or their ethnic language (29%, which included Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, or Gujarati).

Measures and Procedure

Respondents were contacted by the fourth author using a convenience sampling approach. They were given a questionnaire that contained six parts, followed by a background information sheet. It has been demonstrated that the order in which scales are administered can have a priming effect on subsequent measures (e.g., Katz & Hass, 1988). To take advantage of this potential effect, the order of scale presentation was manipulated. Respondents received one of the three following scales first: Family Connectedness (Family Norms primed), Heritage Culture Identity (In-Group Norms primed), or Canadian Identity (Majority Norms primed). The scales selected for this manipulation are parallel to the distinction between familism, collectivism, and individualism that was put forward by Gaines et al. (1997). The prime measure was then immediately followed by Buss' preferred attributes questionnaire to determine if a primed aspect of identity has an effect on preferred mate characteristics. No priming effect was found and these results are therefore not reported. All items in the measures described below were associated with 7-point Likert-type response scales (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*) unless indicated otherwise.

Social identities. Two aspects of identity, South Asian identity and Canadian identity, were measured separately. Both were assessed with a 12-balanced-item version of the York Identification Scale (Cameron, Sato, Lalonde, & Lay, 1997), which has proven to be a reliable and valid measure (Boatswain & Lalonde, 2000; Cameron & Lalonde, 2001; Lalonde, 2002). The scale assesses three components (centrality, affect, & in-group ties) and higher scores indicate a greater importance of the identity for self-definition (centrality: I often think about the fact that I am South Asian), more positive feelings about this identity (affect: I feel good when I think about myself as Canadian), and a sense of belonging with in-group members (ties: I have a lot in common with other South Asians).

Family Connectedness (Lay et al., 1998). This is a 21-item scale (with 6 items reverse-keyed) that assesses individual differences in familial individualism-allocentrism (e.g., Knowing that I need to rely on my family makes me happy). Across five studies, Lay et al. found evidence for the reliability and validity (e.g., significant differences between Canadian groups from Western and Eastern cultures) of this measure.

Interdependent self-construal. Interdependent self-construal was measured with the Singelis (1994) scale, and items were again presented with the independent self-construal items.

Preferred mate attributes. Respondents rated the extent to which 30 attributes would be desirable in choosing a mate. A 7-point scale was used, ranging from 0 (*irrelevant or unimportant*) to 6 (*required or indispensable*). Twenty-two items derived from Buss et al. (1990) were supplemented with 8 items chosen because of their potential cultural relevance for South Asians; 5 of these items were found in Study 1 (social class, family reputation, dowry, parents' approval, and caste), and 3 new items were added (similar cultural background, strong cultural ties, and good relationship with his/her parents).

Gender roles. Because the traditional aspects of mate selection involve family and children, a 13-item measure developed by Hoffman and Kloska (1995), which includes attitudes toward marital roles and child rearing, was selected.

RESULTS

Selection of Preferred Mate Attributes

The 30 mate attribute ratings were factor analyzed using a principal components analysis. An inspection of the scree plot indicated that a four-factor solution, which accounted for 48.59% of the variance, was suitable for extraction. Varimax rotation was used. When interpreting factors, a minimal factor loading of $\pm .50$ was used to insure independent factors. The “family reputation” item cross-loaded on the first and second factors but was retained on the first factor to ensure greater consistency with Study 1 results. The first factor of this solution was defined by eight items and can best be described as a traditional attributes factor: parental approval, caste, chastity, family reputation, similar cultural background, similar religious background, similar level of education, and strong cultural ties. An internal consistency analysis of these items indicated that all item-total correlations were above .35, and Cronbach’s alpha was equal to .81. The second factor can be best described as a status factor. It was defined by the following six items: good financial prospect, social class, favorable social status, good heredity, creative and artistic, and refinement and neatness. An internal consistency analysis of these items indicated that all item-total correlations were above .35, and Cronbach’s alpha was equal to .79. The internal consistencies of the two remaining factors were too weak to warrant further analyses.

Preliminary Analyses

A summary of the descriptive statistics for all of the primary measures can be found in the first column of Table 2. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficients are also presented in the diagonal of Table 2. The reliability of all scales is acceptable as the values ranged from .76 to .91. Only one gender difference was found for these measures. South Asian men ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.14$) had more traditional gender role attitudes than South Asian women ($M = 1.70$, $SD = .96$, $t[90] = 3.83$, $p < .001$). Moreover, no Gender \times Strength of South Asian Identity interactions effects were found for any of the primary measures.

Tests of Cultural Hypotheses

To test the first two hypotheses of this study, correlations were computed among all of the primary measures. The first general hypothesis was that the strength of heritage culture identity would be positively related to the cultural variables associated with Eastern cultures. This hypothesis was supported, although the observed relationships were not particularly strong. Individuals having a stronger South Asian identity reported higher levels of interdependent self construal ($r^2 = .07$) and family connectedness ($r^2 = .09$). It should be added that the correlations for female respondents between South Asian identity and interdependent self-construal ($r = .32$, $p = .014$) as well as with family connectedness ($r = .38$, $p = .004$) were stronger than for male respondents ($r = .17$, ns and $r = .15$, ns , respectively); the gender differences between the correlations, however, were not statistically significant.

With regard to the second hypothesis, more strongly identified South Asians also reported a greater preference for traditional attributes in a mate ($r^2 = .06$). Finally, as predicted, individuals having more traditional gender role attitudes were more likely to prefer more traditional mate attributes ($r^2 = .15$).

TABLE 2
Means and Correlations Between the Primary Measures in Study 2

	M (SD)	South Asian Identity	Canadian Identity	International Construal	Family Connectedness	Gender Role Attitudes	Traditional Attributes	Status Attributes
South Asian identity	4.77 (0.87)	.78						
Canadian identity	4.67 (0.76)	.30**	.76					
Interdependent self-construal	4.67 (0.77)	.26*	.08	.77				
Family connectedness	4.27 (0.67)	.30**	.08	.35***	.76			
Gender role attitudes	2.02 (1.11)	.01	-.24*	-.01	.23*	.91		
Traditional mate attributes	3.56 (1.16)	.24*	-.13	.24*	.32**	.39***	.81	
Status attributes	3.48 (1.15)	.02	-.10	.35***	.05	.24*	.51***	.79

NOTE: Values in the diagonal are Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients.

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

Test of Mediational Hypotheses

To test the general hypothesis that Eastern cultural factors (interdependent self-construal and family connectedness) would mediate the relation between cultural identity (predictor) and preference for traditional mate attributes (criterion), a series of regression analyses were conducted. The first regression analysis focused on interdependent self-construal as the mediator. The previous correlational analysis established the first two steps of a mediational analysis; cultural identity (predictor) was a significant predictor of both traditional attribute preferences ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) and interdependent self-construal ($\beta = .24, p < .05$). When interdependence was included as the second predictor of traditional attribute preferences in a hierarchical regression, following cultural identity as a first predictor, there was a marginally significant increase in the overall R^2 , from .06 to .09, ($F[1, 89] = 3.40, p = .068$). For complete mediation to occur, the path between culture and preferred mate attributes should no longer be significant. This was not the case ($\beta = .19, p < .10$). Moreover, the Sobel test of mediation was not significant ($z = 1.49, p = .14$), indicating that interdependent self-construal was not a significant mediator of the cultural identity/traditional attribute preference relationship.

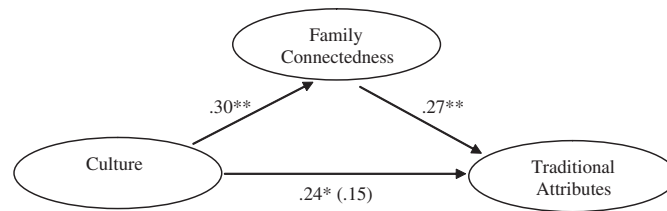
The second mediational analysis was conducted to see if family connectedness would mediate the relation between cultural identity and preference for traditional mate attributes. A summary of the regression analyses can be found in Figure 3. When family connectedness was included as a second predictor of traditional attribute preferences in a hierarchical regression, there was a significant increase in the overall R^2 , from .06 to .12, and the R^2 change was significant ($F[1, 89] = 6.87, p = .01$). Moreover, support for complete mediation was found as the path coefficient between cultural identity and attribute preference was no longer significant once family connectedness was added as a mediator. The Sobel test of mediation also was significant ($z = 1.98, p = .048$).

When a third mediational analysis was conducted that examined the simultaneous mediational effects of interdependence and family connectedness (i.e., both were entered in the second step of the hierarchical regression), there was a significant increase in the overall R^2 , from .06 to .14 ($F[2, 88], 4.13, p = .019$). The independent contribution of family connectedness was significant ($\beta = .24, t = 2.17, p = .033$), but the contribution of interdependence was not significant ($\beta = .12, t = 1.16, p = .25$). When both mediators were entered into the equation, the beta coefficient between cultural group and preference for traditional attributes dropped from .24 to .13. Mediation was observed because this latter value was not significant ($t = 1.27, p = .208$).

The Contribution of Gender Role Attitudes

To assess if gender role attitudes predict preferences for traditional attributes in a mate above and beyond the effect of culture, a hierarchical regression was performed. The first significant step included all three cultural variables—South Asian identity, interdependent self-construal, and family connectedness ($R^2 = .14, F[3, 88] = 4.69, p = .004$). Sex role attitudes was included in the second step and was associated with a significant increase in its predictive ability (R^2 change = .11, $F[1, 87] = 14.08, p < .001$).

There is one last finding of note with regard to gender roles. While the correlation between gender role attitude and traditional attribute preference was essentially the same for female ($r = .52, p < .001$) and male ($r = .49, p = .003$) respondents, traditional gender roles



The beta coefficient in parentheses is associated with the path between culture and traditional attribute preference after the mediator was introduced into the equation.

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

Figure 3: Testing Family Connectedness as a Mediator of the Culture-Traditional Attribute Preference Relationship

were related to family connectedness for female ($r = .34, p = .01$) but not male ($r = .20, ns$) respondents. These two correlations, however, did not differ significantly from each other.

DISCUSSION

This second study used a within group approach (i.e., strength of identity) to examine the relation between culture and preferred mate attributes. Four hypotheses were tested and all were generally supported by the results. South Asians having a stronger identification with their heritage culture scored higher on the cultural measures of interdependent self-construal and family connectedness (Hypothesis 1). South Asians having a stronger heritage culture identification also had a greater preference for traditional attributes in a mate (Hypothesis 2). The relation between strength of identity and traditional mate attribute preference, however, was only mediated by the measure of family connectedness. It had been predicted (Hypothesis 3a) that both interdependent self-construal and family connectedness would mediate the identity-traditional attribute preference relation, but this was only the case for family connectedness. As predicted, therefore, family connectedness was the better mediator (Hypothesis 3b). Results pertaining to these three hypotheses will be discussed in more detail in the general discussion.

The fourth hypothesis of this study was that traditional gender role attitudes would be positively related to preference for traditional attributes in a mate. This hypothesis was supported and a few findings regarding sex roles among these South Asians should be highlighted. As expected, and as with other cultures, men had more traditional sex role attitudes than women. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find that sex role attitudes were only weakly related to the cultural variables. Gender role attitude was not related to South Asian identity or to interdependent self-construal and only weakly related to family connectedness. Moreover, the latter relationship was only true for women.

Stronger relationships would be expected because gender roles, like interdependence, are assumed to result from socialization. Moreover, to the extent that the heritage culture endorses traditional attitudes about gender roles, the stronger one's identity with South Asian culture, the more strongly one should endorse traditional gender role attitudes (cf. Terry & Hogg, 1996). If beliefs and attitudes about gender roles come from exposure to the gender-

based division of labor (e.g., Eagly, 1987), however, traditional gender roles may be communicated most clearly through the roles enforced and enacted within one's family. Thus, family norms, as opposed to general cultural norms, may be the more relevant predictor, especially for young adults who may have had little other experience with adult roles. This may be particularly true for South Asian immigrant women, who, in Study 1, reported greater pressure to conform to family norms. Thus, the finding that traditional gender role endorsement was only related to family connectedness, and then only for women, may be more consistent with social theories of gender differences.

There is one other finding of note in this second study. The positive correlation between South Asian identity and Canadian identity may seem surprising to those who adopt an assimilationist perspective on acculturation but not to those who adopt an integrationist perspective (see Berry, 1997). It should be understood that the South Asian respondents in this study were for the most part educated in Canadian schools where the curriculum fosters and promotes multiculturalism; the message that is communicated is that being Canadian includes taking pride in multiculturalism and in your heritage culture (see Lalonde, 2002). This positive correlation also highlights the fact that second generation immigrants are confronted with two sets of norms, not just in terms of external societal pressure (from family and peers) but also in terms of internalized norms. By virtue of identifying with these two different social groups, second generation immigrants may also have to deal with their own endorsement of two different, and possibly conflicting, sets of norms and expectations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Perhaps the most important finding of the current studies is the evidence indicating that the influence of South Asian heritage culture extends to second generation immigrants in their preferences regarding traditional mate attributes. Moreover, these results provide evidence that cultural differences in mate preferences can in fact be attributed to cultural factors that tap into the collectivistic-individualistic dimension. Although the importance of this dimension in mate preferences has been alluded to in the past (Buss et al., 1990), this is the first study to empirically demonstrate its importance in explaining cultural differences in this domain. Support for the role of interdependence as a mediator of the culture-traditional mate attribute preference relationship, however, was limited. In Study 1, an interdependent self-construal partially mediated the relation between culture and preference for traditional attributes, but the mediational effect of interdependent self-construal was not found in Study 2. In the latter study, it was the internalization of family expectations rather than generalized cultural differences in self-representations that better accounted for the effects of culture. Thus, there was more evidence of a cultural effect when a more specific measure of collectivism, one measuring family connectedness, was examined.

These findings can provide us with some useful suggestions regarding the measurement of cultural influence in the area of personal relationships. It is clear that different cultural measures can provide different results. In the case of second generation immigrants, our results would suggest that a measure of cultural influence that is focused on the family (i.e., Lay's measure of family connectedness) is much more meaningful given that family is the primary and sometimes only source of heritage culture socialization. It is also possible that a more popular measure (i.e., Singelis measure of interdependent self-construal) is not always the most appropriate measure. There are a variety of other measures that can be used to measure collectivism. For example, Kashima and Hardie (2000) have recently developed a mea-

sure that permits respondents to compare relational, individual, and collective aspects of self when responding to items. This type of measure may be more sensitive in isolating both cultural and gender influences.

A measure that separates the influences of relational and collective aspects of interdependence may be useful in exploring further how families communicate heritage culture values and norms for immigrant children. To the extent that women may be more relational and men more collective in their self-representations (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Kashima et al., 1995), the influence of family expectations may work differently for women and men. Women may conform to and internalize family expectations out of their sense of connectedness to the individual members of their family. Men may respond to family expectations out of a sense of identity with the family as a group or through recognition of their family as representatives of their heritage culture. The fact that South Asian women in these studies reported more traditional family expectations (Study 1) and a significant relationship between family connectedness and traditional gender roles (Study 2) is consistent with the idea that women and men may experience family socialization in different ways.

Another important contribution of these studies derives from the comparison of the different methodologies. Although both studies provide evidence for cultural influences on mate selection, a comparison of the percentage of variance accounted for by culture in each of the studies (i.e., comparing O^2 to r^2) suggests that the results of the first study, which used a between-groups cross-cultural design, were stronger than those of the second study, which used a within-group strength-of-cultural-identity approach. Specifically, cultural group effects were more robust when South Asian Canadians were compared to Euro-Canadians than when the importance of culture was assessed using strength of identity. While many factors could have contributed to the discrepancy in the strength of the effects (e.g., measurement error, measurement differences), we would like to focus on one potential contributing factor. We would like to argue that a cross-cultural approach (between-subject designs) rather than a strength-of-cultural-identity approach (within-subjects analysis) is better suited to tap into the nonconscious influence of culture on behavior.

When individuals are asked how strongly they affiliate with their heritage culture group (Study 2) and how closely this group is aligned with the sense of self, they are making a conscious decision. Based on these decisions, we classify individuals as having a weak or strong cultural identity. The assumption is that individuals having a strong cultural identity are more likely to be influenced by this culture. Although we believe this assumption to be true, this does not mean that individuals who only weakly identify with their heritage culture are not being influenced by their culture. Culture has a way of informing behavior that often only becomes apparent to the individual when that culture is contrasted with another. The classic example is of the American tourist who immerses himself or herself in Korean culture and finds that much to his or her surprise, he or she is very American.

Two solutions present themselves. One is to use measures that tap unconscious influences of cultural identity. We attempted to do that in Study 2 by altering the order of the identity measures. We reasoned that we could observe the "unconscious" effects of culture by priming different cultural identities immediately before asking participants to respond to the dependent measure of interest. The prime had no effect on mate preferences as it was probably too subtle. Moreover, participants also knew that they were participating in a study designed to measure cultural influences on relationship issues. However, another possibility is that for certain issues, such as the choice of a marital partner, both sets of cultural expectations are chronically activated. In these situations, priming cultural identities would have no effect. A better approach, therefore, would be to use the cross-cultural approach. The

strength of this approach (e.g., Study 1) is that we are making direct cultural contrasts and tapping into the various dimensions of cultural influence, including those that may be beyond the awareness of individuals within groups. A second strength is that the cross-cultural approach also allows us to observe the cultural influences that occur in situations where different sets of norms may be chronically accessible. Future research can easily move beyond our speculation by combining both a between-group (cross-cultural) and within-group (strength-of-identity) approach to cultural influence within the same study.

Although the current study focused on only one immigrant group, South Asians, in one host culture, Canada, it should be noted that South Asian Canadians are far from being a homogeneous group. Their families come to Canada from different countries or regions (e.g., India, Kenya, Pakistan, and so on) and provinces within countries (e.g., Bengal, Goa, Punjab, and so forth). They speak different languages (e.g., Hindi, Gujarati, English, and so on) and have different religions (e.g., Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and so forth). However, despite these differences, we were able to identify some reliable relationships within a heterogeneous sample. Future studies examining cultural effects within the realm of close relationships for immigrants could focus on differences between groups (e.g., South Asian versus Asian), differences between subgroups (e.g., Hindu versus Muslim), or differences as a function of host societies (e.g., the Netherlands versus United States). One thing that is clear is that our global village offers exciting opportunities for examining the evolving influence of culture and gender on personal relationship issues.

NOTES

1. The independent self-construal items were included in Studies 1 and 2 and were interspersed with the interdependent items. The independent self-construal scale did not significantly correlate with the central measures in either study. In fact, the only significant result associated with independence was that the South Asian sample ($M = 5.03$) scored significantly higher than the Euro-Canadian sample ($M = 4.57$) on this measure [$t(184) = 4.66, p < .001$].

2. Demonstrating equivalence of the factor structure across the two samples proved to be difficult. Similar factor structures could not be identified when factor analyses were conducted separately by sample. To begin with, the scree plots as well as the eigenvalues suggested a different number of factor solutions for the two samples. Moreover, when the solutions for both samples were forced into an equivalent number of factors, the obtained solutions were not sufficiently similar to warrant an analysis of factorial agreement (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The subject-variable ratio in our overall sample is not that strong (about 7:1), however, and when we separated factor analyses by sample, the subject-variable ratios were even smaller (less than 4:1). The problem of equivalence may therefore be one of sample size rather than of construct validity. However, given that the purpose of the analysis was to identify a cluster of items that may be identified as "traditional" across all of the Canadian respondents while being pertinent to South Asian culture, the applicability of the traditional factor was deemed acceptable despite the absence of clear equivalence across the two samples.

3. There were a number of significant gender differences for the individual items (11 of 26) that were in line with Buss's (1990) evolutionary perspective, as well as the sociocultural perspective (Hatfield & Sprecher, 1995). There also were significant cultural differences for the majority of the individual items (15 of 26), including all 5 items that were additions in this study. Means for individual items are available from the first author.

4. A number of analyses were conducted which included a vector for Gender and a vector for the Gender \times Culture interaction. These vectors were added to a culture vector in the prediction of traditional attribute preference. These results paralleled the ANOVA results. When these vectors were included along with the two different mediators, however, the results become more complex and difficult to present in a clear and concise fashion. This complexity is in part result of the fact that only one mediator (family expectations) was predicted by Gender and by the Gender \times Culture interaction but not the other mediator (interdependence). Moreover, the cultural effect is quite strong in comparison to effects involving gender, and the gender effects add little to the prediction of traditional mate preferences. In the interest of parsimony, therefore, we have chosen not to present these more complex analyses.

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