Life Satisfaction of Indian Immigrants in Canada

by

Neharika Vohra

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in the fulfillment of the
thesis requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Psychology

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Canada

Name _____

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

SOCIAL   PSYCHOLOGY
SUBJECT TERM

`0 4 5 1` **U·M·I**
SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS
Architecture	0729
Art History	0377
Cinema	0900
Dance	0378
Fine Arts	0357
Information Science	0723
Journalism	0391
Library Science	0399
Mass Communications	0708
Music	0413
Speech Communication	0459
Theater	0465

EDUCATION
General	0515
Administration	0514
Adult and Continuing	0516
Agricultural	0517
Art	0273
Bilingual and Multicultural	0282
Business	0688
Community College	0275
Curriculum and Instruction	0727
Early Childhood	0518
Elementary	0524
Finance	0277
Guidance and Counseling	0519
Health	0680
Higher	0745
History of	0520
Home Economics	0278
Industrial	0521
Language and Literature	0279
Mathematics	0280
Music	0522
Philosophy of	0998
Physical	0523

Psychology	0525
Reading	0535
Religious	0527
Sciences	0714
Secondary	0533
Social Sciences	0534
Sociology of	0340
Special	0529
Teacher Training	0530
Technology	0710
Tests and Measurements	0288
Vocational	0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS
Language
General	0679
Ancient	0289
Linguistics	0290
Modern	0291
Literature
General	0401
Classical	0294
Comparative	0295
Medieval	0297
Modern	0298
African	0316
American	0591
Asian	0305
Canadian (English)	0352
Canadian (French)	0355
English	0593
Germanic	0311
Latin American	0312
Middle Eastern	0315
Romance	0313
Slavic and East European	0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY
Philosophy	0422
Religion
General	0318
Biblical Studies	0321
Clergy	0319
History of	0320
Philosophy of	0322
Theology	0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES
American Studies	0323
Anthropology
Archaeology	0324
Cultural	0326
Physical	0327
Business Administration
General	0310
Accounting	0272
Banking	0770
Management	0454
Marketing	0338
Canadian Studies	0385
Economics
General	0501
Agricultural	0503
Commerce-Business	0505
Finance	0508
History	0509
Labor	0510
Theory	0511
Folklore	0358
Geography	0366
Gerontology	0351
History
General	0578

Ancient	0579
Medieval	0581
Modern	0582
Black	0328
African	0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania	0332
Canadian	0334
European	0335
Latin American	0336
Middle Eastern	0333
United States	0337
History of Science	0585
Law	0398
Political Science
General	0615
International Law and Relations	0616
Public Administration	0617
Recreation	0814
Social Work	0452
Sociology
General	0626
Criminology and Penology	0627
Demography	0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies	0631
Individual and Family Studies	0628
Industrial and Labor Relations	0629
Public and Social Welfare	0630
Social Structure and Development	0700
Theory and Methods	0344
Transportation	0709
Urban and Regional Planning	0999
Women's Studies	0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES
Agriculture
General	0473
Agronomy	0285
Animal Culture and Nutrition	0475
Animal Pathology	0476
Food Science and Technology	0359
Forestry and Wildlife	0478
Plant Culture	0479
Plant Pathology	0480
Plant Physiology	0817
Range Management	0777
Wood Technology	0746
Biology
General	0306
Anatomy	0287
Biostatistics	0308
Botany	0309
Cell	0379
Ecology	0329
Entomology	0353
Genetics	0369
Limnology	0793
Microbiology	0410
Molecular	0307
Neuroscience	0317
Oceanography	0416
Physiology	0433
Radiation	0821
Veterinary Science	0778
Zoology	0472
Biophysics
General	0786
Medical	0760

EARTH SCIENCES
Biogeochemistry	0425
Geochemistry	0996

Geodesy	0370
Geology	0372
Geophysics	0373
Hydrology	0388
Mineralogy	0411
Paleobotany	0345
Paleoecology	0426
Paleontology	0418
Paleozoology	0985
Palynology	0427
Physical Geography	0368
Physical Oceanography	0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
Environmental Sciences	0768
Health Sciences
General	0566
Audiology	0300
Chemotherapy	0992
Dentistry	0567
Education	0350
Hospital Management	0769
Human Development	0758
Immunology	0982
Medicine and Surgery	0564
Mental Health	0347
Nursing	0569
Nutrition	0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology	0380
Occupational Health and Therapy	0354
Ophthalmology	0381
Pathology	0571
Pharmacology	0419
Pharmacy	0572
Physical Therapy	0382
Public Health	0573
Radiology	0574
Recreation	0575

Speech Pathology	0460
Toxicology	0383
Home Economics	0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES
Pure Sciences
Chemistry
General	0485
Agricultural	0749
Analytical	0486
Biochemistry	0487
Inorganic	0488
Nuclear	0738
Organic	0490
Pharmaceutical	0491
Physical	0494
Polymer	0495
Radiation	0754
Mathematics	0405
Physics
General	0605
Acoustics	0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics	0606
Atmospheric Science	0608
Atomic	0748
Electronics and Electricity	0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy	0798
Fluid and Plasma	0759
Molecular	0609
Nuclear	0610
Optics	0752
Radiation	0756
Solid State	0611
Statistics	0463

Applied Sciences
Applied Mechanics	0346
Computer Science	0984

Engineering
General	0537
Aerospace	0538
Agricultural	0539
Automotive	0540
Biomedical	0541
Chemical	0542
Civil	0543
Electronics and Electrical	0544
Heat and Thermodynamics	0348
Hydraulic	0545
Industrial	0546
Marine	0547
Materials Science	0794
Mechanical	0548
Metallurgy	0743
Mining	0551
Nuclear	0552
Packaging	0549
Petroleum	0765
Sanitary and Municipal	0554
System Science	0790
Geotechnology	0428
Operations Research	0796
Plastics Technology	0795
Textile Technology	0994

PSYCHOLOGY
General	0621
Behavioral	0384
Clinical	0622
Developmental	0620
Experimental	0623
Industrial	0624
Personality	0625
Physiological	0989
Psychobiology	0349
Psychometrics	0632
Social	0451

LIFE SATISFACTION OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

BY

NEHARIKA VOHRA

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

© 1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I begin to write my acknowledgements, the first thing that strikes me is that I do not know where to begin. For those of you who will not be acknowledged with words-I wish to say that your help and encouragement is fully acknowledged in my mind and heart.

I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. John Adair, and my committee members, Dr. Jim Nickels, Dr. Lyle Eide, Dr. Robert Murray and Dr. Fathali Moghaddam for their encouragement, support, cooperation and the helpful comments.

The urging, the moral support and encouragement I have received from Laxman and my parents can only be mentioned but never be thanked. Sarika and Nimish, Vijay and Abha have all provided the courage I have needed to go on. Imogene your faith in me has helped me a lot and I want to thank you for it. All my friends in Winnipeg and India have given me the confidence that I could do it and had to do it and for that I wish to thank all of them. Also to those pats in the back and the smiles of many that have made me persevere, I wish to acknowledge with a smile in return.

Abstract

It is a common conception that immigrants face numerous problems and considerable stress in the process of adjustment to a new culture. The life-satisfaction of immigrants from India was assessed using the Satisfaction-With-Life-Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985). As predicted by judgment theory (Micholas, 1986), it was found that Indian immigrants judge their own well-being in comparison to relevant others, such as their peers back home, the majority white community in Canada and other Indian immigrants. Their satisfaction was also predicted by the discrepancy between what they have in Canada and what they feel they could have had if they had stayed in India, with respect to raising children, freedom in making day to day decisions, opportunity to realize personal goals, and amount of respect. The more they expected in India the less they had. Expectations at the time of immigration influenced all of these discrepancy judgments of the immigrants. Life satisfaction was correlated with perceived discrimination, guilt over leaving the country of birth, and perception of social support but not with education, socio-economic status, or perception of day-to-day comforts. It was not possible to study the importance of adaptation patterns in predicting life satisfaction because most Indian immigrants seemed to integrate rather than assimilate or remain separate in Canada. Overall, for immigrants, rather than their level of accomplishments, material wealth, or educational and professional attainments, it is their perception of life situation and that of others that is the most important in predicting life satisfaction.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Life Satisfaction of Indian Immigrants in Canada

People who move from their country of birth to a foreign country undergo

changes in their living styles, and possibly in their values and beliefs (Moghaddam &

Perreault, 1992). The decision to move may be motivated by various factors. If the

decision is voluntary then the newcomer is termed an immigrant. Sometimes the

residents of a particular country have no choice but to immigrate because of the

conditions prevalent in their home country. When people are forced to leave the

country of birth and seek asylum they are commonly termed refugees. The process of

adjustment of refugees is not only different from that of immigrants but is also very

complicated. Refugees have to initially go through a state of shock because they most

often have had to leave without prior preparation and may have had no choice of

country to which to immigrate. Another category of foreigners are sojourners,

students or scholars who come to another country for a short period of time.

Sojourners are in a transient state and their adjustment is dependent on a host of

personal characteristics. In this study the population that is studied is immigrants,

people who voluntarily chose to move to another country (Taft, 1977).

Immigrants are often faced with the challenge of choosing an effective way of

adapting to the new culture (Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1992). The process of

change that the host and immigrants' cultures undergo as a result of contact is

commonly known as acculturation (Berry, 1980; Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986;

Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Acculturation is always

a bidirectional process and thus differs from assimilation (Thurnwald, 1932).

Sociologists in the early twentieth century referred to the adaptation of immigrants as

assimilation. Traditionally, assimilation describes the process of social transformation

that leads to the absorption of newcomers into the host culture (Spiro, 1955; Taft,

1953). Newcomers are expected to give up their traditional mores and customs and

behave in accordance with the ways of the host culture. Thus, assimilation is largely

unidirectional and aims to achieve cultural homogeneity as opposed to cultural

diversity (Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). However, the pattern of assimilation is not

always fixed. It is not always true that the newcomer adopts the ways of the host

country. The direction is determined by whoever holds the power. If the newcomer is

more powerful, such as the early conquerors of North American natives, the host may

be forced to assimilate to the ways of the intruding culture (Thurnwald, 1932).

In comparing acculturation and assimilation, Teske and Nelson (1974) have

found that assimilation requires people to change their values, identities, and reference

group. Acculturation does not require internal change, nor does it make out-group

acceptance crucial. For example, an assimilated Cree woman in Canada may not only

have to embrace the ways of the dominant White culture, but also to compare her

progress in terms of White standards, have White people's values, and identify herself

as Canadian and not as a Cree. On the other hand, a Cree woman who was

acculturated would preserve some of her traditional values as well as embrace some

White values. She would have Cree or White standards of reference and think that

she was a Cree-Canadian or Canadian-Cree depending on her preference. An assimilated person could only be successful if he/she could pass as a member of mainstream society. An acculturated person would not have the same pressures to conform to the ways of the dominant group.

Sayegh and Lasry (1993) have developed an orthogonal, bicultural model of immigrant adaptation. The course of adaptation may be classified as either integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization. This classification is simply achieved by obtaining the response of the immigrant to two questions on ten point scales - (a) Do you feel completely or not at all _____ (depending on which country the person is coming from). (b) Do you feel completely or not at all _____ (depending on which country the person is immigrating to). People who profess to have a strong identification towards both the native and host culture are classified as integrated. Immigrants who identify with the host country to the extent of exclusion of any reference to their native culture would be classified as assimilated. On the other hand, when people undervalue the host culture while ignoring their native culture they can be classified as separatists or ethnocentrics. In the process of moving from one culture to another when people become so confused that they abjure both cultures they can be classified as marginalized (Lasry & Sayegh, 1992). Lasry and Sayegh (1992) and Sayegh and Lasry (1993) have validated this model with Lebanese immigrants by measuring their identification in the domain of attitudes and values and also with regard to behaviors in their social, work, and family context.

Lalonde, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1992) have studied the process of social identification among immigrant East Indian and Haitian women in Canada. Both East Indian and Haitian women rated the label Canadian as better than either the labels immigrant or ethnic. However, more Haitian than East Indian women perceived themselves as ethnic rather than immigrant or Canadian. When asked how they were perceived by mainstream Canadians both groups thought they were perceived as immigrants rather than ethnics or Canadians. The motivation to retain the heritage culture was the strongest predictor of social identity for Indian respondents. In an earlier study Indian women in Montreal were found to be ambivalent towards maintaining their heritage culture (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987). Age, perception of discrimination and taking up of citizenship were significant predictors of identification of self as an immigrant. Indian women who were Canadian citizens identified themselves as Canadians more often than those Indian women who were non-citizens. A significantly larger number of older than younger women identified themselves as immigrants. Demographic variables however did not predict identity for Haitian women. It has also been shown that the length of stay in a country makes immigrants more liable to feel as if they belong to that country (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987).

The adjustment of immigrants can also be conceptualized as following a series of phases: precontact, contact, conflict, crisis, and adaptation (Berry, 1980). The final adaptation phase may take place when (a) there is less pressure on the immigrant to change and (b) there is a decrease in the conflicts between the values, customs,

behavioral and psychological characteristics of both the immigrant and host cultures (Berry, 1980; Berry & Annis, 1974; Chataway & Berry, 1989). Important in this conceptualization of acculturation is the link of mental health with adaptation to the new culture. Decreased pressure and the absence of conflict could lead to the alleviation of stress.

The relation of acculturation to mental health, stress, coping styles, educational achievement, and substance abuse has been extensively studied. It has been found that integration is mentally probably the healthiest option (Berry & Kim, 1988; Smith, 1985; Williams & Berry, 1991; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). The better adjusted Iranians in North America were less depressed than those with problems in adjusting to the adopted country (Ghaffrain, 1987). Young Hispanic adults were more distressed when they felt they were forced to assimilate (Kaplan & Marks, 1990).

Four studies have shown that less acculturated individuals are more likely than the more highly acculturated to experience greater stress (Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1985), to be unhappy (Lang, Munoz, Bernal & Sorenson, 1982), to be alcoholics (Caetano, 1987) and to abuse prescription drugs (Szapocznik, Scopetta & Tillman, 1979). The above four studies were conducted only with Hispanics, and operationalized acculturation as conformity to the dominant American ways (Broom & Kitsuse, 1955) thus confusing high acculturation with assimilation. This brings into question the generalizability of findings from the four studies.

The acculturation and mental health literature reveal a failure to study mental health as an emic concept (Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991). Health status has traditionally been measured using scales developed and standardized in North America and these scales may fail to detect the nuances involved in the measurement of mental health of people from another culture (Brislin, 1992).

Though the mental health of immigrants has been the focus of various studies the issue of quality of life of immigrants seems to have been overlooked. It is argued in this study that it is important to study the subjective well-being of immigrants, and their satisfaction with their lives. The populations of countries all over the world are becoming multicultural and with the increase in mobility between countries it is important to know how immigrants fare in their lives. Are they happy and satisfied with their lives or are they at most times dissatisfied and unhappy that they moved out of their own countries? This is pertinent, especially in Canada where in the past twenty years many immigrants have settled. Moreover, immigrants need to feel good about their lives to maintain good physical and mental health (Berry, 1980). In addition to individual satisfaction, it is vital for society's functioning that immigrants be happy and satisfied. If they are not, then it is necessary to identify the reasons for their dissatisfaction. Because there is no direct relationship between acculturation and subjective well-being (Krause, Bennet & Tran, 1989) exploring the predictors of life satisfaction may give us insights into the factors that mediate the relationship between acculturation and life satisfaction.

<u>Quality of Life indicators in the Literature</u>

The commonly used social indicators of quality of life are the material prosperity of people (Near & Rechner, 1993), happiness, (Kozma & Stones, 1980; Stones & Kozma, 1986), and their overall subjective well-being. Subjective well-being has three separate components: positive affect, negative affect, and life satisfaction (Okun & Stock, 1987). The positive and negative affect refers to the emotional aspects of subjective well-being (Diener, 1984) and focuses essentially on experiences of every-day life (Chamberlain, 1988). Life satisfaction refers to the overall cognitive-judgmental aspects of subjective well-being (Diener, 1984).

Material comforts consistently have been shown to play a minimal role in predicting satisfaction with life (Rain, Lane & Steiner, 1991; Vermunt, Spaans & Zorge, 1989). Happiness was found to be unaffected by external factors such as satisfaction with housing and finances, perceived health, locus of control and activity level. However, happiness had an effect on the perceptions of satisfaction with health, housing and finances (Stones & Kozma, 1986). The affective aspects of subjective well-being are transient and influenced greatly by day to day events (McKennel & Andrews, 1983).

Because it is planned to study how immigrants judge their lives in a global manner in the country of settlement, life satisfaction rather than economic factors or happiness will be used as indicators of well-being. Economic indicators are narrow in focus and would not provide a picture of how immigrants feel about their lives in

general. Happiness on the other hand is very subjective; it is not necessary that a satisfied person is also happy. Moreover, life satisfaction focuses only on the general perception of an individuals own life and seems most suited to the requirements of this study.

A Brief Review of Life Satisfaction Literature

The state of the life satisfaction literature may be examined under two headings: the theoretical orientations of researchers, and the influence of various factors on life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is defined as "a global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his(/her) chosen criteria" (Shin & Johnson, 1978, p.478). Satisfaction of life depends not only on what people have, but on a criteria that people choose themselves and how they judge their own achievements (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffins, 1985). The criteria and reference standards are a personal choice and cannot be defined by any researcher (Diener, 1984).

Theoretical background. Different theoretical perspectives have been adopted to explain life satisfaction. Telic and autotelic theories (Wilson, 1960, cited in Diener, 1984; Omodei & Wearing, 1990), top-down/bottom-up theories (Headey, Veenhoven, & Wearing, 1991; Kozma, & Stones, 1980), associationistic theories (Schwartz & Clore, 1983), and judgement theories (Carp & Carp, 1982; Meadow, Mentzer, Rahtz & Sirgy, 1992; Micholas, 1980) are some of the common theoretical approaches.

Telic and autotelic theories. Satisfaction of needs and goals is proposed as the most important determinant of life satisfaction according to telic theories (Murray,

1959). Some of these needs and goals may or may not be conscious. Need for self-esteem, personal control, and for purpose and meaning have been extensively studied in relation to well-being (Omodei & Wearing, 1990). Autotelic theories on the other hand theorize that life satisfaction is achieved by the engagement in activities that lead to need satisfaction (Maslow, 1965).

Omodei and Wearing (1990) have combined the two approaches, telic and autotelic, in proposing that people are more likely to involve themselves in activities that they think will lead to the satisfaction of their needs. It has been proposed that the perception of opportunities for need satisfaction leads to "a) the experience of involvement and b) behavior that results in the satisfaction of needs" (Omodei & Wearing, 1990, p.763). In a test of the proposed synthesis of the two theories Omodei and Wearing (1990) have shown that life satisfaction is influenced by the perception of opportunities that offer involvement and those activities that will lead to need satisfaction.

Top-down and Bottom-up theories. The top-down and bottom-up theories address the issue of directional influence of various demographic and other variables on subjective well-being. When certain variables are hypothesized as outcomes of subjective well-being then it is an example of top-down causation. Bottom-up causation is where certain other variables cause subjective well-being (Headey et al., 1991). A bidirectional or reciprocal model postulates that life satisfaction both

determines and results from various aspects of day-to-day living (Headey et al., 1991; Lance, Lautenschlager, Sloan & Varca, 1989).

A statistical model has been proposed to study the effect of marriage, job, standard of living, leisure time available, friendship, and health on subjective well-being (Headey et al., 1991). The net effect of a variable on subjective well-being is a bottom-up effect, and the net-effect of subjective well-being on a given variable is referred to as a top-down effect. For example, it was found that marriage had both bottom-up and top-down effects (Headey et al., 1991). Type of job, satisfaction with job, standard of living and leisure were seen to have only top-down effects. Friendship and health had no effect whatsoever on life satisfaction (Headey et al., 1991).

Lance et al., (1989) have contrasted the three models of explaining life satisfaction and found support only for the bidirectional model. Lance et al., (1989) have argued that whether an influence is (a) central (in the forefront of one's conscious), (b) critical (the factor is irreplaceable), and (c) of temporary salience (important at a point in time), will have causal influence on life satisfaction. If an event is noncentral or noncritical, or nonsalient, overall life satisfaction may have a causal effect on that same event. Because an event may be of varying importance at any given time, the direction of causality on life satisfaction may also change.

Judgement theory. Judgement theory postulates that the satisfaction that people experience with life is a direct function of mental comparison between some standard

and actual conditions. Micholas (1983, 1985) has shown that discrepancies between what is perceived as accomplished in life and what was expected in life is significantly related to life satisfaction. Judgement theories claim that life satisfaction is influenced by a variety of standards.

Judgement theory seems to have its roots in various social psychological theories such as social comparison processes (Festinger, 1954), relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959), downward comparison theory (Wills, 1981), and congruity theory (Sirgy, 1987; Sirgy & Tyagi, 1986). The last theory is derived from consumer psychology. Festinger (1954) postulated that people have an inherent desire to evaluate themselves. In the absence of objective standards people judge themselves in comparison with similar others. If there are factors that make a particular comparison group important, pressures exist to regard one's opinions and abilities as similar to or better than the comparison group.

The theory of downward comparison postulates that people experiencing negative emotions improve their subjective well-being by comparing themselves with someone less fortunate than themselves (Wills, 1981). Downward comparisons are generally undertaken when the person is not satisfied with the way things are going. Downward comparisons may be active or passive and are most likely to be characteristic of people who have low self-esteem. Self-enhancing comparisons are especially made when there is a threat to the ego (Wills, 1981).

The relative deprivation theory postulated by Davis (1959) and advanced by Gurr (1970) and Crosby (1976) claims that for a person to feel relatively deprived he or she should want the object concerned, compare themselves to someone similar who has the object, feel entitled to the object, comprehend that it is not feasible to have the object and not feel responsible for not having the object. In expanding on feasibility, Bernstein and Crosby (1980) have distinguished past from future feasibility. What one expected in the past about what one has now is referred to as past feasibility and is postulated as causing more grief than future feasibility, which is the present expectation about what things should be like in the future (Bernstein & Crosby, 1980).

Congruity theory assumes that the process of evaluation determines satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The congruity between the valence of properties of the perceived object, event or person and the referent beliefs against which they are judged decides whether an event, person or thing is positively or negatively evaluated (Sirgy, 1987). For example, if properties of a given event are perceived to be positive but the expectations of a person about it were negative, then it results in positive valence and the outcome is positive incongruity. Following the same logic four outcomes are possible under congruity theory (Sirgy, 1987). Positive congruity (positive perceived properties, positive expectations), positive incongruity (positive perceive properties, negative expectations), negative congruity (negative perceived properties, negative expectations) and negative incongruity (negative perceived properties, positive expectations). Sirgy (1987) has argued that since evaluation is motivated by the need

for emotional enhancement the degree of satisfaction felt in the order of most to least in each of these states is positive incongruity, positive congruity, negative congruity and negative incongruity.

The importance attached to and the expectations from the perceived object, person or event is also a determinant of life satisfaction (Sirgy & Tyagi 1986). The type of referent state (expectation) and the salience of the evaluation evoked also mediates the judgement process (Meadow et al., 1992). The referent must be chosen by the individual, not by the researcher (Diener, 1984; Shin & Johnson, 1978). Some examples of possible referent states are what one thinks one deserves, hopes for ideally, expects based on past experience, or expects based on what one is told.

In the case of immigrants the referents may be groups of people in their environment. Taylor, Moghaddam and Bellerose (1989) have postulated and found partial support for the notion that when a group wishes to assess its status realistically comparisons may be made with groups that are worse off, better off or similar to own group. When the motive behind comparison is enhancement of self-esteem the group that is worse off will be chosen for comparison. When a particular group is wanting to appeal for equitable distribution of resources it will compare itself to the group that is better off (Taylor et al., 1989).

Micholas (1980, 1982, 1983, 1985) has advanced a multiple discrepancy theory to predict life satisfaction and happiness. He postulates that happiness and satisfaction are functions of perceived gaps between what a person has compared to that which

he/she wants, deserves or needs, what relevant others have, the best they have had in the past, wanted to have three years ago, expect to have five years later (Micholas, 1985). In an empirical test of the theory, Micholas (1985) has shown that the perceived discrepancy between what one wants and has in reality mediates the relationship of all other perceived discrepancies and life-satisfaction. In the test of the model it was found that multiple discrepancy theory explained 53% of the variance in global satisfaction.

Vermunt, Spaans and Zorge (1989) have tested the effectiveness of multiple discrepancy theory in explaining the life satisfaction of Dutch students. Support was found for the main hypothesis of the theory and it was also evidenced that what one has and aspires to have influenced the judgement of all other discrepancies. Vermunt et al. (1989) also found satisfaction scores were predicted by different discrepancies among men and women. The discrepancy between what they have at present and what they think they deserve was the best predictor of satisfaction among male students. On the other hand discrepancy between what they have and what they need was the best predictor of satisfaction for women. No other demographic variables were found to effect satisfaction scores directly or indirectly.

Relation of Life Satisfaction to Various Factors

In the sections that follow many factors shown to be related to life satisfaction are reviewed. Keeping in view the scope of the review it is pointed out that this

review is not exhaustive and where appropriate and available detailed literature reviews are cited for the reader's reference.

Demographic variables. Variables such as age, gender, income, marital status and socioeconomic status are positively correlated with subjective well-being (Chamberlain, 1988; Diener, 1984; Hong & Giannakopoulos, 1994; McKenzie & Campbell, 1987). A very small portion of the variance of subjective well-being is explained by demographic variables (A. K. Fugl-Meyer, Branholm & K. S. Fugl-Meyer, 1991; Stock, Okun, Haring & Witter, 1983; Vermunt, Spaans & Zorge, 1989) in North America (Mookherjee, 1987, 1992), in Canada (Micholas, 1986), and in Israel (Shmotkin, 1990, 1991). The extent of variance explained is in the range of 1 to 3 percent. However, in two recent studies it has been shown that socio-economic status was a positive determinant of life satisfaction in Turkey (Gitmez, & Morcol, 1994) and Bangkok (Leelakuthanit & Day, 1993). Distress among Indian women in Canada was best predicted by dissatisfaction with social roles such as a wife or mother rather than financial difficulties. More satisfied Indian women were less distressed than those not satisfied (Moghaddam, Ditto & Taylor, 1990).

Certain demographic variables have been shown to interact with the age of the individual. Younger people were satisfied if they were content with their family, home, and hobbies, whereas, older people were more satisfied if they were happy with their health and jobs (Cutler, 1979). Older Libyans were found to be more satisfied with life than younger Libyans (Shebani, Wass & Guertin, 1986). However, among

older Libyans, those who were married, and had social prestige were more satisfied than those who were widowed and/or had no social standing. Among younger Libyans those who had close family ties, and were part of at least one other group outside the family were more satisfied. No conclusive evidence of a positive correlation between life satisfaction and age, education, socioeconomic status is found in the literature. It appears that the predictive power of the various demographic variables may be determined by the country of study. Countries in economic difficulties may show a different pattern than countries having fewer economic difficulties.

Work related factors. Research demonstrating the relationship of satisfaction with work to life satisfaction has been extensively reviewed (Douthitt, Macdonald & Mullis, 1992). It has been found that it is not the pay but the satisfaction with the job itself that is significantly related to life satisfaction (Benin & Nienstedt, 1985; Gove & Zeiss, 1987), especially among women in their midlife (Baruch, Biener & Barnett, 1987), and among African-Americans (Crohan, Antonucci, Adelmann & Coleman, 1989). The relationship between job stress and life satisfaction has been shown to be mediated by physical health (Horowitz, Blackburn, Edington & Kloss, 1988). More recent meta-analyses have shown that job and life satisfaction are positively correlated, $r=.40$ (Tait, Padgett & Baldwin, 1989). It has been shown over a short period of time that there is as much likelihood of life satisfaction causing job satisfaction as vice-versa. However, over a five-year period the correlation and direction of causality

between life- and job-satisfaction does not remain strong (Judge & Watanabe, 1993). Across most European cultures, the type of job and amount of money determined the socioeconomic status of an individual, but did not predict life satisfaction as well as non-work factors such as marital status and social activities (Near and Rechner, 1993). It is clear from the above review that work and life satisfaction are correlated over short periods of time. However, the cross-cultural generalizability of this correlation is not known at present.

Marital Status. Studies have found that marital status of an individual is associated with life satisfaction. People who are married have consistently been shown to be happier than those who are not (White, 1992; see McCullough & Zick, 1992 for other studies reinforcing this finding). Being married makes a greater difference for women than for men (Wood, Rhodes & Whelan, 1989), especially in the White-American population (Zollar & Williams, 1987).

Religiosity. Membership in religious groups may positively effect life satisfaction by (a) serving as meeting ground for religious organizations, (b) serving as a support network, and (c) being instrumental in leading to a sense of control (Witter, Stock, Okun & Haring, 1985). However, research findings are inconclusive about the relationship between religiosity and life satisfaction. Ellison, Gay and Glass (1989) and Chamberlain and Zika (1988) have found a professed positive attitude towards religiosity has a very small but positive association with the experience of feeling good about your life. However, Ellison and Gay (1990), and Ellison (1991), have also

documented a negligible correlation between religiosity and subjective well-being on the whole. The liberal attitude of a religious group may play a positive role in the prediction of life satisfaction (Ellison, 1991). This hypothesis needs to be further tested on people subscribing to religions that differ on the dimension of traditionalism.

Social activity. Any activity that captures attention is said to be related to subjective well-being (Csiksszentmihalyi, 1982). Involvement and satisfaction with social activities have been found to be positively correlated with life satisfaction (Cooper, Okamura & Gurka, 1992; Davidson & Cotter, 1991; Okun, Stock, Haring & Witter, 1984; Toseland & Rasch, 1979). The positive correlation was particularly evidenced in females, older populations (Okun, Stock, Haring & Witter, 1984), migrant African-Americans (Chi, 1986), among Kibbutzniks in Israel (Reed & Florian, 1990), and at risk urban older adolescents and teenagers (Maton, 1990). The ability to engage in social activities and talk to others was found to explain 40 percent of variance among elderly American Indians (Johnson, Cook, Foxall, Kelleher, Kentopp, & Mannlein, 1986). Because the perception of stress is inversely related to subjective well-being (Heading, Kelley & Wearing, 1993), the finding that African-American women not satisfied with their social activities perceived greater stress in day to day life (Brown, 1988) indirectly strengthens the established relationship between social activities and satisfaction.

Social Support. Another important variables that has been shown to effect and is effected by life satisfaction is social support. Evidence relating to the relationship

between social support and life satisfaction is equivocal. Among elderly (Nagpal &

Chadha, 1991; Revicki & Mitchell, 1986), people suffering from terminal illnesses

(Friedman, 1993; Holosko & Huege, 1989; Rintalla, Young & Clearman, 1992),

mentally handicapped (Legault, 1992), and caregivers (Schulz, Tompkins, Wood &

Decker, 1987; Wilson, Moore, Rubin & Bartels, 1990) social support has been shown

to be positively correlated with life satisfaction. Among ethnic minorities in the

United States such as Cubans, African-Americans and Hispanics satisfaction with life

seems to effect judgments of quality of social support (Angel & Angel, 1992).

Among adult populations social support on its own does not predict life satisfaction

(Blazer, Hughes & George, 1992), but when combined with social skills, (Riggio,

Watring & Throckmorton, 1993), high self esteem (Harvey, Bond & Greenwood,

1991), marital status (Acock & Hurlbert, 1993), it serves as a better predictor.

Perception of reciprocity of social support also influences life satisfaction (Antonucci,

Fuhrer & Jackson, 1990; Stevens, 1992). Some studies have on the other hand shown

that social support does not positively correlate with life satisfaction (Bowling, 1990;

Bowling & Browne, 1991; Salgado-de-Snyder, 1987; Schwarzer, 1992).

Personality Variables. Personality factors, such as extraversion and neuroticism

have been found to account for a significant percent of the variance in subjective well-

being scores (Costa & McCrae, 1980; 1984; Emmons & Diener, 1985b; George, 1978;

Headey & Wearing, 1989). It has been shown that extroverts are often more satisfied

than introverts, and neurotics are significantly less satisfied than those not neurotic.

People who are open to new experiences are happier than those who are not (McCrae & Costa, 1986), irrespective of levels of extroversion or neuroticism. Personality variables have also been found to interact with social activity and life satisfaction (Diener, Larsen & Emmons, 1984). Introverted people were found to be more satisfied with life when satisfied with their social activities than those who were extroverts (Hotard, McFatter, McWhirter & Stegall, 1989).

High self-monitors as opposed to low self-monitors were found to be more satisfied with life (Anderson & Ranallet, 1993). Self-esteem has also been shown to be positively correlated with life satisfaction and is central to psychological well-being (Hong & Giannakopoulos, 1994). It has been shown that people who were more satisfied were older and also had greater self-esteem (Hong, Bianca, Bianca & Bollington, 1983). The importance of self-esteem and depression in predicting life satisfaction was also evidenced in an adult Australian sample (Hong & Giannakopoulos, 1994).

Based on this review it can be concluded that in the North American context for most part, the correlation of life satisfaction with demographic variables is negligible; with marital status and engagement in social activities is positive; and with religiosity and social support is ambiguous. Life satisfaction is both effected and effects satisfaction with work over short periods of time. Also, people who are extroverted, are high self-monitors, have positive self-image are more satisfied than those who are introverted, are low self-monitors and have low self-esteem. Different

patterns of correlation of life satisfaction with some of the variables in settings other than North America and of ethnic groups such as African-Americans and elderly Native-Americans underscores the importance of studying life satisfaction across different cultures and across different groups within the same setting.

The Cross-Cultural Perspective in Life-Satisfaction Literature

Very few studies have examined the life satisfaction or subjective well-being of immigrants. Some studies have been conducted on different ethnic groups found in the United States such as the African-Americans and Hispanics, but no systematic effort has been made to study the life satisfaction of immigrants. Usui, Keil and Phillips (1983) have suggested that group differences in life satisfaction can be studied by adopting either of two perspectives. Firstly, different levels of life satisfaction in two groups of people could be compared. Secondly, it could be a study of the differential effects of given variables on life satisfaction of people from different cultures. In the first approach there is the problem of measuring the equivalence of meaning of scales across samples from different cultures. The second approach recognizes the differential role of hypothesized variables on life satisfaction owing to the background of an individual. Such an approach is potentially applicable to immigrants. However, with one exception this has not been researched (Ying, 1992). Rather, most studies designed with a cross-cultural perspective focus on the problems of measurement of subjective well-being across cultures and evidence of differences in the life satisfaction of people from different cultural backgrounds.

Comparison of life satisfaction levels between groups. A study of life satisfaction of Dutch adolescents found that the scores on the Satisfaction with Life Scale of immigrants were lower than the scores of native Dutch. Also it was found that the length of stay in the Netherlands did not have a positive impact on the life satisfaction of immigrants (Verkuyten, 1987). Lower happiness was also evidenced for less acculturated migrant Peruvian Indians as compared to a non-migrant Peruvian sample (Richman, Gaviria, Flaherty, Birz & Wintrob, 1987). Iranian graduate students were found to be less satisfied than their American classmates (Hejri & Sorenson, 1992). Vietnamese refugees in America were also less satisfied (Celano & Tyler, 1991)

In another study Usui, Keil and Phillips (1983) found that among both African-Americans and White-American elderly samples life satisfaction was influenced by the number of impairments or problems. However, impairments seemed to have a greater negative impact on the African-Americans than on the White-American elderly sample. In a comparison of Whites, African-Americans, Asians and Hispanics using the single question assessment method (Vaughan, Kashner, Stock & Richards, 1985) a difference in life satisfaction levels was found. The variables predicting subjective well-being were different for each group.

Global life satisfaction and satisfaction with various domains of life were compared among Thais, living in Bangkok, and Americans (Leelakuthanit & Day, 1993). Thais and Americans were compared because they were hypothesized to be at

different economic levels. It was found that material wealth predicted life satisfaction significantly among Thais but not among Americans. Both Thais and Americans were relatively more satisfied with personal factors such as family and children rather than external factors.

Krause, Bennett and Tran (1989) have also tested a conceptual model that attempts to explain how acculturation affects subjective well-being of Hispanics. Low acculturation was hypothesized to be linked to financial stress. Financial difficulties in turn could conceivably be linked to loss of personal control and also lower self-esteem. Low self-esteem, loss of personal control and financial stress would then be the cause of poor subjective well-being.

Using structural equation modelling it was found (Krause et al., 1989) that acculturation was not related to financial stress, but all other causal linkages were supported. Similar paths were found for the four different age-groups showing that there were no age differences in the relation between acculturation and psychological well-being. While their conceptual model is quite interesting, their empirical study leaves much to be desired. Psychological well-being was assessed by measuring psychological distress, not by standardized scales of subjective well-being commonly used in the quality of life literature. Moreover, acculturation was equated to language acculturation. There are several criticisms attached to this limited conception (Richman et al., 1987; also see Sodowsky, Lai & Plake, 1991).

Only the study of life satisfaction of Chinese-Americans in the San Francisco area (Ying, 1992) has examined the specific variables that cause differences in the life satisfaction of immigrants. Ying (1992) found demographic variables did not predict life satisfaction. On the other hand, marital satisfaction, health status, friendship and being able to express Chinese traditions and values predicted 34% of the variance among Chinese immigrants in the United States (Ying, 1992). The most important predictor for first-generation Chinese (born in China but immigrated to U.S.A. after teenage years) was satisfaction with biculutrality. This study is important because it shows two things: (a) a very small amount of variance in life-satisfaction can be explained by the use of satisfaction with specific domains such as health, work, marital status, etc. and (b) the importance of adaptation patterns, and ability to maintain one's own culture in predicting life satisfaction.

Statement of the Problem

Immigrants have to deal with challenges in their daily lives (Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987). The stress on arrival and the energy spent in dealing with day to day survival is great (Dao, 1991). Considerable research within cross-cultural psychology has focused on the stress, mental health and coping styles of immigrants (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994). Typically research has been conducted on immigrants who have recently arrived. It is assumed that people who immigrated several years ago have become adept in living in the adopted culture. What seems to have not been recognized is that immigrants always remain as a special group of

people and the length of their stay does not predict their ease of dealing with certain issues in the adopted country (Vermunt, Spaans & Zorge, 1989). The objective in this study is to examine the life satisfaction of immigrants. Life-satisfaction has been defined as the self-evaluation of an individual's life. How immigrants view their life and the standards they use to evaluate their lives will be the focus of this study. In addition, the function of acculturation patterns in predicting life satisfaction will be examined.

The sample of interest. The immigrant population from India has been selected for several reasons. Firstly, Indian culture and values are very different from the dominant Caucasian culture (Segal, 1991). Both Indian men and women have shown resistance towards assimilation even though they have been shown to be enthusiastic about accepting the challenges and excelling in the host culture (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Secondly, given that it is difficult to adjust to a culture that is so different from the one you are socialized in (Brislin, 1992), it is conceivable that the range of differences in life-satisfaction would be greatest among Indian immigrants to Canada. This provides an enhanced context for the identification of predictors of life satisfaction among immigrants. Thirdly, it has been claimed in the literature that Indians are a classic case of visible minority and have suffered from "multiple discriminations" (Moghaddam, Ditto & Taylor, 1990). This factor, therefore, also allowed for enhanced context for the study of predictors of life satisfaction. Fourthly, Indian immigrants speak English better than many other immigrant groups, thus

eliminating the necessity of translating the scales to be used in this study. Fifthly, as an Indian, I have contacts with the Indian community that made it relatively easy to recruit subjects for this study. Lastly, focussed study of immigrants of one culture rather than a broad examination of various immigrant groups may give a better perspective on factors contributing to satisfaction with life and the process of adaptation. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the knowledge gained from this study might generalize to other immigrant groups.

Within the Indian community, this study is limited to those who are married. As it has been consistently shown that married people are more satisfied with their lives than unmarried people (McCullough & Zick, 1992), it may be easier to identify the primary determinants of their life satisfaction. The generational status of an individual has been shown to have an effect on acculturation (Matsuoka, 1990) and life satisfaction (Reed & Florian, 1990; Ying, 1992). The first-generation is the group of immigrants who relocate as adults. The second-generation comprise their children, who are born and raised in the new country. The problems faced by first-generation immigrants are numerous and are the focus of this study. In addition, systematic variation within the sample can be controlled by including only first-generation immigrants in the study, because Canada has a large population of first-generation immigrants through its liberal immigration policies in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a study of their life satisfaction would be of some consequence.

It is also important to consider among the first-generation immigrants the length of time spent in the new culture. Recent immigrants may have different concerns than those who immigrated some time ago. For example, the former may be concerned about survival in the new culture and the latter may be more concerned about how things are going and whether they have made the right choices in their life. Also in the literature it has been shown that the length of stay in a country is related with increased identification with it (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987). Because these different concerns may lead to different evaluations of life satisfaction, the effect of length of time spent in Canada on life satisfaction will be examined.

Theoretical approach. As discussed above there are various theoretical approaches that could be adopted in predicting life satisfaction. According to the telic and autotelic theories of life satisfaction, involvement in need-fulfilling activities leads to greater life satisfaction (Omodei & Wearing, 1990). Immigrants making a voluntary decision to come to another country, must have perceived ample opportunities for need satisfaction in the new country and thus should be happy and satisfied with their new lives. However, high levels of stress and greater physical and mental health problems suggests that immigrants are not as satisfied as telic theorists (Omodei & Wearing, 1990) would lead us to believe.

The top-down and bottom-up theories (Headey et al., 1991) consider primarily demographic variables as leading to an increase in life satisfaction. However, it has been shown that demographic variables account for very little variation in life

satisfaction (Chamberlain, 1988). The perspective employed in top-down and bottom-up theories will not be adopted rather, the direction of relationship of life satisfaction with other variables is the focus of this study.

A third alternative, the multiple discrepancy theory propounded by Micholas (1985) and Meadow et al. (1992), offers a cognitive approach to explanation of life satisfaction. Stated simply, people compare themselves to various referents and these contribute to the judgments defining their life satisfaction. Among the various theoretical options this approach focuses on the study of life satisfaction from the perspective of the individual, rather than on the effect of universal variables such as education, money on life satisfaction. This theory seems most applicable to the study of immigrants.

It has also been shown in the social psychological literature that how people compare themselves to others is related to various aspects of subjective well-being (Bernstein & Crosby, 1980; Olson & Hazelwood, 1986; Taylor, Moghaddam & Bellerose, 1989). People compare themselves to others to enhance aspects of subjective well-being such as their self-evaluation (Klein & Kunda, 1993), and their own physical attractiveness ratings (Kenrick, Montello, Guiteress & Trost, 1993). These findings suggest that multiple discrepancy theory is best suited for an indepth study of life satisfaction of immigrants. Moreover, life satisfaction of immigrants has not been the focus in earlier tests of the multiple discrepancy approach derived from judgement theory (Micholas, 1986).

The scope of this study did not allow the study of influence of variables such as religiosity, engagement in social activities, satisfaction with work and personality traits on life satisfaction. It is also argued that because the nature of the study is exploratory, only self assessment of overall life satisfaction rather than satisfaction with various aspects of ones life will be studied.

Specific hypotheses. Specific hypotheses to be tested and their derivation are discussed below. The first hypothesis was based on judgment theory (Festinger, 1954; Meadow, et al., 1992; Micholas, 1985, 1986; Wills, 1981). Research has shown that past memories of events can especially lead people to compare their present assessments to the valences associated with the events in the past (Clark & Collins II, 1993). *It was hypothesized that life satisfaction of immigrants will be predicted by self evaluation of life accomplishments against a set of standards.* The hypothesized set of standards, based on the findings of Taylor, Moghaddam and Bellerose (1989), Micholas (1986) and observation of immigrants are: expectations at the time of immigration; the accomplishments of relatives with similar qualifications back home; the accomplishments they think they could have attained back home; accomplishments of White majority neighbors and friends; accomplishments of other minority ethnic immigrants to Canada; and standards based on their own self-concept (such as their own aspirations, needs and what they think they deserve); the expectations of how things will be for them in the future in Canada. Since the nature of the study is exploratory non-directional tests of hypothesis will be conducted.

The second hypothesis to be tested was that *the external discrepancy variables will be more salient and thus predict life satisfaction better for immigrants than internal discrepancy variables.* Micholas (1986) found that several variables with an internal focus, such as discrepancies between what one wants and what one has, or deserves and needs, predicted subjective well-being better than factors that have an external focus such as discrepancies between what one has and what others have. On the other hand, Emmons and Diener's (1985a) comparisons of the predictive power of internal, aspiration factors with external social comparisons led to results opposite to the findings of Micholas (1986). Social comparison was found to be a better predictor for life satisfaction than internal standards. For this study it is argued that immigrants who have spent their childhood and youth in another country will almost always have their life in the past and lives of their relatives and friends as a standard for reference. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the external social comparisons would be more salient to their well-being than internal self-evaluations.

Micholas (1986) predicted that the discrepancy between what one has and wants influences the judgement of all other discrepancies thus predicting life satisfaction both directly and indirectly. In this study it is argued that because immigrants make a conscious decision to leave and to settle in another country, they have very specific expectations of what life will be like in the new home. For immigrants, these expectations at the time of moving may become more important than their personal aspirations as predicted by relative deprivation theory (Bernstein &

Crosby, 1980). However, it is possible that those immigrants who did not make their own decision to immigrate may lay less emphasis on their recollections of expectations at the time of immigration. They may be like Micholas's subjects and in evaluating their own life satisfaction compare their present situation to their own aspirations. Therefore, the third hypothesis to be tested was that *for those immigrants who did not make their own decision to immigrate the discrepancy between what one has and wants would influence the judgment of other discrepancies rather than the discrepancy related to expectations at the time of immigration. On the other hand, for immigrants who made their own decision to come to Canada the discrepancies between what they have at present and their recollections of expectations at the time of immigration would influence the judgment of all other discrepancies rather than the discrepancy related to self wants.*

In wanting to link the two areas of literature, acculturation and life satisfaction, and after discussing the idea with D. M. Taylor (personal communication, October 21, 1993), it was obvious that there was no easy way to explain the relation between acculturation and life-satisfaction. However, it was suggested that immigrants who integrate the heritage and host cultures in their identity would be happy if they use both the heritage and host culture as referents in comparing self with others. Other integrated immigrants may be very unsatisfied with their life because they used only one group as the sole referent and thus were not satisfied with the way they identified themselves. In other words, life satisfaction is not only defined by a series of

judgments that an immigrant makes but also by the interaction between their acculturation in the new society and the kind of social comparisons they make. The fourth hypothesis was that *the social comparisons and acculturation level of an immigrant co-predict life satisfaction. Specifically, immigrants who integrate and compare themselves with other integrated individuals most often would be more satisfied than those integrated individuals who compare themselves with assimilated immigrants or those who separated from the host culture. Immigrants who are assimilated and compare themselves to other assimilated immigrants would be more satisfied than those who compared themselves to integrated or separated immigrants. Immigrants who separated themselves from the new culture would be more satisfied with their lives if they used immigrants who were also separated as their comparison group. Those separated individuals who compared themselves to immigrants who integrated or assimilated will be less satisfied.*

Though demographic data were collected, in keeping with the findings of previous research it was not expected life satisfaction would be correlated with age, present socio-economic status or education. However, the fifth hypothesis to be tested was that *the level of education at present and socioeconomic status back home will interact with levels of life satisfaction. Specifically, immigrants who have low education and come from lower socioeconomic status in India will be most satisfied (group 1). Those who are highly educated and come from high socio-economic backgrounds in India (group 2) will be less satisfied than those who have high*

education and come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (group 3). In the first group, there is positive incongruity between achievements and expectations. In the second group, the expectations of highly educated Indian immigrants will be very high and any level of achievement may not be sufficient, thus creating negative incongruity (Sirgy, 1987). In the third group, the expectations of the highly educated will match with what might have been expected and hoped to have achieved back home, thus creating positive congruity.

The group with low education and high socioeconomic status back home (group 4) was not considered because it was expected that the number of subjects falling in that category would be very small. Those who are rich and well-settled in their countries because of family businesses and the like neither have high levels of education nor are likely to leave the country as often as the other groups.

A number of exploratory hypothesis were also tested regarding relationship between life satisfaction and social support, perceived discrimination, guilt and commitment towards Canada. The relationship between social support and perception of its availability and life satisfaction is not clear in the available literature. The exploratory hypothesis was that *a direct relationship exists between life satisfaction and the perception of availability of social support.* It is known that most immigrants leave behind a social support system and this entails tremendous amount of adjustments in the new culture (Moghaddam, Ditto & Taylor, 1990). It is felt that those who perceive adequate social support in the host country will be more satisfied

than those who feel that they have lost crucial social support as a result of moving to a new country. However, immigrants who feel that the quality of social support will improve in the future may be more satisfied than those who do not. Since there is no research in this area no specific predictions are offered for testing.

It was also expected that *perceived group and personal discrimination may also be related to life-satisfaction.* Weinreich (1986) has emphasized that discrimination adversely affects self-esteem and influences the kind of social identity that individuals assume. Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble and Zellerer (1987) and Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde (1987) have shown that disadvantaged groups may react to inequalities by either accepting them or attempting to improve their social position or by collectively taking an action against inequities such as discrimination or prejudice. Lack of previous research prevented from hypothesizing a complex relationship between life satisfaction, perceived discrimination and coping mechanism to deal with discrimination. However, it is felt that immigrants who feel that they and/or their group are discriminated against will be less satisfied than those who feel that they and/or their group are treated fairly in the host culture. Immigrants were asked about both their experiences of being discriminated against personally and their perceptions of their group being discriminated against based on the findings that groups may indicate that their group is discriminated against but not to personal discrimination (Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987; Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam & Lalonde, 1990). Again perception of discrimination decreasing in the future may lead

immigrants to be hopeful and thus feel more satisfied with life. Because there is insufficient prior research from which to offer predictions the effect of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction will be tested as an exploratory hypothesis.

The role of guilt also has not been tested in the literature. It is intuitively felt that immigrants who feel guilty or bad about leaving their country of origin will never be wholly satisfied in life no matter what they achieve or have in the host culture. On the other hand, those who do not feel guilty about leaving their country of birth would be more satisfied with their life as a whole. Again no specific hypothesis will be advanced *but the relevance of guilt in predicting life-satisfaction will be examined.*

Commitment that individuals have towards the host culture is often measured by the immigration status of an immigrant (Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1992; Weinreich, 1986). Though no specific hypotheses were advanced regarding the relationship between immigration status and life-satisfaction, the relationship between the two was explored. Subjects were asked if they have taken up citizenship or are landed immigrants in Canada to determine their immigration status. They were asked also if for the rest of their life they wanted to live in Canada or move elsewhere.

Differences in life satisfaction scores of women and men, members of ethnic groups and non-members were also explored. Based on the findings of Vermunt et al. (1989) it was expected that men and women would not be similarly satisfied. It has also been shown that members of ethnic organizations deal with the situations that they are faced in the new country differently than those who are not members of any

ethnic organizations (Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987). There may be individual differences in those who join groups and those who do not and therefore may be differently satisfied in the new culture. However, insufficient research on Indian immigrants on this aspect made it impossible to offer specific hypothesis to be tested.

Method

Participants

A list of names of immigrants was compiled by putting together five membership lists of Indian-origin associations[1] in the city of Winnipeg, Canada. The lists were obtained from the officers of each association and checked for duplications to ensure that names were listed only once. From this primary list of 200 names, persons of the same last name, but different addresses were identified in the Winnipeg telephone directory to compile a secondary list. In this manner, 388 additional names of persons of Indian origin were generated. The combined lists contained the names, addresses and phone numbers of 588 Indian immigrants in the city of Winnipeg.

Of the 588 names, 218 were found to be unusable following initial telephone contact. Of these, 74 persons were not from India; they had immigrated from Uganda, Trinidad, Kenya or South Africa. Twenty-three people were unable to converse in English whereas 10 others said that they would not be able to complete a questionnaire in English. Twenty-four refused to participate, either because they were

---

[1] The associations contacted were - Bichitra, The Gujrati Association of Manitoba, Hindu Society of Manitoba, The Malyali Association of Manitoba, Singh Sabha.

extremely busy or not interested in the survey. Thirty-nine of the phone numbers had been disconnected or were not in service. Thirty-six people could not be reached in spite of the fact that the phone-numbers were tried at different times on a Tuesday and Wednesday evening, and Saturday afternoon. If no reply was received after three attempts the number was not tried again. Two people were out of town and would not be back for three months. Ten were either single or had immigrated to Canada before they began to attend high school.

A total of 378 people agreed to participate and were mailed the surveys. After a period of one month 198 surveys were returned, for a return rate of 53.5 percent. Out of the 198 surveys returned, 9 could not be used in the analysis because of the following reasons. Three surveys were returned blank or with less than twenty percent of the items completed. Six of the surveys had to be discarded from the sample because they either had immigrated to Canada when they were less than twelve years of age or were more than seventy years old and had just immigrated to Canada. Many of the items in the survey would not apply to these participants. The volunteers telephoned between 5:00 pm and 7:00 pm. Because this time coincided with dinner time, children or husbands would most often answer the phone. This resulted in more men than women being sent the survey. The survey was sent to 217 males and 158 females.

Of the 189 completed surveys, 110 were from male and 79 were from female respondents. The ages of participants ranged from 18 to 71. The average age of the

respondents was 43.68 years with a standard deviation of 10.73. Their ages at the time of immigration ranged from 15 to 57, with a mean age of 26.64 years and a standard deviation of 7.43. Respondents had immigrated to Canada 1 to 37 years ago and had lived in Canada an average of 17.04 years with a standard deviation of 8.27.

The sample was positively skewed regarding educational attainments: 107 participants had a post-graduate degree, 56 had an undergraduate degree and 26 had a high school diploma. The split among Canadian citizens and landed immigrants was also uneven: 138 were Canadian citizens and 49 were landed immigrants. Two respondents did not reply to this item. The sample consisted of 104 members and 82 nonmembers of ethnic-based organizations (3 people did not respond to this item). The majority of respondents said that they had been from the middle socio-economic status (SES) in India (n=164), and were in the middle SES category in Canada (n=159). Very few were from low and high SES in India (n=21, n=3 respectively) or Canada (n=13, n=16).

Procedure

Four volunteers, two women and two men, were trained to call the listed names to determine if they were eligible and interested in participating in a survey that would be mailed to them. Those giving an affirmative reply were asked to confirm their address and to give their postal code. To be eligible for participation the person had to be married, an immigrant from India after the age of 15 and able to complete the questionnaire in English. To ensure that participants would be married and an equal

number of males and females, volunteers alternatively asked for Mr. or Mrs. Because there was hostility/tension or detailed explanations were required if a male volunteer asked for Mrs or if a female volunteer asked for Mr. when the person of the opposite gender had picked up the phone, the volunteers simply resorted to asking the person answering the phone if they would be willing to participate. The exact script followed by each volunteer is included in Appendix A.

Participants were mailed an envelope with a printed address, the day after they agreed to participate. Inside the envelope was a cover letter, a five-page single-sided, photocopied survey and a postage-paid return envelope. In the cover letter (see Appendix B) the purpose of the survey was briefly explained, confidentiality of the respondent was assured, and the home and office phone numbers of the experimenter were provided in case they were needed for questions regarding the survey.

Participants who had agreed were telephoned again ten days later and asked if they had received the survey, and had any questions. Generally there were no questions, so the call was used to remind them to return the survey as soon as possible. Twenty participants said that they had not received the survey; three admitted that they had thrown it out thinking it was junk mail. The surveys were remailed to these participants. They were not given any additional reminders. The exact script followed by the volunteers is included in Appendix A.

Measures

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS). The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) consists of five items to represent overall life satisfaction. Diener (1984) and Chamberlain (1988) have argued that to overcome different valences attached to the various aspects determining satisfaction (e.g., health, marriage, work etc.), individuals should be asked to rate only their satisfaction with life as a whole. The Satisfaction with Life Scale asks five questions of overall life-satisfaction rather than having subjects rate satisfaction over a number of dimensions (Section A of Appendix C). Internal consistency ranging from .87 to .90 and a two-month test-retest reliability coefficient of .82 have been reported (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot & Diener, 1993).

Construct validity was demonstrated by factor analysis of the scale. The items in the scales accounted for 66% of the variance (Diener et al., 1985). An important property of the scale is that SWLS is correlated moderately with both positive (.50) and negative affect (-.35, Diener et al., 1985). A low correlation coefficient of .02 has been obtained between SWLS and social desirability scales (Diener, 1984; Kozma & Stones, 1988).

Pavot and Diener (1993) have tested the susceptibility of the ratings of individuals about life satisfaction to current mood, cognitive and social context surrounding the respondent. SWLS scores were found to remain constant irrespective of the immediate cognitive set (Chamberlain & Zika, 1992; Emmons & Diener, 1986). Also the scores on SWLS were correlated in the range of .42 to .49 with peer ratings

of perceived satisfaction of their friends (Pavot & Diener, 1993). Concurrent validity was demonstrated by correlations of SWLS with other measures of subjective well-being (Diener et al., 1985). Criterion validity coefficients in the range of .65 and .70 were evidenced for SWLS (Diener et al., 1985).

The scale has also been tested on Dutch non-psychiatric patients (Arrindell, Meeuwesen & Huyse, 1991). Their reliability scores were consistent with scores in the United States where the scale was developed. The scores on the Dutch version of the Satisfaction with Life Scale were factor analyzed and a single factor emerged explaining 67% of the variance. This was similar to the 66% variance explained from the single factor derived from the scale scores in United States (Arrindell et al., 1991). It has also been found that the Satisfaction with Life Scale correlated with other measures of subjective well being and physical health (Arrindell et al., 1991; Diener et al., 1985).

To test the relevance of the items among Indian respondents the scale was informally pilot tested on ten Indian immigrants. The respondents were asked to respond to as well as to critically evaluate the items. Those ten participants reported that they felt that the questions were appropriate and they could respond to the items honestly.

Cronbach's alpha was computed to measure the internal consistency of the scale for the sample (N=186) in this study. An alpha value of .77 was found when all five items were included. It was decided to combine these five items to give a simple

score for overall life satisfaction of the respondent. The scores ranged from thirteen to thirty two and had a mean of 24.47 with a standard deviation of 4.18.

Acculturation Measure. Although several measures of acculturation have often been used, no scale was found to be satisfactory. A satisfactory measurement of acculturation should cover aspects of behavioral adaptation, attitudes toward cultural values, preference for a certain culture or cultures, and ease of dealing with aspects of host and original cultures (Mavreas, Bebbington & Der, 1989; Szapocznik, Scopetta & Kurtines, 1978). Taft (1986) suggested that measures of acculturation of immigrants should include all aspects of successful adaptation, such as socio-emotional adjustment, national and ethnic identity, cultural competence, social absorption, and role acculturation.

In the absence of any satisfactory scale, it was decided to adapt the scale developed by Madinos (1980) and used by Mavreas et al. (1989) to the needs of the present study. Questions were reworded and changed substantially. The considerably revised scale (items 1-15 of section E in Appendix C) was pilot tested on a group of ten immigrants from India (the same group on which the life satisfaction scale and other items were pilot tested). Asked to point out difficulty with items they reported, items number 6, 8 and 10 were seen as ambiguous. These three items were reworded and retained for the final survey but were not used in any analysis. The Cronbach alpha of the twelve items computed for the responses from 189 surveys was found to be .66.

Predictors of life satisfaction measures. A number of individual items were constructed to test specific aspects of the lives of immigrants. Subjects were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement on seven-point Likert type scales for a set of nine items designed to measure guilt in moving to Canada, perceived discrimination, and social support in Canada (Section A in Appendix C). This was followed by an assessment of discrepancies between what one has and each of the following: what one wants, what one expected at the time of immigration, expects in fifteen years from now and what others have (Section C in Appendix C). Subjects were asked to rate their discrepancies between their imagined life in India and life as it is now on the following aspects: respect commanded in society, freedom in making day to day decisions, attainment of various personal goals, raising of children and acquisition of material wealth and day to day comforts. These discrepancy measures were adapted from a battery of questions designed by Micholas (1985). Also the perception of anticipated social support and racism fifteen years from now was probed in two items (item 16 & 17 of Section F, Appendix C). Subjects were then asked to rank order themselves compared to others, such as integrated Indian immigrants, assimilated Indian immigrants, Majority Canadians, and members of other visible minority groups, peers back home (Section E in Appendix C).

The questionnaire concluded with an extensive bio-data sheet that requested various demographic information from subjects. Subjects were asked about their age, gender, education level, occupation, place of birth, length of stay in Canada, age at

immigration, whose decision it was to immigrate (their's or their spouse's), occupation of parents in India, perceived socioeconomic status in Canada and in India, their immigration status in Canada and plans for settlement in the future (Section F in Appendix C).

Results

The present study was designed to examine the correlates of life satisfaction among immigrants. Prior to analysis, all variables were examined for data entry, missing values, and fit between their distributions and the assumptions of multivariate analysis. Missing values were determined to be random in nature and never exceeded two percent of responses for any of the measures. Missing values were replaced by a neutral score of 4 for the discrepancy measures and measures of guilt, perceived discrimination and perceived social support. Missing values were not included in analyses involving demographic variables.

Three cases were identified through Mahalanobis distance as multivariate outliers with $p < .001$. Of the three outliers, two were unemployed men who scored extremely low on their life satisfaction scores. One was consistently a univariate outlier on most variables. The other was low on guilt towards leaving his country, perceived social support and discrimination, but responded as if he judged that everyone was doing better than he and that he would have done worse if back in India. The deletion of the two men underscores the fact that the results of this study only generalize to immigrants who are employed. The third multivariate outlier was a

female who had arrived in Canada a year ago and had low expectations for the future,

high expectations at the time of immigration, seemed to feel everyone was doing

better than she, and felt that she had would have done well by staying back in India.

Inspite of all of this her score on life satisfaction was so high that it was a univariate

outlier, and therefore deleted. Deleting three multivariate outliers left 186 cases for

analysis.

The means and standard deviation of life satisfaction scores by gender,

membership or no membership in ethnic groups, whose decision it was to immigrate to

Canada, plan to stay in Canada or go elsewhere, immigration status, socio-economic

status in India and Canada, and education level are reported in Table 1. To test for

differences between life satisfaction scores for any of the categorical variables, one-

way analyses of variance were conducted with life satisfaction as the dependent

variable and each of the categorical variables as the independent variable. Analyses

did not reveal any significant differences among any of the categorical variables

except for decision to come to Canada, (F (1, 184) = 4.54 p < .03). Because the

means for those who had immigrated to Canada on their own and those who had not

were 24.72 and 23.36 respectively, and omega square indicated that only one percent

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviation of Life Satisfaction by Each of the Demographic Variables

		Life Satisfaction			
Variable	Number	Mean	SD	F	Pt. Biserial r
Gender					
Females	77	25.03	4.31	2.32	.11
Males	109	24.08	4.05		
Education					
High School	26	24.00	3.97	2.05	.06
Under Graduate	53	24.07	3.85		
Post Graduate	106	24.70	3.90		
Socio Economic Status in India					
Low	20	23.38	5.44	0.81	.01
Middle	162	24.66	3.95		
High	3	21.33	5.13		
Socio Economic Status in Canada					
Low	13	23.38	3.95	1.29	.04
Middle	156	24.47	4.12		
High	16	25.06	4.92		
Future Plans					
Stay in Canada	107	24.72	4.22	0.35	.02
Go back to India	51	24.30	4.18		
Undecided	28	23.86	4.06		
Immigration Status					
Canadian citizen	136	24.70	3.89	1.48	.09
Landed immigrant	50	23.86	4.87		
Membership in ethnic group					
Yes	101	24.73	3.99	0.49	.07
No	82	24.13	4.37		
Decision to come to Canada					
Own	139	24.85	3.98	4.54*	.11
Others	47	23.36	4.59		

* $p < .05$

of the variance was accounted for, it was concluded that the respondents did not differ meaningfully in their life satisfaction scores based on control over decision to move.

Before specific hypothesis were tested, the correlations of all the variables hypothesized to influence life satisfaction was computed using SAS. Because there were no significant differences between groups on any of the demographic variables, the data from the entire sample were included in the analysis as a whole rather than classifying it. Table 2, shows the correlations between life satisfaction and the various variables of interest. It was expected that a negative correlation coefficient for all the predictors would be evidenced. For example, it was expected that if you thought your relatives in India did worse than you, then you would be more satisfied.

A multiple regression was calculated with life satisfaction as the dependent variable and all variables that were correlated with life satisfaction at the .001 level of significance as the independent variables. The obtained results are displayed in Table 3. The obtained $\underline{R}$ for regression of .80 was significantly different from zero ($\underline{F}$ (16, 169) = 18.76 $\underline{p}$ <.01). The independent variables in combination contributed 17% in unique variance and 47% in shared variance in life satisfaction scores.

Only eight independent variables contributed significantly to the prediction of life satisfaction independently as can be seen from the magnitude of the semipartial correlations in Table 3. Regression coefficients significantly different from zero were found for the discrepancy of what you have now and - relatives back home have, middle class white majority neighbors have, the Indian community in Winnipeg has,

what you expected at the time of immigration, the amount of respect you would have had if in India, the opportunity to realize personal goals in India, the satisfaction with bringing up children, and the freedom of making decisions were significantly different from zero. Only the personal goal discrepancy had a positive regression coefficient and was unexpected. There were eight predictors that did not make a significant contribution to the model.

Table 2

Correlation of Life Satisfaction with Measured Predictors

Variable	Life Satisfaction Corr. coeff. (N=186)
Discrepancy related to what one has and -	
Relatives in India have	.68*
Majority Whites in Canada have	-.57*
Indians in Canada have	-.52*
Ethnic minorities in Canada have	-.29*
Self wants	.03
Expected at the time of immigration	-.40*
Expects in future	-.23*
Discrepancy between what one has and expects to have in India with regard to -	
Respect in India	-.48*
Freedom in India	-.46*
Upbringing of children	-.46*
Pursuit of personal goals	.41*
Wealth in India	-.31*
Day-to-day comforts in India	-.21*
Perceived social support	-.33*
Perceived discrimination	-.36*
Guilt	-.30*
Years of stay in Canada	.25*
Age at immigration	-.14

* $p < .001$

Table 3

Overall Multiple Regression Analysis

Variables	Parameter Estimate	Standardized Estimate.	Beta Weights	Semi Partial Corr.
Relatives in India	-0.993	0.175	-0.363**	0.068
Majority whites in Canada	-0.330	0.180	-0.114**	0.007
Indians in Canada	-0.384	0.179	-0.129**	0.010
Ethnic minorities	-0.281	0.215	-0.073	0.003
Expectations at time of immigration	-0.225	0.135	-0.099*	0.006
Future expectations	-0.135	0.138	-0.049	0.002
Respect in India	-0.484	0.164	-0.178**	0.019
Freedom in India	-0.302	0.165	-0.125*	0.018
Pursuit of personal goals	0.464	0.160	0.199**	0.007
Upbringing of children	-0.421	0.133	-0.178**	0.018
Comforts in India	0.165	0.132	-0.070	0.003
Wealth in India	0.082	0.141	-0.034	0.001
Discrimination	-0.068	0.053	-0.073	0.003
Guilt	-0.001	0.061	-0.001	0.000
Social support	-0.025	0.061	-0.024	0.001
Time since immigration	0.033	0.027	0.066	0.003

Note: n   =186
       R   =.80
       R^2 =.63982
       Adj R^2 = .60572
       ** p <.01
       * p <.05

Unique Variance = 16.75%; Shared Variance = 47.23%

Hypothesis 1. To test the first hypothesis, *that life satisfaction will be predicted by the discrepancy between what you have now and what you think others have, what you expected at the time of immigration and what you imagine you could have had in India,* another multiple regression was computed entering just those variables that significantly contributed to the model in the first computation. The results confirmed the hypothesis and are presented in Table 4. The eight variables accounted for 62 percent of the variance (adjusted 60%) in life satisfaction, which is not different from the 64% explained by the full model.

Table 4

Multiple Regression Analysis of Eight Significant Variables on Life Satisfaction

Variables	Parameter Estimate	Standardized Estimate	Beta Weights	Semi Partial Correlation
Relatives in India	-1.053	0.173	-0.385**	0.081
Majority whitess in Canada	-0.421	0.176	-0.144**	0.012
Indians in Canada	-0.422	0.169	-0.142**	0.014
Expectations at time of immigration	-0.271	0.133	-0.104*	0.001
Respect in India	-0.477	0.158	-0.175*	0.020
Upbringing of children	-0.404	0.132	-0.171**	0.020
Freedom in India	-0.304	0.165	-0.126*	0.007
Pursuit of personal goals	-0.451	0.154	-0.194*	0.019

Note: n = 186
R = .79
R^2 = .62
Adj R^2 = .60
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$

Unique Variance = 16.75%; Shared Variance = 45.25%

The fact that the discrepancy between the opportunities to achieve personal goals in Canada at present and the opportunities they could have had if back in India had a positive beta weight suggested that it could be a suppressor variable. This possibility was tested and it was confirmed that the personal goal discrepancy was not a suppressor variable.

Hypothesis 2. It was hypothesized that for immigrants, *life satisfaction would be better predicted by the discrepancy between what you have now and what others have than the discrepancy between what you have and what you aspire to have both at present and in the future.* A modified z test reveals that there is a statistically significant difference (z=5.37, N=186 p < .05) between multiple R when predicting life satisfaction from what one has and others have (R =.74) and predicting life satisfaction from what one has and what one wants to have (R = .20). The larger magnitude of the correlation coefficient between life satisfaction and discrepancies related to what one has and others have supports the hypothesis that it predicts life satisfaction better than the discrepancy related to what one has and aspires to have.

Hypothesis 3. It was hypothesized that *for immigrants who made their own decision to come to Canada the discrepancies between what they have at present and their recollections of expectations at the time of immigration would influence the judgment of all other discrepancies, on the other hand for those immigrants who did not decide themselves to come to Canada the discrepancy between what they have and*

what they want to have would influence the judgment of all other discrepancies in predicting life satisfaction.

Because of unequal sample sizes in the groups with respect to whose decision it was to come to Canada, it was decided to first simply enter discrepancies related to expectations and discrepancies related to what one wants to have in a hierarchical regression for both groups separately. Hierarchical regression was employed in the group that decided to immigrate to Canada on their own to determine if adding the discrepancy between what one has and what one wants improved prediction of life satisfaction more than what is afforded by the discrepancy between what one has and recalls as expecting to have at the time of immigration. In the group that did not decide to come on their own, discrepancy between recollections of expectations and what one has was added to the hierarchical regression to test if it explained significantly more variance in life satisfaction scores than what is explained by the discrepancy between what one has and what one wants.

For people experiencing control over moving, when both variables were in the equation multiple correlation of .41 was significantly different from zero (F (2, 136) = 14.02, $p < .01$). At step 1, only with discrepancy related to expectations in the equation, the variance explained in life satisfaction was significant (R^2 = .16, F_{inc} (1, 139) = 25.742, $p < .01$). At step 2, with both discrepancies in the equation, the variance accounted in life satisfaction was significant (R^2 = .17, F_{inc} (2, 138) = 14.015,

$\underline{p} < .01$) however the addition of discrepancy related to what one has and wants to have, did not significantly improve prediction of life satisfaction.

In the second group, the ones that did not decide to come to Canada on their own, at step 1 which included discrepancy related to what one has and wants to have the variance explained in life satisfaction was not significant ($\underline{R}^2 = .0001$, $\underline{F}_{inc}$ (1, 45) = .003, $\underline{p} > .01$). In step 2 when both discrepancies were in the equation, the variance explained in life satisfaction was significant ($\underline{R}^2 = .15$, $\underline{F}_{inc}$ (2, 44) = 3.97, $\underline{p} < .02$). This shows that for both groups the discrepancy between what one has and what one wants does not significantly predict life satisfaction on its own and therefore could not influence the judgment of other discrepancies. Rather in both groups the discrepancy between what one has now and recollections of expectations at the time of immigration is equally important in predicting life satisfaction.

To test if the discrepancy related to recollections of expectations at the time of immigration influenced the judgment of all other discrepancies a path analysis was run for the entire sample. It was decided to combine both groups because in testing for the first part of the hypothesis it was shown that for both groups the expectations at the time of moving to Canada were more important. In order to evaluate the influence of the discrepancy of recollections of expectations at the time of immigration on all other discrepancies in predicting life satisfaction, a simple non-recursive path analytic model was formulated. The difference between what one has now and recollects as expecting (E) at the time of immigration was hypothesized to be an exogenous

variable, because it is argued that the expectations that a person has precedes both life

satisfaction in Canada and the comparisons that arise from living in any given

situation. The preliminary path diagram (see Figure 1) delineates the effects of

discrepancy related to recollections of expectations on the dependent variable, life

satisfaction.

The endogenous variables include discrepancies between what you have and

what you aspire to have, the discrepancies between what one has and others have and

what one has and one thinks one could have had back home. The first endogenous

variables was the discrepancy between what one has and what one aspires to have

(SC). The second endogenous variable was the discrepancy between what one has and

what others have. To arrive at the score for what one has and others have the set of

items dealing with relatives back home, white majority Canadians, Indian community

were combined (OH). To arrive at a score for the third endogenous variable of what

one has and could have had in India, items relating to respect, freedom, personal

goals, and satisfaction with bringing up children were combined (CH).

The endogenous variables were ordered as shown in Figure 1. It was

hypothesized that the discrepancy of expectations at the time of immigration would be

negatively correlated with what one has and what one aspires to have (Path 1), these

aspirations would in turn have a positive influence on how one compares one's own

achievement to those of others (Path 2), which in turn positively influence the

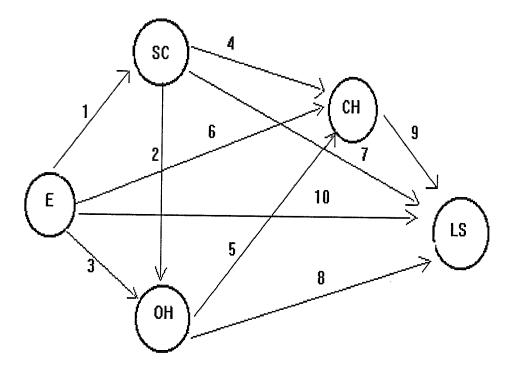imaginary gratifications one could expect to have in India if the move was never made

Figure 1. A preliminary path diagram showing the ordering of the exogenous and endogenous variables.

(Path 5). The discrepancy of expectation of what one could have had if in India and what one has here would in turn negatively influence life satisfaction (Path 9). It was also expected that discrepancy of expectations at the time of immigration would also directly have a negative influence on what one has and others have (Path 3) and what one expects to have if in India (Path 6) and life satisfaction (Path 10). It is also expected that life satisfaction will be directly negatively influenced by discrepancy between what one has and wants to have (Path 7) and what one has and others have (Path 8). What one has and aspires to have is also hypothesized to positively influence what one has and could have had back home (Path 4).

The paths were tested using SASPA, a program written by Huynh (1992) using IML procedures in SAS. Using SASPA total, direct and indirect effects of the variables in the model, and their corresponding Z-values and probabilities were computed. Significance was based on one-tailed tests at the .05 level. Descriptive statistics for all variables used in the computations, a matrix of their correlation coefficients, and simple regression coefficients can be found in Tables 5 and 6. A table of structural equations (see Table 7), as outlined in SASPA, was compiled with each variable as it connected to another variable. The results for the preliminary model's multiple regressions are shown in Table 8. The results from the preliminary path analysis program are detailed in Table 9.

Table 5

Summary of Variable Statistics and Simple Regression Results

VAR NAME		SC	OH	CH	LS	E
SC	F	—	2.715	.702	3.215	7.330
	MSe		17.727	56.05	17.233	4.883
	p		.101	.404	.075	.007
	R^2		.015	.005	.017	.038
OH	F		—	78.159	190.096	28.377
	MSe			39.106	8.624	15.585
	p			.000	.000	.000
	R^2			.298	.508	.134
CH	F			—	64.402	21.835
	MSe				12.988	49.806
	p				.000	.000
	R^2				.259	.106
LS	F				—	33.462
	MSe					14.836
	p					.000
	R^2					.154
	df_e	184	184	184	184	184
	X	9.097	16.108	23.618	24.473	4.641
	SD	2.247	4.230	7.444	4.176	1.601
	n	186	186	186	186	186

Table 6

Correlations of the Causal Model Variables

VAR NAME			SC	OH	CH	LS	E
SC	r=		—	0.12	0.17	-0.13	0.20
	p=			0.10	0.02	0.08	0.00
OH	r=			—	0.55	-0.71	0.37
	p=				0.00	0.00	0.00
CH	r=				—	-0.51	0.33
	p=					0.00	0.00
LS	r=					—	-0.40
	p=						0.00

Table 7

Table of Structural Equations for Multiple Regressions for the Preliminary Model

	Effects	Causes Endogenous Variables				Exogenous Variable
		SC	OH	CH	LS	E
EQ #1	SC	—	—	—	—	Path #1
EQ #2	OH	Path #2	—	—	—	Path #3
EQ #3	CH	Path #4	Path #5	—	—	Path #6
EQ #4	LS	Path #7	Path #8	Path #9	—	Path #10

Table 8

Multiple Regression Results for the Structural Equation System Based on the Preliminary Model

EQ#	F	Prob>F	R^2	MS_e	df_e
EQ #1	7.3330	.0074	.0383	4.8833	184
EQ #2	14.4170	.0001	.1361	15.6253	183
EQ #3	30.5320	.0001	.3348	37.4713	182
EQ #4	53.7930	.0001	.5431	8.1443	181

Table 9

Decomposition of the Total Effect for the Preliminary Fully Identified Path Model

#	DV	IV	Direct	Indirect	UE	SE	TNE	TGE	Total
1.	SC	E	B=.275	NONE	-1.4e-17	1.4e-17	.275	.275	B=.275
			Z=2.71						Z=2.707
			P=.004						P=.004
2.	OH	SC	B=.0959	NONE	.131	-3.65e-7	.0959	.227	B=.227
			Z=1.648						Z=1.648
			P=.05						P=.05
3.	OH	E	B=.939	B=.0264	-9.7e-17	4.58e-7	.966	.966	B=.966
			Z=5.08	Z=.703					Z=5.327
			P=2e-7	P=.241					P=4.99e-8
4.	CH	SC	B=.286	B=.010	.22	-.04	.386	.604	B=.571
			Z=1.40	Z=.725					Z=2.371
			P=.08	P=.234					P=.009
5.	CH	OH	B=1.041	NONE	.10	-.18	1.041	1.140	B=.961
			Z=7.70						Z=8.841
			P=7e-15						P=1.1e-16
6.	CH	E	B=.587	B=1.08	2.2e-16	.16	1.671	1.671	B=1.51
			Z=1.92	Z=4.54					Z=4.673
			p=.03	P=2e-6					P=1.5e-6
7.	LS	SC	B=-.019	B=-.087	-.14	.003	-.106	-.246	B=-.244
			Z=-.20	Z=-.17					Z=-1.79
			P=.42	P=.166					P=.04
8.	LS	OH	B=-.578	B=-.085	-.06	.014	-.663	-.718	B=-.704
			Z=-9.47	Z=-2.28					Z=13.788
			P=0	P=.01					P=0
9.	LS	CH	B=-.282	NONE	-.07	-.03	-.282	-.282	B=-.285
			Z=7.98						Z=-8.025
			P=5e-8						P=5.5e-16
10.	LS	E	B=-.336	B=-.70	2.2e-16	.012	-1.1	-1.036	B=-1.047
			Z=2.33	Z=-5.03					Z=-5.78
			P=.009	P=2e-7					P=3.6e-9

Each path was evaluated for validity. For a path to be valid both the unexplained and spurious effects must be smaller than the Direct effect of one variable upon another. Using the above criteria three non-valid paths (2 4 and 7) were discovered and deleted. A reduced model of structural equation system was redefined (Table 10). The new set of multiple regressions as shown in Table 11 were run.

Table 10

Table of Structural Equations for Multiple Regressions for the Reduced and Final Model

		Causes Endogenous Variables				Exogenous Variable
	Effects	SC	OH	CH	LS	E
EQ #1	SC	—	—	—	—	Path #1
EQ #2	OH	DELETED	—	—	—	Path #3
EQ #3	CH	DELETED	Path #5	—	—	Path #6
EQ #4	LS	DELETED	Path #8	Path #9	—	Path #10

Table 11

Multiple Regression Results for the Structural Equation System Based on the Reduced and Final Model

EQ#	F	Prob>F	R^2	MS_e	df_e
EQ #1	7.3300	.0074	.0383	4.8835	184
EQ #2	28.3775	.0001	.1336	15.5854	184
EQ #3	42.3681	.0001	.3165	38.2913	183
EQ #4	72.0914	.0001	.5430	8.1014	182

The reduced model was retested using SASPA, with all values related to the deleted paths set to zero. The decomposition of the total effect for the reduced path model can be found in Table 12.

Table 12

Decomposition of the Total Effect for the Reduced and Final Path Model

#	DV	IV	Direct	Indirect	UE	SE	TNE	TGE	Total
1.	SC	E	B=.275	NONE	-1e-1	1.38-17	.275	.275	B=.275
			Z=2.71						Z=2.71
			p=.0033						P=.0033
2.	OH	SC							
				PATH DELETED					
3.	OH	E	B=.966	NONE	-1.4e-1	2.7e-17	.966	.966	B=.966
			Z=5.33						Z=5.33
			P=4.9e-8						P=4.9e-8
4.	CH	SC							
				PATH DELETED					
5.	CH	OH	B=0.867	NONE	.09	-3.1e-6	.867	.966	B=.961
			Z=7.51						Z=8.841
			P=3e-14						P=1.1e-16
6.	CH	E	B=.677	B=.838	2.2e-16	-.000	1.51	1.514	B=1.51
			Z=2.23	Z=4.34					Z=4.673
			p=.01	P=7e-6					P=1.5e-6
7.	LS	SC							
				PATH DELETED					
8.	LS	OH	B=-.578	B=-.085	-.06	6.14e-7	-.649	-.704	B=-.704
			Z=-9.47	Z=-2.28					Z=13.788
			P=0	P=.01					P=0
9.	LS	CH	B=-.282	NONE	-.07	-.03	-.282	-.292	B=-.292
			Z=7.98						Z=-8.025
			P=5.6e-8						P=5.5e-16
10.	LS	E	B=-.341	B=-.68	2.2e-16	2.31e-6	-1.0	-1.023	B=-1.023
			Z=2.39	Z=-2.28					Z=-5.78
			P=.008	P=.0114					P=3.6e-9

Of the remaining seven paths in the reduced model there were seven significant total effects including seven direct effects and three indirect effects. Path 1 evaluated the relationship between recollections of expectations at the time of immigration to Canada and the judgment of divergence from what you have and would want to have. The relationship is positive and comprises direct effect, it also supports the hypothesis that recollections of expectations influence personal aspirations of people at present and in the future. Path 3 also constitutes only direct effects. The direct effect of the discrepancy between what one has and the recollections at the time of immigration on the discrepancy between what one has and others have is significant. This supports the hypothesis that expectations have an influence on the judgement of what you have and others have.

The Z-values of Path 5 show that the judgement of discrepancy regarding what one has and others have directly and positively influences what one has and imagines would have had if they were in India now. Path 6, made up of both direct and indirect effects, evaluates the relationship between recollections of expectations on the judgement of what you have and you think you could have if you were in India. The direct effect was significant and the indirect effect mediated by the endogenous variable, discrepancy between what one has and others have, was also significant.

Path 8 comprises direct and indirect effect of the judgement of difference between what you have and others have on life satisfaction mediated by the judgment of what you have now and could have had back home. Both the direct and indirect

effects are significant. The relationship as would be expected is negative, the more you think others have the less satisfied you are.

Path 9 tests the effect of judgement of discrepancy between what one has now and could have had back home on life satisfaction. The total effect is significant and comprises only of direct effect which is also significant.

The influence of recollections of expectations at the time of immigration on life satisfaction was tested in Path 10. The total effect is composed of direct and indirect effects. The expected negative relationship is significant. The indirect effect mediated by the discrepancies between what one has and others have and what one imagines one could have in India was significant.

The exploratory path analysis shows that the discrepancy related to expectations does influence the discrepancies related to what one has and what one wants to have, what others have and what one thinks one could have had if in India. Also it is interesting to note that how one compares oneself to others has influence on what one thinks one could have had if in India. All discrepancies except the one related to what one had and others have directly influenced life satisfaction as would be expected from the earlier results.

Hypothesis 4. Another hypothesis *related to the discrepancy between adaptation style in the new culture and who you compared yourself with and its relation to life satisfaction.* It was hypothesized that, *there would be a significant difference in the life satisfaction scores of those who compared themselves to those*

others who chose to adapt in a different manner than themselves than those who chose to compare themselves to those who chose to adapt in the same way as themselves.

To evaluate the adaptation strategy used by the respondents in Canada, the mode of each person's response to the thirteen items in the acculturation scale was computed. If the mode was 1 the person was classified as one who assimilated. The scores of 9 respondents indicated assimilation as a strategy. If the mode was 2 the person was classified as one who integrated. The majority of participants (N=175) seem to prefer integration as a strategy for coping. If the mode was 3 then the person was classified as one who separated from both cultures. Only 2 immigrant respondents belonged to this category.

Participants were asked to choose who they compared themselves with from a set of possible groups of people. If the participants chose either the option of comparing themselves with majority whites Canadians or Indian immigrants who assimilated they were classified as wanting to assimilate (N=26). If the option of comparing themselves to Indians who balanced both Indian and Canadian ways was chosen, then they were classified as wanting to integrate (N=102). If they chose the option of comparing themselves to relatives back home, they were classified as wanting to separate (N=51). Seven people indicated that they did not compare themselves to anyone, or to other ethnic groups or that they compared themselves to their ownself.

The means for life satisfaction by whom they compare themselves with and acculturation style are presented in Table 13. $\underline{F}$ tests revealed that there were no

Table 13

Number, Means and Standard Deviation of Life Satisfaction Scores for the Different Adaptation Styles and By Whom they Compare Themselves to

	Life Satisfaction		
	Number	Mean	SD
Adaptation Pattern			
Assimilate	9	24.33	4.56
Integrate	175	24.45	4.20
Separate	2	26.00	1.42
Comparison group			
Assimilationist	26	24.07	4.19
Integratists	102	24.62	3.95
Separatists	51	24.51	4.72

significant differences in the means between groups for acculturation ($\underline{F}$ (2, 183) = .51 $\underline{p}$ > .05) nor among the groups classified according to who they compared themselves with ($\underline{F}$ (2, 183) = .12 $\underline{p}$ > .05). Omega squared computed for both independent variables shows that less than 2 percent of the variation in life satisfaction is accounted by each of the categorical variables.

It was not possible to test the role of discrepancies in the chosen adaptation style and the aspired adaptation style in predicting life satisfaction because most people chose to integrate, resulting in insufficient sample size in other groups. As

there were 34 people in the group that integrated but compared themselves to

assimilators and 50 in the group that integrated and compared themselves to integrated

individuals and 91 in the group that integrated and compared themselves to relatives

back home, the life satisfaction scores in these groups was compared. There were no

significant differences ($\underline{F}$ (2, 172) = 2.91 $\underline{p}$ > .05) in the mean life satisfaction scores

for those who integrated and compared themselves to people who integrated (26.36),

those who compared themselves to assimilationists (24.5) and those who compared

themselves to relatives in India (23.1).

Hypothesis 5. *An interaction between education and socio-economic status*

was hypothesized to *influence life satisfaction*, however, the sample was homogeneous

with respect to socio-economic background and education. With only two participants

in low education and high socio-economic status in India and one person in high

education and high socio-economic situation back home, it was not possible to test the

predicted interaction. The means for the two groups with medium and high-level

education and middle socio-economic status were also very similar, 24.22 and 24.70

respectively.

Exploratory hypothesis. It was hypothesized that *life satisfaction scores would*

be correlated with each of the three variables - guilt over leaving the native country,

perceived discrimination in the present situation and perceived lack of social support.

As can be seen from Table 2 the correlations between life satisfaction and perceived

discrimination (-.36), guilt (-.31), and perceived social support (-.34), were all

moderate. The negative correlations indicate that the more guilt felt or the more discrimination experienced the less satisfaction with life. The correlations of life satisfaction with future expectations of social support (.03) and discrimination against self/own group (.02) were negligible.

Strong commitment to living in Canada was assumed to be indicated by taking up of Canadian citizenship (n=138) and weaker commitment was manifested by being a landed immigrant (n=51). Point-biserial correlation between life satisfaction and commitment (-.09) was very small and did not indicate an underlying relationship. Commitment was also measured by plan to stay in Canada fifteen years from now. The correlation between life satisfaction and those who plan to stay in Canada (n=109) and those who plan to go back to India (n=6) could not be tested because there were so few people in one group. Seventy one immigrants said that they did not know as yet where they would be in the next fifteen years.

Discussion

For the purposes of this study it was argued that immigrants are a special group of people. They make a conscious decision to move from one country to another. It is not known from the literature if they are satisfied with their lives or not and also what could be the factors that determine their satisfaction with life in general. Global life satisfaction rather than satisfaction with various aspects of life such as work, family, and social infrastructure was the focus of this study. On the one hand, it was hypothesized that immigrants' life satisfaction would be a function of the

discrepancies between what they have and what others have, what they expected to have at the time of immigration, and what they think they could have had back home if they had not immigrated. On the other hand, it was expected that life satisfaction would not be predicted by level of education, or amount of material possessions. In discussing the findings of this study, each of the predictors and non-predictors will be dealt separately.

Overall life satisfaction scores and the nature of the sample

The sample in this study was fairly homogenous. The majority belonged to the middle class and were medium to highly educated. They were all employed and married and most of them had children. Their life-satisfaction scores generally ranged from medium to highly satisfied. The only low score on life satisfaction was an outlier whose responses had to be omitted. The lack of extremely low scores on life satisfaction can be explained in two ways. First, it is possible that people make a compromise with what they have and what they are doing to justify their situation (Conway & Ross, 1984). When asked, they will more often than not say that they are generally satisfied with life. This could also be the reason why all of the demographic variables, such as socio-economic status, education, present occupation, and gender, explain very little variation in life satisfaction scores. Ying's (1992) sample of Chinese immigrants in the United States, for example, were generally satisfied and their life satisfaction scores could not be explained by demographic variables.

The small range of scores in life satisfaction may partially be explained by the insensitivity of the scale items and by the nature of items forcing participants to answer in a socially desirable manner. This may be especially true of this sample, as they were aware that they were selected because of their immigrant status. There may be some community pride in not admitting that they are very unhappy or dissatisfied. To counter this in future studies, it may be important that indirect measures of life satisfaction be included in the survey. The importance of assessing subjective well-being using multiple measures has recently been emphasized by Diener (1994). Examples of such indirect measures may be the number of times a person socializes or the number of times they wish they had not made the decision to come to Canada.

Discrepancy between self- and other's achievements

The results of this study showed that immigrants compared themselves to others: to the lives of relatives and friends who have stayed back home, to the dominant ethnic group within their adopted country, and to immigrants from their native country. They did not compare themselves to other immigrant groups. The judged discrepancies between what they have and members of the first three groups have were significant predictors of life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was negatively correlated with each of the discrepancies relevant to others. For example, results show that those who feel that their relatives are doing worse than them are more satisfied than those who feel that their relatives are doing better than them.

The move or the decision to move becomes an important aspect of the life of the immigrants and everything they do or achieve is evaluated in terms of that decision. As with a major event in a country that can shape people's memories around that event (Myers, 1993), comparison with friends and relatives back home becomes a part of moving to another country.

On the other hand, comparisons with the adopted community are natural and part of survival in a foreign country. Comparisons of their standard of living with the dominant group ensures the immigrant that they are doing what is appropriate in the country. No matter what an immigrant has achieved, if they perceive themselves as inferior to the majority community they will be less satisfied. Evidence of support for upward comparison by disadvantaged groups is also found in a study by Taylor, Moghaddam and Bellerose (1989).

An immigrant likes also to be doing as well as or better than persons who have made the same decision to immigrate. It is generally found that people of the Indian community make friends with other Indian immigrants, and commonly use them as a comparison group. The Indian community is quite closely connected in Winnipeg, and is very people-oriented. The fact that they become a significant predictor of life satisfaction is not surprising.

Results showed that comparisons with other ethnic minorities in Canada does not predict life satisfaction scores of Indian immigrants. This finding is interesting. Indian immigrants living in North America are highly educated and doing financially

well (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). As part of coping in a foreign country they may think it important to compete with the dominant community but not with other ethnic minorities, because they are not seen as a threat or point of comparison in the new surroundings. This may be true in this instance because the Indian community is fairly large in Winnipeg. Immigrants coming from smaller countries and with smaller immigrant communities may feel less secure and thus compare themselves to other ethnic groups. For example, a personal observation of the author is that Sri-Lankan immigrants constantly compare themselves to Indian immigrants as well as to the majority whites community. This may be worth examining in further studies.

In this study it was found that comparison with friends and relatives was the most important predictor of life satisfaction. Micholas's (1986) model of life satisfaction only tests discrepancies with others. Moving away from the generalized other to different categories of other seems to have made prediction of life satisfaction more precise. Through asking immigrants about the various others they compare themselves to, it may be possible to differentiate the responses of various immigrant groups. It is also not known if the comparison of self with other family members and peers is special to immigrants or to most people, irrespective of their origins and culture.

The relative importance of comparison with others and the comparison with self

Micholas (1986) found for non-immigrant Canadians that comparisons with others were less important, and that such comparisons were influenced by the

discrepancy between what one has and others have. However, in this survey, it was found that the discrepancy between what one has and others have was not significantly correlated with life satisfaction. Rather, what others have, what they think they could have back home and what they expected to have at the time of immigration were the most important predictors of life satisfaction for the immigrants in this study. The lack of predictive power of the discrepancy between what one has and wants to have is interesting. It is possible that in the act of immigration, people cope and adapt to their new environment by not paying as much attention to self-desires. Tuned to external cues for self-satisfaction, recollections of expectations at the time of moving and the way others are doing becomes more important than personal aspirations.

It is also possible that personal aspirations were not captured by asking immigrants if they have less or more than they wanted. Instead, items asking about what they think they could have had back home may have given a better clue about their personal wants. Although it is not possible to say which of the reasons explain the lack of importance of the discrepancy between what one has and wants to have in predicting life satisfaction of immigrants, indepth interviews of some respondents might help in understanding the role self-wants have in explaining life satisfaction.

Another possibility is that people coming from a collectivist culture such as India (Brislin, 1992) are more externally oriented in their comparison groups. This maybe because their sense of self is defined by group membership rather than by internal reference points as is common in individualistic societies (Brislin, 1992). To

examine this proposition, it would be interesting to conduct a similar survey in India to see if personal discrepancy is not as important as the comparison with others.

The influence of judgments of what you think you are missing

In addition to the set of items normally associated with a test of the discrepancy model (Micholas, 1986), the set of items relating to comparisons back home were hypothesized and found to be important when testing the life satisfaction of immigrants. In general, the results indicated that the lower the life satisfaction score the more respondents felt they would have done better if they had stayed in India. For example, it was found that immigrants who thought they would have had more respect back in India than what they command in Canada were less satisfied than those who felt that they commanded at least as much respect in Canada.

Immigrants who felt that they could have raised their children in a better way if they were in India were less satisfied than those who were content with the upbringing of their children. Raising children in a foreign culture is difficult, especially for immigrants whose values are quite different from the dominant culture in Canada (Segal, 1991). Parents may feel that they will be able to give their children a good education in Canada, but as they grow up and question and sometimes disobey the values taught by their parents, dissatisfaction with child rearing may develop. The substantial communication gap between immigrant parents and their children resulting from cultural differences (Heras & Revilla, 1994) may make communication extremely dissatisfying, thereby influencing their life satisfaction scores.

The feeling of a lack of respect in Canada was also found to predict life satisfaction. In India a doctor not only receives high pay, but is treated as a very special person outside the profession. This may not be the case in Canada, especially for an Indian-Canadian doctor. Minority community status generally requires people to work twice as hard to gain the same standing in any position as a non-immigrant. It is also possible that professionals command less respect in Canada because they are immigrants and have different habits and work values, etc. These factors can and seem to influence overall life satisfaction of immigrants.

It was found that immigrants' feelings that they had less freedom in making decisions in Canada also predicted life satisfaction scores. Immigrants feel constrained in making decisions because of their minority status and living so far away from their families. Important decisions in life have to be made without input from family members and the security of a social network, and this may be a problem for those who have grown up in collectivistic cultures with important others to help and counsel them through difficulties and decisions. Second generation immigrants, having grown up in a predominantly individualistic society might not find this as a major concern. Alternatively their decisions may still be affected by their minority group membership.

Though it was expected that perception of greater opportunities to realize personal goals in India would predict lower satisfaction, it was found that perception of greater opportunities in Canada predicted higher satisfaction with life. In order to understand the reversal in the direction of the correlation between life satisfaction and

personal goals it was expected that possibly personal goals discrepancy was acting as a suppressor. Although the item was intended to ask about the opportunities to realize personal goals such as spiritual satisfaction it seems to have been interpreted in terms of opportunities to become a doctor, a scientist or a famous researcher. Because there is better infrastructure in Canada it is to be expected that immigrants would be better able to realize these personal goals. Post-questioning of some of the respondents may have explained this discrepancy in results.

Although material wealth and day to day comforts were correlated with life satisfaction, they did not meaningfully predict it. Given the fact that people generally move from one country to another for better opportunities to live, it is not surprising to find that immigrants to Canada have more material comforts compared to what they would have had back home. But if material comforts were all that was necessary to explain life satisfaction then all immigrants should be happy in their present situation. However, the data substantiate the author's personal observation that immigrants seem to lack satisfaction and to be influenced by their assumptions of how others are doing, and how they would have done back home. The results of this study were clearly consistent with these observations.

Expectations at the time of immigration

Results showed that the discrepancy between what one has and what one expected at the time of immigration was correlated with life satisfaction. Immigrants who felt that their recalled expectations at the time of immigration were met were

more satisfied than those who expected much more than they had. The decision to leave one's own country and settle in another country is momentous, so people tend to judge their achievements always in light of what were their expectations when they made the decision.

Expectations at the time of immigration had a direct effect on life satisfaction, but also influenced immigrants judgments about whether they were doing better than others. Research has shown that if we want to feel good we can choose to compare ourselves to those who are doing worse than others (Wills, 1981). Rather than merely feeling good immigrants want to excel and show their relatives and friends back home that they have done better than if they were in India. Expectations as to what life would be like influences how immigrants think they could have done back home. The greater the expectations and the lesser they are fulfilled the greater the tendency to feel that life would have been much better if the move had not been made. As immigrants judge how life would have been like if they had not made the move, they also think of the stress and anxiety they have had in the new country. In-depth interviews would be necessary to understand the relationship between life satisfaction, fulfilled or unfulfilled expectations, and the judgement of how life would be back home.

It was also shown that comparisons to others are correlated with how immigrants felt they would have done if they were back in India. If they think they are doing better than people back home then they probably feel that they have a good life and did the right thing by moving to Canada. However, if they view their

situation as unsuccessful in comparison to others, immigrants may feel that their

decision to immigrate was not the best. They may rationalize that it is because they

are living in another country, not because of the lack of their accomplishments, that

they are dissatisfied.

It should be kept in mind that these results are exploratory. A recursive path

model should be hypothesized, because it is natural that recollections of expectations

at the time of immigration may be influenced by the individual's present

accomplishments, by what others back home have achieved. The possibility that

immigrants may revise their earlier expectations depending on their present situation

should be tested to provide for a more complete explanation of life satisfaction.

The correlation between life satisfaction and perceived-guilt, discrimination and lack

of social support

Three other variables — perceived guilt over leaving the country of birth,

perceived discrimination in the new country of residence, and the extent of social

support perceived in Canada — were moderately negatively correlated with life

satisfaction. Most subjects expressed to some extent that they were guilty of leaving

their own country. Because this is a very sensitive topic many people who felt guilty

may not

have said so. Others may repress feelings of guilt by justifying their emigration

because they continue to help their native country in so many other ways.

Most people admitted to some discrimination in their new environment. As one participant wrote, "though discrimination does happen on the basis of color and race, people from India cannot complain because there are so many forms of discrimination within our own country". Even in modern Indian, the caste system remains a problem that has to be dealt with seriously. Immigrants who felt discriminated against were possibly less satisfied, but not enough to make this an important predictor of life satisfaction. Most immigrants I have observed take discrimination as part of the ongoing struggle to deal with overt or subtle racism . Indian and Haitian women in Montreal preferred to live in diverse neighborhoods rather than among their own ethnic groups (Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1989). This was interpreted as a means to escape discrimination. It is possible that immigrants are uncomfortable in admitting to being discriminated against and therefore it may be worthwhile to assess perceived discrimination indirectly rather than directly.

In the literature the role of social support in predicting life satisfaction is not clear. In this study although social support was negatively related with life satisfaction, it did not serve as a predictor of life satisfaction. It is possible that because the Indian community in Winnipeg is relatively large, Indian immigrants do not feel the lack of social support. To study the role of social support in predicting life satisfaction it would be important to replicate this study on other immigrant groups within Winnipeg and in cities where the Indian community is small and not as well

connected. The climate in Winnipeg may also make it more likely for people to

socialize and entertain each other and provide mental support.

Demographic variables in predicting life satisfaction

Time since immigration rather than age of immigration was positively related

with life satisfaction. From this study, it would seem that no matter at what age a

person immigrates, as one continues to live in another country one becomes more

comfortable and more satisfied with the way things are. Verkuyten (1987), however,

found that the length of stay in Netherlands was not positively correlated with life

satisfaction of non-native Dutch immigrants. This difference is probably explained by

the differences in policies towards immigrants in the Netherlands and Canada.

Although, time since immigration was positively correlated it was not a significant

predictor of life satisfaction in the model.

There was little variation in immigrants' reported socio-economic status in

Canada. Although there was quite a range of professions among the participants, taxi-

drivers were as satisfied as professionals. Employed and unemployed women were

similarly satisfied. Most people in the sample were moderately to highly educated.

The correlation coefficient between life satisfaction and education was not high.

A hypothesis that could not be tested due to the homogeneity of the sample

was the interaction between present and previous education and socio-economic status.

Most subjects were from middle class backgrounds. Although commitment to Canada,

measured by whether the immigrants had taken up Canadian citizenship and their long

term plans to live in Canada were hypothesized to influence life satisfaction, neither

were correlated with life satisfaction. Seventy percent of the participants had taken up

Canadian citizenship and most planned to stay in Canada after retirement for at least

six months. Again it seems that these aspects do not mean much in terms of

explaining life satisfaction.

Adaptation patterns of immigrants and life satisfaction

Acculturation patterns of immigrants have received substantial attention in the

cross-cultural literature. It has been generally accepted that it is not necessary that

every immigrant should eventually assimilate to the new culture (Berry, 1980). Rather

immigrants should develop a hyphenated identity that integrates their parent culture

with the adopted culture (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). The adaptation style chosen by an

immigrant is dependent on various factors (Berry & Kim, 1988). Integrated

immigrants have been found to be in better physical and mental health (Ghaffrain,

1987; Kaplan & Marks, 1990; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). Ying (1992) found

that the most important predictor among first generation Chinese was the ability to

maintain their own culture and to learn about other cultures. In this survey it was

hypothesized that it was not the adaptation style but the discrepancy between the

adaptation pattern and individual's perception of the ideal adaptation style that would

explain differences in life satisfaction.

Most participants' responses seemed to show that they integrated rather than

assimilated or separated from the new culture. For example, even when it comes to

sensitive questions such as whether they would accept their child deciding to marry a non-Indian few respondents outrightly said no. Most were either unsure or would want them to marry someone who "at least understands our culture". Therefore, it seems that most people in their daily lives synthesize their own with the Canadian culture. This finding is important in light of the fact that assimilation has been thought to be the end point in adjustment to a new culture, when the most natural thing might have been to integrate. Moghaddam & Taylor (1987) have interpreted responses that seem to show that Indian women in Montreal preferred to integrate as ambivalence towards maintenance of heritage culture. It is possible that it is not ambivalence on the part of immigrant Indians but their attempt to integrate rather than assimilate or separate in the new culture.

However, these results may be an artifact of the measure. The scale may have forced people to respond as if they integrated rather than assimilated. This study is the first to ask Indian immigrants what they do in their daily lives, based on the suggestions of Mavreas et al. (1989). Most existing measures of acculturation do not assess aspects of social adaptation and therefore may not have found high levels of integration. Further testing may be necessary to test for the appropriateness of the measure.

It was also found that adaptation pattern did not explain any substantial variation in life satisfaction. This could be a result of the limited variability in both life

satisfaction and adaptation patterns. Further studies and theory building are required to understand the relation between life satisfaction and acculturation patterns.

The specific hypothesis regarding acculturation could not be tested in this study because of the lack of subjects in two acculturation styles. Although 175 subjects claimed to integrate, not all used integrators as their primary comparison group. It was found that 26 people compared themselves to assimilators and 51 people compared themselves to separators. The life satisfaction scores of integrators who did not compare themselves to integrators was less than the score of integrators who did. This difference, though in the predicted direction was not significant. Whether all ethnic groups prefer to integrate, or see integration as the end point in their adjustment in a new culture, and whether not reaching their desired goals promotes dissatisfaction, can only be answered by comparing responses from immigrants of various ethnic groups within the same country.

Life satisfaction and its relation with future expectations

Another hypothesized predictor of life satisfaction was the expectations of life in the future. Although positively correlated, future expectations do not significantly predict life satisfaction. It simply may be socially desirable to respond that you expect your life to be better.

Other measures that were explored were future expectations relating to discrimination and social support. The correlations of both variables with life

satisfaction were negligible. Because most respondents indicated they did not know what would happen in the future, the small correlation has little meaning.

Some limitations of this survey

Because all participants were employed, married and belonged to the middle class, the generalizability of the findings is limited to similar participants. The sample was limited also to those who had phones, were listed in the phone book, and could complete the survey in English. The addresses of the participants who were mailed the survey suggested that most lived in well-to-do neighborhoods. All of these factors may impair the external validity of the study.

This study examined only some of the predictors of life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is also determined by personality factors such as self-esteem, introversion and extroversion, (Costa & McCrae, 1984; Headey & Wearing, 1989) and involvement in social activities (Cooper, Okamura & Gurka, 1992; Davidson & Cotter, 1991; Okun et al., 1984; Toseland & Rasch, 1979), which were not included in this study. Personality variables should be added to future research to provide a more complete test of life satisfaction. In addition, whether specific satisfactions with the family, or work, rather than overall life satisfaction, may be predicted by the various discrepancies should be examined in future studies.

Conclusions

This study has shown the importance of comparing oneself to another rather than to your own position. It was found that the immigrants own socio-economic

status, gender and education were not important for predicting life satisfaction but their comparisons to others and their expectations at the time of moving and their imagination of what their life could be like in India were important predictors of life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is defined as a global assessment against standards chosen by the individual (Diener, 1985; Diener et al., 1984; Shin & Johnson, 1978). This study shows that the standards for comparison chosen by most Indian immigrants are their relatives back home, their friends and neighbors in Canada, and their image of what they would have had if they had not moved to Canada. Expectations at the time of moving influences the judgments of these standards.

The discrepancy approach has been demonstrated to provide a useful method for studying life satisfaction or subjective well being in a variety of contexts. This research is particularly applicable to the situation in India. Moves from villages to cities or from one province to another can be made quite difficult by the cultural distinctiveness of these settings. It would be useful to identify the factors responsible for making a successful move. People who make a move may be happy or unhappy as a result of the social climate of the new place to which they move (Berry, 1980). With constant immigration and the greater prevalence of multinational corporations leading people to move between countries more frequently, research on the effect of such moves is necessary and timely.

The discrepancy approach may be especially useful for groups that have faced a major event in their life. The major event could be something like the political

situation in Eastern Europe today. Although the person may not have emigrated or physically moved, the political system or the situation in the country may have so radically changed that discrepancies between conditions now and what they would have been are likely determinants of life satisfaction. It could be used also to explain life satisfaction among people suffering with terminal illnesses, or conditions in which their life is limited to a great extent. This approach could suggest development of training programs to help people view their lives with a better perspective.

Although not previously used in this fashion, future research with the discrepancy approach might apply to assess the persons thinking before they decide to emigrate. In other words, the discrepancy between what one has now and what one expects to have in the future may be the most reliable predictor of those inclined to emigrate from their native country, and of their potential satisfaction if they do not move.

In short, the overall conclusion from this research is very clear. For immigrants, rather than their level of accomplishments, material wealth, or educational and professional attainments, it is their perception of own life situation and that of others that is the most important. In fact, it is the judgments of their life situation compared to others or to what it could have been had they remained in their native country that are crucial to determining their own satisfaction with life. These findings provide a productive direction for future research.

References

Acock, A. C., & Hurlbert, J. S. (1993). Social networks, marital status, and well-being. Social Networks, 15, 309-334.

Anderson, L. R., & Ranallet, L. (1993). Self-monitoring and life satisfaction of individuals with traditional and non-traditional sexual orientations. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 14, 345-361.

Antonucci, T. C., Fuhrer, R., & Jackson, J. S. (1990). Social support and reciprocity: A cross-ethnic and cross-national perspective. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 7, 519-530.

Angel, J. L., & Angel, R. J. (1992). Age at migration, social connections, and well-being among elderly Hispanics. Journal of Aging and Health, 4, 480-499.

Arrindell, W. A., Meeuwesen, L., & Huyse, F. J. (1991). The satisfaction with life scale (SWLS): Psychometric properties in a non-psychiatric medical outpatients sample. Personality and Individual Differences, 12, 117-123.

Baruch, G. K., Biener, L., & Barnett, R. C. (1987). Women and gender in research on work and family stress. American Psychologist, 42, 130-136.

Benin, M. C., & Nienstedt, B. C. (1985). Happiness in single and dual-earner families: The effects of marital happiness, job satisfaction, and life cycle. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47, 975-984.

Bernstein, M. & Crosby, F. (1980). An empirical examination of relative deprivation theory. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 16, 442-456.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.), <u>Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings</u> (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Berry, J. W., & Annis, R. C. (1974). Acculturative stress : The role of ecology, culture and differentiation. <u>Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 5,</u> 382-405.

Berry, J. W., & Kim, U. (1988). Acculturation and mental health. In P. Dasen, J. W. Berry, & N. Sartorius (Eds.), <u>Cross-cultural psychology and health: Towards applications</u> (pp. 207-236). London: Sage.

Berry, J. W., Trimble, J. E., & Olmedo, E. L. (1986). Assessment of acculturation. In W. J. Lonner and J. W. Berry (Eds.), <u>Field methods in cross-cultural research</u> (pp. 291-324). London: Sage.

Blazer, D. G., Hughes, D. C., & George, L. K. (1992). Age and impaired subjective support: Predictors of depressive symptoms at one-year follow-up. <u>Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 180,</u> 172-178.

Bowling, A. (1990). Associations with life satisfaction among elderly people living in a deprived part of inner London. <u>Social Science and Medicine, 31,</u> 1003-1011.

Bowling, A., & Browne, P. D. (1991). Social networks, health, and emotional well-being among the oldest old in London. <u>Journal of Gerontology, 46,</u> 20-32.

Brislin, R. (1992). <u>Understanding culture's influence on behavior.</u> Orlando: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Broom, L., & Kitsuse, J. I. (1955). The validation of acculturation: A condition to ethnic assimilation. American Anthropologist, 57, 44-48.

Brown, D. R. (1988). Socio-demographic versus domain predictors of perceived stress: Racial differences among American women. Social Indicators Research, 20, 517-532.

Carp, F. M. & Carp, A. (1982). Test of a model domain satisfaction and well being: Equity considerations. Research on Aging, 4, 503-522.

Caetano, R. (1987). Acculturation and drinking patterns among U.S. Hispanics. British Journal of Addiction, 82, 789-799.

Celano, M. P., & Tyler, F. B. (1991). Behavioral acculturation among Vietnamese refugees in the United States. The Journal of Social Psychology, 131, 373-385.

Chamberlain, K. (1988). On the structure of subjective well-being. Social Indicator Research, 20, 581-604.

Chamberlain, K., & Zika, S. (1988). Religiosity, life meaning and well being: Some relationship in a sample of women. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 27, 411-420.

Chamberlain, K., & Zika, S. (1992). Stability and change in subjective well-being over short time periods. Social Indicators Research, 26, 101-117.

Chataway, C. J., & Berry, J. W. (1989). Acculturation experience, appraisal, coping, and adaptation: A comparison of Hong Kong Chinese, French, and English students in Canada. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 21, 295-309.

Chi, P. S. K. (1986). Variation in subjective well-being among black migrant farm workers in New York. Rural Sociology, 51, 183-198.

Clark, L. F., Collins II, J. E. (1993). Remembering old flames: How the past affects assessments of the present. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19, 399-408.

Conway, M. & Ross, M. (1984). Getting what you want by revising what you had. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 738-748.

Cooper, H., Okamura, L., & Gurka, V. (1992). Social activity and subjective well-being. Personality and Individual Differences, 13, 573-583.

Costa, P. T., Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1980). Influence of extraversion and neuroticism on subjective well-being: Happy and unhappy people. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38, 668-678.

Costa, P. T., Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1984). Personality as a lifelong determinant of well-being. In C. Malatesta & C. Izard (Eds.), Affective processes in adult development and aging (pp. 141-157). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Crohan, S. E., Antonucci, T. C., Adelmann, P. K., Coleman, L. M. (1989). Job characteristics and well-being at midlife. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 13, 223-235.

Crosby, F. (1976). A model of egoistical relative deprivation. Psychological Review, 83, 85-113.

Csiksszentmihalyi, M. (1982). Towards a psychology of optimal experience. Review of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 13-36.

Cutler, N. E. (1979). Age variation in the dimensionality of life satisfaction. Journal of Gerontology, 34, 573-578.

Dao, M. (1991). Designing assessment procedures for educationally at-risk Southeast Asian-American students. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 24, 594-601;629.

Davidson, W. B., & Cotter, P. R. (1991). The relationship between sense of community and subjective well-being: A first look. Journal of Community Psychology, 19, 246-253.

Davis, J.A. (1959). A formal interpretation of the theory of relative deprivation. Sociometry, 22, 280-296.

Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. Psychological Bulletin, 95, 542-575.

Diener, E. (1994). Assessing subjective well-being: Progress and opportunities. Social Indicators Research, 31, 103-157.

Diener, E., Larsen, R., & Emmons, R. (1984). Person x situation interactions: Choice of situations and congruence response models. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 580-592.

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. Journal of Personality Assessment, 49, 71-75.

Douthitt, R. A., Macdonald, M., & Mullis, R. (1992). The relationship between measures of subjective and economic well-being: A new look. Social Indicators Research, 26, 407-422.

Durvasula, R. S., Mylvaganam, G. A. (1994). Mental health of Asian Indians: Relevant issues and community implications. Journal of Community Psychology, 22, 97-108.

Ellison, C. G. (1991). Religious involvement and subjective well-being. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 32, 80-99.

Ellison, C. G., & Gay, D. A., (1990). Region, religious commitment, and life satisfaction among black Americans. The Sociological Quarterly, 31, 123-147.

Ellison, C. G., Gay, D. A., & Glass, T. A. (1989). Does religious commitment contribute to individual life satisfaction?. Social Forces, 68, 100-123.

Emmons, R. A., & Diener, E. (1985a). Factors predicting satisfaction judgement: A comparative examination. Social Indicators Research, 16, 157-168.

Emmons, R. A., & Diener, E. (1985b). Personality correlates of subjective well-being. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 11, 89-97.

Emmons, R. A., & Diener, E. (1986). Influence of impulsivity and sociability on subjective well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 1211-1215.

Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. Human Relations, 7, 117-140.

Friedman, M. M. (1993). Social support sources and psychological well-being in older women with heart disease. Research in Nursing and Health, 16, 405-413.

Fugl-Meyer, A. R., Branholm, I. B., & Fugl-Meyer, K. S. (1991). Happiness and domain-specific life satisfaction in adult northern Swedes. Clinical Rehabilitation, 5, 25-33.

George, L. K. (1978). The impact of personality and social status factors upon levels of activity and psychological well-being. Journal of Gerontology, 33, 840-847.

Ghaffrain, S. (1987). The acculturation of Iranians in the United States. The Journal of Social Psychology, 127, 565-571.

Gitmez, A. S., Morcol, G. (1994). Socio-economic status and life satisfaction in Turkey. Social Indicators Research, 31, 77-98.

Gove, W. R., & Zeiss, C. (1987). Multiple roles and happiness. In F. J. Crosby (Ed.), Spouse, parent, worker: On gender and multiple roles (pp. 126-137). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gurr, T. R. (1970). Why men rebel. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Harvey, C. D., Bond, J. B., & Greenwood, L. J. (1991). Satisfaction, happiness, and self-esteem of older rural parents. Canadian Journal of Community Health, 10, 31-46.

Headey, B., & Wearing, A. (1989). Personality, life events, and subjective well-being: Toward a dynamic equilibrium model. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 731-739.

Headey, B., Kelley, J., & Wearing, A. (1993). Dimension of mental health: Life satisfaction, positive affect, anxiety and depression. Social Indicators Research, 29, 63-82.

Headey, B., Veenhoven, R., & Wearing, A. (1991). Top-down versus bottom-up theories of subjective well-being. Social Indicators Research, 24, 81-100.

Hejri, F., & Sorenson, G. (1992). Life satisfaction among Iranians and Americans graduate students. Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 5, 291-297.

Heras, P., & Revilla, L. A. (1994). Acculturation, generational status and family environment of Pilipino Americans: A study in cultural adaptation. Family Therapy, 21, 129-138.

Holosko, M. J., & Huege, S. (1989). Perceived social adjustment and social support among a sample of head injured adults. Canadian Journal of Social Work, 2, 145-154.

Hong, S., Bianca, M. A., Bianca, M. R., Bollington, J. (1983). Self-esteem: The effects of life satisfaction, sex and age. Psychological Reports, 72, 95-101.

Hong, S. M., Giannakopoulos, E. (1994). The relationship of satisfaction with life to personality characteristics. The Journal of Psychology, 128, 547-558.

Horowitz, S. M., Blackburn, R. T., Edington, D. W., & Kloss, D. M. (1988). Association between job stress and perceived quality of life. Journal of American College Health, 37, 29-35.

Hotard, S. R., McFatter, R. M., McWhirter, R. M., & Stegall, M. E. (1989). Interactive effects of extraversion, neuroticism, and social relationships on subjective well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 321-331.

Huynh, C. L. (1992). SASPA: A SAS computer program for path analysis. Unpublished manuscript, Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba, Psychology Department.

Johnson, F. L., Cook, E., Foxall, M.A., Kelleher, E., Kentopp, E., Mannlein, E. A. (1986). Life satisfaction of the elderly American Indian. International Journal of Nursing Studies, 23, 265-273.

Judge, T. A., & Watanabe, S. (1993). Another look at job satisfaction-life satisfaction relationship. Journal of Applied Psychology, 78, 939-948.

Kaplan, M. S., & Marks, G. (1990). Adverse effects of acculturation: Psychological distress among Mexican American young adults. Social Science and Medicine, 31, 1313-1319.

Kenrick, D. T., Montello, D. R., Guiteress, S. F., Trost, M. R. (1993). Effects of physical attractiveness on affect and perceptual judgments: When social comparison overrides social reinforcement. Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin, 19, 195-199.

Klein, W. M., Kunda, Z. (1993). Maintaining self-serving social comparisons based on reconstructions of one's past behaviors. Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin, 19, 732-739.

Kozma, A., & Stones, M. J. (1980). The measurement of happiness: Development of Memorial University of Newfoundland Scale of Happiness (MUNSH). Journal of Gerontology, 35, 906-912.

Kozma, A., & Stones, M. J. (1988). Social desirability in measures of subjective well-being: Age comparisons. Social Indicators Research, 20, 1-14.

Krause, N., Bennett, J., & Tran, T. V. (1989). Age differences in the acculturation process. Psychology and Aging, 4, 321-332.

Lalonde, R. N., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1992). The process of social identification for visible immigrant women in a multicultural context. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 23, 25-39.

Lance, C. E., Lautenschlager, G. J., Sloan, C. E., & Varca, P. E. (1989). A comparison between bottom-up, top-down, and bidirectional models of relationships between global and life facet satisfaction. Journal of Personality, 57, 601-624.

Lang, J. G., Munoz, R. F., Bernal, G., & Sorenson, J. L. (1982). Quality of life and psychological well-being in a bicultural Latino community. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 4, 433-450.

Lasry, J. S., Sayegh, L. (1992). Developing an acculturation scale: A

bidimensional model. In N. Grizenko, L. Sayegh, & P. Migneault (Eds.),

Transcultural issues in child psychiatry. Montreal: Editions Douglas.

Leelakulthanit, O., Day, R. (1993). Cross cultural comparisons of quality of

life of Thais and Americans. Social Indicators Research, 30, 49-70.

Legault, J. R. (1992). A study of the relationship of community living

situation to independence and satisfaction in the lives of mentally retarded adults.

Journal of Intellectual and Disability Research, 36, 129-141.

Madinos, M. (1980). Acculturation and mental health of Greek immigrants in

USA. MD dissertation, University of Athens.

Maslow, A. (1965). Humanistic science and transcendent experience. Journal

of Humanistic Psychology, 5, 219-227.

Maton, K. (1990). Meaningful involvement in instrumental activity and well-

being: Studies of older adolescents and at risk urban teenagers. American Journal of

Community Psychology, 18, 297-320.

Matsuoka, J. K. (1990). Differential acculturation among Vietnamese

refugees. Social Work, 35, 341-345.

Mavreas, V., Bebbington, P., & Der, G. (1989). The structure and validity of

acculturation: Analysis of an acculturation scale. Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric

Epidemiology, 24, 233-240.

McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T., Jr. (1986). Personality, coping effectiveness in an adult sample. Journal of Personality, 54, 385-405.

McCullough, J., & Zick, C. D. (1992). The roles of role strain, economic resources and time demands in explaining mother's life satisfaction. Journal of Family and Economic Issues, 13, 23-44.

McKennel, A. C., & Andrews, F. M. (1983). Components of perceived life quality. Journal of Community Psychology, 11, 98-110.

McKenzie, B., & Campbell, J. (1987). Race, socioeconomic status, and the subjective well-being of older Americans. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 25, 43-61.

Meadow, H. L., Mentzer, J. T., Rahtz, D. R., & Sirgy, M. J. (1992). A life satisfaction measure based on judgement theory. Social Indicators Research, 26, 23-59.

Micholas, A. C. (1980). Satisfaction and happiness. Social Indicators Research, 8, 385-422.

Micholas, A. C. (1982). The satisfaction and happiness of some senior citizens in rural Ontario. Social Indicators Research, 11, 1-30.

Micholas, A. C. (1983). Satisfaction and happiness in rural northern resource community. Social Indicators Research, 13, 224-252.

Micholas, A. C. (1985). Multiple discrepancies theory (MDT). Social Indicators Research, 16, 347-413.

Micholas, A. C. (1986). An application of Multiple Discrepancies Theory (MDT) to seniors. Social Indicators Research, 18, 349-373.

Moghaddam, F. M., Ditto, B., & Taylor, D. M. (1990). Attitudes and attributions related to psychological symptomatology in Indian immigrant women. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 21, 335-350.

Moghaddam. F. M., & Perreault, S. (1992). Individual and collective mobility strategies among minority group members. Journal of Social Psychology, 132, 343-357.

Moghaddam, F. M., & Solliday, E. A. (1991). "Balanced multiculturalism" and the challenge of peaceful coexistence in pluralistic societies. Psychology and Developing Societies, 3, 51-72.

Moghaddam, F. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1987). The meaning of multiculturalism for visible minority immigrant women. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 19, 121-136.

Moghaddam, F. M., Taylor, D. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1989). Integration strategies and attitudes toward the built environment: A study of Haitian and Indian immigrant women in Montreal. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21, 160-173.

Moghaddam, F. M., Taylor, D. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1987). Individualistic and collectivistic integration strategies among Iranians in Canada. International Journal of Psychology, 22, 301-313.

Mookherjee, H. N. (1987). Perception of life satisfaction in the United States: A summary. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 65, 218-218.

Mookherjee, H. N. (1992). A comparative assessment of life satisfaction in the United States: 1978-1988. The Journal of Social Psychology, 132, 407-409.

Murray, H. A. (1959). Preparations for the scaffold of a comprehensive system. In S. Koch (Ed.), Psychology: A study of a science, Volume 3 (pp. 7-54). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Myers, D. G. (1993). Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Nagpal, N., & Chadha, N. K. (1991). Social support and life satisfaction among the aged. Indian Journal of Psychometry and Education, 22, 91-100.

Naidoo, J. C., & Davis, J. C. (1988). Canadian South Asian women in transition: A dualistic view of life. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 19, 311-326.

Near, J. P., & Rechner, P. L. (1993). Cross-cultural variations in predictors of life satisfaction: An historical view of differences among West European countries. Social Indicators Research, 29, 109-121.

Okun, M. A., & Stock, W. A. (1987). Correlates and components of subjective of well-being among the elderly. The Journal of Applied Gerontology, 6, 95-112.

Okun, M. A., Stock, W. A., Haring, M. J., & Witter, R. A. (1984). The social activity/subjective well-being relation: A quantitative synthesis. Research on Aging, 6, 45-65.

Olson, J. M., Hazelwood, J. D. (1986). Relative deprivation and social comparison: An integrative perspective. In J. M. Olson, C. P. Herman & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), Relative deprivation and social comparison: The Ontario Symposium (Vol 4, pp 1-15). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Omodei, M. M., & Wearing, A. J. (1990). Need satisfaction and involvement in personal projects: Towards an integrative model of subjective well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59, 762-769.

Padilla, A. M., Wagatsuma, Y., & Lindholm, K. J. (1985). Acculturation and personality as predictors of stress in Japanese and Japanese-Americans. The Journal of Social Psychology, 125, 295-305.

Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (1993). The affective and cognitive context of self-reported measures of subjective well-being. Social Indicator Research, 28, 1-20.

Rain, J. S., Lane, J. M., & Steiner, D. D. (1991). A current look at the job satisfaction/ life satisfaction relationship : Review and future consideration. Human Relations, 44, 287-307.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. American Anthropologist, 38, 149-152.

Reed, M., & Florian, V. (1990). Subjective well-being and psychological distress: A three-generational study in the Kibbutz. Journal of Communication, 18, 3-11.

Revicki, D. A., & Mitchell, J. (1986). Social support structure in the elderly. Research on Aging, 8, 232-248.

Richman, J. A., Gaviria, M., Flaherty, J. A., Birz, S., & Wintrob, R. M. (1987). The process of acculturation: Theoretical perspectives and an empirical investigation in Peru. Social Science and Medicine, 25, 839-847.

Riggio, R. E., Watring, K. P., & Throckmorton, B. (1993). Social skills, social support, and psychosocial adjustment. Personality and Individual Differences, 15, 275-280.

Rintalla, D. H., Young, M. E., Hart, K. A., & Clearman, R. R. (1992). Social support and the well-being of persons with spinal cord injury living in the community. Rehabilitation Psychology, 37, 155-163.

Rogler, L. H., Cortes, D. E., & Malgady, R. G. (1991). Acculturation and mental health status among hispanics: Convergence and new directions for research. American Psychologist, 46, 585-597.

Salgado-de-Snyder, V. N. (1987). Mexican immigrant women: The relationship of ethnic loyalty and social support to acculturative stress and depressive symptomatology. Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center Occasional Papers, 22, 73.

Sayegh, L., & Lasry, J. C. (1993). Immigrants' adaptation in Canada: Assimilation, acculturation, and orthogonal cultural. Canadian Psychology, 34, 98-109.

Schulz, R., Tompkins, C. A., Wood, D., Decker, S. (1987). The social psychology of caregiving: Physical and psychological costs of providing support to the disabled. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 17, 401-428.

Schwartz, N., & Clore, G. L. (1983). Mood, misattribution, and judgments of well-being: informative and directive functions of affective states. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, 513-523.

Schwarzer, C. (1992). Bereavement, received social support, and anxiety in the elderly: A longitudinal analysis. Anxiety Research, 4, 287-298.

Segal, U. A. (1991). Cultural variables in Asian Indian families. The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 72, 233-241.

Shebani, B. L., Wass, H., & Guertin, W. H. (1986). Correlates of life satisfaction of old Libyans compared to the judgments of Libyan youth. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 24, 19-28.

Shin, D. C., & Johnson, D. M. (1978). A vowed happiness as an overall assessment of the quality of life. Social Indicators Research, 5, 475-492.

Shmotkin, D. (1990). Subjective well-being as a function of age and gender: A multivariate look for differentiated trends. Social Indicators Research, 23, 201-230.

Shmotkin, D. (1991). The structure of the life satisfaction index A in elderly Israel adults. International Journal Aging and Human Development, 33, 131-150.

Sirgy, M. J. (1987). A social cognition model of consumer problem recognition. The Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 15, 53-61.

Sirgy, M. J. & Tyagi, P. (1986). An attempt towards an integrated theory of consumer psychology and decision-making. Systems Research, 3, 161-175.

Smith, E. M. J. (1985). Ethnic minorities: Life stress, social support, and mental health issues. The Counseling Psychologist, 13, 537-579.

Sodowsky, G. R., Lai, E. W. M., & Plake, B. S. (1991). Moderating effects of sociocultural variables on acculturation attitudes of hispanics and Asian Americans. Journal of Counseling & Development, 70, 194-204.

Spiro, M. E. (1955). The acculturation of American ethnic groups. American Anthropologist, 57, 1240-1252.

Stevens, E. S. (1992). Reciprocity in social support: An advantage for the aging family. Families in Society, 73, 533-541.

Stock, W. A., Okun, M. A., Haring, M. J., & Witter, R. A. (1983). Age and subjective well-being: A meta-analysis. In R. J. Light (Ed.), Evaluation studies: Review annual (Vol.8, pp. 279-302). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Stones, M. J., & Kozma, A. (1986). "Happy are they who are happy..." A test between two casual models of relationship between happiness and its correlates. Experimental Aging Research, 12, 23-29.

Szapocznik, J., Scopetta, M. A., & Kurtines, W. (1978). Theory and measurement of acculturation. International Journal of Psychology, 12, 113-130.

Szapocznik, J., Scopetta, M. A., & Tillman, W. (1979). What changes, what stays the same and what affects acculturative change? In J. Szapocznik & M. C. Herrera (Eds.), Cuban Americans: Acculturation adjustment and the family. Miami: Universal Press.

Taft, R. (1953). The shared frame of reference concept applied to the assimilation of immigrants. Human Relations, 6, 45-55.

Taft, R. (1977). Coping with unfamiliar cultures. In N. Warren (Ed.), Studies in cross-cultural psychology (pp. 121-151). London: Academic.

Taft, R. (1986). Methodological considerations in the study of immigrant adaptation in Australia. Australian Journal of Psychology, 38, 339-346.

Tait, M., Padgett, M. Y., & Baldwin, T. T. (1989). Job and life satisfaction: A reevaluation of the strength of the relationship of gender effects as a function of the date of the study. Journal of Applied Psychology, 74, 502-507.

Taylor, D. M., Moghaddam, F. M., & Bellerose, J. (1989). Social comparisons in an intergroup context. Journal of Social Psychology, 129, 499-515.

Taylor, D. M., Moghaddam, F. M., Gamble, I., Zellerer, E. (1987). Disadvantaged group responses to perceived inequality: From passive acceptance to collective action. Journal of Social Psychology, 127, 259-272.

Taylor, D. M., Wright, S. C., Moghaddam, F. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1990). The personal/group discrimination discrepancy: Perceiving my group, but not myself, to be a target for discrimination. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 16, 254-262.

Teske, R. H. C., & Nelson, B. H. (1974). Acculturation and assimilation: A clarification. American Anthropologist, 1, 351-362.

Thurnwald, R. (1932). The psychology of acculturation. American Anthropologist, 34, 557-569.

Toseland, R., & Rasch, J. (1979). Correlates of life satisfaction: An aid analysis. International Journal Aging and Human Development, 10, 203-211.

Usui, W. M., Keil, T. J., & Phillips, D. C. (1983). Determinants of life satisfactions: A note on a race-interaction hypothesis. Journal of Gerontology, 38, 107-110.

Vaughan, D., Kashner, J., Stock, W. A., & Richards, M. (1985). A structural model of subjective well-being: A comparison of ethnicity. Social Indicators Research, 16, 315-332.

Verkuyten, M. (1987). The impact of ethnic and sex differences on happiness among adolescents in the Netherlands. The Journal of Social Psychology, 126, 259-260.

Vermunt, R., Spaans, E., & Zorge, F. (1989). Satisfaction, happiness and well-being of Dutch students. Social Indicators Research, 21, 1-33.

Weinreich, P. (1986). The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations. In J. Rex & D. Mason (Eds.), Theories of race and ethnic relations (pp. 299-320). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, C. L., Berry, J. W. (1991). Primary prevention of acculturative stress among refugees : Application of psychological theory and practice. American Psychologist, 46, 632-641.

Wills, T. A. (1981). Downward comparison principles in social psychology. Psychological Bulletin, 90, 245-271.

Wilson, P. A., Moore, S. T., Rubin, D. S., & Bartels, P. K. (1990). Informal caregivers of the chronically ill and their social support: A pilot study. Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 15, 155-170

White, J. M. (1992). Marital status and well-being in Canada: An analysis of age group variations. Journal of Family Issues, 13, 390-409.

Witter, R. A., Stock, W. A., Okun, M. A., & Haring, M. J. (1985). Religion and subjective well-being in adulthood: A quantitative synthesis. Review of Religious Research, 26, 332-342.

Wong-Rieger, D., & Quintana, D. (1987). Comparative acculturation of southeast Asian and hispanic immigrants and sojourners. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 18, 345-362.

Wood, W., Rhodes, N., & Whelan, M. (1989). Sex differences in positive well-being: A consideration of emotional style and marital status. Psychological Bulletin, 106, 249-264.

Ying, Y. (1992). Life satisfaction among San Francisco Chinese-Americans. Social Indicators Research, 26, 1-22.

Zollar, A. C., & Williams, J. S. (1987). The contribution of marriage to the life satisfaction of Black adults. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 49, 87-92.

Appendix A (I)

Script used by volunteers to solicit participation.

"Hello my name is _____.   May I please speak to Mr/Mrs.

I am calling from the department of Psychology at the University of Manitoba.

I am calling about a survey we are conducting about the experiences of persons who

have come from other countries to live in Canada. We wish to know how these

persons assess the way their lives are going. At present we are particularly interested

in persons from India. At the outset I would want to know if you came to Canada

from India. (If no, it was explained that the study was limited to those from India only

and the caller thanked and hung up.

The study involves filling out a questionnaire that we would mail out to you.

Your responses to the survey would be anonymous. We would like to know if you

would be willing to complete such a questionnaire. (If no, then thank and hang up).

If yes, then -

When I send out the questionnaire, which language would you prefer it in? (If not in

English then it was explained that the questionnaire was in English, and if they could

not fill it up in English, then we could not include them in our sample. The caller

then thanked and the next person called). In the phone book this is your address, is

that right. May I have the postal code please.

Thank you for agreeing to participate. I will mail the survey to you and will

call you back in a week from today to find out if you have any questions regarding

the survey. A stamped envelope with the survey will be included. Please complete the survey personally without discussing with other members of the household. I would also appreciate it if you could take the time to complete the survey soon after it arrives. Could you mail it back to me in a couple of days.

Thank you very much for your support."

Script used by volunteers for the call back.

Hello, Mrs/Mr_____. I am _____ calling. Remember I had called you last week about the survey we are doing. I wanted to make sure if you have received the survey.

Did you have any questions about the survey?

(if yes, then the questions were answered) and then -

Please send the survey back in the postage paid envelope as soon as possible. Thank you very much for the time you took to respond to the survey.

Appendix B

Contents of the cover letter sent to the participants.

I am sending this letter to you following our phone conversation about the study on persons who have come to Canada from India. Enclosed you will find a copy of the questionnaire. I had appreciate it if you would take the time to respond to the survey as soon as possible. Also, please answer the survey yourself without discussing it with other members of the household. Please be honest in responding to the questions. Your replies are confidential. But the replies of everyone to the survey are important to our understanding of how persons feel about their lives in Canada.

If you have any questions regarding the survey please feel free to call me at during the day or at in the evenings. If there is no answer, please leave a message with your name and phone number. I will get back to you as soon as possible.

I will also call you in a week to find out if you have mailed back the survey. If you have then just say yes; if not, I will be happy to answer your questions regarding the survey at that time.

Enclosed is a reply envelope with sufficient postage. All you have to do is to put the survey back in the envelope and put it in the mail. To ensure confidentiality do not put a return address on the envelope.

Your responses to this survey are very important to me. They will be useful for me to complete my thesis. Also the information that I will gather from all the surveys could be used to develop better programs for immigrants to Canada.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your time and prompt response.

Appendix C

A.   Below are some statements about your life in general. Using the description below, **indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement** with each item by **circling the appropriate letters** to the right.

SD = Strongly disagree	N = Neither agree	MA = Mildly agree
D = Disagree	nor disagree	A = Agree
MD = Mildly disagree		SA = Strongly agree

1.   In most ways my life is   SD D MD N MA A SA
      close to my ideal.

2.   The conditions of my life   SD D MD N MA A SA
      are excellent.

3.   I am satisfied with my life.   SD D MD N MA A SA

4.   So far I have acquired the   SD D MD N MA A SA
      important things that I want
      in life.

5.   Most people of my   SD D MD N MA A SA
      ethnic/racial group are
      discriminated against in
      Canada.

6.   I would have achieved much   SD D MD N MA A SA
      more in Canada if I was not
      of my ethnic/racial group.

7.   I have friends in Canada   SD D MD N MA A SA
      who I can rely upon in times
      of emergency.

8.   By deciding to settle in   SD D MD N MA A SA
      Canada I feel guilty about
      not repaying my country for
      the early training that I
      received.

9.   Many Canadians are   SD D MD N MA A SA
prejudiced towards people
from my country.

10.   One thing that I miss here is   SD D MD N MA A SA
the quality of friends I had
back home.

11.   If I could live my life over   SD D MD N MA A SA
again, I would change
almost nothing.

12.   I would have had a better   SD D MD N MA A SA
life if I had stayed back in
my native country.

13.   My friends back home think   SD D MD N MA A SA
that I have done a disservice
to my country by settling in
Canada.

14.   People who decide to   SD D MD N MA A SA
immigrate to another country
must support their native
country in times of
difficulty.

15.   I had a very strong support   SD D MD N MA A SA
network back home which I
miss here.

B.   Please **compare how you perceive your life as it is now with the lives of others.** Circle the appropriate number following each comparison.

1.   In comparison to my life now, the overall lives of my relatives who are in India are-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much worse than mine	worse than mine	slightly worse than mine	same as mine	slightly better than mine	better than mine	much better than mine

2.   In comparison to my life now, the lives of white, middle-class Canadians are-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much worse than mine	worse than mine	slightly worse than mine	same as mine	slightly better than mine	better than mine	much better than mine

3.   In comparison to my life now, the lives of persons from my native country are-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much worse than mine	worse than mine	slightly worse than mine	same as mine	slightly better than mine	better than mine	much better than mine

4.   In comparison to my life now, the lives of persons of other minority groups in Canada are-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much worse than mine	worse than mine	slightly worse than mine	same as mine	slightly better than mine	better than mine	much better than mine

C.   Please **compare your perception of your life as it is now with your wants and expectations.** Please circle the appropriate number following each comparison

1.   In comparison to how things are now what I want out of life is -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less	less	slightly less	same	slightly more	more	much more

2.   In comparison to how things are now, my expectations for my life at the time of immigration were-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much lower	lower	slightly lower	same	slightly higher	higher	much higher

3.   In comparison to my life at present, my expectations in fifteen years from now will be -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much lower	lower	slightly lower	same	slightly higher	higher	much higher

D.   Please **circle** the appropriate number to indicate the **extent to which you compare your life with those of others.**

1.   I compare my life to white middle-class Canadians -

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

2.   I compare my life to friends, brothers/sisters in India -

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

3. I compare my life to other persons from India who balance both Indian and Canadian ways
    -

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

4. I compare my life to other persons from India who have completely adopted Canadian
    ways-

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

5. I compare my life to persons from other visible minority groups in Canada-

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

6. I compare my life to my own wants and aspirations-

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time

E. Please **compare certain aspects of your life, as they are now, to what you think they
    would have been like if you were in India now.** Please **circle** the appropriate number
    following each comparison.

1. In comparison to the amount of respect I command here, I think in India I would have
    commanded -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less respect	less respect	slightly less respect	same respect	slightly more rspct	More respect	much more respect

2. In comparison to the freedom I enjoy in making day-to-day decisions here, I feel in India I
    would have had -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less freedom	less freedom	slightly less freedom	same freedom	slightly more freedom	More freedom	much more freedom

3. In comparison, to the opportunity to realize personal goals now in Canada, I feel in India I
    would have had -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less opportunity	less opprtnty	slightly less opprtnty	same opprtnty	slightly more opprtnty	More opprtnty	much more opprtnty

4. In comparison to the satisfaction I feel in the upbringing of my children here in Canada, I feel in India I would have had -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less satisfaction	less satisfaction	slightly satisfaction	same satisfaction	slightly satisfaction	More satisfaction	much more satisfaction

5. In comparison to the material wealth or acquisition I have here in Canada, I feel, in India I would have had -

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less wealth	less wealth	slightly wealth	same wealth	slightly wealth	More wealth	much more wealth

6. In comparison to the day-to-day comforts I enjoy here in Canada, I feel, in India I would enjoy-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less comforts	less comforts	slightly comforts	same comforts	slightly comforts	More comforts	much more comforts

F.   In evaluating my life I compare myself most often with (Check the <u>one</u> most important comparison group).

_____ White Canadians

_____ Friends and relatives back home

_____ Canadians of other ethnic minorities

_____ Indians who have completely adopted Canadian ways

_____ Indians who balance Indian and Canadian ways of life

G.   For the following items please circle the option that best describes you.

1.   I read:

  a. only Indian newspapers
  b. Canadian and Indian newspapers
  c. only Canadian newspapers

2.   With persons from my native country I prefer to speak

  a. English only
  b. both English and my native language
  c. only my native language

3.   At home I speak

  a. English only

b. both English and my native language
c. only my native language

4.   I watch native language films:

a. never
b. sometimes
c. often

5.   I prefer to live in:

a. predominantly white neighborhoods
b. in mixed neighborhoods
c. in neighborhoods predominantly made up of persons from my cultural group

6.   Persons from my native country have nothing to learn from the Canadian culture.

a. I disagree
b. I agree
c. neither

7.   Most of my friends are:

a. white Canadians only.
b. my cultural group only
c. of mixed ethnic origin

8.   I communicate with my relatives from my home country by mail or telephone:

a. never
b. occasionally
c. often

9.   In extending hospitality:

a. I follow Canadian customs
b. I follow both native and Canadian customs
c. I follow customs from back home

10. I will accept if my children decide to marry someone who is not of my racial/ethnic group.

a. surely
b. maybe
c. never

11. I prefer:

a. North American music
b. music from North America and my native culture
c. music from my native country only

12. At my job I have contacts primarily with:

    a. White Canadians
    b. both Canadians and people from my native country
    c. only people from my native country

13. I prefer to have :

    a. North American food
    b. either North American or traditional native food
    c. only my traditional native food

14. I am interested in the news from back home:

    a. not at all
    b. moderately
    c. very much

15. I would prefer my doctor or lawyer to be:

    a. White Canadian
    b. of my native country
    c. other than a white Canadian (if not from my native country)

16. The social network I enjoy today in Canada is going to get better in fifteen years:

    a. I disagree
    b. I agree
    c. I don't know

17. In fifteen years from now I feel that the level of discrimination against my ethnic group will decrease.

    a. I disagree
    b. I agree
    c. I don't know

18. With regard to my religious practices/traditions I practice those

    a. more often than I did in India
    b. just the same as I did in India
    c. less than I did in India

19. I am a member of ethnic based organizations

    a. Yes
    b. No

G. Now I want you to **tell me about your background**. Please **circle** the option that describes you.

1. Gender   ☐ Male   ☐ Female

2. Highest Education   ☐ High School   ☐ Undergraduate   ☐ Graduate
                                         Degree   Degree

3. Place of birth   ☐ India ☐ Other than India _____
                            (Please specify country)

4. Length of time in Canada   _____

5. Age at immigration   _____

6. Father's occupation in India   _____

7. Mother's occupation in India   _____

8. Present Occupation   _____

9. Socioeconomic status   ☐ High   ☐ Middle Class   ☐ Low
    in Canada

10. Socioeconomic status when ☐ High   ☐ Middle Class   ☐ Low
    back in India

11. Status In Canada   ☐ Canadian citizen ☐ Landed Immigrant

12. Whose decision was it to immigrate ☐ Yours ☐ Your spouse's   ☐ Both
    to Canada.

13. For the rest of my life I plan to stay ☐ Yes ☐ No, go back   ☐ No, go
    in Canada   to India   elsewhere

Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions for me.
Did you find any particular item difficult to understand or answer _____.

Would you have rather responded to this questionnaire in your native language?