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The role of family expectations and internalized model minority on career choices of South Asian American college students

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The role of family expectations and internalized model minority on career choices of South Asian American college students

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It took two villages. Maybe even another half of one to see me through what I can only describe as the most rigorously tumultuous roller coaster of life a doctoral student could possibly ask for. Many a time have I literally visualized myself writing this very page in my dissertation and I'm overwhelmed with emotion as I put into words my reflection of how the past decade as a doctoral student transformed and empowered me. My faith in my guru Sri Sri Ravi Shankar has been with me along this journey and am indebted to His grace and blessings through the many rough patches and triumphant achievements along the way. My parents, Dr. Prakash and Uma Ettigi, have been and continue to be the strongest pillars in my educational and academic endeavors. They never lost sight of my goals when things seemed hazy for me, and lit the pathway for me when it was too dark for me to see at times. The support that they have given with unconditional love, through each backwards loop, and over each rocky bump, all the while determined for my success, has equally earned them this degree. I also want to acknowledge my sister, Ranjini. She has been one of the main sources of inspiration behind this project. Second generation South Asians are making waves in so many fields outside of the norm and my sister is just one of the amazing people making a difference in this world in a not so "model minority" kind of way. She is destined to break out of the box that South Asians tend to be placed in and make an impact through her creativity and passion for music. I am also thankful for my husband, Chintan Mehta, who has been not only understanding through all my craziness, but also a healthy dose of reality when I took things too seriously during my academic endeavors. He has been the greatest cheerleader a gal could wish for. Always in my corner and rooting for me, I will never forget how we got through these final years of this program together.

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ABSTRACT

Similar to Asian Americans, South Asian Americans are not only influenced by their traditional culture and familial expectations, they are also stereotyped by the model minority label as economically successful, untroubled, compliant, excelling in math and science and succeeding in spite of racial barriers and discrimination (Asher, 2002). Such cultural and familial expectations and stereotypes are likely to influence one's career outlook and vocational decisions (Mani, 2008). Yet, South Asians have been minimally represented in the extant literature on these issues in relation to their career and vocational choices. Utilizing Gottfredson's Circumscription and Compromise Theory the current study used regression analysis to investigate how family expectations and model minority myth may influence second-generation South Asian American's career choice and their career decision making difficulty. It was hypothesized that (1) participants will compromise (sacrifice) prestige least in comparison to their sex-type and vocational interests when forced to consider an alternate aspiration, (2) greater adherence to family expectations will result in greater difficulty in deciding which career to pursue, (3) higher internalization of model minority myth will result in a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest, and (4) greater endorsement of internalization of model minority myth will result in greater career decision difficulty. Preliminary analysis revealed significant correlations between family expectations and career decision making difficulty, career decision making difficulty and interest, career decision making difficulty and prestige, and prestige and interest. However, multiple multivariate linear regression analysis revealed no significant relationship between family expectations on career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty, as well as no significant relationship between the internalization of model minority myth and career

aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. Implications for theory, research and practice for these findings are discussed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of the 14.7 million Asian Americans residing currently in the U.S., South Asian Americans (i.e., from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) are the second largest group accounting for 19.4 percent of the Asian population and about .91 % of the total U.S population (U.S Census Bureau, 2010). Although a majority of this population is foreign-born (Reeves & Bennett, 2004), South Asian immigrants have experienced an easier transition to the U.S. (Pavri, 2007) and hold the highest median household income of any other immigrant group in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Their success in the U.S. has set lofty precedents and various familial and societal expectations for their second-generation children who currently are pursuing their own career aspirations and educational trajectories.

Second-generation South Asian Americans experience a unique bicultural upbringing (Inman & Tewari, 2003) that not only influences how they define themselves but also how they approach their academic and career aspirations in college (Roysircar, Carey & Koroma, 2010). In their journey of defining their identity, navigating two very different cultures, and making important life decisions, second-generation South Asian Americans experience significant intergenerational familial conflict (Inman & Tiwari, 2003; Inman, Howard, Beaumont & Walker, 2007; Inman, Ladany, Constatine & Morano, 2001) that may impact their outlook on career decisions. Moreover, because of their success and high levels of achievement in areas such as math and science within a racialized educational context of the United States, South Asians have often been stereotyped as a model minority (Asher, 2002). As a result, internalizing such societal pressures associated with being a model minority, may impact individuals who fall short of the high achievement expectation embedded within the stereotype. Thus, pursuing a specific career

path based in specific career aspiration may be particularly difficult when familial cultural expectations coupled with such societal expectations push for alternate careers paths.

Although familial and societal expectations regarding career aspirations and the resultant career decisions have been examined among Asian Americans youth, these salient constructs have not been examined specifically within the South Asian population. To address this gap, the current study aimed to examine how familial and the model minority societal expectations may relate to career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty among second-generation South Asian Americans young adults. Moreover, because contextual factors such as sex-type and prestige (Fouad et al., 2008) may significantly compromise South Asian Americans' decisions in choosing a suitable career, Gottfredson's (1981) Circumscription and Compromise theory served as an important theoretical framework for this study.

Theory of Circumscription and Compromise

In this theory, Linda Gottfredson (1981), attempts to describe how career choice develops among young individuals by seeking to explain the cognitive career decision-making process within a developmental context. Gottfredson (2002) suggests that occupational aspirations are initiated in early childhood, and should be viewed as a fundamental component of social development and identity. The predominant assumption of this theory is that by recognizing and adopting occupational stereotypes (i.e. gender stereotypes, social status) within their environment, individuals will construct cognitive maps of potential occupations. Occupations are thus placed on this map using three dimensions: sex-type, prestige level, and interests. The greater the perceived compatibility of occupations with the fundamental elements of self-concept, the stronger preference for those occupations. The current study set out to examine the

importance that South Asian Americans place on these three dimensions and how they may vary given the familial and societal expectations surrounding their career development.

Asian American Family career expectations

The relationship between parental career expectations and specific career behaviors (i.e., career choice) in individuals from collectivistic cultures has been well investigated among Asian Americans (e.g., Fouad et al., 2008; Shea, Ma, & Yeh, 2007). For example, Fouad et al. (2008), found that all participants experienced the need for on-going negotiations between their own desires and their parents' desires, particularly surrounding career aspirations and choice. One of the several themes that surfaced in this study was the expectation of achieving or pursuing a career with a high level of prestige and status. In her developmental theory of circumscription and compromise, Gottfredson (1981) closely examines at prestige as one of three important constructs that individuals assess in choosing a career.

Gottfredson's theory suggests that occupational aspirations are initiated in early childhood, and should be viewed as a fundamental component of social development and identity. Gottfredson explains that vocational choice begins as a process of circumscription wherein occupational alternatives in conflict with one's self-concept are no longer considered. This theory postulates that an individual's occupation is a primary vehicle for the presentation of self in society; the greater an individual's perceived compatibility with an occupation, the greater their self-concept and preference for that occupation. However as individuals mature and are faced with situational dilemmas, the process of compromise takes over and they turn down their preferred alternatives for less compatible, but easily accessible careers (Gottfredson, 2004). According to Gottfredson (1981, 1996), such compromises involve three contextual dimensions: prestige (i.e. social status/desirability), occupational sex-type (gender traditionality), and

personal interests; with personal interests being compromised first, followed by prestige second, and sex type. In essence, individuals may weigh prestige and sex-type relative to their cultural environment and genuine interests. Interestingly, the dimension of prestige has been found to be more of a salient factor than sex-type and personal interests in Asian Americans career decision-making and its influence on conflicts in the face of cultural demands and expectations of their family members.

Leung, Ivey and Suzuki (1994) found when comparing career aspirations of Asian American and Caucasian college students, Asian American participants solely based their aspirations on the prestige factor. Particularly, in regards to career aspiration type (i.e. the Holland typology), Asian American students endorsed investigative occupations, more often than Caucasian students, which are generally higher in prestige than the other Holland occupational groups. The authors not only found differences in the career considerations in terms of the prestige level but also in the gender traditionality of the occupations. For example, Asian American men were more likely than Caucasian male students to consider traditionally male occupations. Similarly, Asian female students were more likely to consider nontraditional female occupations (i.e. more male-dominated occupations) when compared to their Caucasian counterparts (Leung et al, 1994). This finding may be explained through the "prestige factor," wherein both Asian American men and women are steered towards pursuing careers with high prestige and social recognition (Leung et al, 1994). The authors thus concluded that Asian American students, regardless of gender, tend to pursue highly prestigious careers consistent with their family expectations rather than aligned with their own interests, skills, or other personal characteristics. As a result, cultural conflicts may arise between second-generation children and their first-generation immigrant parents (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). In fact,

literature has highlighted the influence of traditional Asian values (Leong, 1998; Leong & Gupta, 2007; Moy, 1992; Tang et al., 1999), in shaping intergenerational cultural conflict.

Adhering to and adopting cultural values and familial expectations within South Asian American communities are a common source of conflict for the second-generation in the U.S. (Inman et al., 2001) and may interfere with career development. For instance, at a young age, many South Asian Americans are ingrained with familial expectations of achieving stellar heights academically. These expectations steer youth into specific careers (i.e. engineer, physician, information technology; Gupta & Tracey, 2005) creating additional stress if such careers are not aligned with their personal interests. Furthermore, embedded in the South Asian culture is the duty-based moral orientation that compounds the inner conflicts among second generation South Asians. This is particularly true when familial closeness may be jeopardized due to families disapproving decisions made by second-generation South Asians (Dugsin, 2001). For instance, Gupta and Tracey (2005) explored intra-group differences of the endorsement of Dharmic values (South Asian value of tradition and duty) within a sample of White and South Asian American college students. Findings revealed that greater endorsement of Dharmic values and adherence to one's sense of duty toward the family played a critical role in the life-defining decisions made by most South Asians. Studies (Fouad, 2007; Leong & Gupta, 2007; Okubo, Yeh, Lin, Fujita & Yi Shea 2007; Tang, Fouad & Smith, 1999) reveal that Asian Americans often approach career choices within a collectivistic framework. However, such attempts to incorporate familial expectations in pursuing a career path that conflict with their own vocational interests may cause a significant amount of anguish (Asher, 2000; Mani, 2011; Roysircar et al, 2010).

In her Canadian based study, Mani (2008) found that those individuals who considered pursuing non-traditional careers within the sciences (i.e. professor and scientific researcher), instead of traditional careers (i.e. physician, computer engineer) experienced limited career support from their family members. Further, in a sample of second-generation South Asian women, Mani (2011) found that participants perceived their parents as only encouraging traditional career choices that were male-dominated, stable, promising financial security (e.g. medicine, law) and social status. These vocations were chosen over traditionally female-dominated (i.e. nurse, secretary) and non-traditional (i.e. non-science) vocations that may be of more interest to the individual, but render less financial gain or prestige (e.g. teaching; Asher, 2002). Furthermore, for South Asian women in particular, achieving balance in their future life roles and career choice emerged as an important factor in their career decision-making process (Mani, 2008).

Although the aforementioned studies provide some insights into the decision making difficulty involved in South Asian vocational development, there still remains a dearth of research investigating the influence of familial and cultural expectations on second-generation South Asian Americans careers aspirations. We know little about how South Asian American's career aspirations may be influenced by these collectivistic constructs. Thus, the first purpose of this study was to investigate how family expectations may directly influence career aspirations when urged to pursue an alternate career and also influence the career decision-making difficulty of second-generation South Asian Americans.

Family Expectations and Career Aspirations. Career aspirations are crucial to study, as they are the precursors to future career choice and attainment (Schoon & Polek, 2011). Career aspirations differ from career interests in that the former denotes an expressed career goal

involving motivational components not necessarily present in career interests (Silvia, 2001). Furthermore, occupational aspirations are a perception of the individual's ideal career goals and are different from occupational expectations, which are considered to be a perception of the individual's realistic or more likely career goals (Howard et al., 2010; Rojewski, 2005). Such perceptions regarding the vocational world and career related decision-making occur well before an individual is fully cognizant of making such decisions (Gottfredson, 1981). Thus, as individuals mature, an organizational framework of the occupational images they hold, also known as a *cognitive map of occupations*, are tied to developmental changes in cognitive ability (Gottfredson, 1996). It is within this cognitive map that the distinction between an idealistic aspiration (i.e. career most favored by individual) and a realistic aspiration (i.e. career less desirable than ideal choice but acceptable) develop (Jung & Armstrong, 2010). These aspirations, in turn, may translate into how individuals view their career outlook and how they approach their career advancement and attain success.

An important element believed to play a pivotal role in shaping career aspirations is *context* (Howard et al., 2010). In line with Gottfredson's circumscription and compromise theory, the contexts in which young individuals explore their vocational world include sex roles, social status, and personal interests. Gottfredson (1981) postulated, that individuals learn at a young age which occupations are appropriate for men and women, thereby narrowing (i.e. circumscribing) their career aspiration based on sex types of occupations. The limits of sex typed occupations is governed by one's gender identity creating sex type boundaries through which occupational preferences are circumscribed (Dodson & Borders, 2006). Sex type boundaries are believed to be determined during early childhood wherein occupations that are perceived to have the wrong sex type are eliminated from further consideration during this developmental period.

After time, individuals begin to consider occupational prestige (social class) or effort required to obtain a career as well as their skills and talents related to potential career aspirations.

Obstacles and opportunities experienced within these contexts influence individuals' preferences for certain careers (Gottfredson, 1981, 1996). Albeit support for this theory, studies have found varying results examining the role of sex-type and prestige levels (i.e., social status) and career aspirations (Patton & Creed, 2007; Powers & Wojtkiewicz, 2004). For instance, whereas Patton and Creed (2007) found that male high school students tend to aspire to professionally high social status occupations and girls to semiprofessional occupations, Mau and Bikos (2000) found girls had higher aspirations than boys when using a similar method to categorize occupations. Moreover, in a longitudinal study (i.e. 1979 to 1990), Powers and Wojtkiewicz (2004) concluded boys and girls aspired to professional vocations at almost similar rates. Comparable findings incorporating sex-type and career interests have been revealed among Asian Americans.

For example, Fouad et al. (2008) found gender to be an influential factor in the types of career options available to Asian American women in particular (Fouad et al., 2008). For example, their findings revealed that women pursued a higher education only if they were from a wealthy family. Furthermore, certain careers were deemed flexible enough (e.g. nurse) for women to balance both a career and family life, whereas other careers ended prematurely due to family planning (Fouad et al., 2008). In fact, research examining South Asian men and women suggest that young adults develop interests that are culturally defined as gender appropriate and view the pursuit of a science-oriented profession (with social status) as the "valued career track" (Mani, 2011 p. 57). This, in turn may result in a bypass of young individuals' genuine interests and aptitudes (Gottfredson, 1981; Liben & Bigler, 2002; Wood & Eagly, 2002) that may perhaps

lie within non-science related fields. This may be particularly true of South Asian American women, who in comparison to men, may face different challenges in pursuing a non-traditional career or a career at all, due to the familial commitments to family development and tradition (Gupta & Tracey, 2005). In so saying, South Asian American men may also experience pressure in conforming to the pursuit of traditional prestigious male careers, for the sake of upholding their role as the "provider" their immediate family and in most cases their extended family as well (Mani, 2011). Thus, the familial expectations and cultural stigma associated with pursuing traditionally prestigious careers within the South Asian American community may directly influence career aspirations of second generation South Asian Americans. As such, the current study predicted that greater adherence to South Asian family expectations will result in participants compromising personal interests first, sex-type second, and prestige third. Specifically, when given the option to choose an alternate career it was predicted that greater prestigious and traditional career aspirations was chosen among second-generation South Asian Americans.

Family Expectations and Career decision-making difficulty. Career decision-making difficulty, otherwise known as career indecision, is an increasingly important construct within the field of vocational psychology (Kelly & Lee, 2002). Career decision-making difficulty involves various career decision complexities that may arise from a single difficulty or a combination of difficulties (Osipow, Carney & Barak, 1976; Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou, 2010). Gottfredson (1981; 2002) described the career decision-making process as a developmental experience that occurs over an extended period of time, specifically from early childhood through adolescence to adulthood.

Gati, Krausz and Osipow (1996) created taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties, centered on three levels of categorization. The first level begins prior to engaging in the career decision-making process. Here an individual may report a "lack of readiness" due to a decrease in motivation, general indecisiveness, or dysfunctional beliefs (Gati, Krausz & Osipow, 1996). Within this context, an individual is unwilling to make a decision regarding their career because they experience an inaccurate perception of the career decision-making process due to irrational explanations regarding the process. For example, a South Asian American student may refuse to decide between a pre-med major and engineering major due to their underlying difficulty in making informed decisions. Assuming that these are the only viable career options feasible for them, they may believe that they will fail no matter which major they choose.

The second level of categorization illustrated by Gati, Krausz and Osipow (1996) occurs during the process of career decision-making. This level is marked by a lack of information/guidance and difficulty in utilizing accessible material (i.e. career link website, career fairs etc.) due to information inconsistency (Gati, Krausz & Osipow, 1996). For instance, a South Asian American undergraduate student, struggling to balance family expectations, may not have a clear understanding or knowledge of their capabilities or interests. Perhaps they may be blindly pursuing a major due to the suggestion of a family member and struggling with actively seeking guidance in learning more about careers within their major.

The third and final level of categorization also occurs during the process of career decision-making and focuses on individuals' unreliable information (i.e. contradictory information) regarding themselves or about the considered occupations. This category of difficulty highlights an individual's state of internal confusion that may stem from a difficulty in compromising on factors that may be important to them (Gati, Krausz & Osipow, 1996). As

such, individuals' internal and external conflicts surface. According to Gati et al, (1996), internal conflict reflects an individual's state of internal confusion, wherein they find it difficult to compromise over potentially incompatible factors (one's abilities and preference for a particular career) they view as important. Conversely, external conflicts indicate a gap between an individual's personal preference and the preferences voiced by significant others (i.e. cultural values, parents, family members etc.). For example there may be a disagreement between a family member and the individual regarding the desirable career alternative.

This latter type of conflict has been found to exist between South Korean students and their respective parents. The South Korean cultural values emphasize the need to honor and respect parental expectations when making career decisions. In light of this, South Korean students make career decisions centered on their internalized parents' expectations (e.g. Leong, Hardin, & Gupta, 2010). This may be also found among South Asians Americans, as they abide to a unique characteristic prevalent within South Asian American culture known as Dharma (calling or duty) (Gupta & Tracey, 2005). Parents of the second-generation may strongly consider this concept of Dharma as an integral role in the decision-making process that must be perpetuated in the next generation. Thus, although second- generation South Asian Americans are raised in the context of such family expectations, because they may prefer a career of their own interest, they may feel compelled to defy such expectations and experience conflict in career decision-making.

In terms of Gati et al.'s (1996) taxonomy of career decision making difficulties, South Asian cultural values and familial expectations may be viewed as an external conflict within this stage for college students. For example, in comparison to their parents, second-generation students have been noted to prefer non-science majors; yet more students have reported their

actual majors to be in science and math (Roysircar, 2010). Such discrepancies are likely to result in an external conflict wherein individuals may experience difficulty with not only compromising on a career to pursue but also endure significant career decision-making difficulty. Therefore, the current study hypothesized that the greater South Asian Americans adhere to cultural and family expectations, the greater career decision-making difficulty they will experience.

Societal Expectations and the Internalization of Model Minority Myth (MMM)

In addition to the career expectations within a family environment are the ever-prevalent societal expectations imposed on Asian Americans career development. Although, research and theory suggests that being employed in a vocation congruent with one's interests will lead to greater job satisfaction (Spokane, Meir & Catalano, 2000), Asian Americans may pursue a career for the sake of upholding the status of model minority, rather than choosing a career of interest (Gupta, Szymanski & Leong, 2011). Thus, societal expectations may have a subtle yet influential impact on the kind of career aspirations Asian Americans have and the decisions they make on their careers.

The phenomenon of minority populations being pigeon-holed into a set of career choices has been studied and discussed at length in the literature. This has been termed as occupational segregation wherein there is an overrepresentation of individuals in some careers and underrepresentation in others (Leong & Chou, 1994). However, the process of internalizing these stereotypes, known as "internalized racialism" (Taylor & Grundy, 1996), has not been investigated in depth (Gupta, Syzmanski & Leong, 2011). Often mistakenly interchanged with the term "internalized racism" which tends to have a narrow scope focusing on the negative stereotypes, "internalized racialism" considers the internalization of both negative and positive

stereotypes that may be associated with a particular group (Cokley, 2002). Although there is growing empirical attention given to this construct among Asian Americans, no studies to date have focused on the career outcomes of internalizing positive stereotypes (i.e., internalizing the model minority myth) among South Asian Americans.

A sizeable body of empirical literature states that stereotypes (positive or negative) and beliefs that become deeply ingrained within an individual eventually become presented as outward behaviors (Gupta, Syzmanksi & Leong, 2011). Several studies have extensively investigated the ramifications and the varying perceptions of the model minority stereotype held by Asian Americans (Lee et al., 2009; Qin et al., 2008; Shih, F., 1989; Sue et al., 1995; Tang, M., 2007; Wong & Halgin, 2006; Wong et al., 1998). These studies indicate that individual performances on various tasks, centered on the activation or anticipation of the group's stereotypes, is influenced by merely belonging to a certain group (Gupta, Syzmanksi & Leong, 2011). For instance, the model minority stereotype may place extreme pressure on Asian Americans to conform to higher educational, occupational, and economic expectations (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Therefore, the psychological outcomes (e.g., feelings of inadequacy, self-doubt, suicide, Kim & Park, 2008) associated with not meeting such societal expectations can create significant difficulty in individuals' career aspirations as well as within their career decision-making process.

Further, Tang (2007) asserts the model minority myth masks the diversity within the group in regard to socioeconomic status, occupational attainment, academic achievement, and need for services. Additionally, many Asian Americans have reported experiencing discrimination in the workplace wherein they felt the need to work extra hard to overcome discrimination (Fouad, 2008). Asian Americans, in fact, report experiencing discrimination as

early as college entry, due to several elite colleges and universities limiting their seats through ceiling quotas and/or racially discriminatory admission policies (Gervasi, 1990; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Although several studies demonstrate that Asian Americans students do not outperform, and may in fact do worse than their White peers (Toupin & Son, 1991), Asian Americans continue to experience limited resources and services that are received by other minority groups (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Interestingly, despite these discriminatory experiences, research suggest that Asian Americans who internalize the model minority status perceive themselves as more prepared, motivated, and are more likely to have greater career success than their White counterparts (Wong et al., 1998). This perception may push Asian Americans to feel compelled to abide by society's imposed model minority status, regardless of their abilities and genuine interests. Yet, research on the internalization of this stereotype and its manifestation in career development is lacking. Moreover, no studies to date have examined the internalization of the model minority label within the South Asian community, specifically among the second-generation. Thus, investigating how the internalization of model minority status may influence career aspirations and career decision-making among South Asians becomes salient.

Internalized MMM and Career Aspirations. Raised within a racialized society, young Asian Americans experience academic bias and stereotypes from a very early age. An example of this may be Asian American students placed in gifted programs and automatically enrolled in accelerated academic classes throughout grade school (Dharma, T., 2011). According to Gottfredson's theory, by middle school, individuals become aware of status hierarchies and develop sensitivities to social valuation by their peers and society (Gottfredson, 2004). During this developmental period, individuals have come to understand the close associations among income, education, and occupation (Gottfredson, 2004). As individuals mature, and further

define their self-concept, pursuing a certain career becomes a competition to advance or an attempt to make a respectable show of effort (Gottfredson, 1981). Additionally, individuals may incorporate their perception of occupational sex type along with their perception of occupational prestige in eliminating occupational alternatives that may conflict with their self-concept. This process of circumscription may best be described in creating a graph depicting the degree of masculinity and femininity of occupation (i.e. sex type of occupations as a continuum) on one axis and the degree of prestige of occupation on the other axis (see Figure 2). An individual's occupational interests are then placed on different points on the two-dimensional graph. The occupations that fall beyond one's sex type boundary lines are eliminated, as well as occupations that fall beyond their lowest and highest prestige boundary lines (Gottfredson, 1981). Here an individual may perhaps limit their career aspiration to conform to the pressures of society's expectations, particularly if internalizing the model minority stereotype, as in the case of many Asian Americans (Lee, Wong & 2009; Yoo et al., 2010).

Thus, according to theory, Asian Americans may limit themselves in pursuing careers that they deem socially acceptable and attainable. Not only do Asian-Americans seek acceptable and attainable careers but also tend to selectively pursue reputable vocational interests (e.g. science, engineering) in an effort to live up to the model minority image (Wong & Halgin, 2006). As a result, Asian Americans may feel a restricted sense of identity in addition to a limited choice for occupations (Yoo, Burrola & Steger, 2010). Moreover, Asian Americans have been found to compromise sex type first before prestige (Leong, 1991; 1993), while also placing prestige significantly higher than other factors such as personal interest or aptitudes when choosing a career aspiration (Leong, 1993). This may be the result of internalizing the damaging stereotype that Asian Americans always overachieve at extraordinary levels and thus pursue

highly prestigious careers.

A significant number of studies conclude that the model minority stereotype sends the message to society that Asian Americans are “academic machines” (Ramanujan, 1996, p.3). This model stereotype may perpetuate the notion that Asian Americans are naturally inclined and programmed to work hard and excel within any academic realm. Such expectations may create excessive pressure for young adults who have internalized the model minority image and feel they have fallen short of or failed to meet society’s expectations (Dharma, 2011; Tang, 2007). Consequently, such a stereotype may influence how Asian Americans compromise on pursuing a particular career aspiration. Similar findings of internal conflict may be found with South Asian Americans.

The unique cultural experiences of second-generation South Asian Americans may lead to internalized experiences of being a minority in the U.S. differently than their first-generation parents. For example, while the first generation conceptualize their racial experiences in the context of the caste system within which they were raised (Ibrahim, Ohnishi & Sandhu, 1997) and as such are accepting of these experiences (Inman, Tummala-Narra, Kaduvettoor- Davidson, Alvarez, & Yeh, in review), second generation South Asian Americans, raised within a racialized society, view themselves as the "other" (Tummala-Narra, Inman & Ettigi, 2011, p. 214) perhaps reinforcing their internalized minority identity. These discrepancies of how individuals identify themselves may speak to the intergenerational conflict that may occur, particularly within major life decisions such as career development. This occurrence may further complicate and perhaps even contribute to the internalization of such stereotypes associated with being a model minority. Therefore, the current study hypothesized that greater internalization of the model minority myth

would result in South Asian Americans opting for a more traditional (i.e. prestigious) career aspiration when forced to choose an alternate career option.

Internalized MMM and Career decision-making difficulty. Despite the perceptions that all Asian Americans are self-sufficient, academically successful, attain high socioeconomic status and occupational prestige, these factors neither translate into satisfaction with their career choices nor indicate the struggle that Asian Americans experience in making career decisions ((Leong & Chou, 1994; Okubo et al., 2007). In fact, young Asian Americans are confronted with a variety of difficulties encountered during their career decision-making process (Okubo et al., 2007). For instance, Asian Americans are driven to attend a prestigious college and assume similar pressures to choose an undergraduate major and profession (Dharma, 2011). In addition, the influence of the model minority status has the tendency to dictate Asian Americans behavior "and convinces them that it is in their best interest to pose no threat to society, take things as they come, to not complain, and to not fight back" (Li, 2006 p. 184). Given the impact the model minority label imposes upon them, such societal expectations are even likely to influence the experience and pursuit of career decision-making among Asian Americans.

According to Gottfredson's (1981) theory, a predominant assumption is that by recognizing occupational stereotypes (e.g. model minority, occupation sex-type, social status) within their environment, young individuals create cognitive maps of their potential occupations (Gottfredson, 1981, 2004). Taking into account the dimensions of sex-type, prestige level, and interests, this theory highlights the development of the individual's view of self and occupational choices available. Therefore, for some South Asian students, their *cognitive map* may be limited or compromised due to their internalization of the model minority label. As a result, feelings of internal conflict (e.g., dissonance between personal interests and talents) may develop when the

individual experiences an imbalance between environmental pressures (i.e. pressure to maintain model minority status) and the ability to meet that demand (Fisher, 1994).

Within the compromise stage of vocational development, Gottfredson's (1981) theory postulates that an individual's willingness to compromise on a career aspiration dimension (i.e. sex-type, prestige, interests) depends on the relationship between the dimension and self -concept of individual. Thus according to theory, interests are compromised first, followed by prestige, and then finally sex type is the last dimension compromised. However, evidence indicates that Gottfredson's postulated that the developmental sequence of compromise is not consistently supported across various research (Armstrong & Crombie, 2000). For instance, Leung and Plake (1990) found that college students considering career choices did not compromise prestige level to maintain sex-type; however, Pryor and Taylor (1986) found that college students compromised prestige level to maintain sex-type and further compromised prestige to maintain their interests.

Interestingly, South Korean college students compromised their career aspirations by sacrificing their interests and sex type for prestige (Jueng et al. 2012). Further, contrary to Gottfredson's hypothesis, Leung (1993) found that Asian American college students more readily compromised sex-type than prestige in career choice situations. These findings among Asians and Asian Americans may be linked to the expectation that Asian Americans typically pursue prestigious careers regardless of their true interests. This occurrence may also be prevalent among the South Asian American community, as many hail from prestigious colleges and universities with the hopes of pursuing equally prestigious vocational paths and careers (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014).

Moreover, South Asian Americans are often associated with attributing their success to relatively conventional and prestige-oriented achievements, beginning with National Merit Scholarships, valedictorian titles, and brand-name schools (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). In fact, many young South Asian Americans are forced to perpetuate or "live up to" the success of model minorities, succumbing to the demands of high achievement from their elders who encourage such stereotypes (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). Given the pressure to conform within the narrow scope of careers within the model minority societal expectation, South Asian Americans may struggle with deciding on a career that fits their personal interests. Thus, the current study sought to examine the internalization of model minority myth as it related to career decision- making difficulty among second generation South Asian Americans. It was hypothesized that greater internalization of model minority myth would result in second-generation South Asian American experiencing greater career decision-making difficulty.

The present study

In an attempt to add to the existing vocational literature, the present study focused on an examination of contextual factors that influence second-generation South Asian Americans' career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. By investigating career aspirations and incorporating factors such as family expectations, being labeled by society as a model minority, this study intended to bring to the surface the unique cultural aspects that influence second-generation South Asian Americans' career development. Multivariate multiple linear regression (MMLR) relationships were tested between family expectations and career aspirations, family expectations and career decision-making difficulty, and internalization of model minority myth and career aspirations, and internalization of model minority myth and career decision-making difficulty. MMLR is ideal as it is a statistical procedure that analyzes differences between groups

that requires two or more independent variables and/or two or more dependent variables (Frey et al., 2000). Control of Type I error and incorporation of cross-outcome correlations are benefits in employing MMLR rather than a series of univariate multiple regressions (Stevens, 2009).

The purpose of the current study, therefore, was two-fold. First, this study intended to investigate how family/parental expectations may influence the second-generation South Asian American's career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. Second, this study examined how the internalization of model minority myth is related to career aspirations and career decision- making difficulty among second generation South Asian Americans.

Based on the literature reviewed, the current study tested the following four hypotheses:

1. Gottfredson's (1981) theory predicts that individuals, when faced with an impediment, will compromise their sex type least in comparison to prestige and vocational interests after relinquishing their first career aspiration. However the proposed study hypothesized that participants will compromise (sacrifice) prestige least in comparison to their sex-type and vocational interests when forced to consider an alternate aspiration. Thus, it was predicted that greater adherence to family expectations will yield a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

2. It was also hypothesized that greater adherence to family expectations will result in greater difficulty in deciding which career to pursue.

3. It was hypothesized that higher internalization of model minority myth will result in a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

4. Finally, it was hypothesized that greater endorsement of internalization of model minority myth will result in greater career decision difficulty.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

South Asian Americans much like Asian Americans abide by familial and cultural expectations that include upholding family honor and abiding by the cultural family value of loyalty and cohesiveness (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2011). This may be particularly salient for second-generation of South Asian Americans in the United States, whose immigrant parents much like Asian parents fixate on the importance of high grades, brand-name schools, and various other observed markers of achievement (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2011). Moreover, known to society as model minorities, South Asian Americans have been categorized and stereotyped as academically and economically successful, regardless of racial impediments and discrimination (Asher, 2002). Such success may inform society's academic and career expectations of South Asian Americans ultimately impacting their pursuit of certain careers and the career decision process. Thus, the result of succumbing to the stereotypes and pressures from both family and society may uniquely influence career aspirations and career decision difficulty among second-generation South Asian Americans.

The development of career aspirations is heavily influenced by the environment within which an individual exists thus making *context* a vital element in several career development theories (Howard et al, 2011). For example, Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise (TCC; Gottfredson, 1981) postulates that one's self-concept is shaped by perceptions of societal, familial, and peer expectations. Individuals thus begin to evaluate their careers options within the context of such expectations and their self-conceptions. Particularly for South Asian Americans, self-concept may be shaped around familial pressures coupled with the society's perception of becoming a successful high achieving model minority. These

contextual factors (i.e. family and societal pressures to excel) may in turn impact the pursuit of career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty among this younger generation.

The proposed study examined the abovementioned contextual factors such as family expectations and societal expectations (i.e. model minority myth) that influence second-generation South Asian Americans' career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. Accordingly, the current review highlights the relationships between family expectations, internalization of model minority myth, career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. Placing career development of Asian Americans first in a socio-historical context, the current literature review presents relevant findings from the literature in the areas of: 1) current research on Asian American careers, 2) Asian American family career expectations, 3) South Asian American cultural values, 4) career aspirations, 5) model minority myth and its internalization, and 6) career decision making difficulty. With the scarcity of literature on career development among South Asian Americans, and even lesser examination of the pursuit of career aspirations among second-generation South Asians, I draw from the career development research on Asian Americans. Where available, I include literature on South Asians. Finally, because findings indicate sex-type (gender traditionality) and prestige factors (Fouad et al., 2008) may significantly compromise South Asian Americans' career development, Gottfredson's (1981) Circumscription and Compromise theory serves as an important theoretical framework for this study.

Theory of circumscription and compromise

As with most developmental theories, the Linda Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise focuses on how an individual's self-concept cultivates over time. In the theory's first stage of circumscription, young individuals experience developmental stages outlined in the

theory (orientation to size and power, orientation to sex roles, orientation to social valuation, and orientation to the internal unique self), and eventually develop a "zone of acceptable alternatives" (p.25). With time, these occupational alternatives are circumscribed or narrowed by perceived incompatibility with self-concept. For South Asian American youth these occupational options may involve the older generation encouraging and often enforcing certain occupations indirectly. For example, during their childhood and adolescent years, South Asian parents may introduce the value in becoming a physician, especially if one of the parents is a physician themselves. This may be due to the parents fear for their children's future, and the emphasis placed on professions perceived to provide financial and occupational security (Inman et al., 2007; Sodowsky, 1991).

The second stage of Gottfredson's theory: compromise, involves young individuals preparing to begin employment deciding between occupational choices from their zone of acceptable alternatives (Gottfredson, 1981, 1996). Here more prestigious occupations are sacrificed so that individuals may obtain occupations that they believe are more gender appropriate. Mani (2007) found that South Asian women expressed interests in pursuing dentistry, pharmacy, and optometry allowing more time for a balanced family life, as opposed to a medical field which requires more on call work and around the clock hours. Here women gave more importance to striking a sense of balance in their life roles (i.e. wife, mother) when pursuing their careers. Furthermore, occupations appropriate for their own gender are sacrificed for any occupation perceived attainable. Therefore, Gottfredson (1996) theorized sex-type is preferred over prestige, which is preferred over personal interests. Several studies have found support for the importance of sex-type, prestige, and interests in career decision- making, but not necessarily in the order proposed by Gottfredson. Likewise, the importance given to each of

these three constructs may vary among South Asian Americans, given their familial and societal expectations surrounding their career development. In utilizing the circumscription and compromise theory, the current study attempted to clarify the difficulties in how compromise functions between prestige and sex type and career aspirations in second-generation South Asian American college students.

The History of Asian Americans career development in the United States

Over the past three decades the Asian American population has been granted a substantial proportion of entry visas on the premise of "technical skills and educational attainment" (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014, p. 170). Asian immigrants, in particular, were more likely to have gained entry into the United States in this way, thereby providing a significant advantage economically (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). In fact, many South Asian immigrants graduating from competitive Institutes of Technology landed in the United States with highly marketable technical skills (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). Regardless of their educational backgrounds and academic achievements, immigration to the United States for many Asian Americans was an attempt to provide better educational and career opportunities for their second-generation children (Trueba, Cheng, & Ima, 1993).

Asian Americans, including South Asian Americans, have been known to have an established presence in higher education settings, (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014; Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013). This may be attributed to the emphasis immigrant parents place on the value of education and hard work along with an urgency to academically outperform their peers, particularly their White counterparts (Chao, 1996; Lee & Zhou, 2013). The insecurities of South Asian parents connected to their immigrant status have been linked to the parental pressure and extraordinary expectations they often place on their children to pursue high-paying (prestigious)

occupations (Inman et al., 2007). This pressure to succeed may also stem from immigrant parents creating and instilling in the younger generation a fundamental mindset and belief that conservation of and adherence to cultural values (i.e. hard work, determination) and family expectations (i.e. apply to prestigious colleges) will ultimately lead to high achievement and success (Fouad et al, 2007; Leong & Gupta, 2007).

These familial expectations may be accredited for catapulting young Asian Americans, for the last several decades, into the most prestigious higher educational institutions. For instance, Asian Americans constitute nearly 19 percent of the undergraduates at Harvard, 16 percent at Yale, 19 percent at Princeton, and 19 percent at Stanford (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). Following a higher education trajectory, Asian Americans have been identified to traditionally express career interest in areas of physical science, skilled technical trades, and business occupations whereas careers in artistic expression, social service and welfare, sales or business contact, and verbal-linguistic occupations are nontraditional or of less interest (Leong, Hardin & Gupta, 2010). Consequently, Asian Americans are greatly overrepresented in mathematics, engineering, and biological sciences (i.e., traditional career choices for Asian Americans), and underrepresented in education, and social and behavioral sciences (i.e. nontraditional career choices for Asian Americans; Leong & Hayes, 1990). Furthermore, pursuing careers high in prestige along with high career aspirations are primary expectations within the career development process of Asian Americans (Leong, 1991; Leung, Ivey & Suzuki, 1994).

Appearing for the first time in the popular press in the early 1960's, Asian Americans became recognized as a model minority within the educational and social contexts of the United States (Asher, 2002; Wong & Halgin; 2006). The social construction of this popular image and attempts to explain its emergence in relation to sociocultural and historical changes quickly

became of interest to several Asian American scholars, e.g., Sue and Kitano (1973), Osajima (1988), Suzuki (1989) in (Wong, Lai, Nagasawa & Lin, 1998). Sue and Kitano (1973) postulated that the model minority image was merely the reflection of a changing stereotyped image of Asian Americans. Such an image has in fact misled society to view the supposed success story of Asian Americans as validation for their achievement of meritocracy (Osajima, 1988). Ignoring the real performances of Asian American students, college educators tend to perceive such students by their assumed image from mass media (Suzuki, 1989), rather than consider their individual differences. Consequently, this stereotype has since been described throughout literature as an impediment rather than a facilitator of access to opportunities, resulting in discrimination and societal indifference towards Asian Americans (Alvarez, Juang & Liang, 2006; Tang, 2007; Wong & Halgin, 2006).

For the most part of the twenty-first century, a focus on Asian American's academic and career endeavors has emphasized the ramifications of the model minority stereotype. For instance, Wong and Halgin (2006) found that students with different racial/ethnic background including Asian American, believe that Asian Americans perform better academically, are more motivated to do well in college, and more likely to succeed in their careers than other students, including White Americans (Wong & Halgin, 2006). In a survey examining attitudes towards Asian Americans, 67% of the respondents believed Asian Americans placed greater emphasis on education; 91% endorsed that Asian Americans have strong family values; and 56% believed that Asian Americans have contributed to the cultural life in the United States (Kang, 2001). Taken together, these statistics are evidence of a growing trend for Asian Americans in the United States to be held to high expectations regarding education and family values. This has been true of South Asian Americans as well.

For instance, South Asian Americans have the highest educational attainment rate of all ethnic groups in the United States, with approximately 64% of South Asians attaining at least a bachelor's degree, compared to 28% of all Americans, nationally (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Furthermore, almost 40% of South Asian Americans have received a graduate or professional degree, five times the national average (IACPA, 2006). Moreover, given the strong societal presence of the model minority stereotype coupled with the solid emphasis of family values within the South Asian American community, research that addresses the influence of these variables on their academic and career expectations is needed.

Current Trends in Asian American Career Research

Prominent scholars in the field of vocational development have incorporated contextual constructs within recent models of career development and assessment (Blustein & Ellis, 2000; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). For example, a review of literature reveals a gradual trend in examining various cultural variables such as acculturation, age, race, ethnicity, SES, and gender in relation to vocational behavior and career development (Leong & Chou, 1994; Tang, Fouad & Smith, 1999). Moreover, enquiry on the career development of Asian Americans, in particular, has placed focus on differentiating Asian Americans from other racial and ethnic groups in their career aspirations (Fouad et al, 2008). Interestingly, a common contextual variable that has surfaced from such studies is the examination of cultural values and family expectations and how they contribute to Asian Americans' career decision-making process (Ma & Yeh, 2010; Okubo et al, 2007). In the few South Asian studies looking at career choice and career development similar contextual variables and intra group differences have been highlighted.

Roysircar, Carey and Koroma's (2010) study of South Asian American college students confirmed that contextual factors such as generation status, acculturation, and parental influence,

are in fact related to the students' preference for college majors, later career aspirations, and career decisions. Specifically, the researchers found that although second-generation South Asians preferred non-science majors over science majors, the majority still reported pursuing majors in science and math (Roysircar et al, 2010). In a qualitative Canadian South Asian study, the context of gender role expectation was considered for South Asian American women's career development. Mani (2008) found that several of her participants expressed an interest in dentistry, pharmacy, and optometry as these fields would not require much time to complete and would not be as time consuming in comparison to a career in the medical field. Further, Mani (2008) concluded that an important aspect of the career decision-making process of her participants was being able to achieve balance in future life roles.

Another trend that exists in the Asian American career literature is the pervasive notion that all Asian Americans ascribe to occupational values that include high educational achievement and pursuit of science and math related occupations (Tang et al., 1999). Luang (1991) found that Asian Americans place greater value on extrinsic factors such as their earning potential, status, secure/stable future, and prestige when deciding which career to pursue. This may be attributed to Asian Americans having long been described as being well educated and financially stable; valuing hard work and family ties; and displaying positive social behaviors (Yee et al., 2006). In fact, while Asian American students are more likely to attribute success or failure in academics to how hard a student works; their White American counterparts tend to attribute it to innate talent, luck, or favoritism of the teacher (Steinburg, 1996).

Yet, literature also mentions how such a positive portrayal of character ignores the difficulties and realities that accompany such a reputation within society. For example, not all Asian Americans, particularly the second-generation, conform to the occupational values or

expectations passed down from the older generation. Asian American parents are known to be deliberate in pressuring their children by making comparisons with eagerly successful children of other family members or friends (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). This may translate into an insecurity (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014) or at the very least create difficulty when deciding upon which career path to follow.

A third and final trend throughout career development literature involves the discussion of discrimination in the form of occupational segregation, stereotypes of Asian Americans such as the "model minority." Occupational segregation involves the distribution of a group (e.g., Asian Americans) such that they are highly concentrated into specific occupations (e.g., physician, engineer, and mathematician) and sparingly represented in others (e.g., elementary school teacher, police officer, and sociologist). Leong and Hayes (1990) assert that occupational stereotyping by both gender and race continues to be present despite the increasing refinement among the public about the societal undesirability of prejudicial attitudes. Furthermore, belonging to a certain group may influence performance on a task based on the activation or anticipation of the stereotype associated with that group membership (Gupta, Syzmanski & Leong, 2011; Leong & Hayes, 1990). This has been empirically termed as a stereotype boost effect (Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita & Gray, 2002) or stereotype threat effect (Aronson & Steele, 1995). For instance, Asian American women were found to experience a stereotype boost effect when their ethnic identity was made salient resulting in a better performance on a math exam (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999). However, this same sample of women experienced stereotype threat when their gender identity was made salient and performed worse on this exam. This phenomenon of group stereotype may also be prevalent in the South Asian American community in terms of living up to "model minority" standards. In fact, the younger generation

may adopt the boost derived from the belief that South Asian Americans are naturally more successful than others, as part of their cultural upbringing (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). Thus, compounding the group stereotype for the younger career seeking generation.

Given some of the similarities between South Asians and Asian Americans, these trends within Asian American career development may be helpful in considering how South Asian Americans pursue career aspirations and make they experience the career decision-making process.

Asian American familial career expectations

Rooted within an interdependent frame of reference, Asian American immigrant parents have strived to uphold their collectivistic cultural values within an individualistic mainstream society. Placing family honor and obligations as a priority over individual desires is often emphasized within Asian American families (Okagaki & Bojczyk, 2002; Yee et al., 2007). In fact, Asian American familial factors have been widely examined as influential variables in measuring mental well-being (Inman & Yeh, 2007), academic achievement (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Tseng, Chao & Padmawidjaja, 2007), and career decision making (Ferry, Fouad & Smith, 2000; Okubo et al., 2007). Thus, it is believed that family expectations have a strong impact on career choices of Asians Americans (Leong & Chou, 1994; Leong & Gupta, 2007; Yee et al, 2007). Particularly, parental expectations strongly encourage the pursuit of careers high in prestige and status (Chen & Rubenfeld, 2014; Fouad et al, 2008). Relatedly, findings reveal that Asian American college student's chose careers in science and technical areas because they placed a high value in selecting high prestigious status-based career options (Leung, Ivey, Suzuki, 1994).

Leung and colleagues (1994) study participant's ultimately circumscribed their career options to these specific fields, and explicitly defined within Gottfredson's circumscription and compromise theory (CCT; Gottfredson, 1981). This theory postulates that the greater the perceived compatibility occupations have with an individual's core elements of self-concept, the stronger the preference for those particular occupations (Gottfredson, 1981). The theory further proposes that choosing a career is an expression of the social and psychological self. Here an individual utilizes social criteria such as gender stereotypes and career social status more than personal interest and personality in career decision making (Gottfredson, 1981; 1996). Eventually individuals, according to this theory, begin to eliminate occupational choices based on sex types and prestige levels (Gottfredson, 2005). For instance, female students may avoid choosing occupations that are perceived as too masculine (e.g. construction, mining) and also may consider eliminating choices lower in social prestige status (e.g. house maid, cashier). For Asian American women this may involve considering a career that allows them to also fulfill their cultural/gender role obligations (i.e. marriage, children) as a woman. For an Asian American man this may be seen as pursuing a well-paid, highly prestigious career acceptable to not only his family but also his extended family while considering societal expectations (i.e. exemplifying the model minority status).

Within Asian American families, particularly immigrant families, the pressure to immerse into mainstream society by expecting their children to choose well-paid, high prestigious, occupations (Chung & Bemak, 2007) is strongly prevalent. The pressure to excel is often intensified at a young age when individuals are taught "failing" (e.g. receiving a B) would be a disgrace to the entire family (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014 p. 110). Therefore it is not surprising that Asian American college students aspire towards careers higher in prestige and status (Leong,

1991), than careers that they may be naturally inclined towards but are perceived as less prestigious. Although investigations of the relationship between familial factors and career aspirations with South Asian Americans is sparse, there are several family expectations that are similar and overlap with the findings on Asian Americans. There are also familial and cultural values that are unique to South Asian American communities that set them apart from Asian Americans. The following section will discuss both the similarities and differences in cultural and familial values among South Asian Americans and Asian Americans.

South Asian Americans cultural values and career expectations. Considerable focus on the 'cultural value orientation' of South Asian Americans has been the focal point of some scholars studying South Asian American cultural values (Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013). For instance, Ramisetty-Mikler (1993) discusses several cultural value orientations of South Asians, such as perception of time, unique from the mainstream United States culture. Similar to Asian Americans South Asian Americans place importance on the past and the future, and view the present as a transitory period. Family background and lineage are given great importance for South Asians, particularly in establishing one's honor and character (Ramisetty-Mikler, 1993). Another similarity between Asian Americans and South Asian Americans is the view of family as the basic foundation of their lives (Ramisetty-Mikler, 1993). With each member given a specific role and requirements to fulfill, the family functions as a unit, interdependent on one another. For example, the younger generation is expected to revere and respect elder's wishes and expectations, and make significant contributions (e.g. financial) to their family. Moreover, achievements and/or failures reflect positively or negatively on one's family (Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013). Similar to Asian American's collectivistic characteristics, family goals and needs outweigh individual needs, thus group cooperation is greatly valued (Kantemneni & Fouad,

2013). Such a collectivistic orientation may play a critical role in South Asian's pursuing a particular career aspiration as well as their career-decision making process. Yet, although often grouped under other Asian Americans experiences, cultural values and experiences specific to South Asians are overlooked.

One such cultural value orientation unique to South Asian Americans is rooted in a strong religious background primarily based in Hinduism, placing a strong societal emphasis on ethical behavior and adherence to cultural values (Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013). A majority of South Asians abide strongly to their value on social duties and codes of appropriate behavior, known as "dharma" (Ramisett-Mikler, 1993). Gupta and Tracey (2005) explored this concept of "dharma" or duty bound values, and how it may play a role in the career decision-making processes of South Asian individuals. Participants who identified with the concept of dharma chose careers that offered greater prestige to their families, rather than choosing a career of their own interests (Gupta & Tracey, 2005). These findings suggest that the value of duty-bound action may have the potential to further complicate the career decision-making process for South Asian Americans navigating their career development.

Another construct found distinctively among South Asian Americans is that of cultural value conflict. Inman and colleagues (2001) found family and sex role expectations to be central to the conflictual experience. For instance, marriage and children has primarily defined women's status with education being a marketable tool for marriage (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997; Inman et al., 2001; Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013). Men are traditionally expected to serve as the primary breadwinner and caretaker of the family unit (Tewari, Inman, & Sandhu, 2003).

In line with Gottfredson's theory, such cultural expectations may greatly impact young South Asians Americans who during childhood and adolescent years may begin narrowing the

range of occupational alternatives based on their sex type and imposed expectations. Thus, the difficulties that South Asian Americans face in balancing both individualistic and collectivistic values in an effort to create their own identity amidst their family identity (Inman et al., 2001) warrant further investigation particularly in how second-generation South Asian Americans approach career development.

Link between family expectations and career aspirations. According to Gottfredson (2002), as early as adolescence, individuals engage in the process of circumscription wherein occupational alternatives that conflict with their self-concept are no longer considered as potential vocations. It is at this stage the distinction is often made between idealistic aspirations (i.e. career choices most favored) and realistic aspirations (i.e. career choices less desired). As an individual develops certain goals and interests, their career aspirations based in personal self-interest are eventually compromised for more realistic choices (Hirschi, 2010).

According to Gottfredson (1981), compromise occurs within three career aspiration dimensions: prestige, sex-type, and interests. Gottfredson suggests that because gender identity has been developing within an individual since a very young age (elementary school), sex-type is the least flexible when selecting an occupation. Prestige is the second least pliant and sacred aspect of an individual's self-concept as it is introduced at a later developmental stage (middle school). Thus social standing is not as important as adhering to an occupation that conforms to an individual's sex role in society (i.e. gender traditionality). Finally, an individual's interests is believed to be the most flexible dimension in pursuing a career choice. Gottfredson, therefore predicted interests would be compromised first, prestige second, and finally sex type. Essentially compromise takes place when an individual begins closing the gap between their ideal career and the realistic career goals. This process may be painful when barriers to their idealistic aspirations

surface, particularly when they feel pressure to relinquish their idealized aspirations for more realistic options (Junk & Armstrong, 2010). Family influences and expectations during this time of career development have a monumental impact on how a young individual should approach their career.

Asian Americans, for example, often embrace the value of interdependency and respecting family (elder's) expectations and desires. Like Asian Americans, South Asian American families view academic and career endeavors as familial accomplishments rather than an individual achievement (Inman & Tiwari, 2003). Therefore, students from a culture in which an individual's aspirations are less emphasized than family aspirations may report more difficulties focusing on individual needs or aspirations (Mau, 2000, 2001). Although limited, literature regarding the link between family expectations and career aspirations among South Asian Americans suggest that South Asian parents tend to encourage higher educational aspirations and discuss college plans with their children more often than other Asian (e.g. Korean, Filipino, and Chinese) parents (Hsia & Peng, 1998). Furthermore, South Asian American parents impose demands on their children: "be better, smarter, and more high-achieving," in other words outperform their White peers in order to succeed (Purkayashtha, 2005).

Parental involvement has been found to play an important role in Asian American's career aspirations in regards to choosing a traditional (e.g., Investigative; engineering) versus non-traditional career choice (e.g., Artistic; arts, psychology; (Leong, 1986; Hsia, 1988). In Tang et al.'s (1999) study of Asian American students, a positive relationship between family 'involvement (expectations) and career choice suggested an association between parental influence and traditional occupational choices. The researchers concluded that because the

participants' most frequently selected occupations included engineer, physician, and computer scientist, their participants were abiding by their parent's wishes (Tang et al, 1999). Similarly, in their cross-generational study, Roysircar et al., (2010) found that although the second-generation preferred non-science careers, they felt strongly influenced by their parents toward pursuing careers in science and math fields. Such careers are not only seen as guaranteeing higher paying positions, but South Asian American parents seem to stress the pursuit of such professions as they are perceived as providing occupational and financial security (Inman et al., 2007; Sodowsky, 1991). These findings offer clear support for a link between family expectations and career aspirations in the proposed model. In applying Gottfredson's compromise and circumscription theory, the current study predicts second-generation South Asians will compromise personal interests first, sex-type second, and prestige third. Specifically, when given the option to choose an alternate career it is predicted that greater prestigious and traditional career aspirations will be chosen among second-generation South Asian Americans.

Link between family expectations and career decision-making difficulty. It is well recognized that Asian American youth, when making career-related decisions, must not only consider their individual interests and familial expectations but also cultural values subsumed within these expectations (Okubo, 2007). The influence of interdependence on life-altering choices, such as a career decision, brings to surface issues such as family reputation, caring for parents, and respecting parents' wishes as well as one's own individual goals (Okubo, 2007).

Although, individuals may feel obliged to abide by their cultural and family expectations, feelings of conflict between the younger and older generation within the family may arise. Such intergenerational conflict has been known to be prevalent between first-generation South Asian immigrant parents and their children (Hwang, 2006; Inman & Tiwari, 2003; Inman, 2006), and

may include differences over educational preferences (Roysircar et al., 2010). In many instances, second-generation South Asian American college students may feel obligated to major in a field of their parents' choice because they're parents may be providing their college tuition and living expenses (Lahiri, 2008; Sodowsky, 1991), creating feelings of conflict and difficulty in their career decision making.

Career decision-making difficulty is a widely studied construct within vocational literature that has garnered much attention recently (Hijazi, Tatar & Gati, 2004; Liu, Hao & Li, 2006; Mau, W, 2004; Zhou & Santos, 2007). Emerging as an essential construct in framing and understanding factors contributing to the career development of young adults, career decision-making difficulty has been linked to several critical career behaviors such as career indecision (Mau, 2001; Osipow & Gati, 1998) and career decision-making self-efficacy (Gati, Osipow, Krausz, & Saka, 2000). Gati, Krausz and Osipow (1996) created a taxonomy of the assumptions underlying career decision making difficulties. They define an *ideal decision maker* as an individual who is aware of the need to make a career decision and willing to reach a career decision, while also demonstrating a systematic process to reach the most compatible decision with their goals (Gati et al., 1996). Deviations from ideal career decision making include problematic decision making attitudes and behaviors leading to difficulties in career development.

Gati, Krausz and Osipow classified career decision-making difficulties into three major levels of categorization: (a) lack of readiness, which takes place prior to decision-making process; (b) lack of information, which takes place during the decision-making process; and (c) inconsistent information, which also takes place during the decision-making process. All three categories are then subdivided. The first category, lack of readiness, consists of three specific

difficulty categories: (1) lack of motivation or willingness to engage in career decision making; (2) general indecisiveness in making any decisions; and (3) dysfunctional thoughts and irrational expectations. The second category, lack of information, consists of four specific difficulty categories: (1) lack of knowledge regarding specific steps involved in process, (2) lack of information about self, (3) lack of information about possible career alternatives, (4) lack of information about ways to obtain information. The third category of difficulties, inconsistent information, consists of (1) unreliable information, (2) internal conflicts, and (3) external conflicts. A few studies have examined these categories involving Asian Americans and the career decision making difficulty construct.

In studying the cultural dimensions of career decision-making difficulties, Mau (2001), compared career decision-making difficulties among White, African, Hispanic, and Asian American university students. Findings indicated Asian American students perceived significantly greater difficulties in deciding on a career to pursue than any other cultural group examined. The researcher found that unlike the White American student sample, who make their own career decisions, Asian American students often make career decisions that conform to familial expectations (Mau, 2001). Furthermore, the author found support for their prediction that Asian American students were much more likely to experience external conflicts such as familial or parental involvement in career decision making process. Moreover, Asian American students were found more likely to not only report career decision-making problems but perceived them as more serious than other categories of problems (Mau & Jepsen, 1990).

Similar results were reported in an investigation looking at cultural differences in career difficulties of British and Chinese university students (Zhou & Santos, 2007). These authors found Chinese students were significantly less motivated and carried more dysfunctional beliefs

in career decision-making than their British counterparts. They attributed this finding to the Asian students' inclination to consider family members expectations and recommendations (Tang et al., 1999), resulting in a deviation between their own career decisions and the wishes of their family members (Zhou & Santos, 2007). Increasing evidence with culturally and ethnically diverse Asian American samples including South Asians seem to suggest that family expectations of South Asian Americans may be positively related to South Asian American's career decision-making difficulty. Thus, this study hypothesized that greater adherence to family expectations will be related to greater career decision-making difficulty among second-generation South Asian Americans.

Societal expectations: Internalizing Model Minority myth

Since the 1960's, several media outlets have portrayed Asian Americans as the model minority for their academic excellence, high incomes, stable families, and little use of mental health services (Chu, 2002; Gloria & Ho, 2003; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Although the model minority stereotype seemingly casts Asian Americans in a positive light particularly in their highly acclaimed achievement in science and technology fields, the stereotype may also exist as a source of social isolation and discrimination for Asian Americans (Tang, 2007). In fact, it is often presumed that Asian Americans overcome racial adversity associated with the stereotype by conforming to the high educational, occupational, and economic expectations (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009). However, in an attempt to meet these expectations of the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans may experience extreme significant pressure (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011). For instance, Kim and Park (2008) found that Asian Americans experienced feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt, when such lofty expectations were not met. A review of literature suggests that apart from being associated with the model minority stereotype,

internalization of such group stereotypes (i.e., internalized racialism) may negatively influence an individual's self-concept, academic performance, and career aspirations (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011).

Link between internalization of model minority myth and career aspirations. According to Gottfredson (1981) career aspirations are a joint function of compatibility with an individual's self-concept and the accessibility of a desired occupation. The circumscription and compromise theory (Gottfredson, 1981) postulates that an individual's self-concept is reflected in society through their occupation. As such, the occupation an individual pursues eventually becomes a measure of who they are in society. Thus, in the case of Asian Americans or South Asian Americans, their self-concept as a model minority may be heavily woven into their identity. This in turn may result in an individual pursuing a career aspiration that ultimately is a misrepresentation of their true self.

This is especially the case when an individual internalizes the positive stereotype of model minority at a young impressionable stage of life. Such a stereotype posits that Asian Americans *naturally* gravitate towards pursuing traditionally chosen careers in math and science, enrolling in higher education and eventually aspire to acquire well-paid, high status positions in society (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009). In one of the earliest Asian American studies, Sue and Sue (1973) discussed how the distorted model minority success image is a source of potential harm for Asian Americans, restricting a sense of identity and limiting the choice of educational and vocational opportunities. Asian Americans, in fact, have been found to falsely believe that they are the model minority performing better academically, motivated to do well in college, and more successful in careers compared with other racial minority groups (P. Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998).

Moreover, such internalized beliefs may explain why some Asian Americans have long been known to aspire for and pursue careers high in prestige and status (regardless of their interest) and thus circumscribe their career aspirations to the expectations of society. This occurrence may in turn influence how Asian Americans narrow their range of career aspirations. Within this process, Asian Americans begin to identify occupational alternatives that conflict with their self-concept and eliminate these as future career options. In creating their "zone of acceptable alternatives," various occupations may be rejected for having unacceptably low social standing and other career options rejected for being too difficult to achieve or having too high a risk of failure (Junk & Armstrong, 2010). This may suggest then that Asian Americans perceive high social standing (prestige) in society a core component of their self-concept, and as a result pursue only highly prestigious careers in an attempt to appear successful to society.

Consistent with this literature and contrary to Gottfredson's theoretical framework, Leung (1993) and Leung & Plake (1990) found that Asian American participants compromised the dimension of sex type over prestige. Similarly, Joeng, Turner and Lee (2013)) concluded that South Korean students compromised their career aspirations by sacrificing their interests and sex type for occupational prestige. Previous research suggests that when Asian American students buy into the model minority myth, they may end up striving to maintain the "good student" appearance (Wong, 1998 p.113); perhaps even pursuing a traditionally prestigious career aspiration in a mere attempt to uphold their image in society. Thus Asian Americans who internalize such stereotypes may be steered into pursuing a career aspiration not of their choice, but rather a career aspiration that society expects them to pursue. South Asian Americans may undergo similar instances in which the pressures to conform to societies career related expectations supersedes their own personal career interests. In fact, many first-generation South

Asian parents "try hard to succeed as a model minority," thus demanding great achievement (Purkayastha, 2005, p. 93) and the pursuit of highly prestigious careers from the second-generation. Such a stereotype may thus be expected to be perpetuated by the second-generation (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014), ultimately influencing their career aspirations and path.

Although the aforementioned Asian American research subsumes a very small percentage of South Asian American participants in their sample of study, the findings lend strong support towards the link between the internalization of the model minority myth and the career aspirations in the current study's model. In particular, the current study hypothesized that greater internalization of the model minority myth will result in South Asian Americans opting for a more traditional (i.e. prestigious) career aspirations when forced to choose an alternate career option.

Link between internalization of MMM and career decision-making difficulty. There are several factors that may influence the career decision-making process: how individuals perceive themselves when employed in a certain occupation, the type of tasks they perform, and the rewards and conditions of their work (Gottfredson, 1981, 1996). For Asian Americans, these factors may be perceived as pursing highly prestigious occupations, performing above average in work tasks related to math or science, and rewarded with higher than average income and economic stability (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014). However, young Asian Americans who internalize the misleading model minority image and believe they have not lived up to the societal expectations may harbor feelings of failure resulting in psychological harm (S.J. Lee, 1996). Furthermore, Asian American individuals who endorse their racial group as problem-free and successful may incur greater risk in not seeking help to deal with academic or career related problems, at the cost of embarrassment or shame of not living up to the model minority

stereotype (Das & Kemp, 1997; Zhou, Sm, & Xin, 2009). These internalized feelings of low self-concept or self-esteem, as a result of meeting or failing to meet societal expectations, may impact how an individual approaches the career decision process.

Additionally, the mounting pressure from society placed on Asian Americans students to outperform their peers under the model minority label, may mask various difficulties they endure (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Discrimination in the form of micro-aggressions or racism (Alvarez & Liang, 2006), cultural marginalization from mainstream society and the perception of high expectations interfering with their desire for individuality (Sue & Sue, 1990; Wong & Halgin, 2006) are just a few examples of difficulties Asian American's experience. Moreover, Roysircar et al., (2010) suggests that perceived negative and discriminatory attitudes toward a minority group are potential barriers that may contradict or impact their career decisions. Thus, the perceived societal expectation that all Asian American students are self-sufficient and academically successful (A. B. Kim & Yeh, 2000), despite the difficulties that occur, may influence how the second-generation chooses to present themselves academically and/or professionally.

Career decision-making is known to be a complex and multidimensional process. A variety of difficulties may surface for an individual faced with the task of making a career decision (Germeigs & De Boeck, 2001). Literature examining difficulties in career decision-making emphasize that perceptions of career-related barriers play a significant role in the career development of ethnic minorities (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1994). Research indicates that ethnic minorities, in particular, perceive more career-related barriers than their White American counterparts (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001). In fact, Mau (2001) in his cross-national study found that Asian American college students perceived more career decision-making difficulties than

did American college students. Ranging from cultural differences (Zhou & Santos, 2007) to career maturity (Hardin et al., 2001), to career decision-making style and self-efficacy (Mau, 2000), Asian Americans have been found to experience significant difficulty in making career decisions.

It is not until recently, research has begun to closely examine the extent to which Asian Americans themselves internalize messages of the model minority myth (Yoo, Burrola & Steger, 2010). Although research suggests that Asian American students who strongly internalize the model minority label, particularly regarding achievement and orientation may feel ashamed in discussing their academic or career difficulties (Yoo et al, 2010), research on how South Asian Americans internalize such stereotypes are very limited. The one study (Roysircar, 2010) that has address this issue for South Asian American study has revealed that internalized racism may be related to perceptions of prejudice and preferences for science and math-related careers by South Asian Americans college students. The internalization of racial and discriminatory barriers may perhaps further be expanded with the internalization of the model minority stereotype and how it may impact the career decision-making process of second-generation South Asian Americans. Taken together, the empirical evidence supporting the negative impact of model minority stereotype on Asian American samples in career development literature (Alvarez & Liang, 2006; Gupta et al., 2011; Wong & Halgin, 2006; Yoo et al., 2010), and the above-mentioned evidence regarding the difficulty Asian Americans face with career-decision making, provide ample support for the association between internalization of model minority myth and career decision making difficulty in the current investigation's model.

The present study

In an attempt to clarify the existing vocational literature on cross-cultural family

influences on career development, the present study focused on an examination of contextual factors that influence second-generation South Asian Americans' career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. By investigating career aspirations and incorporating factors such as family expectations, being labeled by society as a model minority, this study sought to clarify the unique cultural aspects that influence second-generation South Asian Americans' career development. Utilizing multivariate multiple linear regression (MMLR) the current study examined relationships between family expectations and career aspirations, family expectations and career decision-making difficulty, and internalization of model minority myth and career aspirations, and internalization of model minority myth and career decision-making difficulty. MMLR is ideal as a statistical procedure in that differences between groups that require two or more independent variables and/or two or more dependent variables (Frey et al., 2000) can be tested. Furthermore, control of Type I error and incorporation of cross-outcome correlations are benefits in employing MMLR rather than a series of univariate multiple regressions (Stevens, 2009).

The current study had two purposes. First, this study intended to investigate how family/parental expectations may influence the second-generation South Asian American's career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty. Second, this study examined whether the internalization of model minority myth was related to career aspirations and career decision-making difficulty among second generation South Asian Americans. Relatedly, four hypotheses were proposed:

1. Gottfredson's (1981) theory predicts that individuals, when faced with an impediment, will compromise their sex type least in comparison to prestige and vocational interests after relinquishing their first career aspiration. However the current

study hypothesized that participants will compromise (sacrifice) prestige least in comparison to their sex-type and vocational interests when forced to consider an alternate aspiration. Thus, it was predicted that greater adherence to family expectations will yield a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

2. It was hypothesized that greater adherence to family expectations will result in greater difficulty in deciding which career to pursue.

3. It was hypothesized that higher internalization of model minority myth will result in a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

4. Finally, it was hypothesized that greater endorsement of internalization of model minority myth will result in greater career decision difficulty.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

In order to determine the sample size required to identify an estimated effect size of 0.1, power of .80 and alpha level of .05, a pre-test power analysis was performed for the multivariate multiple regression analysis. A value of .17 for the correlation co-efficient R^2 was used in calculating the estimated effect size (Cohen's f^2). Analysis revealed that a sample size of 81 participants was needed to attain the desired power and effect size. Thus the sample of 112 was deemed adequate for this study. Although 112 student participants attempted to complete the survey, two cases had more than five percent of missing data and were, therefore, not included in the preliminary or primary analysis. Thus the final sample size included in analyses was 110.

Of the 110 participants, 94.7 %t (N = 105) identified their family of origin as "Indian" from the subcontinent of India, while 5.3% identified as either "Pakistani" (N = 4) or "Bangladeshi" (N = 1). Approximately two-thirds of the students surveyed were female (N =64; 58.1%), while the remaining one third of participants were male (N = 46; 41.9%). In terms of sexual orientation, 89% identified as "exclusively heterosexual" (N = 97), 9% identified as "mostly heterosexual" (N = 10), less than 1% identified as "bisexual" (N = 1) and 1.8% identified as "asexual" (N = 2). Participants ranged in age between 18 and 23 years (M = 20.32, SD = 2.41). With regard to college year, 21.4% (N =24) freshmen, 22.3% (N= 25) sophomores, 21.4% (N= 24) juniors, and 34.9% (N=37) seniors completed the online survey. More than half of the participants (N=64; 57.2%) indicated their family income ranges from $100,000- 150,000 or more per year. In terms of religious affiliation, 79.6% (N= 88) ascribed to the Hindu faith, 6.4% (N= 6) identified as Christian, 4.9% (N = 6) were agnostic, 4.6% (N = 4) were Muslim,

1.8% (*N* = 2) identified as Sikh, 1.8% (*N*= 2) identified as Atheists, and finally .9% (*N* =2) were Parsi.

Procedure

Male and female college students across year (i.e. freshmen, sophomore, junior and senior) were recruited from South Asian student organizations at universities and colleges throughout the U.S. as well as South Asian professional organizations (e.g. South Asian Psychological Networking Association SAPNA, Counselors Helping (South) Asian Indians-CHAI). Participants were self-identified second-generation South Asian American. For the purpose of the current study, second-generation South Asians are defined as individuals who were born in the U.S and have biological parents that are of South Asian origin. Participation was limited to participants who are 18 years or older. A letter of recruitment was sent to universities, online organizations, email lists, and listservs (Appendix A). After providing informed consent (Appendix B), participants were asked to complete an online survey consisting of four measures and a demographic questionnaire (Appendix C-Appendix G). Participants were not asked to identify themselves at any point in the survey, in order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Participants had the option to withdraw from the study by simply exiting their internet browser. However, if participants withdrew before completing 50% of the questionnaires, their data were omitted from the study. Additionally, participants with five percent or more missing data from any scale or subscale were not included in the dataset (DiLalla & Dollinger, 2005). The survey was Beta-tested for time to completion with three graduate students and was estimated to take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.

In order to examine response validity, prior studies suggest including "distractor items" in a survey as a means of detecting and evaluating the amount of spurious responses given

(Allen, 1966; Davenport et al., 1962). Affirmative or positive responses for such items may be considered "suspect" and may not be viewed as genuine (Goldsmith, 1989). The current study included four validity check items randomly placed in the survey for the purpose of minimizing spurious responses. The four validity checks prompted participants to choose the following items: "does not describe me," "low status," "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree" for random items throughout all four instruments. Data from participants missing more than one validity check were eliminated and not analyzed. The current study had no missing validity items for the 110 participants who completed the survey.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire soliciting information regarding their age, gender, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, year in college, socioeconomic status (SES), and national origin: India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka or Other. Additionally, in order to determine their 'second-generation status,' they were asked if they were born in the United States (See Appendix C).

Family/Cultural expectations. The adherence to one's indigenous familial and cultural expectations was assessed using the *Asian Values Scale- Revised* (AVS-R; Kim & Hong, 2004). With permission from the author the term "Asian American" was changed to "South Asian American" and the title of measure was changed to South Asian Values Scale-Revised (SAVS-R). Although the AVS has been used in several studies wherein a very small percentage of South Asians have been subsumed under the Asian American category, only one study to date (Kantamneni & Fouad, 2013) has utilized the AVS exclusively on a South Asian American sample.

The SAVS–R is a 25- item instrument designed specifically to assess Asian American

cultural values such as "collectivism, conformity to norms, deference to authority figures, emotional restraint, filial piety, hierarchical family structure, and humility" (Kim & Hong, 2004, p. 19). Although based in Confucianism, these cultural values are similar to and overlap significantly with South Asian American religious and cultural values (Kantamneni & Fouad, 2013). Additionally, both Asian and South Asian cultural values run counter to the traditional Western values (i.e. individualism), thus the SAVS-R is an appropriate assessment for this construct and the current study's population. Sample items include, "One should avoid bringing displeasure to one's ancestors" and "One should consider the needs of others before considering one's own needs." The instrument uses a 4-point Likert scale (1= *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*). To obtain the AVS–R score, all 25 items are summed together and divided by 25. In case of missing data on some items, an average score was computed across completed items. Higher scores indicate greater adherence to Asian cultural values.

The AVS score has evidence of adequate internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and factorial, concurrent, and discriminant validity. Test retest reliability was found to be .80 for the scores of the 25-item revised scale. Content validity of the AVS was attained by 1) generating a 112-item preliminary Asian cultural values instrument (Crocker and Algina, 1986) and 2) selecting cultural values that Asian Americans indicated significantly greater agreement than European Americans (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). Concurrent validity was confirmed via confirmatory factor analysis indicating that the AVS score was one of the three reliable indicators of Asian values adherence (Kim et al., 1999). Finally, a correlation of .15 between Asian values acculturation (as indicated by scores on the AVS) and the Asian behavioral acculturation as measured by the Suinn-Lew Asian Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn et al., 1987) provides evidence of discriminant validity for the AVS (Kim et al., 1999).

Previous research on Asian cultural values utilizing the AVS revealed internal consistency of .84. Cronbach's alphas for the current study equaled .83.

Internalization of Model minority myth. Model minority myth was assessed using the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4; Yoo, Burrola & Steger, 2010). The IM-4 is designed to measure South Asian Americans' internalization of the model minority myth. The IM-4 is a 15-item self-report inventory. Each of these items is rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale with the following anchors: 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. The IM-4 is composed of two subscales: (1) Model Minority—Achievement Orientation (MM-AO) and (2) Model Minority Unrestricted Mobility (MM-UM). Samples of MM-AO items include "South Asians Americans have stronger work ethics" and "South Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science." Samples of MM-UM include "South Asian Americans are less likely to face barriers at work" and "South Asian Americans are more likely to be treated as equals to European Americans." Items were derived from a review of the literature regarding the model minority myth and feedback from six experts, representing multiple academic disciplines, in the field of Asian American studies. An initial 49 items were developed of which 15 were deleted due to cross-loaded items based on feedback from experts. The resulting 34-items were then submitted for exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with promax rotation. Thus, the EFA indicated a clear and interpretable optimized 15-item two-factor solution. Scoring the subscales consists of taking the average score of each subscale and summing the total averages. Higher scores indicate greater levels of internalizing these two components of the model minority myth.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used to test the stability of the proposed factor structure. Results of the CFA indicated good fit of the data to the model. Two-Week Test-Retest

reliability coefficients were as follows: MM-AO: r = .72, MM-UM: r = .70. Evidence for discriminant validity was demonstrated through small positive or non-statistically significant relations between the IM-4 subscales and Asian American values (Kim et al., 2005). Convergent validity was demonstrated through statistically significant relationships found between the IM-4 subscales and ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992), psychological distress (Green, Walkey, McCormick, & Taylor, 1988), and through statistically significant correlations between MM-UM and negative affect (Thompson, 2007). Cronbach's alpha for the scores on the subscales were as follows: MM-AO: Alpha = .91, MM-UM: Alpha = .77. Interestingly, although this measure has not been used exclusively on South Asian Americans, the Cronbach's alpha for the current study equaled .88 for MM-AO subscale and .87 for MM-UM subscale.

Career Aspirations. Career aspirations were assessed using the Fuzzy Logic Rating Scale. A computerized GFR (Graphic Fuzzy Rating) was utilized in the Qualtrics program to obtain ratings of participant's occupational aspirations following Hesketh, Pryor and Gleitzman (1989). Participants were asked the following two questions "Name your most preferred occupation" and "Name your second most preferred career choice if you were not able to enter or pursue your first occupation choice". Participants were asked to be as specific as possible in naming their first and second preferred career choices (i.e. computer engineer, helicopter operator etc.).

Participants were then asked to rate their preferred and alternate occupational choices on two sets of fuzzy graphic rating scales (prestige and sex type) consistent with Gottfredson's theory. Using the "slider" item type in Qualtrics, participants used the mouse to move the pointer/slider to their preferred point on each scale. Responses were on a [1-5] rating scale. An expected value (average of the position of pointer) was calculated, providing a single value

estimate of the rating. Prestige rating scales required participants to rate their career choices on the following four items: 1) pay rate, 2) education, 3) status, and 4) power. Sex type fuzzy rating scales included two items in which participants were required to rate their careers on the following two items: 1) if men or women usually choose their career and 2) if their career is considered men or women's work. Interest was measured in two steps. First, utilizing the Dictionary of Holland Occupational Codes (DHOC), the corresponding occupational code associated with the two occupational choices of each participant were assigned. Occupations were denoted by a letter indicating their Holland field: R = Realistic, I = Investigative, A = Artistic, S = Social, E = Enterprising, and C = Conservative (Holland, 1997). For example if a participant chose helicopter operator as their first occupational choice and computer engineer as their second choice, these occupations would correspond to the Holland codes RIS and IRE respectively. Scoring of these occupational choices involved the recruitment of two raters, who were oriented to the DHOC and knew how to use it accurately in assigning occupational codes to participant's given occupation. Raters met with the primary author to practice accurate coding of occupations to ensure consistency in the instructions given to each rater. Any disagreement between the raters was resolved by the primary author who served as a third rater.

Following coding of the Holland types, a level of agreement index was established between the preferred and "alternate" codes, as described in Spokane (1985), modified from Zener and Schnuelle (1976). The index consisted of the following 5 levels: Level 1-All three letters are different (e.g. IRA and SEC), Level 2- Only one letter is the same in each code but in a different order (e.g. SEA and EIR), Level 3- Any two letters of the first code appears in second code only in a different order (e.g. SAE and RSA), Level 4- All three letters are the same but in a different order (e.g. SEA and EAS), and Level 5- All three letters are the same and in the same

order (e.g. RIA and RIA). Based on the single digit level of agreement index, discrepancies between all three factors- prestige, interest and sex-type- was analyzed. Illustrative items of the fuzzy ratings that respondents completed are provided on the scales in Appendix F. Compromise among career aspirations components (prestige, sex-type, and interest) was determined by calculating the subscale score average of each component for both occupations provided by participant. Subscale scores were then converted to z-scores to examine discrepancies between scores. The means and standard deviations of the subscale scores were then calculated. Greater discrepancies between the means of prestige, sextype, and interest, indicated greater compromise between the constructs. Participant's first and second career choices, along with the means and standard deviations of each construct (i.e. prestige, sex-type, and interest) are presented in Table 1. Hesketh et al. (1989) found the test-retest reliabilities when combining the two sex-type ratings and the four prestige scales varied from .61-.92, whereas the combined scale value reliabilities were .92 for sex type and .72 for prestige. Test-retest reliability ranged from .70 for the prestige item to .87 for the Interest item (Hesketh et al., 1989).

In terms of validity of fuzzy rating scales, correlations with the Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI) subscales ranged from .37 to the Social scale to .61 for the Investigative scale (Hesketh et al., 1989). Construct validity was determined by analyzing correlations obtained between ACT's interest inventory subscales and the VPI subscales (.35 to .65; American Testing Program, 1981) comparing favorably. To date this measure had not been utilized on a South Asian American sample. The current study's Cronbach's alpha equaled .66.

Career Decision-Making Difficulty. Career decision-making difficulty was assessed using the Career Decision-Making Difficulty Questionnaire (CDDQ; Gati, Krausz & Osipow, 1996), consisting of 34 items evaluating the various difficulties individuals encounter in the career

decision-making process. Items are rated on a nine-point scale from 1 ("Does not describe me well") to 9 ("Does describe me well"). The CDDQ is composed of three subscales, *lack of readiness*, *lack of information*, and *inconsistent information.* Sample items that measure *lack of readiness* include, "It is usually difficult for me to make decisions" and "I believe there is only one career that suits me". *Lack of information* sample items include, "I find it difficult to make career decisions because I still do not know which occupations interest me" and "I find it difficult to make a career decision because I do not know what my abilities and/or personality traits will be like in the future". Finally *inconsistent information* sample items include, "I find it difficult to make a career decision because I do not like any of the occupation or training programs to which I can be admitted" and "I find it difficult to make a career decision because people who are important to me (i.e. parents and friends) do not agree with the career option I am considering". An extra item at the beginning of the questionnaire asks participants if they have chosen their occupation or field (Yes/No) and, if yes, how confident they are about their choice based on a nine-point scale (1-not confident at all; 9-very confident). The questionnaire concludes with an item asking participants to indicate their difficulty with career decision-making on a nine-point scale (1-low; 9-high). Average scores of each subscale was calculated with higher scores indicating greater career decision making difficulty.

Mau (2001) examined career decision making difficulties between an American and Asian American student sample yielding an alpha coefficient of .66 for lack of readiness, .96 for lack of information, and .92 for inconsistent information. An overall reliability of .96 was found for the total questionnaire. Test-retest reliabilities were examined in another study by Gati and Saka (2001), with a reliability of .81 for lack of readiness, .69 for lack of information, .75 for inconsistent information, and .79 for total questionnaire. Regarding validity research construct

and concurrent validity of the CDDQ were analyzed by comparing responses of university students to the CDDQ, the Career Decision Scale (CDS), and the Career Decision-Making Self Efficacy Scale (CDMSES). The results indicated a positive correlation between the CDDQ and the CDS (.77), and the correlations of these two questionnaires with the CDMSES were negative (-.50 and -.52, respectively; Osipow & Gati, 1998). Cronbach's alpha for the current study equaled .96.

Data Analytic Plan

The current study is an ex-post facto research design that examines the relationship between contextual predictor variables (i.e., family expectations and internalization of model minority) and criterion variables (i.e., prestige, sex-type, interests, career decision making). The quantitative data analysis include preliminary data analysis (e.g., correlation analysis, MANOVA) followed by multivariate multiple regression analysis.

Preliminary analyses. Pearson product moment correlations were utilized to determine the direction (positive or negative) and magnitude of correlations between the demographic variables (e.g., gender, age), predictor variables, and the dependent variables of interest. Additionally, before MMLR was conducted in SPSS, in an effort to eliminate superfluous sources of error, steps were taken to ensure the following assumptions are met, including (1) no presence of multicollinearity (i.e., no high/perfect correlations between predictor variables in regression), and (2) no presence of outliers (i.e., no individual cases with standardized residual beyond three standard deviations). To ensure absence of multicollinearity and check linear relationships between predictors and outcome variables, the Pearson correlation matrix was used. Pearson's correlations larger than .80 (Field, 2013) flag collinearity issues between predictors.

Moderate to high correlations between predictors and outcome variables indicate significant relationship between the variables.

Additionally, a MANOVA was conducted to identify significant group differences between demographic variables (with two or more categorical levels) on the set of dependent variables. The purpose of carrying out MANOVA is to help reduce the experiment-wise level of Type I error and to determine any significant main effects on the combination of dependent variables. This is carried out by examining significant group differences in categorical independent variables having two or more levels on scores of dependent variables (Stevens, 2009). A MANOVA was conducted with the following categorical demographic (i.e., gender, year in college, sexual orientation, national origin, and religious affiliation) and all study variables. A correlational analysis was conducted to assess the relationship between continuous demographic (i.e. age, family income) and all study variables.

Multivariate multiple linear regression. A multivariate multiple linear regression (MMLR) analysis was used to simultaneously investigate the extent of the relationship between the set of two independent variables—family expectations and internalization of model minority myth, and the set of four dependent variables—prestige, sex type, interest, and career decision-making difficulty. MMLR is a form of multivariate analysis designed to investigate the relationship between two or more independent variables and two or more dependent variables (Mertler & Vannatta, 2002). MMLR allows the researcher to "predict scores on the criterion variables on the basis of the obtained scores of the predictor variables and knowledge of the relationships among all the variables" (Frey et al., 2000, p.371). Furthermore, utilizing MMLR rather than a series of univariate multiple regressions, is more useful in order to control for Type I error as well as integrate cross-outcome correlations (Stevens, 2009).

Prior to running the MMLR, averages of subscale scores for prestige, sex type, interest were first converted to standardized z-scores. This study then examined the relationships between the set of predictor variables (family expectations and internalization of MMM) and dependent variables (prestige, sex-type, interest, and career decision making difficulty), utilizing the multivariate test, Wilks' lambda, *F* tests, and regression coefficients (betas) to compare the independent contribution of family expectations and internalization of MMM for each outcome to determine differences in order of compromise between prestige, sex type, and interest.

The following four hypotheses were tested using the MMLR:

1. Gottfredson's (1981) theory predicts that individuals, when faced with an impediment, will compromise their sex type least in comparison to prestige and vocational interests after relinquishing their first career aspiration. However the current study hypothesized that participants would compromise (sacrifice) prestige least in comparison to their sex-type and vocational interests when forced to consider an alternate aspiration. Thus, it was predicted that greater adherence to family expectations would yield a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

2. It was also predicted that greater adherence to family expectations would result in greater difficulty in deciding which career to pursue (CDDQ).

3. It was hypothesized that higher internalization of model minority myth would result in a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest.

4. Finally, it was hypothesized that greater endorsement of internalization of model minority myth would result in greater career decision difficulty.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses included the examination of skewness and kurtosis assessing for normality of variables as well as multicollinearity among predictor variables. All analysis variables met criteria for skewness and kurtosis statistics which were within the normal range (-2 to +2; Lomax, 2001). Examination of the correlation matrix revealed no multicollinearity issues (i.e., no presence of too high linear correlations between predictors; maximum Pearson's r = .80). Low to moderate significant correlations were found between the following variables: family expectations and career decision making difficulty (r = .21, p < .05), career decision making difficulty and interest subscale (r =.-.30, p < .05), career decision making difficulty and prestige *(*r = -.26, p < .05) and prestige and interest subscale (r = .40, p < .01). Table 2 displays Pearson correlations as well as kurtosis and skewness of the observed variables and predictor variables. Additionally, normal probability plots were examined and supported the assumption of univariate normality as a result of the observed linearity from the plots. Bivariate normality of the outcome was supported in observing elliptical bivariate scatterplots.

A MANOVA was conducted to determine if any demographic variables (with two or more categorical levels) indicated significant difference between the predictor variables (i.e. family expectations and internalized model minority myth) and criterion variables (i.e. prestige, sex-type, interest and career decision making difficulty). Demographic variables examined were gender, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, national origin, and year in college. The MANOVA revealed no significant difference between these groups. However, a correlational analysis conducted to identify significant differences between continuous demographic variables

(i.e. age, family income), and the study variables revealed low to moderate correlations between prestige and age (r = -.21, p < .001) and prestige and family income (r = .26, p < .001). Correlations were assessed with a conservative alpha (i.e. p < .001) due to the large number of variables of study. Since age and family income indicated significant effects on the dependent variable prestige, they were included as covariates in the main regression analysis to control for confounding effects on the set of dependent variables.

Prior to running the MMLR, averages of all subscale scores for predictor variables (family expectations and internalization of model minority myth) and outcome variables (prestige, sex type, interest, and career decision making difficulty) were converted to standardized z-scores. Researchers have found importance in standardizing variables particularly for multivariate analysis in order to ensure that different scales with various matrices contribute equally to the analysis (Johnson & Wichern, 2008). Thus the mean for all predictor and outcome variables became 0 while the standard deviation became 1.00. The range for family expectations was 4.24 with minimum value of -2.00 and maximum value of 2.24. The range for internalization of model minority myth was 6.49 with minimum value of -2.85 and maximum value of 3.64. For the prestigious variable, the range was 4.64, with minimum value of -2.64 and maximum value of 1.99. The range for sex type was 5.91, with a minimum value -2.74 and maximum value of 3.17. For interest, the range was 3.35 with a minimum value of -1.75 and maximum value of 1.60. Finally, for career decision making difficulty, the range was 4.40 with minimum value of -1.58 and maximum value of 2.82. Full descriptive statistics of raw data and standardized data (e.g., mean, standard deviation, range etc.) are presented in Table 3 and Table 4 respectively.

Multivariate Multiple Linear Regression

Controlling for age and family income, a multivariate multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to simultaneously examine the relationship between South Asian Americans' family expectations and internalization of model minority myth and their career aspirations and career decision making difficulty. Results revealed a non-significant multivariate main effect for family expectations and internalization of model minority myth, Wilks' $\lambda = .937$, F (8, 208) = .846, $p = .563$. As a set of predictors, family expectations and internalization of model minority myth did not explain a significant amount of variability in South Asian Americans' career aspirations or their career decision making difficulty. Moreover, neither age nor family income explained any additional variance in the relationship between the two sets of variables. The standardized regression weights are presented in Table 5.

Although univariate follow up tests are typically not conducted when multivariate outcome is non-significant, doing so may be helpful in reviewing the effect of individual predictors on the outcomes Thus, univariate follow up F tests revealed that while holding all other predictors constant, family expectations ($b = -.09$, $p > .352$), and internalization of model minority ($b = -.05$, $p > .553$) were not significantly related to prestigious career aspirations. Holding constant all other predictors, family expectations ($b = -.01$, $p > .886$), and internalization of model minority ($b = .12$, $p > .212$), were not significantly related to sex-type. Holding constant all other predictors, family expectations ($b = -.10$, $p > .886$) and internalization of model minority ($b = .09$, $p > .212$), were not significantly related to interest. Finally, family expectations ($b = .16$, $p > .104$) and internalization of model minority ($b = .01$, $p > .910$) were not significantly related to career decision making difficulty among the current sample of

second-generation South Asian Americans. The following subsections include each hypothesis and their statistical outcome.

Post Hoc Analysis

Although apriori power analysis suggested that a sample size of 81 would be sufficient to run the current analysis, MLLR regression resulted in a non-significant outcome. Therefore, a post-hoc analysis was conducted to calculate how many participants would have been needed to achieve significance with the current study's variables in place. A post-hoc analysis indicated that a power analysis conducted using a multivariate R^2 of .062 and effect size (Cohen's f^2) of .032, would have required a sample size is 240 participants to achieve statistical significance.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

Previous research on the career aspirations and decisions of Asians and Asian Americans have shed light on the impact familial and societal expectations may have on their career trajectories. Fouad et al., (2008), for instance, found themes such as familial influences and social structural influences (i.e. support from teachers, coworkers etc.) to be influential in Asian Americans career choices. Moreover, Zhou and Santos (2007) found that cross-cultural adjustment of Chinese students did not impact their difficulty in career decision-making. Finally, research has found that higher levels of endorsement of positive Asian stereotypes (i.e. model minority myth) can negatively impact Asian American's individual feelings about themselves, academic performance, and career aspirations. (Gupta, Szymanski & Leong, 2011). Although these findings shed light on the impact that familial and societal expectations have on Asian American's career paths what is missing from career related literature is the distinct and unique career development experiences of South Asian American individuals in relation to these variables. Moreover, Gottfredson's theory of Circumscription and Compromise related to how individuals categorize their career preferences in regards to gender stereotypes (sex-type) and social status (prestige), perhaps applicable to South Asian experiences has never been used on a sample of South Asians. In light of this gap, the current study used Gottfredson's theoretical framework in exploring family expectations and the internalization of model minority myth as predictors of career aspirations components (prestige, sex type, & interest) and career decision making difficulty in South Asian Americans. The following sections discuss the findings for the relationship between the four variables within a regression model in the context of the greater body of pertinent literature, and addresses implications, limitations, future directions for theory, research, and clinical practice.

Family Expectations and Career Aspirations (prestige, sex type, & interest). The current study hypothesized that greater adherence to family expectations would yield a stronger positive relationship with prestigious career aspirations when compared to sex-type and interest. Unfortunately, regression analyses did not provide support for family expectations impacting the career aspirations of South Asian Americans. A review of the responses to the SAVS suggests that nearly 65% of South Asian American college students responded to items in such a manner that indicated that they adhered less strongly to family expectations in the form of South Asian values. This finding is consistent with research on Korean American college students and their parent's cultural values, wherein it was found students adhered less strongly to Asian values than their parents (Ahn, Kim & Park, 2009). Moreover, although the majority (59.9%) of participants chose higher prestigious careers (i.e. software engineer, physician, and attorney) when asked to choose a career they would pursue if they could not pursue their first choice, they endorsed a lower rating of prestige on a rating scale from 1 to 5 (1- low prestige, 5- high prestige) on their first career choice than on their second career choice. Thus, the current study's findings did not support Gottfredson's theory that individuals compromise their interests, followed by prestige, and then sex type. Instead the current South Asian American sample was found to compromise their sex type first, followed by interests, and finally prestige. Although participants choosing higher prestigious career choices for their second career choice seems consistent with previous research (Dundes, Cho, & Kwak, 2009), the finding that higher prestigious career choice was not related with family expectations is surprising.

It is possible that the current sample may place importance on other aspects of career aspirations outside Gottfredson's three career dimensions (i.e. prestige, sex-type, interest). In particular, it may be that young South Asian Americans are becoming more inspired by fellow

successful second-generation South Asians who have paved a successful career path in a non-traditional South Asian career choice (i.e. comedian, entrepreneur, broadcast journalist; Melwani, 2007). It may also be postulated that South Asian family expectations around career may be evolving in that first- generation South Asian parents may be more accepting of their children pursuing their genuine interests rather than what their parents or elders may impose upon them (Bushey, 2011). It is also possible that although the participants may not have consciously endorsed prestige as salient on the first attempt, the value related to prestige may be deeply ingrained in them, resulting in prestigious careers in their second career choices as well.

Family Expectations and career decision making difficulty. The present study hypothesized that greater adherence to family expectations will result in greater difficulty in deciding which career to pursue. However, findings revealed that family expectations did not seem to influence the career decision making difficulty among South Asian Americans. Only 10% of the current study's population indicated they had not decided on a major or occupation at the time of taking the survey. Moreover, only 20% of the sample indicated they did not feel confident at all in their choice of major or occupation. Interestingly, neither of these findings were significantly related to family expectations for this sample. A review of the items on the CDMD revealed that for item 34 (asks participants if they have difficulty making a career decision due to parents or friends not agreeing with their career options), 66 % of participants indicated this does not describe their experience. This could suggest that family influence on the career decision making process among college students may not be as pertinent in the current sample. The lack of a significant relationship between family expectations and career decision making difficulty may on one hand, be indicative of the fact that this particular sample of South Asian Americans have found ways to compartmentalize the pressures of family expectations and

their career decision making process (Bushey, 2011). On the other hand, it is also possible that South Asian American students may not seek or need approval from their parents in pursuing their career choices. Furthermore, parents of this population may also be open to reconsidering what qualifies as an acceptable and respectable occupation (Bushey, 2011). This shift may in part be due to the rise of successful South Asian American figures breaking boundaries in arts and entertainment, political arenas, and entrepreneurship. Thus, new South Asian American role models may be influencing the career possibilities for the second generation, while impacting the perceptions of career stability for the first generation parent (Melwani, 2007).

Internalization of model minority status and Career Aspirations (prestige, sex type & interest). The present study hypothesized that greater internalization of being subsumed as a model minority in society would be related to participants choosing more prestigious careers over careers which they may gender conform to, or careers in which they are genuinely interested. Findings revealed that although participants did internalize the model minority stereotype on both the subscales MM-AO (Achievement Orientation) and MM-UM (Unrestricted Mobility), they did not link this outcome to their career choice. In other words, participant's experiences of being stereotyped and/or discriminated against (for their work ethic, effort and success) did not impact their career choices.

These findings are consistent with previous research (Suzuki, 1977), in that similar to other Asian Americans, the current sample of South Asian Americans may also attempt to achieve high levels of education, in spite of restrictions placed on their socioeconomic upward mobility. However, internalization of the model minority label was not related to participants' career aspirations on the dimensions of prestige, sex type and interest. It is possible that the participants may distance themselves from such a label because such stereotypes promote

cultural explanations for the success of Asian Americans but discount the amount of discrimination they experience (Sue & Okasaki, 1990). Moreover, it is also possible that this particular sample may experience a lesser degree of pressure from societal standards to conform to expectations of academic success and career choice (Kim & Lee, 2014; Shen, Wang & Swanson, 2011; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). Nonetheless, a highly internalized model minority status was clear among the participants and the implications of this should be viewed independent of their highly prestigious career choices in the current study.

Internalization of model minority status and career decision making difficulty. The current study did not support the final hypothesis that greater endorsement of internalized model minority myth will result in greater decision-making difficulty. Although participants did endorse internalization of the model minority label, it did not influence their career decision-making difficulty. However, consistent with previous research (Mau, 2004), the current study's South Asian American sample did endorse slightly higher scores on CDDQ items within the subcategory of 'readiness' (i.e. motivation, general indecisiveness, and dysfunctional beliefs), indicating some difficulty within these specific areas when deciding on a career. Despite the lack of significance of the relationship between internalization of model minority status and career decision making difficulty, the fact South Asian Americans in this study did experience some struggle in their career decision making is noteworthy.

The lack of relationship between the two constructs may be potentially explained in part by the participant conceptualizing model minority status as a portion of their identity, rather than defining themselves entirely by the stereotype when considering questions on career decisions. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the current sample endorsed only a moderate amount of career decision difficulty as opposed to a higher amount as indicated in previous research, in an

effort to uphold their model minority image and appear somewhat career ready and/or confident in their career choice.

Limitations

There are several limitations that may have influenced the current study's findings. The study's sample may be limited with the subject sampling pool and the method used to recruit participants. Participants were primarily recruited from student organizations on college campuses across the United States. Participants represented a broad geographical area, however, were limited to students involved in South Asian student and professional organizations (i.e. SAPNA, Chai, etc.). It may be that students who choose to be part of such South Asian organizations are inherently different than those who choose not to be involved in such cultural groups. Additionally, the current sample was not only predominantly of Indian heritage, but participants also seemed to have similar career interests and backgrounds (SES, education) which may have made it more difficult to generalize findings. Moreover, nearly 87% of participants chose occupations which were either categorized with Holland codes as E (enterprising), I (investigative) or S (social) for their first and second choice. Thus, researching a more broad and diverse sample of South Asian students is recommended for future studies. Finally, a very specific sample in terms of demographic variables were examined. For instance, in terms of SES nearly 50% of participants reported coming from a family whose income was $100,000-$150,000 or more. This may limit findings in being generalized to participants who come from other SES levels. Although this study intended to focus on the college population and their experiences related to career and stereotypes, it limited other students (i.e. high school, Master's students) and their career related experiences from participating. The sample was also

limited in regards to age of participants and therefore findings are not able to be generalized to non-traditional (i.e. older) students.

The current study's small sample size ($N = 110$) may have impacted the lack of significance across variables. Given the outcome of the a priori power analysis, the sample size recommended ($n = 81$) was met. However, results were non-significant. Moreover, the interpretation of results yielded a larger standard of error and therefore an imprecise estimate of the effect (Hakshaw, 2008). Also with the current study's small sample size there is greater probability of producing a false-positive outcome. Thus, a post-hoc analysis was conducted after calculating the minimum effect size (f^2=.032) to better estimate how many participants would have been needed to detect this new effect. Analyses revealed that twice as many participants would be needed ($n = 240$) in order to determine significance among the current study's variables. With a larger a sample size, the probability of significant outcomes between each variable would perhaps have been apparent.

The instruments used may have posed some limitations with regards to internal validity. The SAVS, originally the AVS (Asian Values Scale) was normed and designed for Asian Americans in general. Although it subsumed a nominal number of South Asian American participants (i.e. 8.6%; Kim & Hong, 2004), only one other study (Kantemneni & Fouad, 2013) that has been conducted using AVS-R with South Asian Americans in particular. Therefore, caution must be used when analyzing the results of this study, as personal and contextual factors must be taken into consideration as well. For instance, although there are several overlapping cultural issues between Asian Americans and South Asian Americans, unique cultural variables (i.e., intergenerational conflict, concept of dharma) may differentially influence this community. It is important to note that the AVS primarily measures adherence to Asian values and may not

have adequately captured the construct of family expectations as was intended in the current study. Although, certain items on the AVS stress the strong value of education that South Asians tend to uphold, other items such as, “One should be humble and modest”, “One's achievements should be viewed as family's achievements.”, and “One should think about one's group before oneself,” may lean more towards how individuals view cultural value rather than what is culturally expected of them as a South Asian American. Considering a measure that specifically addresses educational and career expectations among South Asian Americans may have addressed the current study’s variables more accurately.

The IM-4 was also normed and designed utilizing predominantly Asian Americans college students; although 2.9% South Asian Americans were included in creating the scale. This very small sample of South Asian Americans may not accurately represent the vast array of model minority experiences held by South Asian Americans. Thus, it is important to be cautious in using this measure for South Asian American samples. But more importantly, it highlights the need for instrumentation that measures and captures specific South Asian American experiences. Another instrumentation issue is the low internal consistency for the Fuzzy rating scale of .66. This may indicate that this particular instrument may not have fully captured the construct of career aspiration aspects of interest, prestige and sex type for the current sample.

Finally, this study also may be limited by mono method bias. The use of self-report measures for data collection alone may have restricted the ability to probe for additional insight into how South Asian Americans conceptualize their internal and external expectations regarding career. The use of qualitative methods may allow for an in depth exploration of how this population internalize stereotypes and family expectations in relation to their career outlook.

Implications and Future Directions.

*Theoretical Implications***.** The current study findings did not support Gottfredson's theory that individuals compromise their interests, followed by prestige, and then sex type. Instead the current South Asian American sample was found to compromise their sex type first, followed by interests, and finally prestige. Although this finding was not related to family expectations as hypothesized, it may be implied that South Asian Americans do prefer prestigious career choices over their own interests or careers that conform to their gender.

Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise emphasizes that career choice is a reflection of an individual's efforts to implement their preferred self-concepts. As such, an individual's career satisfaction is dependent on how well their career fits with their self-concept (Gottfredson & Lapan, 1997). According to the literature, Asian American's tend to self-perceive themselves as more prepared, motivated and more likely to have greater success in society than their White counterparts (Wong et al., 1998). Gottfredson's theory asserts that this occurrence may contribute to the social value South Asian Americans place on South Asian occupational stereotypes they are exposed to at young ages. This may also explain the current study's findings in participants opting for more prestigious careers if they had to compromise their first career choice. The theory further states that many youngsters tend to attribute a great deal of importance to gender when choosing a career, thereby restricting their options. The current study however, found that South Asian Americans tend to place salience on prestige when choosing a career if they could not pursue their first career option, which may also be viewed as limiting. Because prestige may be associated with social values and culture among South Asian Americans, they may feel obligated to exclusively pursue investigative and enterprising fields in which they have seen parents or fellow South Asians achieve such status (i.e. physician, engineer

etc.). As predicted, the first career choice among a majority of the current population was rated lower in prestige, followed by their second career choice which was rated higher in prestige. These results may confirm that South Asians do tend to lend themselves to pursuing less prestigious careers that may hold greater interest, but when forced to choose a second career option they opt for a more prestigious career choice. This trend may ultimately contribute in re-defining South Asian Americans self-concept in their career development. Future studies may gain insight into how South Asian Americans choose one career over another by measuring the strength and/or weakness of compromise between career choices. It would also be beneficial to investigate the individual's estimate of prestige rather than the general population's estimate of prestige in an effort to make the construct more personal and meaningful.

Finally, Gottfredson's theory postulates a contingency stating, prestige and sex-type are differentially compromised by SES. In so saying, individuals from a lower SES are more likely to not compromise their sex-type due to limited resources. Accordingly, a collapse of interest and prestige constructs among these individuals may occur, which may force them to forego pursuing more prestigious careers. The current South Asian American sample, however, comprised predominantly of higher SES individuals. This may pre-dispose them to resources that would help them pursue their chosen prestigious careers regardless of their expressed interest. Thus, when applying this theory, it is important to note that compromising prestige and sextype are contingent on the SES of the individual and must be taken into consideration in the theory's implications. Furthermore, including a wider range of SES among the South Asian American sample may allow for greater generalizability. Taken together and considering the above findings, the circumscription and compromise model does offer some insight into how South Asians view their self-concept and how they navigate the process of compromising on careers

they may or may not have the desire to pursue. Given the strong presence of South Asians in careers outside typically prestigious occupations, further investigation on how the theory's constructs (i.e. circumscription and compromise) have evolved for this population is warranted.

Research Implications. This study also highlights some important areas for future research. South Asian American students in the current sample experienced overall little to moderate career decision making difficulty and in fact indicated they were more confident than not, in the major they were currently pursuing. It may be beneficial for future research to further investigate motivating factors (e.g. financial stability, job satisfaction, workplace diversity, etc.) that encourage and/or affirm the career decision making process for South Asian American students. Moreover, conducting more qualitative research involving in-person interviews would provide richer data set to assess how South Asian American college students feel regarding pressures to succeed and excel. But even more pertinent would be to develop quantitative measures that are normed specifically for South Asian American career development.

The current study also found that South Asian Americans do tend to internalize the model minority myth and to a degree feel discriminated against in the workplace. Participants attained high scores on both the Achievement Orientation subscale, which measures how South Asian achievement is perceived, and on the Unrestricted Mobility subscale, which measures how workplace discrimination is perceived. Future research would help expand this finding by exploring ways in which such positive stereotypes shape how young South Asian Americans approach job applications or job interviews. For instance, given that the current study's participants internalized workplace discrimination, it may be useful to investigate, how South Asian Americans perceive themselves and how they feel they are being perceived, during job application and interview process. Scholars may then begin to explore reasons South Asian

Americans may resist or perpetuate the model minority label, and understand how they may view themselves as being marginalized as overachievers in society. Further, as model minority status becomes known to be an integral component of South Asian cultural upbringing (Chua & Rubenfeld, 2014), it would be well worth investigating how this 'positive stereotype' may influence South Asian American ethnic identity. Furthermore, studies should also consider examining how South Asians internalized model minority status may influence the relationship between perceived discrimination and career satisfaction. Finally, extending the sample population beyond students and educated individuals to South Asian American individuals already working in the community may allow for a more general examination of career development and the role of internalizing model minority myth.

In general, creating robust quantitative measures of South Asian American career identity and development would be very useful in the field of career development research. Survey items may include "I have found support in pursuing my career choice within the South Asian American community as a young career professional" or "I have been discriminated against within my career field due to my South Asian American identity." Additionally, for second-generation South Asian Americans who are emerging parents, exploring what their academic and career conceptions and/or expectations of their (third-generation) children may provide profound information around the salience of model minority status and career choice for South Asian Americans.

Clinical Implications. The findings from this study have important clinical implications for South Asian Americans' career development. Second generation South Asians American students adhered less strongly to expectations of family members as anticipated, thus raising the inquiry that family expectations may not be as relevant for younger generations. In particular, it

may be important for counselors to be aware that not all South Asian Americans may wish to adhere as strongly to traditional South Asian values, or rely on family values in making important life decisions related to their career choice. Perhaps exploring how South Asian cultural values are adopted, altered or dissipated across younger generations, may provide some insightful scope into how South Asian Americans currently view themselves as part of society. This may allow for deeper exploration and recognition of how and when family values and expectations become salient for this population. The finding that most participants identified with higher prestigious careers as their second career choice, may indicate that they feel they must default to a accepting a higher level of motivation and work ethic required to pursue such careers. Clinicians may offer support in acknowledging and perhaps even exploring with them what motivating factors, if any, drive them to persevere through stressful periods in pursuing their chosen career path.

Finally, clinicians working with South Asian American clients who internalize positive stereotypes (i.e. model minority myth), as in the current study's sample, are encouraged to explore the client's experiences with discrimination and how they may carry these internalizations into their place of work. For instance, it would be important to address and help manage any negative affect of client as a result of feeling discriminated against or feeling extreme pressure to succeed due to being labeled as a model minority. Also it would be helpful for clients to be aware of how their internalized feelings of discrimination may influence other aspects of their life (i.e., ethnic identity, social life, attitudes towards dominant race, etc.). Thus, counselors may better serve such clients by equally recognizing the possible struggle with such feelings within their client and processing how these feelings of discrimination may manifest for them.

Conclusion

The current study delivers some understanding into the career aspirations of the evolving South Asian American college student population. This study highlights the presence of internalized model minority myth and the career aspirations of South Asian American students as independent constructs. Particularly, this sample group may not consider the pressures associated with family expectations a salient factor in their career exploration process. This may imply that when considering their career choice, South Asian Americans views and values associated with deciding on which occupation to pursue may be shifting towards placing greater value on their own genuine interests. Furthermore, although South Asian American's may internalize the label of model minority status, it does not translate to their career choices or contribute to their career-decision making difficulty. With the rise and onset of South Asian Americans pursuing careers outside the "mold" of South Asian vocational expectations, it is possible that younger generations are looking up to these role models and seeing themselves take on careers they normally would have never considered. Additionally, the current study's findings of participant's decision to pursue so called "prestigious careers" over others may be understood as a career decision of genuine interest rather than pressures from family or societal expectations. In sum, the second- generation South Asian American college student population are not a monolithic group, but rather have distinct needs and pressures associated with career development and discriminatory experiences. This reinforces the call for additional South-Asian American specific quantitative/qualitative measures and continued culturally-sensitive practices expanding this population's career exploration.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Sarini Ettigi., M.S. under the direction of Arpana G. Inman, Ph.D., from the Counseling Psychology Program at Lehigh University. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a South Asian American at least 18 years old.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY The purpose of this study is to gather information about how you feel about making career decisions and how expectations of your parents and society may influence your career decision-making. The questions you will be asked are about activities involved in deciding on a career, your relationships with your parents, and your thoughts on being labeled as a model minority. Your participation in this study will help us to understand the factors that are important to South Asian American adults as they begin deciding on a career to pursue. You should read the information below, and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate. Completion of this questionnaire will constitute consent to participate in this research project.

PROCEDURES You are asked to complete an online questionnaire that will take approximately twenty minutes to complete. If you are unable to complete the questionnaire in one setting, you may save your progress and return to the website at a later time.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS There are minimal to no potential negative effects from participating in this study. However, if you react strongly to any of the questions on the questionnaire and wish to discuss your feelings or concerns related to deciding on a career or the relationships with your parents, please contact counselors at the university counseling center and/or the career center.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY Your participation in this study will help us with ongoing research on the career development and vocational behaviors of South Asian Americans.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION There is no compensation for your participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY Information obtained in the survey will only be reported in an aggregated form without any potentially identifiable descriptions connected to individuals. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. Your responses to the online survey will be downloaded directly by Sarini Ettigi, M.S. Only members of the research team will have access to the data associated with this study. The data will be stored in the investigator's office on a password protected computer. The data will be stored for three years after the study has been completed and then destroyed.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Arpana G. Inman, Ph.D. at agi2@lehigh.edu or Sarini Ettigi, M.S. at spe207@lehigh.edu.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant or you would like to speak with someone independent of the research team to obtain answers to questions about the research, or in the event the research staff cannot be reached, please contact Susan E. Disidore at (610)758-3020 (email: sus5@lehigh.edu) of Lehigh University's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs. All reports or correspondence will be kept confidential. This contact information will be made available again at the end of the study.

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION

Dear _____,

I am conducting a study under the supervision of Dr. Arpana G. Inman, Lehigh University. This study entitled "The Role of Family Expectations and Internalization of Model Minority Myth on the Career Aspirations and Decision-Making Processes of Second-Generation South Asian Americans" has been approved by Lehigh University's IRB with Reference # 15/059.

I am seeking volunteers who are second-generation South Asian (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives) to participate in this research study. For the purpose of this study, I have defined second-generation South Asians as individuals born in the U.S. and whose birth parents are of South Asian origin. This study explores family and societal influences in the career choices of second-generation South Asians in the U.S. I hope that this study may help in understanding career decision processes of second-generation South Asian Americans and inform counselors of the factors affecting career choices of South Asians in the U.S.

I would truly appreciate if you could forward this email to the membership or your organization/association. If I need to contact any other person at your institution (with regard to permission, IRB approval, etc.) please let me know whom to contact.

Thanking you sincerely,

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APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following questions, please fill in the blank or check the response that best describes you:

Were you born in the United States? [Criteria for participation.]

Yes ____ No ____

1. Age _____

2. Gender: Male_____ Female_____ Other_____

3. Sexual Orientation:

Exclusively lesbian/gay _____Mostly lesbian/gay _____Bisexual _____

Mostly heterosexual _____Exclusively heterosexual _____

Asexual _____Other (please specify): _____

4. Religious Affiliation

Hindu_____Buddhist_____Christian_____Sikh_____Muslim_____Jain_____

Other (please specify) _____

5. What is your family's national origin (ex. Indian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani etc.)?
_____

6. What year in college are you currently?

Freshman ___Sophomore ___Junior ___Senior ___

7. What is your annual family income? _____ less than $25,000 _____ $25,001-50,000 _____ $50,001-75,000 _____ $75,001-100,000 _____ $100,001-150,000

APPENDIX D

ASIAN VALUES SCALE – REVISED (AVS-R)

(Kim & Hong, 2004; permission to use scale given by author)

INSTRUCTIONS: Use the scale below to indicate the extent to which you agree with the value expressed in each statement.

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Agree

4 = Strongly Agree

APPENDIX E

INTERNALIZATION OF MODEL MINORITY MYTH (IM-4)

(Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010; permission to use scale given by author)

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree to each item below.

1 = Strongly Agree

2= Agree

3= Agree Somewhat

4= Undecided

5= Disagree Somewhat

6= Disagree

7= Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX F

Fuzzy Graphic Rating Scale

(Hesketh, Pryor, & Hesketh, 1987; permission to use scale given by author)

Name your most preferred occupation. Please be as specific as possible (ex. Painter, Mechanical engineer). _____

Please rate your most preferred chosen occupation on the following scales using the pointer.

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See original article for the scale text

Now name your most preferred occupation, if you were not able to pursue the occupation you chose above. Again, please be as specific as possible (ex. Painter, Mechanical engineer). _____

Please rate this SECOND occupation on the following scales using the pointer.

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APPENDIX G

Career Decision-Making Difficulties Questionnaire

(Gati, Krausz & Osipow, 1996; permission to use given by author)

This questionnaire's aim is to locate possible difficulties and problems related to making career decisions.

Have you considered what field you would like to major in or what occupation you would like to choose?

Yes / No

Next, you will be presented with a list of statements concerning the career decision-making process. Please rate the degree to which each statement applies to you on the following scale:

Does not describe me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Describes me well

Circle 1 if the statement does not describe you and 9 if it describes you well. Of course, you may also circle any of the intermediate levels.

For each statement, please circle the number which best describes you.

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See original article for the scale text

Table 1

First and Second Career choices: Means and Standard deviations of Interest, Prestige and Sex-type between first and second career choices

	Prestige	***Interest***	***Sex-type***
M	3.81	3.08	2.99
SD	0.59	1.14	0.63

Career choice 1	***Career choice 2***
Policy Analyst	Professor
Lawyer	Doctor
Publisher	Writer
Corporate	Sales Consultant
Actor	Writer
Psychologist	Interior Designer
Psychiatrist	Researcher
Doctor of Medicine	Business Owner: Entrepreneur
Police Officer	Computer Engineer
Physician's assistant	Doctor
Healthcare Administration (CEO)	Physician Assistant
Computer Science	Teacher
Software Engineer	Environmental Engineer
Financial Advisor	Supply Chain Manager
Orthopedic surgery Physician assistant	Pharmaceutical Rep
University professor	High school English teacher
Medical Practitioner/ Medical Doctor	Academic Professor
Civil Engineer	Bassist (musician)
Attorney	Recording Artist
Dentist	Entrepreneur
Accountant	Interior Designer
Physician-Cardiologist	Attorney
Accountant	Business Owner-Entrepreneur
Development Economics professor	Lawyer
Yoga and Dance instructor	Architectural engineer
Computer Engineer	Civil Engineer
Freelance photographer	Journalist
Visual Artist (Modern Art)	Pediatrician
Music director	Architect
Psychologist	Software Engineer
Professional Make-up artist	Civil engineer
Elementary school teacher	Dentist
Attorney	Politician
Addictions Counselor	Psychiatrist
Sports Columnist	Attorney

Career choice 1	*Career choice 2*
Musician	Accountant
Professor	Social Worker
Pilot	Civil engineer
Musician	Physician
Journalist	Attorney
Healthcare Consultant	Efficiency Consultant
Musician	Broadcast journalist
Music and theory professor	Physician
Event Planner/Coordinator	Architect
Elementary School teacher	English Professor
Accounting	Biology
Graphics designer	Computer engineer
Architect	Photographer
Dentist	Physician
Network engineer	Security analyst
Graphics Engineer	Chemical engineer
Hospital Administrator	Doctor
Modern Art professor	Associate Professor-Psychology
Sportscast Journalist	Attorney
Entertainment Journalist	Entertainment Lawyer
Modern Art Professor	Architect
Corporate Lawyer	Teacher
Lawyer	Entrepreneur
Social Worker	therapist
Elementary school teacher	Health Educator
Marketing Analyst	Nurse
Physician	Sociologist
Computer engineer	Computer analyst
Information Systems Analyst	Software engineer
Professional photographer	Journalist
Electrical Engineering Researcher	Founder of a startup that creates something
computer science	Mechanical engineering
Civil engineer	Attorney
Musician	Physician
Dentist	Doctor
Recording artist	Broadcast journalist
Professor	Social Worker
Nurse practitioner	Physician
Attorney	Politician
Freelance photographer	Computer analyst
Hotel manager	Engineer
Modern Art Professor	Architect
Doctor Computer Science	Engineer
Entrepreneur	Software Engineer

Career choice 1	*Career choice 2*
Musician	Software engineer
Civil Engineer	Mechanical Engineer
Physician	Aerospace Engineer
Policy Analyst	NGO Director
Investment banker	Technology Startup Business
Doctor	Lawyer
Management Consulting	Chemical Engineer
Bioengineer	Housewife
Physician	Dental assistant
Computer engineer	Electrical engineer
Bioengineer	Finance
Doctor	Business
Financial Manager	Stock Broker
Occupational Therapist	Doctor
Management Consulting	Finance
Mechanical engineer	Entrepreneur
Data scientist	Computer engineer
Consulting	Financial analyst
Bioengineer	Pediatrician
Translator	ESL Teacher
Chemical Engineer	Mechanical Engineer
Physician	Dancer
Biochemist	Bioelectrical engineer
Business entrepreneur	Physician
Mechanical engineer	Biochemical engineer
Interior designer	Computer analyst
Dentist	Physician - pediatrician
Accounting	Own a business
Med tech	Medical doctor
Business owner	Attorney
Physician	Pharmacist
Fashion designer	Architect

Table 2
Correlation Matrix of Outcome Variables and Predictor Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Family Expectations	1.00					
2. Career Decision Making Difficulty	0.21*	1.00				
3. Internalized MMM	0.17	0.03	1.00			
4. Prestige	-0.12	-0.26**	-0.07	1.00		
5. Sextype	-0.01	0.15	0.12	-0.02	1.00	
6. Interest	-0.10-	0.30**	0.08	0.40**	0.04	1.00
M	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
SD	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Skewness	0.32	0.78	0.30	-0.47	0.61	0.09
Kurtosis	-0.74	0.03	2.90	-0.04	1.90	-0.68

Note: **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

Table 3

Descriptive statistics: Raw Scores of Means, Standard Deviation, Range for Predictor and Outcome Variables

		*SAVS	*IM4	Prestige	Sex Type	Interest	*CDMD
N	Valid	110	110	110	110	110	110
	Missing	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mean		2.27	.589	3.8	2.9	3.08	3.44
Std.Dev		.15	.59	.85	.80	.54	1.45
Range		4.24	6.49	4.64	5.91	3.35	4.40
Minimum		-2.00	-2.85	-2.64	-2.74	-1.75	-1.58
Maximum		2.24	3.64	1.99	3.17	1.60	2.82

**Note:* SAVS – South Asian Values Scale
IM4 – Internalized Model Minority Myth
CDMD – Career Decision Making Difficulty

Table 4

Descriptive statistics: Standardized Means, Standard Deviation, Range for Predictor and Outcome Variables

		*SAVS	*IM4	Prestige	Sex Type	Interest	*CDMD
N	Valid	110	110	110	110	110	110
	Missing	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mean		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Median		-0.15	0.11	0.10	0.01	-0.08	-0.20
Std. Deviation		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Range		4.24	6.49	4.64	5.91	3.35	4.40
Minimum		-2.00	-2.85	-2.64	-2.74	-1.75	-1.58
Maximum		2.24	3.64	1.99	3.17	1.60	2.82

**Note:* SAVS – South Asian Values Scale
IM4 – Internalized Model Minority Myth
CDMD – Career Decision Making Difficulty

Table 5

Regression Analysis within Cells in MMLR for Career Aspirations (Prestige, Sextype, Interest) and Career Decision Making Difficulty

Test Name	Value	Approx. F	DF	Error DF	Sig. of F
Wilks	.938	.846	8.0	208	.563

Outcome Variable	Predictor Variable	B	Beta	Std. Err.	t- value
Prestige	Family Expectations	-0.12	-0.05	0.23	0.51
	Model Minority Myth	-0.11	-0.26	0.04	2.72
Sextype	Family Expectations	-0.07	-0.03	0.25	-0.29
	Model Minority Myth	0.07	0.15	0.04	1.56
Interest	Family Expectations	-0.21	-0.04	0.46	-0.45
	Model Minority Myth	-0.25	-0.29	0.08	-3.08
Career decision making difficulty	Family Expectations	-0.11	-0.03	0.07	-0.96
	Model Minority Myth	0.48	0.01	1.03	0.16

Note: N= 110