

IDENTITY BUILDING OF ASIAN INDIANS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Yanti Haryanti

Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi

Fakultas Komunikasi dan Informatika Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta

Jl. A. Yani Tromol Pos 1 Kartasura – Surakarta

Posel: Yanti.Haryanti@ums.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study discusses and explains the identity building of ethnic minority in American multicultural society. Identity is not given directly as the immigrants arrived in the States, but they had to get through hurdles and adjustment. Hence the comers need to have a negotiation strategy in getting into the mainstream. The analysis is done by using the interdisciplinary approaches to view on the historical, cultural, and sociological elements of the study. The writer develops the identity theory of Sheldon Stryker to reveal the process of identity building of the Asian Indian in American society. The result of this study shows that the Asian Indian immigrants bring their culture that made themselves attractive as well as accepted by the mainstream society. Besides, the Asian Indian immigrants are the people of hard work and clever that they can easily gain success in the United States and consequently support the country in the global competitiveness. The successes of the Asian Indian immigrants have created a positive identity in the American society. Fortunately, the maneuver of being multicultural in American society today has advantaged this minority group to continue their existence.

Key Words : identity, immigrants, multicultural

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini membahas dan menjelaskan pembentukan identitas dari kelompok etnis minoritas dalam masyarakat Amerika. Identitas tidak semata diberikan kepada ara imigran yang datang ke Negara tersebut, tetapi mereka harus melalui berbagai rintangan dan adaptasi. Oleh karena itu, para pendatang membutuhkan suatu strategi negosiasi terhadap masyarakat utama. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan interdisiplin untuk menganalisis tentang elemen-elemen sejarah, budaya, dan sosiologisnya. Penulis mengembangkan teori identitas oleh Sheldon Stryker untuk mengungkap proses pembentukan identitas dari kelompok masyarakat India di Amerika ini. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa imigran dari India membawa budaya asli leluhur mereka dan membuatnya menarik di mata masyarakat utama yang kemudian menjadikan mereka diterima. Selain itu, imigran dari India berusaha untuk menjadi kelompok pekerja keras dan pandai sehingga mereka bisa dengan mudah mendapatkan kesuksesan dan sekaligus memberikan kontribusi kepada negara dalam persaingan global. Kesuksesan ini yang memunculkan identitas positif bagi imigran dari India ini. Selain itu, manuver masyarakat Amerika menjadi masyarakat yang multikultural memberikan keuntungan tersendiri bagi kelompok minoritas tersebut.

Kata kunci: identitas, imigran, multikultural

INTRODUCTION

Immigration is an important experience in American history. The immigration in the United States itself has experienced many changes in a span of time. The waves of immigration keep growing in the 18th century that Dinnerstein and Reimers name it as the old immigrants whereas the immigration comes later to the early 20th century as the new immigrants (Dinnerstein, 1982). The latter brings many more new ethnic groups in the variety of American immigrants that lasts to the second half of the 20th century that is also called the modern migration. This is where the ethnic conflicts started to appear in American society.

Including in the modern wave are the new Asian immigrants who come from most countries in Asia. In their long history of life in the United States, Asians have faced numerous challenges and hurdles in their desire to achieve the American dream. Mary Danico and Franklin Ng elaborate that from the anti-Chinese Immigration Law to the later anti-miscegenation law, Asian immigrants have experienced discrimination and antagonism from those who saw America as only being suitable for settlement by people from European descent. It was not until 1965 that all restrictions against Asian immigration were lifted (Danico, 2004). Today, their high rate of immigration makes the Asian American population one of this country's fastest growing minority groups. Asian Americans are also categorized, as U.S. Bureau defines them, by their particular country of origin, such as Chinese American, Filipino American, Japanese American, and those who come from India are referred to as Asian-Indian American.

The name or label or classification as Asian-Indian does not simply satisfy these immigrants. Social identity is not as simple as a name. In a society made up of many cultural groups, as in the United States, the intensity of ethnic identity is apt to be determined by the attitude of the members of the dominant members of the society towards the comers in their midst. This attitude, in turn, is often but not invariably dependent upon how closely the ethnic group approximates the cultural mainstream. Since then to the present, therefore, this identity is always considered to be important for the minority to survive and gain acceptance in the mainstream society.

Asian-Indians have experienced various unfairness and tensions. They are not easy in getting into the mainstream. Yet at the same time, the melting pot theory has become absolute. Many American people label the Asian-Indians unique people. Plenty cases against Asian-Indians happened in areas where they concentrated to live. In addition, problems appear within the Asian-Indian community as well. They tend to keep tightly their ancestors' traditions. Tensions also happen in the mingling with other groups in American society. Social adjustment seems to be along hard work among the Asian-Indian Americans. They also face restriction in the workplace as they are hardly able to win the top management opportunities.

In their first arrivals, Asian Indian immigrants faced unfair treatments. Most Americans called them parasites for their being sojourners for they only came to have jobs and earned for amounts of money to bring home to India. For this sake, Asian Indian immigrants in the early times in the States had to face envy, trials on exclusion, even violence. Discrimination and hatred aimed at Asian Indians in America have subsided since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which brought relatively large numbers of Asian Indians to America's shores, increasing their visibility. The Asian Indian community in the Northeast went through a very

fearful period during the 1980s. This time was not suppressed only by the whites but other ethnic groups. It was not about racism or xenophobia, but more about envy and resentment of the Asian Indian achievement and success (Daniels, 2002).

The research analyzes the phenomena of ethnicity that emerges in the United States of America. As it is often discussed recently that multiculturalism has become the newest color in American society, each group has a tendency to maintain its own identity among the mainstream. This sometimes makes new frictions, tensions, and problems. This research reveals more on the role of the ethnic group, in this case the Asian-Indians and the multiculturalism in such a way that the identity of the Asian-Indian is existed without ruining or being ruined by social construction of the American society. The problem is formulated as how the Asian-Indians build their own identity in American society.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs the interdisciplinary approach which is characterized by participation on cooperation of two or more disciplines or fields of study. This approach utilizes social science, literature, history, politics, economic structure, etc. (Gurian, 1968). The approach of sociology analyzes the Asian-Indian family and community patterns. It also analyzes the ways of adjustment of the Asian-Indian to the American social life, conflicts between Asian-Indians and American, prejudices, and so on. The economic approach is to reveal the economic efforts, discrimination, as well as the contribution of the Asian-Indians to the American development.

The interdisciplinary approach also employs the one in American Studies which opens door for inducing any problems based on micro to macro system. This means that little phenomenon can be used to describe and analyze the bigger ones and therefore, to conclude an analysis as accurately as possible can be conducted through small things (Gurian, 1968). Finally, the study of ethnicity phenomenon in American society, in this case which concern with the Asian-Indian American, can be intensively influenced by some disciplines as to understand the reasons. The process of self identification of the Asian-Indians in American society is possibly influenced by the view points of historical, anthropological, as well as sociological so that influences can describe the thorough illustration of American society.

This research applies the identity theory by Sheldon Stryker who derives from the Structural Symbolic *Interactionism* which focuses on linking social interaction to roles and elaborating the ways in which larger social structures on levels of societies and institutions both facilitate and constrain entry into positions linked to roles and so impact social interaction and the potential consequences of interaction (Stryker, 2002).

The data collecting which is employed in this research is library research focusing on the Asian-Indian ethnic group, its community in the United States, and the American multiculturalism. The data are collected randomly from many libraries. Interpretation of the collected data is conducted in the line with the approaches already stated previously and in qualitative method.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The relationship between membership in an ethnic group and the social acceptance has been studied by many sociologists. Rose concluded in his book that when the combined culture and biological traits of the ethnic group are highly divergent from those of the host society the subordination of the group will be very great, their subsystem strong, the period of assimilation long, and the processes slow and usually painful. In America, members of some ethnic groups or their ancestors may have come from a common homeland, as in the case of Italian, Irish, and Mexican Americans. Such groups were long referred to as 'nationalities'. Some ethnic group members, however, like Jews or Gypsies, joined by common traditions and experiences that cut across political boundaries, are frequently known as 'peoples' (Rose, 1997).

Group relations in the United States, as Donald Young states, cannot be distinguished by biological features, national traits, or combination of both. He proposes the term *minority*. Previously, *minority group* had been applied to sub-segments of European societies inhabited by conquered persons or those incorporated by annexation to another national group (Young, 1982). The term *minority* has been used by sociologists to refer to those groups whose members share certain racial or ethnic similarities that are considered to be different from or inferior to the traits of the dominant group and who are thereby singled out for differential and unequal treatment. Since its implementation during the early years of the Nixon presidency, the U.S. government has taken to labeling as minorities only those in specified categories: African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans (Rose, 1997).

There are Asian immigrant groups in the United States, one of which is the Indian sub-continent (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). Many of those who are from Indian origin came, or their parents came directly from the sub- continent. Others migrated from East Africa, the West Indies, Guyana, and Great Britain where their families had lived, sometimes for several years, sometimes for generations. For many years, Asian Indian spokespersons claimed that their official racial designation should be 'Caucasian', but the federal judiciary thought otherwise. Some other members of the community, however, wanted to change back to a non-Caucasian designation. Maxine Fisher, as quoted by Rose, cited 'the economic benefits to be derived from being considered non-white' as a possible reason for this. Despite the objections of many, there have been efforts to use the category 'Asian American' to lump such diverse parties as Asian Indians under the broad rubric 'Asian' in order to achieve the benefits on affirmative action programs (Rose, 1997)

To Asian Indian Americans, the desire to pursue higher education is considered as a cultural value. Higher education opens the doors to future jobs and careers. It provides the opportunities for professional success and a comfortable income in later life. Asian Indian Americans have, undoubtedly, drawn notice in this category. Eric Lai recorded that 44.1% of them have received bachelor's degrees, master's degrees, doctoral degrees, or professional degrees at the age of 25 or over. Together with the other Asian Americans, they are represented at many colleges and universities in proportions far greater than their percentage in total population of the United States. For example, at Harvard Universities in 2002, Asian Americans comprised 17% of its class of 2006, not less than 25% of who were Asian Indian Americans.

The comparison was 7% for African Americans, 7% for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics; and 1% for Native Americans (Lai, 2003).

One way of understanding how a group is doing in American society is to compare its socioeconomic status with that of other groups. For example, the statistics for family income, housing, the status of families, as well as the level of education are the ways of gauging how different ethnic groups are faring in American society. Asian Indian Americans are also heavily represented in high technology, computer, and engineering industries. For example, the 1990 census indicated that Asian Indian Americans were 23% out of the 20% Asian American scientists and engineers in Silicon Valley. In 1990s, they owned and operated over 3,00082 companies. They had sales of almost \$17 billion, which was about 25% of all the Silicon Valley companies (Lai, 2003).

Asian Indian Americans are keen on searching for American needs as requirements of acceptance for minority groups. Neutral position and independence are important requirements to keep steady in American society. This group stays distantly from American political interests, but work hard to be independent. This gives reasons to the education oriented way of living in the United States. The next generations are supposed to be tough, prosperous, and educated Asian Indian Americans. Dear says in his book about Gandhi for this inspiration. Non-cooperation and peaceful resistance were Gandhi's weapons in the fight against injustice and discrimination. In the British colonization, Gandhi put the *swadeshi* policy targeting on the Indian independence, both politically and economically (Dear, 2002).

When facing discrimination and injustice, Asian Indian Americans tend to defend calmly rather than revenge violently. There is hardly ever a criminal of Asian Indian people, meaning no significant amount of Asian Indian crimes. This group also refers to unite in communities spread out the states. Professional associations, such as Asian Indian lawyers, physicians, businessmen, etc; are held to encounter the injustice may happen to them. Therefore, Asian Indian Americans do not fight back the rude treatments but hold unity to survive all and call on non-violent resistance.

Immigrants from India in and after 1970s are smarter in searching for spaces of survival in the United States. The formers' failures become the mirror to avoid mistakes that may happen. These new Asian Indians step aside from the political zone, meaning to try as neutral as possible, but are consistent and keen on education and economic achievements. This is why Asian Indians are easier to get their dreams come true than other ethnic groups in the States. Community ties among Asian Indian Americans are proved powerful because of the spirit of togetherness without differentiating and classifying the religions and region origins. In the communities, not all members are high educated and own professional jobs. Danico notes that Asian Indian communities manage their own social security so that the number of Asian Indian Americans who receive social security benefits is not significant. This independence, then, brings about an awarding for the Asian Indians, and also Japanese and Chinese; as the model minority (Danico, 2004). Stereotype after stereotype that are given to the Asian Indian American have taught a lesson about the American likes, such as: cleverness, hard working, and independence. Being a model minority is supposed to be a compliment but many Asian Indians feel this is another encounter for minority successes. No Asian Indians can occupy the top management or the position of decision makers because there is still an imaginary limit, the glass ceiling.

Asian Indian Americans tend to grow business ownerships and run private firms. Asian Indian American's business is mostly in economy hotels and in Silicon companies. Besides, Asian Indian firms of laws, medical, and education have now spread the states. By owning businesses and firms, this minority group can have their freedom and step aside from the hierarchy. This is safer than it is in others' offices, although competition exists. In ordinary discourse, competition means personal rivalry, with one individual seeking to outdo his known competitor. In the economic world, competition means the opposite. There is no personal rivalry in the competitive market place. The essence of a competitive market is its impersonal character. All take prices as given by the market and no individual can, by himself, have more than a negligible influence on price of the goods or services though all participants together determine price by the combined effect of their separate actions (Friedman, 1982).

Thus, stereotypes by the white or other ethnic counterparts to the Asian Indian Americans are only a clue to build their own identity in the wider society. Pierre Martineau, an expert of image building, says that it is a matter of advertising a good as happens in a marketing activity. It is no longer just a neat discussion of a product's merits but basically about what someone is trying to do a create a logical situation of marketing a product. (Packard, 1971) Asian Indian Americans do not really accept what America calls them. Many members of these communities refuse the labeling, some espouse the convenience, and some others ignore it.

A. Melting Pot or Salad Bowl in American Multicultural Society

The first concept of describing American society is that of the melting pot. In this usage, society is like a pot of stew or a cauldron of porridge. All of the ingredients mix and blend together losing their identity and yield a bit of what they were to become a new reality. In this sense America can surely be seen as a melting pot where people from all over the world come to live and work together forming one nation. In such a culture there are dozens of shared symbols which serve to develop all of the various ethnic groups to create a larger unified culture. The flag, the national anthem, the Pledge of Allegiance all serve to break down the walls which isolate ethnic groups. The melting pot evokes another image; that of the colonial quilt which is made out of fragments of different material but fashioned into one blanket (Glazer, 1970).

The melting pot process has been equated with cultural assimilation and acculturation. The melting pot metaphor implies both melting of cultures and intermarriage of ethnicities, yet cultural assimilation or acculturation can also occur without intermarriage. Thus African Americans are fully culturally integrated into American culture and institutions. Yet more than a century after the abolition of slavery, intermarriage between African Americans and other ethnicities is much less common than between different white ethnicities, or between white and Asian ethnicities. Intermarriage between whites and non-whites, and especially African Americans, has long been a taboo in the United States, and was illegal in many states (Glazer, 1970). Non-white immigrants received fewer acceptances in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Asian immigrants of various other ethnic groups such as Asian Indians were ruled to be non-white and banned from marrying whites in several states where existing anti- miscegenation laws were expanded to include them (Novas, 2004).

But after a time the blend started to go bad. This is when multiculturalism imposed itself as the new recipe for western societies, looking for effective and painless solutions to get out

of the cultural impasse represented by the small-minded attitude to culture. The uniform dish has given way a colorful mixed salad where ingredients live together, each one keeping its own unique taste. In a bowl of freshly tossed salad, all the ingredients are mixed together. Yet they never lose their shape, form, and identity. Together, however, the ingredients make up a unity. In a sense, all the ingredients of a salad contribute to the finished product. They may be covered by the same dressing but the green vegetables, tomatoes, lettuce, and eggs can all be seen for what they are. From this point of view, America is very much like a salad bowl where individual ethnic groups blend together, yet maintain their cultural uniqueness. They may work together during the day at similar jobs and in identical companies, but at night they may return to their ethnic communities where the flavor of their individual culture dominates their way of life. This is why perhaps there is so much diversity within the United States. Each ethnic group has its own special interests, language, food, customs, and traditions to protect and defend. This idea of the salad bowl is referred to by sociologists as cultural pluralism. It simply means that American society is a collection of many cultures living side by side within one country (Adams, 2001).

In the multicultural approach, each ingredient retains its integrity and flavor while still contributing to a successful final product. Whether a salad bowl or a melting pot, the United States of America can be described as a mixture of both; that is to say, a nation where there is unity in diversity. According to Thomas Sowell, the mixture of unity and diversity runs through American history as through American society today. No ethnic group has been wholly unique, and yet no two are completely alike. Income, occupations, and unemployment rates differ substantially among American ethnic groups, as do rates of crime, fertility, and business ownership (Sowell, 1981).

Asian Indians in American society, in many common, put themselves in the harmony. The first comers to America brought their cultural heritage and kept it through their generations. Immigrants from India have brought with them a diverse range of cultural traditions reflecting the complex cultural and linguistic landscape of their home country. Asian Indians have preserved some of these traditions in the American setting and have adjusted their lives and customs to the host environment. Community ties have become the vehicle for the Asian Indians in maintaining their culture then coloring the host culture. Through the communities, they built their temples, the places for their religious worshiping. Eck views the raising of temples in the United States as a reflection, as well as a proof, of the new American civil society with its new religious communities and institutions. She further states that the institutions help the immigrants in empowering their ethnic identity which can even involve themselves in a larger society (Eck, 2005).

B. Identity of Asian Indian Americans

Anthropologists have most frequently employed the term *identity* to refer to the idea of selfhood in a loosely Eriksonian way properties based on the uniqueness and individuality which makes a person distinct from others. Identity became of more interest to anthropologists with the emergence of modern concerns with ethnicity and social movements in the 1970s. This was reinforced by an appreciation, following the trend in sociological thought, of the manner in which the individual is affected by and contributes to the overall social context. At the same

time, the Eriksonian approach to identity remained in force, with the result that identity has continued until recently to be used in a largely socio -historical way to refer to qualities of sameness in relation to a person's connection to others and to a particular group of people (Leary, 2003)

In sociology, social identity can also be examined from the perspective of social and historical change. Postmodern views of identity understand it as a function of historical and cultural circumstances. Some works, like that of Berger and Luckmann, argue that all aspects of social reality are actually social constructions created by historical facts. Nevertheless, they emphasize that these constructs have real consequences upon the lives and behaviors of human beings. (Cote, 2002)

Based on the identity theory as rooted in the work of George Herbert Mead, as quoted and expanded by Sheldon Stryker, the process of the individual interacting with others in order to create an identity is called *identity negotiation*. The purpose of identity negotiation is to develop a consistent set of behaviors that reinforce the identity of the person. In general, a person will have to negotiate separately on each identity he or she possesses by interacting with those who are affected by the role in question. For example, a person's identity as *office worker* would be negotiated separately from her identity as *mother*, because the collectively established role of the worker involves negotiation with co-workers, and not directly with her children (Stryker, 2002)

This study applies the identity theory which derives from the Structural Symbolic Interactionism which focuses on linking social interaction to roles and elaborating the ways in which larger social structures on levels of societies and institutions both facilitate and constrain entry into positions linked to roles and so impact social interaction and the potential consequences of interaction (Stryker, 2002). This theory offers an explanation of the choices persons make in situations in which they have the possibility of enacting alternative role-related actions. Culturally, social structure is that the values and beliefs have influenced the people and resulted in a socially patterned behavior which produces commitment. This commitment impacts identity salience that then impacts role performance. This was expanded with the idea that social structure affects commitment that is the number of relations.

In the case of Asian Indian immigrants in the United States, traditional values and spiritual beliefs are only a slight difference. The immigrants, still, bring them into the United States. Patria-chart system controls the family living. The males of the family play the primary roles while the females play smaller ones. Figure on page 31 shows the bigger number of men power in the community. Division of men and women roles, however, is very crystal. It also works well in their daily life. Although neither fathers nor sons prepare and serve the meals of the family, they work consistently to run, fund, and guard the family. Although neither mothers nor daughters remain outside for a full day, consistently they finish the home matters. This is only an example of many that can give reason to the Asian Indian character, especially the men, of being a hard worker and consistent laborer. Asian Indians in the United States are becoming keen on finding jobs and not depending on public assistance.

Besides the inspiration from Gandhi who eliminates the lowest caste as known in Hindusim, Indian religious practice. The multi religious and languages of India have taught its people to respect others as they have to understand other religions or spiritual beliefs and speak at least three Indian languages (Dear, 2002). This diversity reflects in the Asian Indian

community in America. First generation of Asian Indian immigrants continue to speak their native languages with family and friends within the community, in fact, they speak English flawlessly. Most second and third generation still understands the languages but they tend not to speak themselves. To this far, Asian Indian immigrants are understood why they behave religiously as well as respectfully in the American society (Novas, 2004)

The adjustments and adaptation of the Asian Indians to the mainstream society are more important to consider for the building of their social identity. The ways this minority group encountered the prejudices, discrimination, xenophobia, and even violence headed to them have given a trace in their interaction history during their struggling for being an 'American'. The nowadays Asian Indian immigrants always recall the failure and success of their former generation who have actually given important lessons. The political experience of Bhagat Singh Thind taught them not to force and insist a demand actively in political area. The second generation who came after 1965 changed their interest into education, and later this brought them

a great achievement. Politics tends to be avoided in the present days. And today, amalgamation between Asian Indian and American or other ethnic in the United States is no more a nightmare. Besides, yoga and vegetarianism, as the Asian Indian most well-known religious practice, are becoming a lifestyle for many people in the country, even all around the world (Danico, 2004).

CONCLUSION

Asian Indian immigrants had difficulties in establishing their own identity to be recognized as an American citizen, even when they made achievements. The Asian Indian Americans, however, are the people of hard work. Obstacles are changed to be challenges to step forward and gain success. From the first arrival, they could see and listen to what America wants and requires. To some first Asian Indian immigrants, English is not commonly spoken instead some Hindi languages. In the new land, they take courses in order to be able to communicate with other American fellows.

The next generations of Asian Indian immigrants have a very positive attitude toward education. For the most part, they consider education attained by an individual family member to bring honor for the entire family. The higher the level of education, the greater is the honor that is brought to the family. Consequently, professional jobs follow their achievements in education and result in the better income than other ethnic groups, even the white counterparts. Their special expertise in technology and the hard works have helped them in winning a big portion in the Silicon Valley industry and therefore support the United States in the global competitiveness.

This economic fulfillment is influenced mostly because the Indian culture and Hinduism teach them to work hard and gain prosperity as much as to help others, especially the unluckier members of their communities. Asian Indian social structure and the historical interaction in the United States brought about commitments which structure and affect these people from India sub continent in their relations to the mainstream society of America. The compilation of the given construction and the experiences of adjustments and interaction with America becomes the vehicle of their identity pursuing. Asian Indian Americans succeeded in

underlining the salience of their characteristics which then they apply in performing in the social stage.

Asian Indians have contributed to the American economic and global competition as well as the cultural variation in the new American society. The multicultural society imposed nowadays in the United States of America has given an advantage for this ethnic group in maintaining their culture without any doubt of irritating others or disturbing the mainstream. So, Asian Indians do not need to eliminate their old identity and Americanize themselves as long as they have abilities and strength to survive; and to avoid as being a parasite for others. This is how a multicultural society as the United States is should be.

REFERENCES

- Adams, J.Q. *Dealing with Diversity*. Chicago, IL: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 2001
- Cote, James E and Charles Levin. 2002. *Identity Formation, Agency, and Culture*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate.
- Danico, Mary Yu, and Franklin Ng. 2004. *Asian American Issues*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Daniels, Roger. 2002. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. New York: Perrenial-Harper Collins Publishers.
- Dear, John. 2002. *Mohandas Gandhi: Essential Writing*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Dinnerstein, Leonard, and David M. Reimers. 1982. *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation*. New York: Harper and Row Publisher.
- Eck, Diana L. 2005. *Amerika Baru yang Religius. Bagaimana Sebuah 'Negara Kristen' Berubah Menjadi Negara dengan Agama Paling Beragam*. Jakarta: PustakaSinar Harapan.
- Friedman, Milton. 1982. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. 1970. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge MIT Press.
- Gurian, Jay. 1968. *American Studies and the Creative Present*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lai, Eric. 2003. *Electric Dreams: APAs in Hi -Tech*. In *The New Face of Asian Pacific America*. San Francisco: AsianWeek and UCLA Asian American StudiesCenter.
- Leary, M.R., and Tangney, J.P. 2003. *Handbook of Self and Identity*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Novas, Homilce, and Lan Cao with Rosemary Silva. 2004. *Asian American History*. New York; Penguin Books USA, Inc.
- Packard, Vance. 1971. *Self-Images for Everybody*. in James Fadiman's *The Proper Study of Man*. New York: Macmillan Company.
- Rose, Peter I. 1997. *They and We. Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States*. (5th ed). New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Sowell, Thomas. *Ethnic America. A History*. 1981. New York: Basic Book, Inc. Publishers.
- Stryker, Sheldon; Owens, T.J., 2002. and White, R.W. *Self, Identity, and Social Movement*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Young, Donald. 1932. *American Minority People*. New York: Harper.