The Process of Fitting In

Generational Differences in Self-Esteem among First, 1.5, and Second-Generation Egyptians in the US

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ABSTRACT

The US is a diverse country comprised of many immigrant groups. There have been a number of studies that have focused on different immigrant groups in America (Ahmed, 2010; Barry and Grilo, 2003; Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey, 2004; Buddington, 2002; Farley et al 2005); however, there have been few studies focused on Arab immigrants (Ahmed, 2005; Barry, 2005; Faragallah, Schumm and Webb, 1997; Gaudet, Clement and Deuzeman, 2005; Hatter-Pollara and Meleis, 1995; Jamil, Nassar-McMillan and Lambert, 2007). More specifically, few studies have focused on Egyptian immigrants, particularly those that compare Egyptian immigrants to the host society. With the growing population of Egyptian immigrants after 9/11 and their second-generation offspring, it has become increasingly important to understand how the struggles of this population differ from non-immigrants (Farley et al., 2005; Hallak and Quina, 2004). This study hypothesized that US non-immigrants would experience greater individualistic attitudes and personal self-esteem and lower collective self-esteem than Egyptian immigrants. Results showed greater collectivistic attitudes and identity subscale of collective self-esteem in the Egyptian population. The potential impact of the Arab springs, particularly in increasing immigrants' ability to acculturate to the US due to feeling that life in the host society has improved their situation, is explored. Limitations and recommendations are discussed.
Keywords: Immigration, Egypt, self-esteem, Arab Spring

Introduction

The US is a nation comprised of many different ethnic groups. The number of immigrants in the US continues to rise, increasing from 28 million foreign born individuals in 2000 (Potocky-Tripodi, 2000) to approximately 39 million foreign born individuals in 2009 (Martin and Midgley, 2010). Bean and Stevens (2003) indicate that as of 2003, 22% of the total US population is comprised of immigrants. According to the 2010 US Census, the population of self-identified Arab's in the US is 1.7 million, and Egyptians comprise approximately 12% of the total Arab immigrant population in the US. New Jersey has the sixth largest population of Arab immigrants with an estimated 85,956 people (2010 US Census); this is a growth of 20% from the 2000 Census estimates (2000 US Census). This number is believed to be an under-estimate due to under-reporting, with a closer estimate being 257,868 (Arab American Institute, 2011). Within New Jersey, the majority of Arab immigrants are from Egypt; it is estimated that 21,627, or 34% of Arab immigrants in New Jersey are Egyptian (2010 US Census). New Jersey has the second largest Egyptian population, by total number of people, of the fifty states; it is second only to California, which has 27, 558 Egyptian immigrants (2010 US Census).

As the population of Egyptian immigrants grows, it becomes increasingly important to understand how they experience the process of acculturation. Acculturation can be defined as a process by which immigrant groups adopt cultural customs, ideals, ways of life, assumptions, and practices from the host culture (Buddington, 2002). They are faced with the challenge of learning to live in a new culture while holding on to their values and beliefs. The more differences that exist between the host culture and the culture of origin, the more difficult the acculturation process becomes. Within the Egyptian immigrant population, they are immigrating from a collectivistic society, a society that stresses family ties and social relationships, into an individualistic society within the US, a culture that stresses independence and personal privacy (Hatter-Pollara and Meleis, 1995; Holstede, 1984). This causes added stressors in acculturating due to significant differences in attitude between the two societies (Hatter-Pollara and Meleis, 1995).

The current study looked at self-esteem and stress levels within the Egyptian population and non-immigrant Americans to determine whether these factors are related to acculturation or life in the US.

Demographics of Egyptian Immigrants in the US

Egyptian immigrants made the journey to the US in three distinct waves, with the first wave starting in the 1890's, and the most recent wave in the late 20th century (Abudabbeh, 2005). The earlier immigrants were largely Christians with less education and were able to acculturate into the US culture easily (Abudabbeh, 2005). The later waves tended to be higher educated individuals with a greater population being Muslim immigrants. The later waves were more interested in holding on to their cultural identity and traditions, feeling the need to maintain their beliefs (Abudabbeh and Hays, 2006).

Egyptian society is considered a collectivistic society, one that emphasizes family ties and social relationships (Hatter-Pollara and Meleis, 1995; Holstede, 1984). They place significant importance on the family unit with the father being the head of the household (Abudabbeh, 2005). The society they enter upon immigrating to the US is an individualistic society, which is one that emphasizes independence and personal privacy (Hatter-Pollara and Meleis, 1995; Holstede, 1984). Seeking out individualistic pursuits, a common practice in individualistic societies is often encouraged in the US (Steinberg and Silk, 2002). Importantly, these individualist pursuits can be viewed as selfish in Egyptian culture (Abudabbeh, 2005).

The major religion of Egyptians in Egypt is Islam, comprising 90% of the population, followed by Christian, which comprises 10% of the population (CIA World Factbook, 2012). However, when looking at the Egyptian immigrant in the US, the majority is reversed, with more Egyptian immigrants identifying themselves as Christian (Arab American Institute, 2006). In a 2002 estimate, 63% of Arabs in America identified themselves as Christians (Arab American Institute, 2006). According to the Arab American Institute, 24% of Arab Americans identify themselves as Muslims.

First and Second Generation Immigrants

Research on immigrants has sought to understand the differences in the challenges faced by immigrants throughout generations (Abouguendia and Noels, 2001; Padilla, Alvarez and Lindholm, 1986). The first step to understanding these differences involves identifying the cutoffs for what defines a first generation and second-generation immigrant. Padilla and Gonzalez (2001) defined a first generation immigrant as an individual who was born in a foreign country and migrated to the US. Van Ours and Veenman (2003) defined a second-generation immigrant as an individual who was born in the host country to at least one immigrant parent or migrated to the host country before the age of six. The authors identify children under age six as second-generation because before age six, children have not yet started their education in their native country (Van Ours and Veenman, 2003). They indicated that separation from the native country after starting their education leads to significant drawbacks from migration for the children (Van Ours and Veenman, 2003). The inclusion of individuals under age six as second generation immigrants is developmentally sound, as individuals born in the US or immigrating at a young age are similar in terms of linguistic abilities, academic behaviors, and cultural assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

The term 1.5-generation refers to a third group, which falls in between first and second-generation immigrants (Portes, 1997). The 1.5-generation immigrant is an individual who was born in a foreign country and migrated to the US before adolescence. These individuals spend a part of their developmental years in their native society and a part in the US (Portes, 1997). There has been some disagreement with regards to the specific age cut-off for defining a 1.5-generation immigrant (Danico, 2004). Some studies consider 1.5-generation immigrants as those who immigrated to the US between ages 2-12 (Min and Kim, 2000; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001), while others include individuals aged 6-13 (Zhou, 1997). Particularly from ages 6-12, children are expected to learn the fundamental skills of their cultures (Newman and Newman, 2003). Furthermore, at this age they are beginning to develop increased social and cognitive abilities and the ability to recognize the differences in people (Dacey and Travers, 2002). Hurh (1990) indicates that 1.5-generation immigrants have different adaptive experiences from first generation immigrants in that the 1.5-generation immigrants have an advantage due to having social and linguistic exposure to both the US and their ethnic culture of origin.

For the current study, the three distinct groups of Egyptian immigrants that were surveyed were first, 1.5, and second-generation Egyptian immigrants. The definition of first generation immigrants utilized was similar to that used by Padilla and Gonzalez (2001) and included individuals born in Egypt who immigrated to the US after the age of 13. The definition of 1.5-generation immigrants utilized was taken from the Zhou (1997) definition and included individuals who were born in Egypt and immigrated to the US between the ages of 6-13. Lastly, the definition of second generation immigrants utilized was taken from the Von Ours and Veenman (2003) definition and included individuals who were born in the US to at least one first generation parent, or individuals who immigrated to the US prior to the age of six.

Self–esteem

Research has considered the concept of self-esteem may be a Western concept, which is only relevant in individualistic societies and has less relevance in collectivistic societies, which have an interdependent construal of self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Current research has identified self-esteem to be a relevant concept across cultures, with differences evident in whether the individual is higher on the worthiness or competence components of self-esteem (Sheldon, Elliot, Kim and Kasser, 2001; Tafarodi and Swann, 1996). Mruk (2006) defined self-esteem as, "…the lived status of one's competence at dealing with the challenges of living in a worthy way over time" (p. 28). This definition identifies self-esteem as having both a competence and a worthiness component, which are both identified as essential to an understanding of one's self-esteem (Mruk, 2006). Garcia and Sanches (2009) further break down self-esteem as personal self-esteem and collective self-esteem. They define personal self-esteem as feelings of self-worth due to personal characteristics, and collective self-esteem as feelings of self-worth derived from memberships in one's social groups (Garcia and Sanchez, 2009).

Noh and Avison (1996) found that self-esteem is strongly correlated with both current stress and prior stressful experiences. As previously discussed, being an immigrant can lead to increased stress due to differences in the host and native cultures (Heras and Revilla, 1994); therefore, it would follow that immigrant children have lower self-esteem (Rumbaut, 1994). Furthermore, research has found that second generation immigrant children have lower personal self-esteem than 1.5 generation immigrants, which may be due to lower ethnic identity in the second generation immigrants (Abouguendia and Noels, 2001; Heras and Revilla, 1994; Smokowski et al., 2009). Additionally Ghazarian, Supple, and Plunkett (2008) found higher self-esteem and academic motivation and decreased self-degradation in second-generation children who embrace the collectivistic values of their families. On the other hand, second generation immigrants whose attitudes were contrary to their parents' expectations experienced decreased self-esteem (Ghazarian, Supple and Plunkett, 2008). Interestingly, the authors also found that behaviorally conforming to family traditions was correlated with increased self-degradation, which they related to the second-generation immigrant feeling out of place around their non-immigrant peers (Ghazarian et al., 2008).

Previous research has found that immigrants who experience a perception of discrimination have lower levels of self-esteem (Gaudet, Clement and Deuzeman, 2005). Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, and Herman (2006) found that only perceived personal discrimination was linked to lower self-esteem; perceived group discrimination was not found to have an effect on self-esteem. In their study with East Asian immigrants, Barry and Grilo (2003) found that those immigrants with perceived group discrimination were more likely to have lower public collective self-esteem while those who perceived personal discrimination were more likely to have lower overall collective self-esteem (Barry and Grilo, 2003). Verkuyten (1988) found that for ethnic minorities, perceived discrimination from family was associated with lower self-esteem, but in the non-immigrant Dutch adolescents, perceived discrimination of friends and teachers was correlated with low self-esteem.

Acculturation has been found to affect an Arab immigrant's self-esteem (Flaskerud and Uman, 1996). Barry (2005) conducted a study looking at the effects of acculturation on Arab male immigrants. The author found that those who have acculturated in the new culture (integrated with

Americans) have higher levels of independent self-esteem. On the other hand, those who have little acculturation in the new culture (separation from Americans), have higher levels of collective self-esteem. Nesdale and Mak (2003) looked at psychological consequences of immigration in immigrants from Hong Kong, Vietnam, Bosnia, Sri Lanka, and New Zealand, to Australia. The authors identified self-efficacy and level of education as the greatest predictors of personal self-esteem and identification with the individuals' native culture as the greatest predictor of collective self-esteem (Nesdale and Mak, 2003). Furthermore, they found that increased identification with the individuals' native culture led to decreased personal self-esteem, which was associated with increased psychological distress (Nesdale and Mak, 2003). Therefore, their results showed that attachment to native culture increased collective self-esteem but served to decrease personal self-esteem (Nesdale and Mak, 2003). Yu and Berryman (1996) found higher personal self-esteem to be associated with more positive evaluation of the individual's ethnic group and a sense of being a good member of their ethnic group in first generation Chinese immigrants. When comparing first and second generation immigrants, Lay and Verkuyten (1999) also found support for increased personal self-esteem being correlated with a more positive view of the native culture in first generation Chinese immigrants. Within the second-generation immigrant group, they found collective and personal self-esteem to be unrelated (Lay and Verkuyten, 1999).

Barrett, Sonderegger and Sonderegger (2002), in a study comparing Chinese and Yugoslavian second-generation immigrants to Australian natives in Australia, found that the Chinese immigrants had the lowest level of acculturation due to having the greatest differences between their culture and the Australian society. The Yugoslavian immigrants displayed the greatest amount of biculturalism, which led to increased cultural adjustment and decreased psychological distress compared to the Chinese immigrants. Furthermore, the Yugoslavian immigrants had greater self-esteem compared to the Chinese immigrants. However, both the Chinese and Yugoslavian immigrants had lower self-esteem than the Australian natives, which the authors indicate may be due to experiences of acculturative stress and cultural devaluation, as they are struggling with their ethnic identity development (Barrett et al., 2002). Gul and Kolb (2009), in their study of Turkish immigrants in Germany identified predictors of good adaptation to be bilingualism, bicultural identity, being born in the host country, and being a second-generation immigrant. Alternatively, poor adaptation was related to dominance of ethnic culture and language and being born outside of the host country (Gul and Kolb, 2009).

Schnittker (2002) was looking at the effects of acculturation on self-esteem in Chinese first generation immigrants to the US. The author compared the level self-esteem in individuals who currently spoke Chinese dominantly, English dominantly, or spoke English and Chinese equally. The author found that individuals who spoke English dominantly had the highest measures of personal self-esteem (Schnittker, 2002). Interestingly, he found that speaking both English and Chinese equally did not lead to a significant increase in self-esteem when compared to dominant Chinese speaking individuals. These findings shed light on the possibility that becoming more bicultural may not always be the most adaptive for the immigrant; as in this study, the bicultural immigrants who spoke both languages did not experience an increase in their personal self-esteem (Schnittker, 2002). In addition, Schnittker found that income, longer time of stay, and education were positively correlated with self-esteem. Lastly, the author found that perceived friend support significantly increased the level of self-esteem. Flaskerud and Uman (1996) were also looking at the effects of acculturation on self-esteem, specifically in Latina women. The authors found that

increased acculturation was correlated with higher levels of self-esteem. The effects of education on self-esteem were also found to be significant (Flaskerud andUman, 1996). In addition, Flaskerud and Uman found that social support, marital status, and religion intervene with the level of acculturation, leading to positive effects on self-esteem.

Self-esteem in Egyptian immigrants has not been previously studied. While research has compared the host society to some immigrant groups, there is no research comparing the Egyptian immigrant's self-esteem with that of the non-immigrant US population. The current research compared measures of both collective and personal self-esteem in the Egyptian population with the non-immigrant US population.

Rationale and Hypotheses for the Study

Purpose

The present research compared stress and personal and collective self-esteem of first, 1.5, and second-generation immigrants to the non-immigrant host society. This study is important because previous research has not examined the effects of acculturation on the self-esteem and stress levels of Egyptian immigrants compared to the non-immigrant host society. With growing numbers of Egyptian immigrants coming to America, and the growing numbers of their second generation offspring, it is becoming more important to understand how the struggles of the Egyptian immigrant differ from the host society in order to identify the needs of this population in psychology and counseling.

Hypotheses

The study assessed the following hypotheses:

(1) Non-immigrant Americans will have higher individualistic attitudes than Egyptian immigrants.
(2) Egyptian immigrants will have higher levels of collective self-esteem and lower levels of personal self-esteem compared to non-immigrant Americans.

Methodology

Participants

Participants for the study were first, 1.5 and second generation Egyptian Immigrants living in New Jersey. The definition of first generation immigrants utilized included individuals born in Egypt who immigrated to the US after the age of 13 (Padilla and Gonzalez, 2001). The definition of 1.5-generation immigrants utilized included individuals who were born in Egypt and immigrated to the US between the ages of 6-13 (Zhou, 1997). Lastly, the definition of second generation immigrants utilized included individuals who were born in the US to at least one first generation parent, or individuals who immigrated to the US prior to the age of six (Von Ours andVeenman, 2003).

Participants were Christian and Muslim immigrants who were born in Egypt, or who were born in the US and have at least one parent who was born in Egypt. Egyptian participants were compared to US born non-immigrant Americans, who were also living in New Jersey. The participants were recruited from Churches and Mosques throughout New Jersey. Places of faith were utilized due to the large percentage of Egyptian immigrants who identify as religious. All participants were volunteers and were entered into a drawing for one of two $50 checks as incentive for participation in the study.

A total of 233 participants began the study online. There were seven participants who declined to participate, and 40 participants who did not complete the survey. This left a total of 193 participants, which were broken down into 47 first-generation (24%), 45 1.5 generation (23%), 52 second-generation (27%), and 49 (25%) non-immigrant participants. The study required at least 45 participants in each group, which was decided based on Cohen's power analysis (Cohen, 1992). In total, there were 95 male (49%) and 98 female (51%) participants. There were 25 male (53%) and 22 female (47%) first-generation, 24 male (53%) and 21 female (47%) 1.5 generation, 19 male (37%) and 33 female (63%) second generation, and 27 male (55%) and 22 female (45%)non-immigrant American participants. Participants ranged in age from 18-70 (Mean =32.58; SD = 13.06) and had at least a basic understanding of English as determined by participant self-report. Egyptian participants who were born in Egypt immigrated between 3-42 years ago (Mean= 15.72; SD= 7.86) (See Table 1). They ranged in age from 1-43 years old at time of immigration (Mean=16.85; SD= 10.75). In total, there were 104 Christian participants (53.8%), 28 Muslim participants (14.5%), Coptic/Catholic participants (28%), and 6 participants who indicated "Other" (3.1%).

Measures

The three groups of Egyptian immigrant (first, 1.5, and second generation) participants were given 3 questionnaires to measure personal self-esteem, collective self-esteem, and degree of individuation/collectivism. Participants were also given a demographic survey asking their gender, age, where they were born, when they immigrated to America, where their parents were born, how they identify themselves ethnically, and their religious preference. Additional items that were considered for the demographic survey included educational status, income, and reason for immigration. These items were not included in the current study due to the finding by Azab (2008) that the Egyptian participants were very uncomfortable by these questions, and found them to be too personal. Azab indicates that the participants became paranoid by the questions, wanting to know why the researcher needed this information and what she was going to do with the responses. These paranoid feelings come from the true experiences of discrimination that the Arabs have experienced post 9/11 (Hallak and Quina, 2004). Therefore, because the specific hypotheses addressed in the current study did not require knowledge of education, income, and reason for immigration, they were left out of the current study.

The non-immigrant US participants received the same assessments. The non-immigrant US participants were given the individuation/collectivism scale in order to identify the individualistic/collectivistic attitudes of these participants. Additionally, the non-immigrant US participants also received the same demographic survey.

Individuation

To measure degree of individuation, the Auckland Individualism Collectivism Scale was used (AICS; Shulruf, Hattie and Dixon, 2007). This is a 20-item scale that measures an individuals' degree of individualism and collectivism through five subscales (Neuliep, 2012; Shulruf et al., 2007). Individualism is comprised of three subscales: Competition (striving for personal goals is one's primary interest), Uniqueness (distinction of the self from others), and Responsibility (acknowledging one's responsibility for one's actions; Neuliep, 2012; Shulruf et al., 2007). Collectivism is comprised of two subscales: Advice (seeking advice from people close to one) and Harmony (seeking to avoid conflict; Neuliep, 2012; Shulruf et al., 2007).

Questions are rated on a 5-point scale with 1 being "never" and 5 being "always." The factors are measured by adding the items related to each factor (Neuliep, 2012). To calculate the total individualism score, combine the total of the 12 items from the competition, uniqueness and responsibility subscales for a total score between 12 and 60. Scores that are greater than 45 indicate preference for individualism.

To calculate the total collectivism score, combine the total of the 8 items from the advice and harmony subscales for a total score between 8 and 40. Scores that are greater than 30 indicate preference for collectivism. Both individualism and collectivism scores are calculated for each participant. The estimates of reliability for each subscale are: advice (α=.90), harmony (α=.50), total collectivism (α=.76) competition (α=.51), uniqueness (α=.97), and responsibility (α=.86), and total individualism (α=.80) (Shulruf et al., 2011). Discriminant validity was found for the AICQ by measuring individualism and collectivism across different cultural groups (Shulruf et al., 2007).

Factor analysis provided evidence for the five first-order factors of advice, harmony, competition, uniqueness, and responsibility, and two second-order factors of total collectivism and individualism (Shulruf et al., 2011). While there was originally an additional subscale under collectivism, it did not load onto the model in the goodness of fit test and was removed (Shulruf et al., 2011).

Reliabilities were calculated for the Egyptian and Non-immigrant host society in the present study. Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the Egyptian population were as follows: advice (α=.75), harmony (α=.58), total collectivism (α=.65) competition (α=.86), uniqueness (α=.90), and responsibility (α=.75), and total individualism (α=.84). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the non-immigrant host society were as follows; advice (α=.51), harmony (α=.69), total collectivism (α=.60) competition (α=.77), uniqueness (α=.83), and responsibility (α=.64), and total individualism (α=.77). The low Cronbach's alphas found in this scale in the present study and in the original scale may have an impact on the results, by resulting in low reliability, indicating that the scale may not be assessing what it is intended.

Self-esteem

To measure self-esteem, the Self-Liking/Self-Competence Scale-Revised was used (SLCS-R; Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). This is a 16-item scale, which measures self-esteem based on the two dimensions: worthiness (self-liking) and competence (self-competence; Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). Questions are rated on a 5-point scale with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree." Separate scores are calculated for self-liking and self-competence. Scores for each subscale range from 8 to 40, with higher scores indicative of greater self-liking/self-competence (Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). The coefficient alpha for internal reliability for the self-liking subscale was α=.90 for both males and females, and the self-competence subscale was α=.83 for females and α=.82 for males (Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). Discriminant validity data was calculated by comparing the measures of self-liking and self-competence from different raters and was found to be significant at P=0.01, showing the measure to be both reliable and valid (Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). Factorial analysis provided evidence for the two factor model of self-esteem, showing that a model with both self-competence and self-liking provided better fit (Tafarodi and Swann, 2001). Reliabilities were calculated for the Egyptian and Non-Immigrant host society in the present study. Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the Egyptian population were as follows; self-liking subscale (α=.81) and self-competence subscale (α=.60). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the non-immigrant host population were as follows: self-liking subscale (α=.91) and self-competence subscale (α=.55).

Collective Self-Esteem

To measure collective self-esteem, the Collective Self-Esteem Scale was used (CSE; Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992). The CSE Scale measures an individuals' self-concept in terms of their social group membership. It is a 16-item questionnaire with 4 subscales: Membership, Private, Public, and Identity. Items are measured on a 7-point Likert type scale, with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 7 being "strongly agree." Each subscale score is calculated by adding the total of the four items from each subscale, then dividing by four. Therefore, each subscale has its own score. The coefficient alpha reliability was about .85 for the whole scale.

The item-total correlation for the subscales ranged from .45 to .66, and for the total scale the item-total correlation ranged from .37 to .59. The test-retest reliability is .68 for the total scale (Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992). Validity between the CSE Scale and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale was moderate, with the highest correlation found for the Membership subscale because this subscale is closest to personal self-esteem; it was found to be r = .42 (Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992). Factor analysis confirmed four first-order factors, and a second-order general collective self-esteem factor (Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992). Reliabilities were calculated for the Egyptian and Non-Immigrant host society in the present study. Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the Egyptian population were as follows: Membership (α=.75), Private (α=.75), Public (α=.63), and Identity (α=.48). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for the non-immigrant host population were as follows; Membership (α=.80), Private (α=.84), Public (α=.84), and Identity (α=.76).

Procedure

This study was part of a larger study being completed as the author's dissertation. The researcher asked the Pastor/Imam of each church or Islamic center to make an announcement about the study and its rationale. The leader of each church or Islamic center was given a letter informing him of the study to obtain permission to recruit participants from the church or Islamic center.

Volunteers were directed to the Survey Monkey website, where they completed the assessments on the computer. The participants were told that the purpose of the study is to investigate stress. The survey started with a participant letter and a demographic survey. The three scales included were the AICS, the SLCS, and the CSE. These scales were placed in random order to control for order and fatigue effects. Once participants completed the questionnaires, a debriefing paragraph appeared as the last page of the survey monkey questionnaire, and to provide the participants additional information about the study.

The Egyptian community tends to be tight knit due to their collectivistic tendencies. The closeness between the Egyptian community tends to go beyond religious differences. Therefore, Christian, Muslim, and Coptic Egyptians tend to form bonds in an effort to maintain their culture. Furthermore, the researchers' father is a prominent minister in New Jersey. As such, many of the participants had familiarity with the researcher. The questionnaires were made available to individuals online to ensure that they remained anonymous to the researcher. Therefore, the participants were all anonymous to the researcher, but the researcher was not anonymous to many of the participants. The researcher made the questionnaires known to individuals through the use of the ministers and the flyers in order to ensure that the participants did not feel coerced to complete the questionnaires.

Due to the lack of anonymity of the researcher to the participants, a number of participants informed the researcher when they had completed the questionnaires, and provided comments regarding areas of confusion or difficulty regarding the assessments. The specific comments will be discussed in the discussions section of this document as they apply.

Results

To test the hypotheses, a one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance was performed to investigate differences between Egyptians and non-immigrant Americans in individualistic attitudes, collective self-esteem, and personal self-esteem. Ethnicity was utilized as the independent variable. Total individualism, total collectivism the self-liking and self-competence subscales of the SLSC and the membership, private, public, and identity subscales of CSES were the dependent variables. There was a statistically significant difference between Egyptian's and non-immigrant American's in the combined dependent variables: $F_{(8, 184)} = 4.924$, $p < .001$; Wilkes $\lambda = .824$; Partial Eta Squared=.176. When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately, the collective self-esteem subscale of identity ($F_{(1,191)} = 20.330$, $p < .001$, Partial Eta squared=.096) and total collectivism ($F_{(1,191)} = 15.384$, $p < .001$, Partial eat squared=.075) reached statistical significance.

To identify whether there where generational differences between the non-immigrant American participants and the Egyptian immigrants, a one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance was performed between generational differences and personal and collective self-esteem and individualistic and collectivistic attitudes. Generation was the independent variable, and total individualism, total collectivism, the self-liking and self-competence subscales of the SLSC and the membership, private, public, and identity subscales of CSES were the dependent variables. There was a statistically significant difference between the three generational groups of Egyptians and non-immigrant American's on the combined dependent variables: $F (18, 520)$ $=2.338$, $p=.001$; Wilks' Lambda=.803; Partial Eta Squared=.071.

When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately, the collective self-esteem subscale of identity ($F (3,189) =7.432$, $p<.001$, Partial Eta squared=.106) and total collectivism ($F (3,189) =5.259$, $p=.002$, Partial Eta squared=.077) reached statistical significance (See Appendix A, Table 6, Page 68). The key post hock tests were performed on the two significant dependent variables to identify which groups had significantly different means (see Table 7). Total collectivism was significantly different between American non-immigrants and each of the three Egyptian groups: first generation ($p=.032$), 1.5 generation ($p=.008$), and second generation ($p=.003$). The identity subscale of collective self-esteem was also significantly different between American non-immigrants and each of the three Egyptian groups: first generation ($p<.001$), 1.5 generation ($p=.026$), and second generation ($p=.001$).

Discussion

The current study hypothesized that Non-immigrant Americans would engage in higher individualistic attitudes and personal self-esteem due to being an individualistic society, and the Egyptian immigrants would engage in higher collectivistic attitudes and have greater collective self-esteem due to being from a collectivistic society. These results were expected due to the work of Holsteade (1984) and Hatter-Pollara and Meleis (1995), who identify the Egyptian society as a collectivistic society, which has collectivistic attitudes, and the US society as an individualistic society, which is guided by individualistic pursuits. Additionally, the personal self-esteem was expected to be higher in the non-immigrant Americans due to the results of a study by Barrett, Sondereggar, and Sondereggar (2002) in which they found the natives of the host society experienced greater measures of self-esteem than the immigrant groups. Furthermore, the work of Ghazarian, Supple, and Plunkett (2008) identified greater self-esteem in immigrants with greater collectivistic attitudes. Additionally, collective self-esteem was expected to be higher in the immigrant population due to coming from a collectivistic society (Hatter-Pollara and Meleise, 1995).

The hypotheses were partially confirmed. An investigation of the individualistic/collectivistic attitude measures between the two groups shows a statistically significant difference in total collectivistic attitudes between the Egyptians and the non-immigrant Americans such that the Egyptians had higher measures of collectivistic attitudes. These results confirm the hypothesis that collectivistic attitudes will be greater in the Egyptian population. A review of the means for individualistic attitudes shows that there was not a significant difference in individualistic attitudes between the non-immigrant Americans and the Egyptians. This may be due to the fact that the sample in the current study has been living in the US for over 10 years, so it may

be that they have adapted individualistic attitudes, which are no longer significantly different from their non-immigrant American counterparts. Therefore, within the Egyptian population, it may be that they continue to hold their collectivistic views, while adapting more individualistic views, finding a balance between focus on the family and focus on the self.

A breakdown of the comparison of collectivistic views in Egyptians and non-immigrant Americans by the three Egyptian generational groups shows that total collectivism is significantly higher in all three groups when compared to the non-immigrant American participants. There is no statistical difference between the Egyptian generational groups. This indicates that between the generations, the collectivistic attitudes were consistent. Therefore, within the Egyptian population, the second-generation offspring are taking on the collectivistic views of their parents, which is an important characteristic of the Egyptian culture. This shows that the importance of family is a cultural aspect that has been passed on, and continues to be of importance to Egyptian individuals who are not born in Egypt.

The second hypothesis, which focused on comparison of personal and collective self-esteem between the non-immigrant American and the Egyptian immigrant population, was partially confirmed. Results showed a significant difference between the two groups in the identity subscale of collective self-esteem. The identity subscale of CSES specifically assessed the importance of one's social groups' memberships to one's self-concept. Based on the finding that collectivistic attitudes were significantly higher in the Egyptian participants, it would follow that their self-concept and identity would be more greatly connected to their membership to their social group. An exploration of generational differences indicates that each of the three Egyptian generational groups used in this study and scored significantly higher on the identity subscale of collective self-esteem.

The hypothesis was not confirmed for differences in personal self-esteem between the Egyptian and non-immigrant American population. These results may indicate that there is no difference in the measures of personal self-esteem between Egyptian and non-immigrant American participants. Furthering the finding that the Egyptian and non-immigrant participants did not have significantly different measures of individualism, it may be that the Egyptian immigrants have developed increased individualistic attitudes, which contribute to an increased tendency to emphasize individualistic pursuits, leading to a greater measure of personal self-esteem. Further exploration of personal self-esteem between the Egyptian and non-immigrant participants is needed to identify whether the personal self-esteem within the two groups is in differentiable due to increases in individualistic attitudes.

Additionally, some of the immigrants may have had some difficulty with understanding some of the items on the self-esteem scales. In sum, the SLSC and the CSES have not been utilized with the Egyptian immigrant population, so these measures may have some issues with construct validity within the target population. A few of the participants noted to the examiner that they felt like the questions on the SLSC in particular were repetitive, stating, "They kept asking me the same thing." Additionally, while the participants were asked to have a basic understanding of English, a number later indicated that they did not understand what was meant by "devalue myself," reading and interpreting it as "value myself" because it was the closest interpretation they understood. With

the CSES, a few participants indicated that they were not fully sure what the scale meant by social groups, which may have caused inconsistency while they were completing the scale.

As these results are explored, it is important to consider what is currently occurring in Egypt at the present time. The Arab Spring is the term that has been coined to describe the revolutions and protests, which have been occurring in the Arab world (Arab Spring, 2012). In Egypt, the Arab Spring began on January 25, 2011 and has resulted in a series of protests, which have aimed at changing the political regime in the country (Anderson, 2011). This revolution, which began over a year and a half ago, is still underway; with the most resent protest being on June 19, 2012 (Karim and Kirkpatrick, 2012) as the people of Egypt continue to fight for a true democracy (Chick, 2012). The experiences of the Egyptian people within Egypt are sure to have impacted the Egyptian immigrants within the US. When President Mubarak, the last president of Egypt, resigned on February 11, 2011, the Egyptian Americans felt a mix of emotions for their native country (Haq, 2011). The Egyptian Americans felt joy and hope for Egypt but also felt concern and worry for what might be ahead (Haq, 2011).

It is possible that the Arab Spring may have led to an increase in feelings of satisfaction and decreased feelings of stress regarding life in the US among the Egyptian immigrants. They may be looking at the struggles experienced by their native country and, in perspective, feeling like the freedoms they have in the US are worthy of feeling satisfied and acculturating to life in the new culture. This would help to explain the majority of participants endorsing either assimilated or integrated acculturation styles, while a small few endorsed separated acculturation styles. As the Arab Spring is a relatively new concept, and the Egyptian revolution is still underway, there has not been research that has explored the effect of the Arab Spring on Egyptian immigrants. The impact of the Arab Spring on the Egyptian immigrant is a topic that warrants research to identify how strongly they are influenced by the struggles of their native country.

The results of this study highlight some important considerations in working with the Egyptian population. Most importantly, the Egyptian individuals are a strongly collectivistic society that values and places a strong importance on family and culture. These collectivistic attitudes continue on to the second-generation offspring of the Egyptian immigrant. As such, it is imperative that clinicians working with this population have openness to collectivistic attitudes and to including family and culture in the work.

The Egyptian's culture is strongly wrapped in religious beliefs, so the clinician needs to have openness to discussing religion with the individual. Due to the experiences of discrimination and perceived discrimination (Hallak and Quinna, 2004) as well as the tendency of the Egyptian to keep mental health issues within the family (Ahmed and Readdy, 2007), it will be difficult for the Egyptian individual to make the decision to attend counseling (Nasser-McMillan and Hakim-Larson, 2003). In effect, deciding to attend counseling is a decision that the Egyptian client has struggled with, and finally allowed themselves to take that step. Making this difficult decision, and then finding themselves with a clinician who is not sensitive to their collectivistic attitudes, leads to difficulty forming a relationship between the client and therapist, and will prove to the client that therapy is not beneficial, causing them to continue to struggle without the help they need (Nasser-McMillan and Hakim-Larson, 2003). Therefore, it is our duty as clinicians to understand the needs

of this special population, and to ensure that we are able to identify with their collectivistic nature before agreeing to take them on as clients.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of this study is that the study was conducted using Egyptian participants who have immigrated to the US and to the state of New Jersey in particular. This might mean lower generalization to Egyptian immigrants in other states and/or among those who immigrate to other countries. Furthermore, the questionnaires used have not been tested on this population, so there may be some problems with reliability and validity within this population. Furthermore, some of the subscales in the assessments utilized had weak Cronbach's alpha. This is particularly true for the AICS scale. The low reliabilities may indicate that the scale is not assessing what it claims to be assessing. This may have contributed to the lack of significance in individualistic attitudes between the Egyptians and non-immigrant American participants. It is recommended that the AICS scale be reassessed in order to improve the Cronbach's alphas and ensure that the scale is truly testing what it is intended to measure.

In addition to this, some of the immigrants who have recently come to the US may have a weak understanding of English and may not properly understand the wording of some of the questions being asked. Although the study required a basic understanding of English, individuals completed the questionnaires online in the absence of the examiner, and their measures of English proficiency were identified by self-report. Therefore, there may have been some participants whose difficulties understanding English led to struggles with accurate survey completion. A recommendation for future research would be to begin with a pilot study in order to illuminate difficulties in language prior to data collection.

Another possible limitation is that the Egyptian population combined three sample groups (first generation, 1.5 generation, and second generation), while the non-immigrant group was just one sample group. This caused an imbalance in the sample size of the two groups being compared in some of the hypotheses, with Total Egyptians=144 versus Total American=49. If the sample of non-immigrant Americans were increased to 144 with similar results, then total individualism would be significantly different between the two groups. It is recommended that future research replicate the study with equal numbers of Egyptian and non-immigrant American participants in order to identify whether there will be greater statistical significance in the differences between the two groups.

It is suggested that future research be conducted to insure that the relationship found between ethnicity and collectivistic attitudes is replicable. With self-esteem, it is recommended that a scale that allows for a measure of overall personal and overall collective self-esteem be utilized to identify if looking at the construct as a whole would show increased significance when the differences in Egyptian immigrants and non-immigrant American's are explored. Furthermore, it is recommended that the assessments be made available in paper format to allow for individuals to take the questionnaires in the presence of the examiner if they are unsure of some of the items.

As has been discussed throughout the document, a number of participants struggled with understanding components of the questionnaires due to language barriers. Therefore, it would be

recommended that the questionnaires be translated and back translated into Arabic to improve the likelihood that the participants will indeed understand the items.

The current study did not have a large number of Muslim participants complete the study, so an exploration of religious differences was not possible. It is recommended that this study be done using a larger population of Muslim participants in order test for differences between the religious groups. Because the Muslim immigrants are entering the US as a minority religious group, it could be expected that they would experience increased stress levels and decreased self-esteem when compared to the Christian participants.

Lastly, while the current study specifically emitted educational and economic status, as well as reasons for immigration, these factors may have impact on the ability to acculturate, stress levels and self-esteem of the individuals. While it would be difficult to gather a large number of participants due to their hesitations with responding to such questions (Azab, 2008), it would be recommended that these questions be added to a demographic survey to identify their impact on the test variables. This can be done by translating the survey into Arabic and assuring the participants that their results will be completely confidential and cannot be linked to them in any way. Despite these precautions, researchers should keep in mind that gathering this data will still cause hesitation in the Egyptian participants (Azab, 2008).

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