Research and Theory

Cultural Values and Racial Identity Attitudes Among Asian American Students: An Exploratory Investigation

Christine J. Yeh, Robert T. Carter, and Alex L. Pieterse

The content and structure of cultural value orientations were investigated in a group of Asian American undergraduate and graduate students. Cultural value differences were influenced by the participant's gender and racial identity status. Findings suggest a strong preference for distinct cultural value orientations that reflect both traditional Asian and European American cultural values. Implications for counseling and future research are addressed.

Cultural values have been long recognized as influencing the interactional styles and behaviors of various cultural groups (Carter, 1991; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). Counselors and counselor educators, in particular, have used the Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961) model of value orientations to identify and examine further the role of cultural values in mental health theory, practice, and research (Carter, 1991; Ibrahim, 1991; D. W. Sue & Sue, 1999).

Although numerous theorists have described the importance of recognizing and understanding Asian American cultural values (for examples, see Bracero, 1996; Dhooper & Tran, 1987; Gorman, 1998; Ho, 1998; S. Sue & Okazaki, 1990), there are a limited number of empirical studies (e.g., Chiu & Kosinski, 1994; Chu, Hayashi, & Akuto, 1995; Garrott, 1995) and even fewer specific studies identifying and recognizing the uniqueness of Asian cultural values (see Kim et al., 1999). Despite differences across ethnic groups, existing conceptual models assume that all Asian Americans share a common ancestry and socialization and, hence, have a unique set of identifiable cultural values. Our study is the first to examine the content and structure, as well as differences associated with gender and racial identity status, of cultural values in a sample of Asian Americans. Understanding the relationship among Asian cultural values, gender, and racial identity will inform counselor training in working with Asian Americans.

Asian cultural values have been assumed to undergird numerous psychological processes, behaviors, and attitudes of both Asians and Asian
Americans. For example, Asian cultural values have been associated with therapeutic intervention and case conceptualization (Bracero, 1996), academic achievement (S. Sue & Okazaki, 1990), career interests (Haeverkamp, Collins, & Hansen, 1994), family dynamics (R. M. Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000), social relations (Lu, 1998), coping (Yeh & Wang, 2000), counselor cultural sensitivity (Kim et al., 1999), help seeking and problem perception (Tracey, Glidden, & Leong, 1986), counseling attitudes (Leong, Wagner, & Kim, 1995), and counselor preferences (Atkinson, Wampold, Lowe, Matthews, & Ahn, 1998).

In particular, contradicting cultural values among Asian Americans have frequently been used to explain the patterns of Asian Americans' underutilization of mental health services (Atkinson, Lowe, & Matthews, 1995; Bui & Takeuchi, 1992). Specifically, the individualistic styles in Western counseling practices (Yeh & Hwang, 2000) tend to conflict with the collectivistic coping preferences that emphasize using social support systems (Solberg, Choi, Ritsma, & Jolly, 1994; Yeh & Wang, 2000). The strong conceptual and growing empirical link between Asian American values and the delivery of culturally sensitive mental health services underscores the need for increased counseling research, practice, and theory in this critical area.

Previous research and theory on Asian cultural values have often focused on describing Asians only in comparison with White Americans. For example, White American "individualistic" values emphasize autonomy and separateness from others, and Asian "collectivistic" values highlight connectedness and relatedness to important social networks (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). We sought to broaden the current understanding of specific Asian values by examining particular representative worldviews that do not rely on a White American comparison group as a normative standard.

According to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), basic values are core concepts that combine cognitive, conative, and affective elements. These elements are influenced by the sociocultural environment, which may lead to individuals differing in how they manifest these elements. The concept of value orientations extends beyond basic values to include existential elements. Cultural groups develop cognitions, emotions, and tendencies from their beliefs about the world and life and form existential propositions (Carter & Helms, 1990b). Value orientations or worldviews (see D. W. & Sue, 1999) are considered to be culturally specific systems or perspectives for understanding the world. Although the inevitability of within-group differences is acknowledged, some general homogeneity across cultural worldviews allows for direct empirical investigation and highlights broader cultural orientations.

The current theoretical literature on Asian values illuminates particular cultural worldviews that offer a foundation for our research investigation. Specifically, Asians are often characterized as relational, interdependent, or collectivistic, a characterization that contributes to a strong cultural emphasis on maintaining social harmony (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Moreover, such an emphasis on relationships contributes to notions of self and social relationships that focus primarily on the group as a basis for understanding experience (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Finally, Asian values that emphasize harmony extend beyond social harmony to include harmony between people and nature (D. W. Sue & Sue, 1999).
Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) offered a model of value orientations that may inform how an individual understands Asian American cultural values. They asserted that individuals across races must address five common existential issues, each with three potential solutions or alternatives (see Table 1). The five shared problems are as follows: (a) What is the character of human nature? (b) What is the person–nature relationship? (c) What is the proper temporal focus? (d) What is the proper manner of human activity? (e) What is the proper focus of social relations? The answers to these questions determine and represent particular cultural value orientations.

Previous researchers have examined adaptations of the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) model to explain how the value orientations of a particular group may have unique patterns or value structures that may be understood within the context of a specific group without comparing them with the value structures of some other or normative group (Carter & Helms, 1987; Carter & Parks, 1992); however, none of these studies used samples of Asian Americans. We investigated the value orientation solutions that Asian Americans tend to endorse and how these patterns of cultural values related to various racial identity statuses.

We assert that racial identity theory (see Carter, 1995; Helms, 1990; Thompson & Carter, 1997) can help to explain within-group variability among Asian cultural values. According to Helms's (1995) People of Color model, individuals from various racial groups progress through five statuses: Conformity, Dissonance, Resistance, Internalization, and Integrative Awareness. In the Conformity status, individuals rely on White society for self-definition and have negative attitudes about their own racial group. In the Dissonance status, individuals feel conflicted and confused about the relevance and meaning of their own racial group. In the third status, Resistance, individuals actively reject White society and idealize and immerse themselves in their own racial group. The Internalization status is characterized by a feeling of self-fulfillment; the person has an internalized positive racial identity. Finally, during the Integrative Awareness status, individuals are able to express a positive racial self and appreciate the unique aspects of U.S. culture as well as their culture of origin.

The Helms’s model expands on an earlier model of identity development that outlined four stages of identity development for minorities. Morten and Atkinson's (1983) Minority Identity Development (MID) model included the stages of conformity and dissonance reflected in the Helms's (1995) People of Color model. The MID model also included the stages of introspection and awareness. The introspection stage was similar to dissonance and described people as confused regarding personal allegiances, whereas the awareness stage reflected a more mature appreciation of one's cultural self and of the dominant culture. Because racial identity and cultural values have not been examined previously among Asian Americans, we did not hypothesize a priori how specific racial identity attitudes might predict value orientation responses. Hence, we asked the following research questions:

1. Do racial identity statuses predict Asian American respondents' value orientations?
2. If so, which value orientations are predictable?
TABLE 1
Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) Value-Orientations With Alternative Solutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Alternatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human nature</td>
<td>Evil: People are born with evil inclinations. Little can be done to change this state. Control of evil behavior is the only hope. Mixed: People are both good and bad at birth. The differences among people are shaped by one’s experiences. Good: People are basically good. They have innate inclinations toward good behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person to nature</td>
<td>Subjugation to nature: People have little control over natural forces and therefore are subject to nature. Nature guides one’s life. Harmony with nature: One’s sense of wholeness is grounded in a continual interaction with nature and natural forces. People are one with nature. Nature is one’s partner in life. Mastery over nature: One is expected to overcome natural forces and use them for one’s own purpose. Nature is to be ruled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time sense</td>
<td>Past: Tradition is of central importance. Therefore, the temporal focus is the past. Present: The past and future are of little importance. The present situation is paramount. Future: The temporal focus is on planning change for events that are to occur, for places in time beyond the present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Being: Emphasis is on activity that expresses what is natural in people and part of the human personality. Expression of emotions, desires, and impulses is spontaneous. Being in becoming: Emphasis is on activity that expresses integration of the personality. The goal is to develop an integrated personality through containment, control, meditation, and detachment. Doing: Emphasis is on action-oriented activity, which is measurable external criteria to the acting person (e.g., achievement).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td>Linear: Lines of authority are clearly established and hierarchical relationships dominate subordinate relationships. Respect for and obedience to elders and those of higher rank guide individual behavior. Collateral: People are independent and members of groups as well. Individual goals are subordinate to group goals (collective decision making). Individual: People are autonomous of the group. Individual goals are not subordinate to group goals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3. Which of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck’s (1961) value orientations tend to represent the participants in our sample of Asian Americans?

**Method**

**Participants**

Data were collected in academic classes at two midwestern and two northeastern universities. Participants were 122 Asian American undergraduate and graduate students who ranged in age from 17 to 44 years (M = 21.3, ...
The sample consisted of 78 women and 44 men and was made up of 10% graduate students, 29% freshmen, 28% sophomores, 19% juniors, and 14% seniors. Regarding socioeconomic class, 19% of the participants identified themselves as working-class, 36% as middle-class, and 27% as upper-class. Eighteen percent did not report socioeconomic class. Because the goal of the study was to focus on the impact of Asian racial identity on cultural values, data concerning the specific ethnic groups of the participants were not included. Students received academic credit for their participation. All students in the classes were asked to complete surveys. Data collected from students who were not Asian American were used in a separate study.

**Instruments**

Visible Racial/Ethnic Identity Attitude Scale (VREIAS; Helms & Carter, 1991). VREIAS is an adaptation of the Parham and Helms (1981) Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale and is based on the MID model (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). It is a 43-item self-report instrument that measures the attitudes and beliefs of people of color about themselves and about Whites in the United States. The VREIAS has also exhibited strong validity and reliability among Black and Asian student populations (Pope, 2000). Subscale scores are used in the analyses.

Carter and Helms (1984) reported internal reliability estimates for the subscales in the following ranges: Conformity, .77 to .87; Dissonance, .71 to .74; Resistance, .72 to .75; Introspection, .30 to .53; and Awareness, .82 to .84. In a recent study (Carter & Constantine, 2000) using the VREIAS, reliability estimates ranged from .80 for Conformity to .53 for Introspection. Reliability for the current sample using the five subscales was as follows: Conformity, .79; Dissonance, .63; Resistance, .59; Introspection, .45; and Awareness, .82. The Introspection subscale tends to have poor internal reliability, as evidenced by the score reported here.

Previous factor analyses have provided a preliminary rationale for a four-subscale model (Carter, 1995); hence, we merged the Introspection subscale with the Dissonance subscale. The merging of these two subscales is also a recognition of the conceptual similarities of the constructs. In the resulting four-subscale model that we used in the present study, the reliabilities were as follows: Conformity, .79; Dissonance, .69; Resistance, .71; and Awareness, .82. This model also represented the merging of the Dissonance and Introspection scales in recognition of the conceptual similarities of the constructs.

The Intercultural Values Inventory (ICV; Carter & Helms, 1990a). The ICV was designed to measure value orientations as described by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961). Carter and Helms (1984) reported internal reliability coefficients for the 15 subscales ranging from .50 to .79. Reliabilities from the present sample are as follows: Good, .50; Mixed, .50; Evil, .67; Subjugation, .54; Harmony, .65; Mastery, .57; Past, .57; Present, .71; Future, .60; Being, .55; Being in Becoming, .55; Doing, .65; Lineal, .64; Collateral, .55; and Individual, .43. Although these reliabilities are slightly lower than the acceptable ranges on general attitudinal measures, it is important to recognize that because of the multidimensionality of the constructs, traditional modes of measure-
ment might not be the best estimate for the reliability of these measures (Helms, 1996).

However, when using traditional measures of internal consistency, the ICV gives evidence of consistent strong reliability and validity, as has been documented in several empirical studies (Carter, Fretz, & Mahalik, 1986; Carter & Helms, 1984, 1987, 1990a; Carter & Parks, 1992; Mahalik, 1995; Sahin, 1998). In particular, the ICV’s validity has been substantiated by its ability to differentiate between cultural groups across all 15 subscales (Carter, 1984; Carter & Helms, 1990a). Moreover, the ICV has been used previously with Asian and Black racial groups (Carter, 1984; Carter et al., 1986; Carter & Helms, 1987, 1990b).

Procedure

Survey packets containing the VREIAS, the ICV, and a demographic information sheet were distributed in academic classes and returned at the next class meeting. The survey packets were counterbalanced to account for order effects.

Results

Table 2 shows a summary of means and standard deviations for the value orientations according to gender and total sample. The means and standard deviations show that our sample had higher mean scores on the Mixed and Good alternative orientations toward human nature, the Future time alternative of the time sense orientation, and the Harmony alternative of the person–nature orientation. On the activity orientation, there were preferences for both the Being and Doing alternatives. Results indicate that the participants in our study were most likely to endorse a Mixed or Good orientation toward human nature, Future time orientation, and an activity orientation that was both Being and Doing.

To explore whether racial identity attitudes were differentially predictive of participants’ value orientations, we performed a series of multiple regression analyses in which racial identity attitudes were the independent variables and each of the 15 value orientations served as a successive criterion variable (see Table 3). Regression analysis revealed the following significant results: Scores on 3 of the 15 subscales that assess alternatives of value orientations were found to be significant at the .05 level, and 2 approached significance at the .10 level of significance. Given the exploratory nature of the study, we chose to interpret the .10 findings in order not to overlook potential significant findings. (We did not wish to make Type II errors.) In addition, we chose not to perform the generally accepted Bonferroni adjustment. The Evil alternative, $F(4, 117) = 3.85, p = .006$, of the human nature orientation and two of the alternatives of the time sense orientation—Present, $F(4, 117) = 3.02, p = .02$, and Future, $F(4, 117) = 3.06, p = .02$—were significantly predicted by racial identity attitudes. In addition, the Past, $F(4, 117) = 2.15, p = .08$, alternative of the time sense orientation, and the Individual, $F(4, 117) = 2.07, p = .09$, alternative of the social relations orientation, approached significance.


## TABLE 2
Repeated Measure Analysis by Gender, Summary of Means and Standard Deviations by Size, and Full Sample Differences in Value Orientations Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Orientation</th>
<th>Men (n = 44)</th>
<th>Women (n = 78)</th>
<th>Total (N = 122)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>7.61</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>7.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>7.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person–nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjugation</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>5.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>8.35**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>5.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time sense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>4.78**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>7.80</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>7.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being</td>
<td>6.91</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in Becoming</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>7.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineal</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collateral</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>8.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aSubscale of the Intercultural Values Inventory.
*p < .01. **p < .05.

A review of beta weights suggests that a belief in human nature as Evil was significantly, positively related to the racial identity attitude status of Conformity (β = .22, p < .04). A belief in the Present as a value orientation to time is significantly, positively related to the racial identity status of Awareness (β = .22, p < .02), a belief in Future as a value orientation to time is significantly, positively related to the racial identity status of Awareness (β = .26, p < .01). A review of the beta weights also reveals that an emphasis on the Past as a value orientation to time is significantly, positively related to the racial identity status of Resistance (β = .18, p < .06) and that a belief in an individual approach to social relationships is significantly, positively related to the racial identity statuses of Conformity (β = .22, p < .05) and Awareness (β = .22, p < .03).

To determine how cultural values are structured in the sample for each value orientation, we conducted a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) by gender (see Table 2). Each alternative of the value orientations was compared within each orientation; gender was the independent variable, and the scores on the subscales of the value orientations were the dependent variable. This data analysis procedure was based on previous research on cultural values and racial identity using African American participants in which differences by gender were found (see Carter, 1984, for a description). The repeated measures ANOVA revealed no significant differences in the structure of cultural values for the total sample and two signifi-
TABLE 3

Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Value Orientation and Visible Racial/Ethnic Identity Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Orientation</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil*</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.01*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed*</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good*</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person–nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjugation*</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony*</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery*</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time sense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past*</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>0.08*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present*</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>0.02*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future*</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>0.02**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being*</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in Becoming*</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing*</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineal*</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collateral*</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual*</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.09**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Subscale of the Intercultural Values Inventory.
*p < .01, **p < .05.

Significant differences by gender. The significant differences by gender showed that men and women differed in their preferences for the time sense alternative of present time. Women preferred a present time orientation more than did men. Women also significantly preferred the harmony alternative of the person–nature orientation than men did.

Discussion

On the basis of our results, we were not able to determine a clearly significant statistical structure of cultural value orientations emerging for Asian Americans. However, the mean differences suggest a strong preference for distinct cultural value orientations that reflect both traditional Asian and European American cultural values. In particular, the participants in our study were most likely to endorse a mixed or good orientation toward human nature, which is consistent with previous research on Asian worldview theory. In addition, our findings also indicate that the participants in our study had a cultural value activity orientation that was both being and doing and a preference for the future alternative of time orientation. These competing value preferences for activity are representative of both Asian and American cultural patterns. Generally speaking, our data reflecting American and Asian cultural values seem to highlight the multidimensionality of the constructs (Carter, 1991), the biculturalism (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993) of the participants, and the shifting nature of Asian American notions of self and identity (Yeh & Hwang, 2000).
The results offer mostly positive support to a theory of racial socialization that states that visible racial/ethnic group individuals with racial identity statuses that are less developed are more likely than individuals with racial identity statuses that are more developed to endorse cultural values supporting a Eurocentric value orientation, the dominant values system in U.S. society (Thompson & Carter, 1997). Specifically, participants in our study who rejected their racial heritage (Conformity racial identity status) were more likely to believe that human nature is primarily evil. Asian cultural values are primarily based in Confucianism and Buddhism (E. Lee, 1996), and both emphasize interpersonal harmony and the goodness in human nature (Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989). Hence, Asian Americans who reject their racial identity might endorse an evil human nature value orientation instead. It is possible that a rejection of Asian racial identity may relate to Christian beliefs and ideas, such as the notion of original sin.

In addition, we also found that Asian Americans who were able to express a positive racial self that integrated aspects of both Asian and U.S. culture (Integrative Awareness) endorsed both present and future time value orientations. It is widely accepted that different cultural groups perceive time in many different ways (Carter, 1991; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Sodowsky & Johnson, 1994). Some cultures emphasize the importance of ancestors and tradition (Carter, 1991; Sodowsky, Maguire, Johnson, Ngumba, & Kohles, 1994), whereas other cultures embrace the remote future (Stewart & Bennett, 1991; D. W. Sue & Sue, 1999). Specifically, in Asian cultures, there is a strong respect for one’s history and past family relationships that underlies a cultural preference for integrating past perspectives into time value orientations (Braun & Nichols, 1997; McLaughlin & Braun, 1998). For example, in many Asian cultures, one’s decisions are often considered in lieu of their impact on the reputation of previous ancestors and traditions (Kim et al., 1999; Yeh & Hwang, 2000).

In addition to endorsing a past time value orientation, Asian Americans in the Integrative Awareness racial identity status also showed a preference for the future time orientation, reflecting bicultural American and Asian value preferences. Specifically, future time orientation has long been associated with White American norms emphasizing autonomy, individuality, and success (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Stewart & Bennett, 1991). Generally speaking, in U.S. culture, there is a strong emphasis placed on obtaining future goals and delaying gratification for the purpose of eventual progress (D. W. Sue & Sue, 1999). Endorsing both past and future time value orientations may also reflect the Asian American cultural prominence in obtaining educational and professional achievement (Asakawa & Csikszentmihalyi, 1998; S. Sue & Okzaki, 1990). Such future accomplishments are often considered a means of paying respect to past ancestors and, thus, combine both time perspectives.

Our results also indicate that Asian Americans with racial attitudes that reflect the Conformity racial identity status tend to prefer social relationships value orientations that highlight individualism. Although there is overwhelming evidence that Asian cultural groups may be characterized in terms of collectivism
and interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yeh & Huang, 1996), our finding pertains specifically to Asian American participants who are White identified and, thus, may reject Asian cultural norms that value group goals over individual goals (Kim et al., 1999). Rather, White-identified participants may seek out ways to fit into the dominant society by giving priority to autonomy.

The Asian American students in our study who tended to value individualism in social relations value orientations also endorsed racial identity attitudes that correspond to the Integrative Awareness status. Because this status reflects one's ability to have a positive racial self, it follows that part of the process of integrating unique aspects of U.S. and Asian culture entails a certain degree of and comfort with individuation from others. Hence, Asian Americans in both racial identity statuses (Conformity and Integrative Awareness) may value individualism, but for very different reasons in their racial socialization.

Furthermore, we found that the participants in our study who actively rejected White society and immersed themselves in their own cultural group (Resistance racial identity status) had a preference for a past time value orientation. This finding further supports previous literature indicating that traditional Asian culture emphasizes strong links to past histories, traditions, lives, and familial connections (Sodowsky et al., 1994; Yeh & Huang, 1996). Such priorities may be further embraced during an active period of rejecting the dominant culture.

Several studies have also found unique cultural values among Asian American women in comparison with other cultural groups and White Americans (Sodowsky et al., 1994). We also examined the role of gender and race in determining cultural value orientations, and we found that the Asian American women in our study had a tendency to value harmony more than did the men in our study. This gender difference seems to be associated with the strong relational emphasis among women in general (Cross & Madson, 1997) and among Asian women in particular (Sodowsky et al., 1994; True, 1990). In fact, the essence of female Asian gender roles is to care for others and maintain harmonious connections as a primary identifying feature (Chow, 1988; Crittenden, 1991; E. Lee, 1996; True, 1990).

Moreover, we also found that Asian American women who participated in our study had a preference for a present time orientation but that this was not true of the men in the study. Because it has been reported that Asian American women assimilate faster than do Asian American men (Chow, 1988; E. Lee, 1996), this finding may reflect a tendency toward White value orientations overall. In addition, the Asian Americans in our sample, who have been socialized to maintain harmonious relationships, might have developed a strong present time orientation in order to adequately maintain group harmony.

**Limitations**

The results of the present investigation must be considered in light of several limitations. First, the predominantly middle-class sample attended midwestern and northeastern universities; hence, we caution generalizing
the findings from this sample of participants because they may not represent other Asian Americans who may vary in terms of education, socioeconomic status, and geographic location. Moreover, the effect of other potential variables was not accounted for but should be explored further. For example, ethnicity, year in school, generation, mental health status, and psychological development may have an impact on how people respond to the instruments. We also did not have information on how many classes were sampled. Moreover, there are also previously published concerns about the psychometric properties of how racial identity is measured (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). Further information about how race and ethnicity relate to cultural value orientations is critical (Carter, 1991; Carter & Helms, 1987; Sodowsky et al., 1994). Additional research should investigate how different ethnic groups experience the relationships between racial identity and cultural value orientations. Because of our findings, our study should also be replicated using similar variables with other racial groups.

There are also some methodological issues raised in the current research. Specifically, the alpha coefficients of the ICV used in this study ranged from .50 to .79. We believe that the .50 reliability coefficient may be an underestimation of its true reliability. As evidenced by our findings, racial identity and cultural values are multidimensional constructs. However, traditional assessments of reliability (alpha) assume linearity and thus may not accurately capture the complexity of the underlying constructs (Helms, 1999). Future research efforts may be improved with the use of theta or omega reliability coefficients that account for multidimensionality (Helms, 1996).

In the current research, we used a liberal alpha level because we believed that the paucity of prior empirical evidence warranted the reporting of potential relationships among the constructs. For this analysis, it seemed advantageous to lean on the side of reporting possible relationships while acknowledging that the results may be less than compelling given statistical convention. This adjustment in statistical analyses is especially critical in work across cultural groups when alternative statistical analyses need to be explored.

Implications for Counseling and Counselor Education

The results of our study suggest that Asian cultural values are variable and complex. Hence, counselors may wish to consider a variety of factors (such as gender) in attempting to better understand clients’ value orientations and worldviews. Counselor education faculty should also emphasize that counselors should assess their own cultural values in relation to their work with culturally diverse clients (McRae & Johnson, 1991).

Specifically, our results indicate that knowing that a client has high awareness attitudes may suggest to the counselor that the cultural values of time orientation and social relations orientation are critical variables to consider and should be incorporated into the counseling process. Similarly, if the client is an Asian American woman, this may suggest that considering time orientation and person-nature relationships should be further explored as
important values. For example, because Asian American women in our sample tended to value a present time orientation, advance planning or discussing possibilities in the future may be especially challenging. In addition, further research is needed on how individuals negotiate their cultural values across two or more cultures.

References


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**Correction to Bishop, Avila-Juarbe, and Thumme (2003)**

The article "Recognizing Spirituality as an Important Factor in Counselor Supervision" by D. Russell Bishop, Efrain Avila-Juarbe, and Beverly Thumme (*Counseling and Values*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 34–46) contained errors in the Author Note. The affiliation for D. Russell Bishop should have been given as the Department of Counseling and Adult Health Education, Northern Illinois University, and the Adler School of Professional Psychology. The correct mailing address for D. Russell Bishop is 153 Brian Street, Sycamore, IL 60178.
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