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NEGOTIATION OF NORMS OF PRIVATE INFORMATION SHARING BY
PARENTS AND YOUNG ADULT CHILDREN

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Negotiation of norms of private information sharing by parents and young adult children

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This study reflects an effort to obtain insights into the social interaction processes involved in normative influence. Two related research questions are addressed. The first question is about motivations to communicate about norms while the second one is about how people communicate, that is, what people say, think and feel when communicating about norms. Three assumptions underline the study: (1) tension between social and personal norm is central to communication about norms; (2) communication about norms is purposive; and (3) such communication can be fruitfully studied through the lens of negotiation for the purpose of reaching a shared agreement or hiding or excusing transgressions. The scope of the research was limited to the parent-child relational context, norms of private information sharing and the immigrant Indian population. Within a qualitative research design framework, individual in-depth interviews were used to obtain accounts of norm negotiation from unrelated parents and children (above 18 years of age). The major findings are that (1) people talk about norms of private information sharing in terms of behaviors and *empirical* and *normative expectations* (Bicchieri & Erte, 2007) about such behaviors (2) negotiation is triggered when parents'

monitoring behaviors clash with children's need to retain ownership over private information (3) negotiation involves managing primary goal(s) (Dillard, 2004) related to the behaviors and expectations in question and secondary goals related to the relationship as well as other behavioral norms constituting private information (4) negotiation can be direct or involve deception (5) the factors which influence choice between direct negotiation and deception, are relational power, communication history and conviction about norms (6) direct negotiation involves a variety of strategies including *assuring*, *bargaining*, *critiquing*, *using an ally*, *veiled negotiation*, *veiled threat*, *emphasizing trust*, *facilitating* and *justifying*, by children and parents. These strategies are used to negotiate behavioral expectations and the rationale for such expectations. The key contribution of this study is a description of interpersonal communication about behavioral expectations arising from norms.

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DEDICATION

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INTRODUCTION

Social norms are an important source of influence on human behavior. Virtually every discipline in the social sciences recognizes that norms act to regulate the behavior of individuals and groups, encouraging socially acceptable practices and rejecting socially unacceptable behavior. At the same time, the existence of multiple disciplinary lenses is a cause of confusion about the mechanisms and processes through which norms exert influence on behavior. Some scholars (Rimal & Real, 2003b; Yanovitzky & Rimal, 2006) believe that communication theory and research have much to contribute in this respect. Communication is not only the primary mechanism through which norms are created, modified, validated and diffused within a social system but also, perhaps primarily, the instrument through which people experience norms in their everyday interactions with their social environment. If we can understand how people experience norms, we can more fully understand how, why, and when norms are influential. We can also expand our theoretical and practical understanding of how communication functions to facilitate or impede processes of normative influence.

In seeking to learn more about the role of communication in normative influence, this study subscribes to the ritual view of communication. That is, it approaches the question from a perspective that views normative communication as a manifestation of shared beliefs for the purpose of maintaining society (or the group) in time. Put differently, the primary function of communication in this perspective is to help people develop shared beliefs about the world and people's role in it. Unlike the transmission view of communication, which focuses on information dissemination and tends to treat normative communication as linear and static (see discussion of social norms campaigns

below), the ritual view of communication offers a more dynamic view of normative communication, one that revolves around the notion of exchange between parties and that understands communication as a flexible tool that people continuously modify to adapt to the changing parameters of the interaction and the relationship between parties.

Accordingly, the current study puts forth the notion of *negotiation* as key to a more complete conceptualization of the role that communication plays in normative influence processes. This notion is useful because it considers the inherent tension between the binding and restricting nature of norms and people's desire to pursue their own desires and interests freely. In fact, the term "negotiation" as used in this context has two meanings. First, it suggests that people use communication purposively to reach, through discussion and compromise, an agreed-upon understanding of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are acceptable in a given situation. Second, it directs our attention to the way people use communication to work their way around norms which they find personally unacceptable or objectionable. Communication in this context is used to manage transgressions from the norm without experiencing the negative consequences of non-conformity. This study will empirically explore the usefulness of the negotiation framework to the development of theory about normative communication in the context of interpersonal relationships.

CHAPTER ONE: THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Existing Gaps in the Literature on Normative Influence

Generally speaking, norms are the formal and informal rules that groups live by. Social norms grow out of shared social values and are the means through which values are expressed in behavior. They are jointly negotiated rules and standards of behavior, which guide and/or limit social behavior without the force of laws (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Norms are evident in similarities in thoughts, feelings, and behavior among individuals and groups, but they must be differentiated from other natural or accidental similarities in that they emerge from social interaction and mutual influence between members of a group. Norms specify how people must, should, may, should not, and must not behave in almost every conceivable situation. Thus, the term "norms" actually covers an exceedingly wide range of behaviors, from strict "mores" (the *must* do behaviors) that are tied to values crucial to group survival (for example, the Ten Commandments) to the looser "folkways" (the *should* do behaviors) which permit individuals some leeway to behave as they like within acceptable parameters, such as how they should dress for an informal social gathering (Sumner, 1906). All customs, conventions, traditions, fashions and fads are different types of norms.

Norms can be collective or personal, that is they could be followed by an individual or by a group. They can be descriptive, that is, reflective of how a group of people behave; injunctive or prescriptive, that is specifying what should be done; or proscriptive, that is specifying what should not be done. Norms could be actual or in other words evidently followed by a large number of people. They could also be perceived to exist when in fact a greater number of people behave differently.

It is important to note that norms are different from values and attitudes. Values determine how we evaluate particular behaviors, objects, individuals or issues. They help us determine what is good or bad. As defined by Rokeach (1973), they are abstract ideals, not tied to any specific object or idea, which influence our choice of conduct. Norms on the other hand are about actual conduct. Both collective and individual perceptions of right conduct emerge from and reflect values. Again, while attitudes reflect positive or negative disposition towards an issue, object, individual or behavior, norms consist of formal and informal rules of behavior. Attitude, as defined by Fishbein and Ajzen (2010), is the latent disposition to respond with some degree of favorableness or unfavorableness towards a psychological object. Attitude is something personal, based on internal beliefs. Norms on the other hand, have much to do with others' favorable or unfavorable dispositions towards certain behaviors. Norms influence behavior through social pressure. Where personal norms are concerned, there is a sense of obligation to self to behave according to personal standard. Attitude does not create pressure to behave in a certain way; it reflects the inclination to behave in a certain way.

The most important characteristic of norms, which differentiates it from the related constructs like values and attitudes, is related to the sense that norms ought to be followed. There is a sense of legitimacy attached to norms (Bicchieri, 2006). Norms reflect prescribed rules or social values and hence there is a sense that individuals ought to adhere to norms (J. C. Turner, 1991). Further, norms are associated with sanctions and rewards (Bendor & Swistak, 2001; Bicchieri, 2006; Homans, 1950). In other words, an individual's decision to comply or not comply with norms is associated with the positive consequence of pleasing others or the negative consequence of a sanction. Since norms

cover a range of crucial to non-crucial behaviors, they vary in the kinds of sanctions that are attached to violations including gossip, open censure, ostracism or dishonor (Bicchieri, 2006). Violating important norms will typically result in harsher social sanctions than violating less important norms.

As already evident from the above discussion, a norm can be studied across various levels of analysis. At the macro or societal level are cultural norms and global norms. Different geographical as well as social units have cultural norms influencing behavior within the group and differentiating the group from other groups. There are global norms, which are broad, followed by a large number of people and their influence cuts across cultures. Norms of honesty, reciprocity are examples of such global norms. At the meso level are networks or groups who have their own local norms. Within groups there are again subcultures (Kluckhohn, 1954; Yinger, 1960)(based on particular ideologies, occupations, interests, goals, language, values or lifestyles), which follow some of the global cultural norms but also follow a distinct set of norms that distinguish them from the larger group of which they are a part. And then there are personal norms or self expectations particular to individuals reflecting internalized values (Schwartz, 1977). Personal norms are influenced by social norms and group values (because these shape the personal standards for evaluating behavior), but are also independent of social interactions as the source of enforcement. Personal norms are tied to one's self concept and people follow them in anticipation of self enhancement or self deprecation (Schwartz, 1977).

Thus the individual is located within a nested structure of culture and subcultures. Global norms and cultural norms influence the norms of groups and subgroups which in

turn influence the individual. Behaviors are influenced by the norms evident or perceived within the immediate social group. Through interactions with other network members, individuals are exposed to and become part of the joint negotiation process giving rise to norms. In that way social norms influence individual's personal standards for evaluating behavior. Social norms are embedded in scripts (Bicchieri, 2006) and social roles (Homans, 1950) and individuals' conformity or compliance is evident in the way s/he manages his or her social role and relevant scripts. When the social norms are perceived as legitimate and are internalized, personal norms coincide with social norms resulting in conformity. Often however there is no coincidence, causing tension between individual and collective gains.

There are four general questions about norms that have been of interest to scholars in different disciplines: (1) how, why and when do new norms emerge? (2) how, why and when do current norms change? (3) what may explain differences in individuals' degree of conformity to the same or different norms? and perhaps most importantly (4) exactly why, how and when do norms influence individual behavior?

These questions have been examined at different levels of analysis. The sociological approach to normative influence seeks to understand the effect of norms on behavior from a social control perspective (Hirschi, 1969). In this perspective, norms are viewed as a structural constraint on human agency, that is, agents (people, groups, organizations, etc.) are perceived to behave freely within the limits of the norm. This perspective coincides with a top-down influence of nested cultures and subcultures on individuals. It tells us how norms influence humans but not how norms evolve from social interactions. The social networks approach to normative influence (Friedkin, 1980)

more firmly grounds the effect of norms in the social relationships people have with other members in their network. It emphasizes the idea that interpersonal agreements validate attitudes and transform attitudes into norms. Still, the perspective that dominates our current understanding of normative influence processes is social psychological. Some of the great names in social psychology's pantheon (Allport, 1924; Asch, 1951, 1956; Bender & Swistak, 2001; Deutsch & Gerard, 1955; Fabiano, 2003; Festinger, 1950, 1954; Kelley, 1952; Kelley & Shapiro, 1954; Moscovici, 1976; Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972; Sherif, 1936) spent at least some of their effort on addressing questions about normative influence from the perspective of the individual and his/her perception of the norm. This body of research has yielded several useful insights about conformity to group norms and has also proven to be a fertile ground for the development of influential theories such as theory of informal social communication (Festinger, 1950), the theory of social comparison (Festinger, 1954), and a framework that differentiates between normative and informational influence (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). Briefly, the social psychological approach to normative influence argues that people conform to the opinion of other group members and converge to social norms (both in ambiguous and unambiguous situations) because of their need to validate their own opinions, feelings, and behaviors and the need to be connected by others (need for affiliation). Private conformity occurs when people truly believe that the group is right, whereas public compliance occurs when people are pressured to conform to group norms when they privately think the group is wrong. Importantly, the emphasis in this approach is on people's perceptions of the norm, regardless if these perceptions are accurate or not.

A common critique of the normative influence literature is that by lacking a

unified theoretical focus and empirical coherence, it has generated considerable ambiguity about the mechanisms and processes involved in normative influence. Thus, as Yanovitzky and Rimal (2006) note, we end up with “two sets of norms, namely, collective and perceived norms as well as injunctive and descriptive norms; two types of motivations that can explain the effect of norms on people, the desire to avoid sanctions and the need for self-validation; two conceptually distinct processes of influence, normative and informational influence; and two sets of potential influence outcomes, public compliance and private acceptance” (p. 2).

Two ingredients in particular appear to be currently missing from that literature: a conceptualization of norms as a dynamic phenomenon and attention to the relational context in which normative influence takes place. One inherent weakness in current approaches to normative influence is that they treat norms as a static or a fixed feature of the individual’s social environment and ignore the dynamic nature of norms. A perspective that considers the nature and dynamics of social norms asks about how norms may emerge and become stable, why an established norm may suddenly be abandoned, how is it possible that inefficient or unpopular norms survive, and what motivates people to obey norms even when they are no longer relevant or necessary for group survival (Bicchieri, 2006). This perspective recognizes that the long-run evolution of social norms is the result of collective dynamics within a social network. The very existence of a social norm depends on a sufficient number of people believing that it exists and pertains to a given type of situation, and expecting that enough other people are following it in these kinds of situations. Given the right kinds of expectations, people have conditional preferences for obeying the norm (that is, they will choose to conform if they believe that

many others do in the same situation). These conditional preferences depend to a large extent on the social interactions that people have with other group members in such situations that confirm or disconfirm for individuals the existence of the norm. It follows that the dynamic nature of norms is closely linked to the dynamic nature of social interactions in situations in which the norm applies. If a norm is confirmed, it survives; if disconfirmed, it ceases to exist. Further, when a sufficient number of people in particular social roles start behaving differently, it can signal a change in norms. However, current approaches to normative influence, while contributing to a top-down explanation of influence of norms on behavior, neglect to consider the role of social interactions in facilitating or impeding normative influence processes.

The second notable weakness in current approaches to normative influence is that they largely ignore the context in which norms are influential, which is the context of social relationships (Crano, 2000). This is particularly true with regard to the social psychological approach to normative influence that has the individual experiencing norms through his/her cognitions (i.e., people hold certain perceptions of the norms and behave accordingly). At the same time, it is apparent from the very definition of social norms that norms are influential in the group context (see also, (Kelley, 1952; Kelley & Shapiro, 1954; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Social norms are first and foremost a property of the group, a product of agreement among members about acceptable rules of conduct that emerges through social interactions and in the context of specific social relationships (e.g., between parents and children, romantic partners, coworkers, etc.). Therefore people experience norms in the context of their relationships to others, not in isolation from others or simply based on individual perceptions about others' expectations.

To summarize, by ignoring the dynamic nature of norms and the relational context in which norms are influential, current approaches to normative influence fall short of fully explicating the mechanisms and processes through which norms influence behavior. In particular, they appear to be blind to the centrality of social interactions to the dynamics of normative influence as well as to the ways in which individuals experience normative influence and groups regulate and coordinate the thoughts, feelings, and behavior of group members in given situations. By exploring the relationship between social interactions and social norms, the proposed study intends to add to a small but growing body of literature that seeks to shift the focus of research about normative influence away from cognitions alone and toward the consideration of the relational context in which normative influence takes place.

Existing Gaps in the Literature on Communication and Normative Influence

If we accept that social interactions are crucial to the very existence of norms, then we also must accept that communication (verbal and non-verbal) is the primary mechanism through which norms are constructed, understood and disseminated among group members (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Accordingly, there have been several attempts to conceptualize the roles of communication in normative influence, with most following a traditional media effects model (or a transmission view of communication).

An early allusion in the modern communication literature regarding the role of communication in normative influence was in the classic essay about the functions of the media written by Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948). One of the functions they identified was the enforcement of social norms. They explained that the mass media can reaffirm social

norms by public exposure of deviance from norms. This idea was later developed into the “cultural norms theory”. This theory says that individuals behave according to their perceptions of cultural norms and the media helps establish these perceptions by selecting and emphasizing certain ideas and customs (M. R. Real, 1980).

Later work sought to incorporate communication into theories that directly or indirectly address processes of normative influence. For example, both social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) and cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994) emphasize the role of observations and communication (mass and interpersonal) in the process of socializing individuals into accepting group norms. The diffusion of innovation theory (Rogers, 1995) explains the spread of norms within social groups and describes how interpersonal channels act as conduits for information and how opinion leaders act as referents for normative information. The spiral of silence theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1984) explains how the mass media, by representing certain views as mainstream (the majority stands on an issue), encourage conformity to the norm – people will be unwilling to publicly express their opinion on moral issues if they believe they are in the minority for fear of rejection. Other theories such as uncertainty reduction theory (Berger & Calabrese, 1975) and its extensions like anxiety and uncertainty management theory (Brashers et al., 2000; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997) focus on individual motivation for seeking normative information under conditions of uncertainty about appropriate conduct.

The most recent contributions to the literature on communication and normative influence come from studies that examined deliberate efforts to use communication to change (or correct) people’s perceptions of norms. Much of this work was stimulated by

the popular use of social norms theory (Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986) in the public health arena. The theory is based on the assumption that people prefer to behave according to the group norm but that they often misperceive the norm (that is, over- or under-estimate the majority's actual opinion or behavior). By using communication (mass or interpersonal) to inform or educate people about the true norm, much of the pressure people experience to engage in unhealthy behaviors will dissipate, allowing people to engage in healthy behavior without fear of social repercussions (Berkowitz, 2004.). Subsequent tests of this intervention rationale yielded mixed results. Some studies have shown positive change in perceptions of norms, and in some cases, positive change in behavior after receiving the normative feedback (Fabiano, 2003; Hancock & Henry, 2003; Linkenbach & Perkins, 2003; Perkins & Craig, 2006).

Other studies raised serious concerns about the efficacy of this approach in health promotion efforts (Borsari, 2003a, 2003b; Campo, Brossard, & Frazer, 2003; Campo & Cameron, 2006; Thombs, Dotterer, Olds, Sharp, & Raub, 2004; Wechsler et al., 2003) either by providing evidence that this approach rarely works as expected or by pointing to some inherent weaknesses in this approach such as the failure to distinguish descriptive from injunctive norms, ignoring the importance of identification with group to the way normative information is processed by individuals, and not fully conceptualizing how the specific context in which norms exist determines what normative information will be perceived as relevant by target audiences.

In response to this criticism, a number of communication scholars attempted to develop theoretical models that more effectively combine the social norms approach with communication theories. Two notable such efforts are the socially situated experiential

learning model (SSEL) and the theory of normative social behavior. The SSEL model (Lederman & Stewart, 1998) recognizes that social interactions are a crucial element of the process by which people form their perception of the norm, and that therefore social interactions are also the best way to correct misperceptions of the norm, mainly because they facilitate experiential learning which is superior to learning from media messages in terms of impact on cognitions and behavior.

The Theory of Normative Social Behavior (TNSB) (Rimal & Real, 2005) was proposed to explain how perceptions about norms are created in the first place, focusing on the information-processing aspect of normative messages. Following the work of several scholars (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2003; Kallgren, Reno, & Cialdini, 2000; Reno, Kallgren, & Cialdini, 1993), the theory focuses on the distinction between descriptive and injunctive norms and discusses factors that moderate the influence of descriptive norms on behavior. It states that descriptive norms influence behavior via the moderating role of injunctive norms (Rimal, 2008; Rimal & Real, 2005), outcome expectations (benefits to self, benefits to others and anticipatory socialization) and group identity (similarity and aspiration). The theory was supported in three studies where these variables explained 50% of behavioral intention.

In a subsequent article, Lapinski and Rimal (2005) discussed the role of ego involvement and communication processes as additional moderators. Following the work of Kincaid (2004) and several other studies on peer communication and alcohol consumption, the authors focused on the role of communication and in a 2005 study found strong support for the notion that frequency of peer communication is related with risky behavior in light of normative influence. According to the study, the explanatory

power of the TNSB model increased significantly with the addition of peer communication as a variable. A recent study by (Rimal, 2008) has extended the model to include behavioral identity as one of the moderators.

Overall then, the available conceptualizations of the role of communication in normative influence follows the traditional, linear (or transmission) model of media effects on cognitions and behavior: Communication facilitates learning about norms (SCT and cultivation); it provides a social mirror or a benchmark that people use to form their perception of the norm, whether the image is one of actual norms (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1948), the social norms approach or a biased view of the norm (spiral of silence); it helps diffuse norms within a social system (diffusion of innovation); and it can motivate people to seek accurate information about the norm in times of uncertainty (uncertainty reduction theories). In fact, these conceptualizations of the role of communication in normative influence strikingly resemble the models used by communication scholars to explain the effect of communication on attitudes formation and change. It matches closely with the social psychological (or cognitive) approach to normative influence and therefore suffers from the same weaknesses listed above and a few more.

First, much like norms, communication about norms is a dynamic phenomenon that involves exchange of information and views about values and norms among group members, not simply a flow of information from the group to the individual. Second, the overemphasis on cognition that may be influenced by communication about norms is largely blind to the relational context in which normative influence takes place. The cognitive approach to normative influence provides a useful heuristic for considering

normative influence from the perspective of the individual, but for the purposes of theory building it ought to be more firmly grounded in the relational context that is so central to the influence of norms on human behavior. Third, and relatedly, current communication research equates the effects of norms on behavior with that of attitudes, but it is not clear that people experience norms in the same way they experience attitudes (Rhodes & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2009). Fourth, while norms are closely linked to social interactions, media effects theories, and not theories of interpersonal communication, are almost exclusively brought to bear on this phenomenon.

Certainly, there is much that current interpersonal communication theories can contribute to our understanding of the role of communication in normative influence, particularly in terms of understanding people's motivations to have discussions with others about norms, the way they interact about norms, and the outcomes of this interaction. By the same token, interpersonal communication theory can be advanced by considering communication about norms since such communication goes beyond the basic dyadic interaction – when one person talks to another about the norm he/she inevitably speaks to the entire group (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

Finally and importantly, a ritual view of communication (Carey, 1989), which contrasts with the transmission view of communication in that it understands communication as a manifestation of shared values and beliefs for the purpose of maintaining the collective, provides an alternative (or rather a complementary) way of understanding communication about norms and the role of communication in normative influence. In particular, it draws our attention to the role of communication in helping people develop a shared frame of reference, one that they use to routinize and sustain

values, rituals, and conventions over time but also to reform norms when they become irrelevant or no longer serve their original purpose.

The proposed study will begin closing these gaps in the current literature on normative influence by subscribing to the ritual view of communication and looking into the way (or ways) in which people experience normative influence through communication with others and the way they use communication to negotiate a shared frame of reference with others about particular norms. In this manner, the proposed study is immediately informed by theories of interpersonal communication and by empirical investigation that seeks to describe and analyze the dynamics of people's communication about norms in the context of the social relationships. Thus this study is an attempt to contribute to a bottom up explanation of the emergence, influence or dissolution of norms. Tracing the way in which norms evolve from interactions and go on to impact meso-level structures such as social networks and subsequently larger cultures is difficult and ambitious. There are many methodological roadblocks, not the least of which relate with opportunities to observe interactions and establish interactional characteristics as causes of change in norms. In that light, this study is merely a preliminary attempt. While one objective certainly is to uncover some substantive explanation of how the dynamic nature of norms is related with social interactions, an associated, perhaps more realistic goal is to identify a few basic descriptors, to add to the increasing body of literature on norm centered interactions, and which can be utilized for future inquiry.

The Research Questions

This study attempts to answer two related research questions. The first question is necessarily about the motivation to communicate about the norm: why and when will two or more individuals discuss social norms? The second and most basic one is how do people communicate about norms in interpersonal settings? That is what people say, think, and feel when they talk with others about norms. The current literature offers theoretical and empirical accounts of how people cognitively process and respond to information about norms, but there are virtually no accounts of how people interact about norms. Describing this process is thus a crucial first step in gaining a better understanding of this communication phenomenon.

Assumptions guiding the study

Corresponding with the research questions, three assumptions guide the formulation of study. In the following paragraphs, these assumptions are described with reference to the primary argument and the core literature relevant for interpretation of the findings with respect to these assumptions.

Assumption one: Tension is a precursor to communication about norms

Primary argument. The first assumption is about when communication about norms is likely. It is assumed that tension between social and personal norms is central to communication about norms. When people conform to the norm based on private acceptance (or internalization of the norm), they do so automatically without being mindful that their behavior is governed by group norms (Bicchieri, 2006). In these situations, people are not motivated to discuss the norms with others unless they discover that another group member transgressed (in which case, the goal of communication is the

social control of transgressors and reaffirmation of the group norm). In contrast, the kinds of situations in which we can expect people to initiate communication about social norms are those in which there is a tension between individual and collective gains (or between personal norms and group norms). This is because such a situation needs to be resolved and some agreement is needed on what would be appropriate or acceptable.

The question of tension between social and personal norms arises because collective good need not always match with individual interest (Bicchieri, 2006; Sumner, 1906). As sociological / functional perspective of norms would say, prosocial norms of fairness, reciprocity, cooperation, and the like exist precisely because it might not be in the individual's immediate self-interest to behave in a way that is beneficial to the group. Thus there is always the possibility of conflict of interest between individuals and the groups to which they belong. The possibility that an individual's notion of appropriate behavior may differ from the group's notion is the basis for the concept of a personal norm.

Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory of Self Regulation (Bandura, 1991) further explains why an individual would be motivated to resolve a conflict between a personal norm and a social norm. According to the self regulation theory, an individual is motivated to follow norms of his or her own accord, and not merely because norms exist, or because they would be sanctioned otherwise, or because others perform that behavior. Rather, a process of self-regulation involving evaluation (self-monitoring and self-reflection) of own behavior against personal ideals governs attitude towards compliance. Individuals believe in the concept of an ideal behavior much like the notion of injunctive norms, which develops from the socialization they receive; their own reflections on those

socialization efforts; experiences with alternate sources of social influence and partly by ways in which significant others have reacted to the individual's past behavior.

Individuals judge their own behavior with respect to this ideal. In other words, they have self expectations about adhering to an internal standard of behavior. As long as the internal standard matches with the social standard, any behavior that does not follow this standard would meet with self-censure (self-reaction). However internal standards do not always match social standards because individual reflection on social standards may deem them unacceptable or because the individual processes multiple divergent sources of influence. As a result individuals may find themselves in a predicament where social standards require behaviors that go against their own internal standard.

Hence, based on this theory, tension between social and personal norms is more than a tension between the group and the member; it also has an internal dimension where the individual needs to reconcile actual action with personal standards. When internal standards do not match with the social standard, having to behave according to the social standards can potentially affect one's self concept negatively. Consequently individuals have to decide how to reconcile their social behavior with the internal standard. In such a situation people would be motivated to resolve this conflict for the same reason they are motivated to resolve cognitive dissonance – to rid themselves of the discomfort they feel. If one perceives a discrepancy between performance and standards s/he will be motivated to reduce that discrepancy by changing the belief or behavior. If belief and performance are judged as poor against the personal and social standards, motivation will be to change one's *own* belief and behavior. On the other hand, if one places high value on a particular belief and tries to behave accordingly, external social

pressure towards a contradictory behavior may lead the individual to consider changing circumstance instead of own belief or behavior, which would require interaction. In this study it is proposed that this interaction can be studied in terms of verbal communication.

While necessary, tension is unlikely to be sufficient to motivate communication. A number of factors identified from literature and explained in the following section suggest that individuals are more likely to comply unless they experience a high degree of tension. When tension is perceived to be beyond a certain threshold, compliance will not be acceptable and that is when the need to communicate will arise. In the following paragraphs, these are discussed under the sub-heading of influences on tension perception. In addition some evidence suggests that even when there is high degree of tension, certain other factors may influence the decision to engage in communication. These are discussed under the subheading of motivation for communication.

Influences on tension perception.

Rewards and sanctions associated with norms. According to the sociological perspective, people follow norms because they want to avoid censure or sanction (e.g., loss of affiliation, gossip, refusal of support or resources) and because they want to reap the rewards (e.g., affiliation, acknowledgement, social support and resources) (Bicchieri, 2006; J. C. Turner, 1991). Hence there can be strong motivation to simply comply and avoid challenging the norm because it is worthwhile to do so. In fact, consistent with the notion of rewards and sanctions as motivators for compliance, the literature on topic avoidance within the area of interpersonal communication notes self-protection and relationship protection among others as motivations for a person to avoid verbal communication about an issue (W. A. Afifi & Burgoon, 1998; W. A. Afifi & Guerrero,

1998, 1999; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Berger, 1987; Greene, Derlega, Yep, & Petronio, 2003; Guerrero & Afifi, 1995b; Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Knobloch & Carpenter-Theune, 2004; Planalp, 1985; Roloff & Ifert, 2000a; Vangelisti, 1994). Thus when the discomfort at having to behave against personal standards is no longer justifiable by the rewards, people would be motivated to communicate.

Nature of norms. All norms are not the same. Norms are organized on a continuum ranging from the most restrictive (mores) to the least restrictive (folkways) depending on the relative importance that is attached to them in a particular culture or by a particular social group (Bicchieri, 2006; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2003; Sumner, 1906). Individuals, too, treat norms as a continuum, with some norms perceived to be more binding than others. Again, some personal norms may be stronger than others (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Schwartz, 1977). Conformity happens when there is a complete (or almost complete) overlap between the social and personal continuum. When the overlap is less than perfect (which is often the case since individuals are simultaneously members in different groups with different norms as well as diverge in terms of personal values) one can expect some degree of compliance, unless a threshold of discomfort with complying has been reached to motivate non-compliance.

Source of feedback. The source of feedback causing the discomfort at the dissonance between behavior and personal standards is also relevant. Dissonance could be caused by external feedback from another individual but as seen in previous research, not everybody's feedback may be relevant (J. C. Turner, 1991; Yanovitzky, Stewart, & Lederman, 2006). People are more influenced by their membership and referent groups because they wish to maintain or seek affiliation with these groups. If feedback comes

from these groups, people are more likely to be concerned as their affiliation is at stake. If they find that the behavior required by these groups goes against their personal standards, they might be motivated to communicate so as to be able to behave according to their personal norms without endangering their affiliation with these groups.

Again, internal feedback from self-comparison (Bandura, 1986) or social comparison (Festinger, 1954) could also lead to high degree of discomfort if one feels that one's behavior negates his/her sense of self. The process of self-regulation could cause discomfort when the expectations that are attached to a particular social norm are perceived as fundamentally negating core personal norms of the ideal-self type. Again it is known that individuals try to resolve cognitive dissonance in various ways. Sometimes it is simply easier to change one's own attitude rather than behavior, but at times this may not suffice.

Social role. Social role would be an important influence. From the sociological perspective norms are operationalized through social roles. Social roles define what kind of behavior is appropriate for a particular situation or relationship (Homans, 1950). Thus family members are expected to fulfill certain obligations; neighbors are expected to behave with each other in a certain way; teachers have to fulfill certain obligations; students are expected to take their learning role seriously, and so forth. There are some roles which come with greater power because they represent the collective viewpoint and are entrusted with influencing others into subscribing to that same viewpoint. Parents are expected to socialize children in the ways of society and so are teachers and in that sense they play the role of socialization agents. They have greater power than offsprings or students because the latter are considered needing instruction.

Perception of tension is likely to depend on social roles. Someone who is in the position of a socialization agent has the power to influence group members to change their behavior. Parents, as socialization agents, represent the group's viewpoint because they have internalized the norms. In the event that parents experience tension between the norm that is supposed to be enforced and their own personal standards of behavior, they can express revised expectations and can support group members who share the same concerns. Those who do not have the same power are likely to experience far greater degree of tension. This is because their behavior is under scrutiny and they are the ones more likely to experience loss of privileges if they are non-compliant. They are far more likely to face a situation where they feel compelled to behave according to expectations while unable to internally accept that behavior as the ideal.

Influence on motivation to communicate. Since norms are significant in the context of relationships, (Crano, 2000) the nature of the specific relational context (e.g., friends, spouses, partners, parent-child, teacher student) where the norm is significant is likely to influence the motivation to engage in dialogue. One's situation in a relationship with respect to power would influence his/her ability to go against a norm without repercussions. People in power, whether because of their social role (Homans, 1950), ability to grant sanctions and rewards, or expertise (French & Raven, 1959), can shape and control outcomes for others (Kipnis, 1976). As a result, when facing such a person, an individual experiencing the tension has to decide how to manage a situation of asymmetric power, and one way of managing may well be to simply accept the demand and avoid negotiation.

Thus, it appears that there are at least two steps in between perception of tension

and engagement in communication. All the factors identified as above indicate that people first choose between compliance and non-compliance. They are more likely to opt for non-compliance when they experience a high degree of tension. At this point, the next step involves deciding how to follow one's personal norm (thus going against the social norm) without being subject to sanctions. Per the concept of *public compliance* noted in the social norms literature (J. C. Turner, 1991), people try to accommodate their personal norms without making their objection to the social norm publicly evident. This implies that deception or manipulation can be one method of avoiding sanctions. Thus once compliance is out of consideration the choice is between direct/confrontational and indirect, non-confrontational or manipulative means of being non-compliant.

In sum, the overall assumption is that when individuals experience tension between social norms and personal norms, they would be motivated to communicate with others (socialization agents or other group members) when the rewards for compliance no longer outweigh the discomfort felt at behaving against personal standards.

Assumption two: Communication about norms is purposive

Primary argument. A second important assumption of this study is that people use interpersonal communication purposively to engage others in interaction about norms. When individuals experience personal conflict with regard to norms, they make two types of decisions. The first decision is about whether or not the conflict they experience between personal and group norms is tolerable. If it is, people will generally avoid confrontation with norm enforcement agents (such as a parent, teacher, or peers) and publicly comply with the norm. If people cannot personally tolerate this conflict, thus opting for non-compliance with the norm, they have a second decision to make. This is

about how best to manage communication about non-compliance. As suggested by the notion of public compliance, people choose between using communication to deceive about non-compliance and using direct and honest communication to present own viewpoint. Thus they choose between two alternative communication strategies - confrontational or non-confrontational (e.g., making excuses or using deception). A conscious choice, in turn, entails some level of strategic planning for the interaction, one that involves goal-setting (primary and secondary) and forethought about what to say and how to say it to the target. How exactly people plan for and communicate with others about norms when they experience personal conflict with these norms is an important focus of this study.

Influences on planning. Certain factors can be identified from the literature, which are likely to influence planning. Cognitive activity involving sense making of a conflict situation occurs when individuals anticipate conflict (Cloven & Roloff, 1993b, 1995). Again, it is established that one's ability to manage a conflict episode with competence are related with attunement to the perspective of the person with whom the interaction would occur (Lakey & Canary, 2002). At the same time, all intrapersonal reflections on conflict are not channelized into expressed struggle (Newell & Stutman, 1991; Stafford & Gibbs, 1993; Vuchinich, 1987; Wilmot & Hocker, 2007). Within the context of norms, the very concept of public compliance (J. C. Turner, 1991) shows that all occurrences of tension between personal and social norms are not addressed. Hence, unless a conflict has resulted in expressed struggle before, an individual may not be attuned to the possibility of an impending face to face interaction. Therefore, one factor would be related to awareness. If a conflict is thrust upon the individual such as when it

becomes apparent in a course of an activity or is initiated without warning, s/he would not have the time to think or plan. On the other hand if the conflict is being experienced over time, the individual may indeed focus energies on planning the negotiation.

A second factor could be about relational parameters. If one chooses to confront someone with greater power or someone with whom the relationship is characterized by intimacy and loyalty, one may be more inclined to plan. Planning may be seen as a way of managing the relational goals along with the tension.

A relevant theoretical perspective for understanding planning. Dillard's Goals-Plan-Action model (GPA) (Dillard, 1990a, 1990b, 2004) is useful for understanding this aspect. An idea that can be borrowed from this model is the differentiation between primary and secondary goals. A primary goal is the key issue, or the reason for seeking compliance while secondary goals represent factors that may affect the way the primary goal is addressed. In other words secondary goals represent constraints. In this research the normative conflict can be considered parallel to the concept of primary goals. With regard to secondary goals, as such any constraint that acts on any communication situation would affect norm related negotiation, such as situational factors (e.g., environment), personal factors (e.g., communication apprehension) and factors related to the individuals and relationships involved in the negotiation. However, since the relational context is where norms are influential (Crano, 2000), this context is of particular significance for this study and likely to constitute important secondary goals.

Overall, the second assumption states that communication about norms will be goal directed, where the primary goals will relate to how the individual wishes to resolve

the tension between social and personal norms s/he perceives and secondary goals or constraints would be characterized by relational concerns among others.

Assumption three: Communication about norms is best described as negotiation

Primary argument. The third assumption is about the characteristic nature of communication about norms once people make a decision to use communication to resolve their personal conflict with the group norm. Once compliance is not acceptable, the choice is between using direct, confrontational and indirect or non-confrontational behavior. The rationale behind proposing that people choose from these two options relates to the motivations for compliance. Individuals are expected to be motivated to comply because of rewards (being part of a group; having support and resources available; being acknowledged as valuable members) and for avoiding sanctions. If such motivations for following norms exist, then it stands to reason that when individuals' personal norms clash with social norms, challenging the social norms can potentially take away the privileges as well as bring about sanctions. Thus it is reasonable to assume that individuals would be motivated to find ways of following their personal norm while avoiding such negative consequences. For some, an open, direct dialogue may be the preferred manner of establishing personal norms and avoiding sanctions. For others as suggested by the notion of public compliance, an indirect, non-confrontational method of avoiding sanctions, such as using deception and excuses may seem more practical.

In this study, it is proposed that the manner in which individuals use communication to balance their personal norm while avoiding negative consequences is best described as *negotiation of the norm* between parties. Thus, negotiation has two meanings here: (1) using communication with others to reach a compromise about

acceptable practices, thus reforming the frame of reference that underlie the existing norm, or (2) using communication to hide or excuse their current or future transgressions from the norm. The decision to confront or engage in open, honest dialogue corresponds to the first meaning of negotiation that this study is interested in, namely people's use of interpersonal communication to reform the shared understanding of the norm through exchange, negotiation, and compromise. The decision to avoid confrontation corresponds conceptually to the second meaning of negotiation explored in this study which involves not drawing attention to one's felt dissonance or a violation.

The word negotiation is used here from a problem solving perspective, in the sense of an agreement or contract where each party presents his/her point of view and tries to reach a mutually acceptable deal or solution. Group members would try to strike a compromise between compliance and personal norms and avoid sanctions while informal or formal agents of social control would try to define acceptable boundaries of behavior. Such a view entails a more dynamic form of communication than the one typically conceived for communication about norms. It inherently involves mutual exchange, interpretation, and adaptation by the parties to the conversation.

Capturing and documenting the dynamics of communication about norms is an important goal of the current study. It is an important first step toward understanding the predictable and less predictable role of communication in establishing shared agreements about norms of behavior among group members. A key objective of this study is to view this process with respect to the ritual view of communication.

Negotiation in terms of the ritual view of communication. The ritual view (Carey, 1989), speaks of communication in terms of models or templates and as an

organizing / ordering mechanism. From this perspective, a description of negotiation would have to include answers to questions such as what communicative acts constitute communication about norms; what acts are directed towards challenging norms; what acts are directed towards enforcing norms; what is the difference between characteristics of conversations which prompt compliance versus not, or modify a norm versus not (like an organizing phenomenon); and the nature of communication episodes (like models or strategies of communication that represent the notions of negotiation of norms). The overall assumption is that communication about norms can be seen as a mechanism for reaching a deal or contract between group members and agents of social control about mutually acceptable behaviors.

In sum, the key objective of this study is to obtain a description of communication about norms in a relational context, since that is where norms are influential. Two basic questions are addressed, about when and how such communication occurs. Corresponding to these questions certain assumptions are derived from the literature on social norms and interpersonal communication. It is assumed that interpersonal communication about norms will occur when individuals feel motivated to resolve tension between their personal and social norms. It is also assumed that they will use communication in a goal directed manner to negotiate the norms and resolve the tension. Keeping these assumptions in mind, an exploratory research following qualitative methods of investigation was designed. In the following chapter, the methodology is described in detail.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Qualitative methodology using individual interviews was adopted for the study. To meet the research objectives and to maximize the potential theoretical and empirical yield of this study, the focus of investigation was limited to a particular relational context and to a specific circumstance in which interpersonal communication about norms takes place. The obvious disadvantage of doing so is loss of generalizability or external validity. The setting and circumstance chosen may not be representative of all possible instances in which people communicate with others about norms and the patterns of communication emerging from a single case study may be different than those that present themselves in other situations. However, the primary advantage of limiting the scope of investigation in this way is the ability to control, by design, for situational factors that may introduce “noise” (or theoretically less important variations) into the basic communication process that is the primary interest of this study. In this way, valid comparisons among individual accounts of the same phenomenon can be made and a greater clarity about the communication process of interest is achieved. Because not much is known about this phenomenon to begin with, the importance of gaining clarity about the process outweighs that of achieving external validity.

Context variables

The scope of the study was limited to the normative context of private information sharing between parents and children belonging to the Indian immigrant group in the United States. The relevance of each of these choices is explained below.

Normative context. The current investigation was limited to communication about norms of private information sharing. This refers to tension that might result because of varying expectations about what is appropriate information to ask for or share. Conflict could occur in several ways. Tension could occur because a parent asks for information that his/her child considers private or vice versa. It could also occur when one party discloses information that according to the other party is inappropriate for revelation. The specific definition of private information for the purpose of this study follows the literature on privacy and disclosure (Altman, 1976; Altman & Taylor, 1973; Petronio, 2002; Shoeman, 1992; Westin, 1970), especially the Communication Privacy Management Theory (CPM) (Petronio, 2002). Petronio (2002) defines private information as the content of self-disclosure. According to CPM, individuals manage the openness-privacy dialectic in interpersonal interactions by controlling private information through a rule-based management process. The existence of such a rule management process supports the notion that individuals clearly have personal norms about what information about themselves they wish to reveal or keep private.

At the same time, formal and informal social norms about privacy are present in virtually every society (Shoeman, 1992). Norms of private information sharing (i.e., norms about what information or actions people can or should keep to themselves and what they can or should disclose to others) are a constant source of tension for the individual. People are typically expected to disclose private information and actions that may threaten the group's physical or spiritual existence (e.g., disclosing that one is HIV-positive), unless the disclosure of such information could threaten the group's core values, in which case people are expected to keep this information private (e.g., the US

military “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy on homosexuality). Thus choosing this context provided definite possibility of encountering social-personal norm conflicts.

Relational context. The parent-child relationship context is relevant for studying communication about social norms. Parents play the social role of socialization agents (Homans, 1950). Socialization agents are invested with special powers by society. They are expected to socialize others into the norms of the society and enforce compliance. This also means that they are given the power to conduct surveillance to identify or pre-empt non-compliance. Every society has a mechanism for surveillance and parents are the most significant part of that socially approved machinery, when it comes to socializing and controlling young members (Westin, 1970). On the other hand as children grow up and try to assert autonomy, privacy-related conflicts with parents are common (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, & Hetherington, 2000; Collins & Madsen, 2003).

Parents are in control of the resources to manage children’s environment; provide them nourishment and enrichment and protect them (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). As a result, there is asymmetrical power in this relationship with most of the power residing with the parents. At the same time biological relationship, biologically driven attraction, proximity, natural tendencies to protect, nurture and express affection and the fact of non-severable bonds creates strong intimacy and interdependence in this relationship. The dimensions of intimacy and power increase the likelihood that parents and children would want to negotiate in order to reach some compromise. Studying the parent-child relational context thus allows us to view a situation with potential for tension and consequent negotiation between personal and group norms of private information sharing.

Perceived conflict between personal and group norms of privacy is not the only

source of tension people experience in this context. People also get caught between conflicting norms of privacy that exist at the group level when two or more groups in which the individual is a member (or aspires to be a member) have different conventions about privacy and disclosure. To capture these dynamics, the current study explores interactions about norms of privacy within a group of first and second-generation immigrants.

Social cultural context. Social norms vary across cultures. Therefore one approach would be to compare different cultural contexts to see if and what the differences are. However, consistent with the the idea of controlling for cultural differences, a single homogenous cultural context was considered preferable for the study. The American cultural context could certainly be fruitfully studied. However, an immigrant community was considered worth approaching because norms are an especially relevant issue among them as a result of the need to balance assimilation forces as well as the urge to keep native culture alive. Immigration is a movement from an environment for which scripts were known to one where scripts have to be learned from the beginning (van Oudenhoven, 2006). It also involves efforts to balance assimilation forces with the need to retain cultural heritage. As put by van Oudenhoven, migration is an extremely disorganizing individual experience, associated with changes of social identity and self-image and the necessity to navigate different systems of speaking, listening, reading and writing. The process of relocating and resettling involves significant amounts of norm learning and unlearning. It is clear from the literature on immigrant adaptation (Augusti-Panareda, 2006; Berry, 1980, 1997, 2003; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Foner, 1997; Gordon, 1964; Rosenau, 2004; Sam, 2006;

Schuetz, 1944) that the immigration experience is primarily about adapting to new norms and handling multiple conflicting norms.

For this study, the Indian immigrant population was chosen. The researcher is a native of India, and therefore has a natural interest in the community. India is known to be culturally very different from the United States based on most dimensions of cultural variability like collectivism and individualism, masculinity and femininity, control orientation versus constraint orientation and others (Hofstede, 1983). Therefore, it is logical to assume that Indian immigrants would face a certain degree of challenge in reconciling norms learned in India with the lifestyle in the United States. This makes the Indian immigrant group an interesting case study for this research.

As evident in extant research, the tension with multiple group affiliation and conflicting norms is highly pronounced among children of Indian immigrants - those who were born to the new society and were socialized into its norms, yet continue to be member of the immigrant group and are required to respect its norms (Dasgupta, 1998; Deepak, 2005; Foner, 1997; Hastings, 2000; Krishna, Bhatti, Chandra, & Juvva, 2005; Ranganath & Ranganath, 1997; Segal, 1991, 2002). Therefore this population was considered a viable source of information about how people use communication to manage conflicts between personal and group norms while also juggling conflicts that emerge from multiple group affiliation. Hence from practical and theoretical perspectives this group seemed a good choice.

Targeted Population

The final targeted population was that of first and second generation immigrants from Indian immigrant families residing in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area.

The term “first generation” refers to individuals who migrated to the United States (US) from India as adults and continue to live in the US. The term “second generation” refers to individuals who were born to first generation Indian immigrants and continued to live on in the US or were born in India but migrated with parents before the age of five. In order to control for cultural exposure the population was restricted to those who have lived only in India and the US and not in any other country.

Method of data collection

Semi-structured intensive interviews were used because of its various documented advantages. According to Charmaz (2006), “intensive interviewing permits an in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience” (p. 25). Similarly Lindlof and Taylor (2002) say that “interviews are particularly well-suited to understand the social actor’s experience and perspective” (p. 173) and interviewing allows us to understand native conceptualizations of communication and elicit language forms used by social actors in natural settings. In addition, interviews allow us to inquire about the past and about events and processes that are hard to observe in real time (Cresswell, 2003). All of these advantages were considered highly relevant for the purpose of this research. Since the objective was to find out about people’s experience of conversations about norms interviews, the “storytelling zones par excellence” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) seemed the obvious choice.

As with every method, interviews too have limitations. Cresswell (2003) points out that information from interviews are indirect and filtered through the respondents’ perspectives; they often do not occur in a natural setting leading to loss of contextual information; responses may be biased by the researcher and the quality of data may be

uneven as all respondents may not be similarly enthusiastic or articulate. Despite these disadvantages, this method was considered suitable because of its various advantages and because even though interviews yield indirect and filtered information, there is always the scope to validate that information from other individuals of the same profile as well as extant literature.

Procedure

The procedure for the study followed the ethical guidelines of the Institutional Review Board of the Rutgers University (IRB). The proposal for the study was approved under the exempt category (IRB protocol number E10-345) and all recruitment as well as informed consent procedures (Appendix A) were conducted following IRB approved formats.

Recruitment process. Participants were recruited through the personal contacts of the principal investigator in the NY-NJ-PA area; from the population of a large northeastern university; through organizations based at this university and with the snowballing procedure.

The recruitment process began with the crafting of a recruitment notice. The notice included an introductory explanation of the research objectives, a description of the profile of participants and the contact details of the principal investigator and the faculty advisor. It was further customized to make it relevant for the different organizations approached and for recruiting through personal contacts and snowballing. Once prospective participants responded to this notice, there was a short telephone conversation to confirm eligibility as well as to determine the venue and time of interview. Out of the final sample of 29, five were recruited through personal contacts

and snowballing after contacting eleven individuals. Three of these individuals were parents and two were second generation immigrants. Eight participants were recruited from the university population, by emailing individuals identified through a directory search of Indian last names. Also, emails with the recruitment notice were sent out to two student/faculty organizations based in the university. Three participants were recruited in this manner. Of these, two were parents and one was a second generation immigrant.

In addition to the above procedures, individuals were identified with the help of faculty members who agreed to offer extra credit to their students for participating in this research by either being interviewed or identifying eligible interviewees. Two individuals were identified and interviewed through this process. Finally, fifteen parents and two second generation individuals were identified and interviewed from the members of two organizations based in the NY-NJ-PA area.

Final sample. In total 31 individuals were interviewed (2 key informant interviews). Of these, 17 were parents and 14 were second generation Indian Americans. Table 1 presents the key characteristics of both the first and second generation sample.

First generation sample. In the parent category, 8 mothers and 7 fathers were interviewed. They were mostly Bengalis (six out of eight mothers and five out of seven fathers) while the rest were originally from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and Orissa provinces of India. With respect to religion, they were all Hindu. Their age ranged from 44 to 65 years and they had stayed in the US for between 15 and 40 years. All but four parents had two children.

The parents represent immigrants who arrived post the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration and Nationality Act and before the opening up of H-1B visas for highly

skilled professionals in the 1990s. According to Madhulika Khandelwal (Khandelwal, 2002), this group represents a highly educated cohort, a product of the “brain drain emigration” from India. In that sense the professional profile of the participants is representative of the professional profile of a majority of Indian immigrants who migrated around the same time. Also, since, the NY-NJ-PA area houses the largest concentration of Asian Indian immigrants in the US this group represents a large section of Indian immigrants in the US. All the fathers were working professionals engaged in management or research (corporate and academic). Among the mothers, one was a doctor, another was an academic professional and the remaining seven were full/part time working professionals in miscellaneous sectors.

Second generation sample. In the second generation category, eight female and six male second generation Indian Americans participated. They represented a variety of subcultures from India including Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, Rajasthani and Maharashtrian. In terms of religion this was again a homogeneous sample consisting of Hindus. Age ranged from 19 to 35 and duration of stay in the US ranged from 16 to 35 years. All the women and five of the men in this category came from two-child families. All except two, of the second generation were undergraduate students. All of the men were undergraduate students.

Data collection

Interviews were conducted in two stages with two key informant interviews in the beginning, followed by the main interviews.

Key informant interviews. The key informant interviews (Appendix B) were conducted to confirm that prospective participants would identify with the topic and to

gather information that would help fine tune the interview protocol. Participants were asked contextual questions that would help the investigator bridge the technical jargon-colloquial language gap and also to achieve some understanding of how potential participants would perceive the topic of research. Further, words and phrases that would best convey the research objectives were identified.

The key informants immediately identified with the research assumptions and reported that others of the same profile would find this topic highly relevant. It was noted that certain words like “tradition” and “values” may be helpful to explain the notion of social norms. Also, these interviews helped to clarify the assumptions about the notion of disagreement or conflict about norms. Conflict was initially defined as a precondition for norm negotiation. However the key informants revealed that even expectation of conflict can lead to interactions. Parents anticipate conflict and take preventive measures and interactions result from that as well. This indicated that a more flexible definition is warranted. The condition of conflict experience was still retained in the recruitment notice and the screening conversation between the researcher and prospective participants as that would help filter out individuals who do not perceive conflict at all. Ultimately the participants who were interviewed were ones who expressed interest in the topic and identified with the notion that social norms result in tension between parents and children

Finally, the key informant interviews also helped as reference for ongoing validation of the interview information. Matching the participants’ experience with the key informants’ description of social norms related disagreements helped the researcher keep track of the relevance and validity of the information obtained.

Main Interviews. The interview protocol (Appendix C), was designed based on the suggestions provided by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) and Kathy Charmaz (2006). Broad, open ended questions along with certain discussion points were included. The planned interview protocol is described below after which the process of administering it is described.

Planned interview guide. The questions asked in the interview corresponded with the research objectives and was divided into five sections. Section A was the introductory part devoted to introduction and explanation of the purpose of the study; obtaining of consent; and information regarding migration, residence status, family description and self-identity. “Family description” included information about number and age of children when interviewing parents and whether parents and children live in the same house. Section B included explanation of the concept of social norms in order to ensure that the academic definition and participants’ definitions match.

The main part of the interview started in section C. This included introduction to the notion of norms of private information sharing and questions about the significance of this issue in the participants’ perceptions. This was followed by a question asking for a description of the usual behavior for managing clashes relating to private information sharing norms. Questions that help differentiate between situations that are handled through conversation versus ones that are handled without conversation followed. In section D, the participants were introduced to the objective of describing a *typical* privacy norm related conversation with parent/child. At first the participant was encouraged to describe freely as per his/her own observations. Finally, section E included ideas for potential follow-up questions.

Interviewing process. Following the suggestions of Lindlof and Taylor and Charmaz, a conversational approach based on rapport building rather than a pure question and answer approach was adopted. During the interview, after asking the “grand tour questions” (Appendix B, Section D and question E1), the participants were encouraged to present their story. Based on these responses, additional directive and non-directive (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) questions were asked to seek clarification on ideas introduced by the participants or to seek additional information with reference to the discussion points on section E.

Interview Logistics. The interviews were held in places and at times that were convenient for both the participant and the researcher. Eleven of the fifteen parent interviews were held in the participants’ own homes; one interview was conducted in the principal investigator’s home and three were conducted in public places like cafeterias and lawns of the participants’ workplaces. All but one of the second generation interviews were held in public places including, cafeterias, restaurants, classrooms, library lounge and other public spaces within the university campus. The remaining interview was conducted in the participant’s workplace, in her own office.

All the second generation interviews were conducted in English whereas all but four of the parent interviews were conducted in Bengali which is the native tongue of both these participants and the investigator. The remaining parent interviews were conducted in English.

Transcription

As explained above, the parent and children interviews were different in terms of language used. The second generation interviews being in English could be transcribed

verbatim. The parent interviews (except the four in English) needed parallel translation. All transcriptions / parallel translation were done by the IRB certified principal investigator. At the time of transcription, identification codes were assigned referring to gender and whether the participant belonged to the first or second generation.

The purpose of the transcription was to obtain a written form of the interview that can be read and coded. No coding was done at the time of transcription. The transcripts capture the questions asked by the investigator and the participants' responses. Summarization or paraphrasing was avoided and, as far as possible, incomplete sentences, participants' efforts to rephrase their statements were recorded.

Analysis

The analysis followed a staged process developed with reference to the guidelines provided by Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Kathy Charmaz (1994, 2006, 2009) and keeping in mind the research objectives. It included several steps including (i) initial open coding of eight transcripts (ii) writing methodological, theoretical and personal notes based on observations from these transcripts (iii) open and focused coding of texts corresponding to each sensitizing concept (iv) axial coding and (vi) integrating.

The general approach towards analysis followed Corbin and Strauss' framework primarily, but was also influenced by Charmaz's approach. Corbin and Strauss' framework was used to guide the analytic steps as well as coding because it is widely used and considered to be a leading perspective on grounded theory. Charmaz follows a constructivist approach which recognizes that qualitative research reports are necessarily situated in the researcher and participants' experience and emphasizes the practice of including the participants' perspective in the analysis (Charmaz, 1994, 2009; Denzin,

2007; Kelle, 2007). The coding and category development aspects of analysis however primarily follow Corbin and Strauss (2008).

At first, two interviews from each category (mother, father, second generation male and female) were analyzed in detail. These transcripts were open coded and from these open codes, a list of codes was prepared to compare the themes from the remaining transcripts. Observational and methodological notes were written to aid the analysis. Since the interviews were loosely structured, each interview was unique in its own way, focusing especially on the participants' own experiences. The observational notes were important towards noting the significance of each participant's account separately before getting into comparisons. The codes and notes derived from this initial analysis were meant to help conduct a more focused coding of the remaining transcripts following the constant comparison method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

After the initial analysis, all the transcripts were examined with the objective of identifying the most relevant portions for answering the research questions. This involved coding different sections of the interview with respect to the key concepts relevant for the research question. These codes included *conversation* (to identify descriptions of the negotiation process); *source and nature of disagreement* (to identify the nature of the conflict between social and personal norm); *norm goals and communication goals* (to understand the motivations for negotiating); *compliance / non-compliance* (an antecedent to the decision to negotiate); *negotiation/avoidance*; *planning* (differentiating between pre-planned/strategic versus impromptu negotiation) and *strategy* (participants' description of how s/he negotiated).

In the next stage the remaining transcripts were coded. This involved both focused and open coding. With each transcript, emergent themes were compared with themes from the initial transcripts, noting the common themes (focused coding) and the new themes. Analytical memos for the emergent codes as well as observations for each transcript were written.

The first step in axial coding was to organize the codes from all the transcripts around the key research question based concepts. After this step, axial coding continued including differentiating between higher and lower order concepts within those codes. At this point the memos, notes as well as field notes were helpful towards identifying links and patterns between concepts. In the end, the integration resulted in organizing the observations around the core explanatory categories of “balancing normative and relational concerns”, and the notion of a focusing and analyzing effect of interpersonal communication on norms.

Throughout the process several *analytical tools* suggested by (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) (p. 69) were used. The first of these is the *constant comparison* method described above in relation to open and focused coding. Along with this, *theoretical comparisons, questioning, drawing upon personal experience, waving the red flag, and looking at the structure of the narrative* were used. Theoretical comparison refers to comparing emergent concepts and ideas with extant literature as well as even personal experience to gain a better understanding of the dimensions and properties of a concept when these are not clear from the available data. This tool was very helpful towards fleshing out the negotiation strategies. The literature on topic avoidance, compliance gaining and compliance resisting; disclosure; as well as persuasion was referred for this purpose.

The memos and notes were derived from analytical questions that came up while reading the transcripts. The most frequent questions were “what is going on here?”; “what is the context?”; “how is this different from what was seen before?”; “what might be the reason?”; and “is this all or is there some other meaning?”. These questions helped understand particular comments with respect to the rest of the interview which in turn helped link concepts at the stage of axial coding.

The context and process of the choices described by the participants were also interpreted by looking at the structure of the narratives. This helped identify the sequence of events leading up to the conversation described by the participant. Even at the time of the interview, this was kept in mind and follow-up questions were asked to get a clear picture of the considerations and stages behind these choices. This was important because the data for this research is remembered information, narrated long after the events occurred, not observed events. It was important to get a clear picture of what the participants perceived as antecedents to the conversations they described. Corbin and Strauss (2008) refer to *waving the red flag* as a tool for keeping one’s biases at bay. This refers to carefully examining comments that express extreme sentiments and ask questions that would further define the scope of that comment. In addition to this, Charmaz’s (2006) idea of line by line coding was helpful. There were often judgmental comments made by both parents and children. At these points, using line by line coding (treating each self-sufficient phrase and sentence within a paragraph and coding it separately) helped gain distance from the data and interpret it more objectively. This helped focus on the characteristics and dimensions of concepts rather than an imagined truth value.

Validation

Once all the findings had been integrated into a coherent description, additional participants were consulted to validate it. Seven participants including six prior and one new individual were interviewed, where the salient findings were related to them, and they were asked them if they considered them to be accurate, resonant and complete. With their feedback, the report was revised. In addition, the process of analysis had revealed additional questions that needed to be answered in order to be able to construct a complete and consistent description. This theoretical sampling process was also addressed in these additional interviews (Appendix D).

In the following chapter the results of this analysis are presented with respect to the two research questions.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

The primary objective of this study was to obtain a description of social interaction in the context of norms. An important finding is that such interactions include conversations about norms per se and primarily behaviors and behavioral expectations. Talk about norms occurs with respect to family or local norms or social network level norms. However, when facing tension between individual and collective (family) gains, people negotiate behavioral expectations and boundaries of acceptable behavior, not norms per se. The description offered in this study thus consists of accounts of how boundaries of private information sharing are negotiated.

Since the study was conducted within the parent-child relational context, a number of interpersonal and family communication theoretical frameworks are relevant for understanding the dynamics of the negotiation. However the primary focus of this study is to provide a coherent representation of participants' accounts of the negotiation process in consonance with the exploratory qualitative approach. Thus the emphasis is on identifying variables and phenomena related to normative influence from the participants' perspective rather than recasting their accounts in the framework of any particular theory. At the same time, the relevance of existing theoretical frameworks cannot be ignored. These have been invoked frequently to provide explanations and/or additional insight.

Two research questions were addressed in this study. The first one is about when people negotiate norms. Corresponding to this question, an assumption was that tension between social and personal norms is a precondition for communication about norms. It is seen that conversations about boundaries of private information sharing ensue when parents' assert their role related right of monitoring children which children find to be

limiting on their autonomy. The second research question is about how people communicate (what do they think, feel and say). With regard to this question, the assumptions were that communication would be purposive, including primary and secondary goals and that its nature would be that of negotiation. The data shows that both children and parents use a variety of communication strategies to negotiate boundaries of private information sharing.

These two questions are addressed consecutively in the first and second sections of this chapter. Thus the first section is devoted to examining how interaction about norms ensues. Key issues addressed include when tension leads to communication and when not and who initiates a conversation and why. Motivations for negotiation are identified and described separately for children and parents. The second research question addressing the nature of negotiation is described in the second section. Corresponding to the assumption of norm negotiation being purposive, the goals of negotiation are identified. In relation to this, whether individuals plan negotiation episodes and if so the conditions that influence planning are discussed at first. Participants' accounts show that individuals use a variety of communication strategies incorporating specific goal oriented content and communication styles. These strategies and their impact are also examined within the second section. A third section constitutes reflections on the role of communication in normative influence based on the findings for each of the research questions. It is concluded that communication acts as a focusing mechanism, drawing attention to specific behavioral expectations and the rationale for such expectations. A discussion of all the findings, limitations and contributions of the study are presented in chapter four followed by a summative conclusion in chapter five.

Section 1: When do people communicate about norms?

A key assumption of this study was that tension between social and personal norms of information sharing is a precursor to communication about those norms. In this study, we find that tension perceived is between parents' expectations about children's behavior and children's personal norms. Parents' expectations arise from perceptions of their social role as control agents. In this context it would be useful to refer to two concepts about behavioral expectations relating to norms. These are *empirical expectations* and *normative expectations* (Bicchieri & Erte, 2007). Empirical expectations refers to how we expect others to behave whereas normative expectations refers to how we think others expect us to behave and there is a sense of "ought" associated with the latter. In this study, since we look at the parent-child relational context instead of an informal social context, empirical expectations can be used to refer to parents' expectations about children's behavior. Again, children can be said to have normative expectations about how their parents expect them to behave. There is a growing body of literature on the link between norms and expectations, and in this study, we see that conversations arise when individuals perceive tension between such expectations and their personal norms.

The findings show that communication is not an inevitable result of tension between expectations and personal norms. First of all need for communication has to be triggered. Tension between behavioral expectations and personal norms is a pervasive element in the interactions between parents and children. Both are conscious about it and evaluate their own behavior in light of this tension. Parents expect conflict with children about social norms in general and in particular regarding autonomy and private

information. Similarly children are conscious of the generational and cultural roots of parents' expectations and the difference between those and their own beliefs and preferred behaviors. This is on their minds constantly and they feel that most if not all of their interactions with their parents are affected by this difference. However, people do not talk about it all the time. From the group members' perspective, interaction about the tension needs to be triggered by some behavior that makes the tension evident and forces individuals to consider the choice between compliance and non-compliance. Specific behaviors bring the expectations into focus, similar to the prediction of the Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990). As a result of such behaviors, social expectations and personal norms come into focus.

It is at this point that individuals go through the two steps of decision making. The first logical step is to decide between compliance and non-compliance. If compliance is chosen, there is no need to negotiate. But if compliance is not acceptable, negotiation would be needed to accommodate the personal norm and minimize sanctions. However, as seen in the current data, even if non compliance implies necessity of communication, it does not mean that communication will occur. As a result of a number of variables described in the section on motivation to negotiate, both children and parents, often avoid communicating about the tension they perceive between expectations and children's personal norms. The perception of tension can remain intrapsychic and not be expressed. Alternately, repeated conflict engagement can lead to frustration and consequent suspension of communication attempts. This is in consonance with the literature on conflict avoidance and social norms. The literature on conflict avoidance shows that individuals often avoid communicating about conflicts for a numbers of reasons, such as

perceptions of triviality (Roloff & Ifert, 2000a), self protection, relationship protection (W. A. Afifi & Guerrero, 1999) and a variety of other reasons. Further, it is known that communication about conflict, including those about social norms, can result in polarization (J. C. Turner, 1991) where individuals move away from negotiation or accept differences and agree to disagree (Roloff & Ifert, 2000a). It should be mentioned though that, since this was an exploratory study, focused on obtaining basic descriptions of conversations about social norms, all the possibilities documented in literature about the reasons for avoidance or the processes involved in avoidance or polarization are not encountered. At the same time it is important to note that the overall phenomenon of avoidance of communication about conflict is supported by extant literature.

The move from tension perception to communication is described here for both children and parents. For children, the three steps are explicated in terms of triggers for compliance decision; motivations for compliance/non-compliance and motivations for negotiation. For parents the decision making is described in terms of motivations for negotiation.

Triggers for compliance decision

In this sample, one way in which the tension between social and personal norms of private information sharing is experienced is with respect to *monitoring*. This issue can be examined with respect to its link with the notion of social roles (Homans, 1950), multiple group affiliation - a factor which compounds its significance, scope, and the specific behaviors which bring this tension to the surface.

Monitoring and social roles. Parents and children see private information from opposite perspectives. Parents consider information about their children's lives to be an

essential condition for retaining control so that they are able to keep children on the right path and ensure their well-being. They perceive that their children's need for privacy is less crucial compared to the need to protect them from extraneous or self-inflicted harm. As a result, they believe that they have the right to have access to information about their children and that society's recognition of parents as primary socialization agents gives them this right. These expectations translate into injunctive norms of information sharing for children.

Children on the other hand consider private information to be an essential aspect of their status as individuals and their sense of personhood. The very possibility of another person having access to that information implies a denial of this status. They want their parents to recognize their right to decide what they want to disclose. They also want to be regarded as responsible individuals and not be treated simply as wards.

Example 1: Everything that I do - everyday – everything that I do the day to day activities that I do when they are not next to me is private. It's like – you know what I mean, when they are not next to me and taking place in the conversation or seeing what happening, like even if I am just going to Shop Rite to get milk, even if they are not next to me is my private information, you now I get milk for the house, so I guess that's a bad example but if I am doing something for myself or with a friends, that's a something I did for myself, that's my privacy (second generation female)

Example 2: I believe that if you are well adjusted and doing well in life there is no reason for them to check up on every aspect of you you know – if you are doing poorly, if you are not adjusting well to a new situation, I feel then it's the parents' job to say well let's look into it and see if we can fix it (second generation male)

Example 3: On the parents' part I think they would just like to know – I think a lot of it is the safety concern – that the more involved they are, the easiest it is to step in if we are in trouble – so for them privacy is more of a safeguard issue whereas for us it's more of a self-identification (second generation female)

Example 4 : Because when we want to go in, we should be able to go in anytime, (there should be) accessibility; what is there to hide? Until one is

married, there is nothing so personal. If there is something problem, they should come and talk to me. (mother)

Both parents' and childrens' accounts also show that the nature of the tension between parents' monitoring behavior and children's desire for autonomy, changes as children grow up. The point at which the difference becomes apparent is stated by some parents to be beginning of college and by others to be the time the child gets married. Children report that they see differences in their parents' behavior after one or two years in college. In general, the change is towards lesser monitoring by parents and greater experience of autonomy by children. At the same time there are differences among parents. Some parents report that they consider their children as deserving of freedom from monitoring once they leave home for college. These parents believe that they should rely on children to live up to the values they were taught. For another group of parents however, the fact that children are beyond everyday monitoring procedures, is a source of anxiety. There is a tendency to continue enacting the socialization role but it is practically difficult and children have greater scope to exercise freedom. From the children's perspective there is a clear difference in parents' attitude towards their behavior. They find that parents are cognizant of their need for freedom and more trusting. They are not free from monitoring completely, as parents continue to exercise their socialization role with respect to behaviors such as dating and marriage. However children find the relationship to be more equal, that is, less characterized by the socialization-ward equation than a relatively collegial relationship.

It is not surprising that in this research we see concerns about autonomy and control. In this sample we obtained reports of conversations between parents and young

adult children many of who recalled conversations that occurred during high school or early college years. As we know from the socialization and family communication literatures, this is the prime time for autonomy related conflicts (Baumrind, 1971; Collins & Madsen, 2003; Grusec & Davidov, 2007).

Multiple group affiliation – a phenomenon which compounds the monitoring-autonomy tension. In this sample it can be seen that multiple group affiliation results in certain unique ways in which the tension between social and personal norms is experienced. Indian immigrant parents reveal concerns with balancing the expectations of their native community in India, with those of fellow immigrants (who as past studies have shown often affirm their ethnicity on foreign soil, holding on to a sense of Indianness that no longer exists in India (Dasgupta, 1998)) as well as the host community. In the process, they focus on crucial norms. They also realize that children too experience tension between parents' cultural norms and peer group norms and feel that it is important to be aware of the specific norms and scenarios where children experience this tension. So they are on a constant information-seeking mission, in an effort to better understand (but also monitor) their children.

Example 5. The whole thing with dating for girls especially you know, when do you begin to date or when is it alright to go out you know or do you date at all , that notion and also the idea that how much of that should you share...with your parents . You know parents would like to know every step of the way whereas you know I think for more mainstream Americans it is something you know that is completely out of bounds between children and parents. And I am told that you have to knock at their door before entering their room. I don't think Indian parents you know will not go that far (mother)

Children attribute disagreements about social norms to the cultural differences between their parents and themselves. They are conscious of the fact that they belong to two very divergent groups – the “Indians” and the “Americans”. In their perception their

“American” counterparts have greater freedom than they are afforded. They perceive that their American friends are subjected to less monitoring and allowed greater freedom of decisions. In addition, they feel that they are judged by the standards of Indian society which existed at the time of their parents’ childhood. They find this unfair because India is a distant, therefore less relevant country and in their experience, current youth culture in India is different from parents’ descriptions.

In addition, they often find that parents are unable to understand their perspective. They believe that parents’ grew up in such a different culture and their standards of “good and “bad” and “right” and “wrong” are so different that they cannot always comprehend their children’s lives. As a result, there is a need to compartmentalize the “American” and “Indian” sides of life. The essence of this is keeping information about one separate from the other. For instance, there is a clear need to protect information about activities derided in Indian groups, such drinking, staying out late and dating.

Example 6. I understand that because I am from India as well and when parents come to the West. They came like 25 years ago. I was born and raised here but I think that they have an idea of the West as like you know something like you, children could go bad in such an environment even if you raise them right. So I think they are more cautious but I think that they just don’t understand that the generation has changed, the times have changed. (second generation female)

Example 7: I was in a band in high school and there are very few Indians in bands so I ended up making lot of friends who aren’t Indian. I know none of their parents have researched their rooms and things like that and as for their grades, most parents are the same you know, if you did really badly, they would be angry, but when it came to the privacy issue I feel like most Indian parents are different from other parents. And my parents freely admitted that and stated that, used that evidence to say that Indian parents were better. (second generation male)

Example 8: My mom was kind of serving like the American ambassador to the family – so she was kind of the representative, the only person who came to America and because of that me and my sister who is 15, my little sister, we have to act kind of those perfect Indian children even though we don’t live there. (second generation male)

The clash between Indian and American cultural norms affects both parents' ability to monitor and children's ability to resist monitoring. The allocentric and hierarchical orientations create certain expectations about respect for parental power and deference rituals (Augusti-Panareda, 2006; Deepak, 2005; Farver, Bhadha, et al., 2002; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Patel & Power, 1996; Segal, 2002) and children are expected to keep their boundaries open and flexible. At the same time, awareness of cultural differences leads children to question the validity of such expectations and this impacts their decision to comply.

Scope. It would also be important to note that norms of private information sharing with regard to monitoring are negotiated at the family level. While community members undoubtedly have perceptions of ideal parent and child roles, and consider monitoring to be an essential aspect of fulfilling the socialization objectives, they are really more focused on the socialization outcome. Parents therefore use their own experiences and ingenuity to develop information sharing norms to help them address normative concerns. At the same time, the amount of leeway is constrained by social norms. There are certain perceptions about what is good or reasonable parenting which often is different in sub-groups within the Indian immigrant community. One set of parents may believe in more friendly and liberal approaches whereas another set of parents may subscribe to more power-assertive or restrictive approaches. There are also differences in the way native Indian and American norms are balanced. The sub-groups reveal clear preferences for particular approaches and even often deride the other approaches.

It is important to note in this context that norms have a dual nature. Personal

norms, local and global norms are not always separate. The very fact that one belongs to a group reflects that personal norms would mostly match with group norms (Bandura, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Similarly, family norms would match with the larger social group that it is nested in. Therefore when talking about Indian immigrant families, it needs to be recognized that family norms are mostly derived from norms of the Indian immigrant group. In sum, even though these norms may be more significant locally (within the family) they still relate to larger social norms of parenting. As Shoeman (1992) reminds us, “there is ample historical evidence that families have functioned and still do function largely as social control mechanisms rather than as refuges from social control. The privacy accorded to them enhances the controlling rather than the liberating forces.” (p. 15).

Example 9: There are many parents who support the idea that it's okay with them if their kid drinks in the house even if they are under age, the reason being that the rationale behind it being that let them drink in front of us rather than drink outside and not know their limits and something bad happens. But I do not support that idea. If you are underage, you don't drink, if it's not the age, you don't drink, it does not have to be in front of me or behind me, so I don't support that. If they still do it, you have no control over that but you just teach your child the rights and the wrongs and the rights, yeah. (mother)

Example 10: One parent told me that her daughter calls her every day after class and she told me confidently, she is always in her room in the evening. I was laughing to myself, - yes, that's right, your daughter is always in her room in the evening. How do you know where she is calling from? We do not insist that our daughters call us every day. As long as they call us every few days it is fine. They are in college, you have to depend on them too a little bit. (mother)

Manner of triggering the compliance decision. The tension between monitoring and children's personal norm of information control can surface in interactions first of all because of *expectations regarding private information sharing* per se. These include expectations about acquiescence with information seeking, accessibility to children's

domain and information sharing with third parties. Second, *expectations about other behaviors* can also trigger decision making about compliance with private information sharing norms.

Acquiescence with information seeking. Parents expect that when they ask their children about their activities, children ought to respond with the information. Therefore they often ask questions about their children's behavior when away from them. Such behavior has been recorded earlier in Petronio's investigations of boundary coordination (Petronio, 1994) within families as well as in Ledbetter and colleagues' (2010) study on parental invasive and children's defensive behaviors. Ledbetter and colleagues refer to this kind of question asking as *verbal invasions*. However, children perceive the need to negotiate for boundaries since they wish to maintain control. Parents are aware of this reaction in children and accept that they may not get the clear, truthful, direct and compliant response they seek. As a result from both parents and children's perspectives, an episode of information seeking by parents has the potential to lead to negotiation of private information sharing norms.

Example 11: I was asking about her high school friends, "what is this person doing/ what is that person doing, I mean what they are doing now and things like that, so she told me a few things, in the beginning she was okay then after a while she said "Ma why am I telling you all these things? They are not your friends, they are my friends , you don't have to know all those things" and she shut up. (mother)

Access to child's domain. Parents expect that they will have unfettered access to children's domain in literal and figurative senses. They discourage children's control over physical domains such as bedrooms. While children are allowed to have separate bedrooms, they are discouraged from spending much of their waking time in them.

Instead they are encouraged to spend time with the parents and siblings if any. They are also discouraged from locking doors. Parents believe that children ought to have nothing to hide and in that case they should be able to gain access into their children's room at all times. They use what Petronio (Petronio, 1994) refers to as *direct* and *subversive* invasions. They openly access children's domains and also conduct inspection without children's knowledge. Similar to Ledbetter and colleagues' (2010) findings, parents conduct *spatial*, *telephone* and *computer invasions*. They believe that they have the right to inspect children's rooms and check children's emails and phone messages to stay aware of any activities that children are not sharing with them. Children, however, wish to maintain control over these physical domains. Consequently when parents gain access to these domains, children feel intruded upon and their freedom compromised.

Example 12: When I was living with them, they reserved the right to you know check up on my homework and you know if I was out with friends, they'd call me –that wasn't too much of an issue, it was more along the lines of if I was on the computer they reserved the right to like go through my history or you know basically stay on my case about homework and things like that. (second generation male)

Example 13: My parents like insisted that they be allowed to go through my room and I wasn't doing any drugs or anything so they didn't come up with anything but my issue wasn't that they looked for that but my issue was that they decided that it was okay to go through my room and things like that (second generation male)

Example 14. (There should be accessibility because there is) so much nonsense going on in the world, magazines, sex and all those things. Children tend to open these magazines and find out about these things but in that respect I would say that you (parents) should explain to them what is wrong and what is right. They are young – marriage and sex come after education is over, when one is ready for that, it will happen, before that focus should be on education, health, sports and good nature. (mother)

Example 15. You know my, as long as I am paying taxes, as long as you know the mortgage is in my name I get into my son's room and through his dresser and anywhere possible to make sure that he is doing well, that everything is

fine. (mother)

Parents also try to set up structures such as family dinners to enable regular exchange of information of each day's activities; a pattern of spending time together in the same living/family area of the house instead of in own bedrooms; "checking in" schedules for children who are away from home; and specific rules for sharing information about specific topics. A relationship characterized by predictable norms of communication is seen to facilitate monitoring as well as decrease the need for it. If every night the whole family sits together and talks about their day anyway, parents are bound to get a lot of information about the child's activities, which would decrease the need for special monitoring efforts.

From the children's perspective these routines and instructions or rules for information sharing challenge their ability to maintain boundaries. When they do not wish to share information that parents have instructed them to share, if they comply, they feel violated while if they do not comply, they experience guilt. In this way accessibility becomes a point of contention.

Example 16. My parents want every single detail about our lives. They want to know what we were doing last night; the day before and everything ... they want to know, they want to know every detail, like if they didn't know what we did for like an hour of time, they would think like we have done everything like we could have gone to Mexico, had a party; they want to know literally everything we have done and there is no privacy with them in the home like its... it's kind of ridiculous – they want to know everything. (Second generation male)

Example 17. I think they want to know everything – so in a day, like who did you go out with, what did you guys talk about you know how were your classes going, what are you like. (second generation female)

Example 18: I get uncomfortable when they ask me about private..... but I try to be honest but sometimes it's just better for them not to know I feel.....

not that I am doing anything bad it's just that I think it's my life and I want to keep it to myself. (second generation female)

Information sharing with third parties. Private information sharing norms also become the subject of contention when there is *boundary turbulence* (Petronio, 2002). One cannot forget that parents are answerable to society. Their conformity is revealed by their wards' behavior. To that extent, when children reveal their private information to parents, the information is likely to be revealed to people to whom parents answer. When children share information with their parents, as predicted by CPM, they expect that parents will not reveal that information to third parties (Petronio, 2002). Yet they often find that their parents are inclined to sharing that information with their friends and therefore what is considered private has the risk of becoming publicized.

Example 19: I have a girlfriend and I told my parents, I was upfront about it. But I found out that basically my entire (extended) family also knew and all of our family friends knew. That I wasn't necessarily so comfortable with I mean I understand that like I had to come clean to my parents, I had to tell my parents but I didn't think it was appropriate to tell everybody. (second generation male)

Children therefore are fiercely protective of information about their friends. They feel that their friends' personal information should be out of bounds for their parents, simply because they are individuals and therefore their information cannot be shared with others. So as one parent put it, protecting information about friends is a matter of "principle" for the children. Since fear of boundary turbulence prevent children from complying with parents' information sharing expectations, parents face difficulty in monitoring.

Example 20. These kids are very loyal to their friends, if any friend says "don't tell this to anyone, this shouldn't go to your parents", especially their Indian friends I have seen, they will never tell that. Because they know that their

parents talk and one parent will tell another – “my daughter said this or my son said that” so they will not disclose (mother)

At the same time, children find that parents expect them to share all their private information with them and only them. Clashes arise when children speak with outside individuals such as guidance counselors in their schools because this comes in the way of parents’ monitoring behaviors. The counselors keep the content of these sessions confidential, which the children find reassuring. But they find that their parents have difficulty accepting this arrangement. For instance, when one of the second generation participants had confided to a counselor about the problems he was having adjusting to a new school, the counselor simply called to let the parents know that their son had approached counseling, and did not tell them in detail what information had been exchanged. The parents were upset and found it to be ridiculous that they should be considered undeserving of knowing about their child’s thoughts. This remained a point of contention over a long period of time and the individual was subjected to criticism and sarcasm for having confided to a stranger.

Example 21. This was back when I was in 7th grade, I had moved from one school district to another and I had gone to see the guidance counselor just to kind of stabilize myself and to see that my academics are okay, and of course they have a confidentiality role and my mother was upset about it because she said that “well I am his mother, you can’t keep information from me” but legally they are able to. That was pretty much like the first memory of how private information and me keeping private information from my parents would lead them to react in a certain way. (second generation male)

Expectations about other behaviors. In the effort to monitor, parents seek information about a variety of topics including activities with friends, dating, marriage plans, financial decisions and health behavior. When they suspect or find out that children have deviated, they need to find out more so that they can enact their

enforcement role by sanctioning the transgression and reinforcing compliance. At the same time children desire to control information regarding these activities. Consequently, conversations about these behaviors can trigger decision making about compliance with private information sharing unless children are agreeable to sharing the information.

Children desire greater control over some topics of private information over others. Therefore when parents seek information about these topics, they experience greater tension. Exchanging information about a day's activities is not considered a significant imposition on autonomy. However when parents seek information about visits to the gynecologist or about dating or about spending / saving behavior, there is greater challenge to autonomy.

In addition, parents' attitude towards these behaviors also influences their need to control information. In other words, the extent to which these behavioral norms are considered to be binding, influences children's willingness to share information, especially if they have transgressed. When they face stringent expectations with respect to particular behaviors, such as dating and drinking, their motivation to comply by sharing information is further affected. Even if they feel that parents have a right to know, concerns about their reactions to such behavior prevent them from complying with the information sharing expectation.

Example 22. (I felt) Actually pretty guilty (about not telling Mom about boyfriend), cause I wanted to tell her but I really.... I wanted to wait until I was sure where this was going/ I was going to end up before I told her anything and I think I told her about 6 months after that. (second generation female)

However, non compliance can get discovered by parents and at that point children's willingness to comply with private information sharing norms is no longer relevant.

Communication is inevitable and children have to engage in negotiation.

In sum, triggers for the first step of decision making about compliance include monitoring norms and resultant information sharing expectations as well as expectations about other behaviors. Even where the expected behaviors with regard to information sharing are not in dispute, the nature of the behavior about which information is to be shared, may be the source of tension. Overall, parents' expectations about acquiescence with information sharing, access to children's domain and information sharing with third parties restrict children's control over their private information. Hence a choice between compliance and non-compliance has to be made and therein lies the trigger for negotiation.

Motivation for compliance

As seen in this sample, the decision to comply is dependent on the relative cruciality of private information content compared with concern for harming the relationship with parents. Compliance occurs when concern for harming the relationship outweighs the anticipated satisfaction of being able to follow the personal norm. On the other hand, there is unqualified resistance when concern for the personal norm outweighs concern for harming the relationship.

Situations when concerns about relationship are prioritized. Since parents have much power over children, from the children's perspective, there is considerable risk associated with non-compliance. Hence, a common reason for complying is that children feel that they cannot win against their parents and predict that their efforts at persuading them will be unsuccessful. Again, subordinating the personal norm is more or

less tolerable according to what is expected to be revealed. When complying with parents' information seeking is seen to incur little cost in terms of freedom, children decide to endure it. For instance, children agree to a routine of regular phone calls to their parents while living away from them. They see this routine as a source of assurance and comfort for their parents and not a significant imposition on their autonomy. Therefore even if they privately consider such a routine to be unnecessary or intrusive, they comply.

Sometimes, compliance occurs out of respect for parents' role behavior. Children can see parents' monitoring behavior as related with their social role. They are aware of the social control function and recognize the reasons behind such a function such as survival level issues (e.g., safety) and social level issues (organization, structure). This empathy often motivates children to comply.

Example 23: There is then...certain things we just let go. It really doesn't disservice us to call them every two days so we just do it but things like curfews are always an issue. (second generation female)

Example 24: I feel like they have a right because we are kids and they want to know because it is for their children's best and they are concerned about our protection so we know. (second generation female)

Individuals are known to avoid disclosing grievances when they judge a conflict as insufficiently important (Roloff & Ifert, 2000b) and this has been noted to occur especially in intimate relationships. It has been further suggested that people may tend to view conflicts as trivial when they have less power in a relationship. The observations in this study support that notion. Children operate from a position of powerlessness and their evaluation of the costs and benefits of acquiescing with parents' information

seeking, takes into account anticipated responses from parents. As will be clearer in the subsequent discussion of the motivation to engage in direct negotiation, predictions about parents' probable responses, is a major element in creating perceptions of self efficacy for successfully negotiating. Thus in this study, the tendency to trivialize conflicts coincides with powerlessness.

Situations when the personal norm is prioritized. While powerlessness and consideration for the social role are associated with compliance, in certain scenarios, compliance is not perceived as a viable option. The most prominent example is private information sharing about dating and sexual behavior and drinking. Children evidently follow very different norms with regard to these behaviors compared with what their parents wish to enforce. Parents express what they believe are appropriate and liberal expectations. But these expectations are perceived as stringent and even unrealistic by children and actual behaviors are different. At the same time children know that sexual behavior is a serious concern for parents and anticipate negative reactions were they to come to know of their actual behavior. Consequently even medical appointments become problematic issues because such information could lead parents to suspect or find out about sexual behavior. As a result compliance with private information sharing norms with regard to this issue is seen as a problem.

Example 25: I kind of avoided and my Mom knows I avoid it she kind of “you never talk to me about his kind of stuff:” and I am like cause “I don’t want to. If it happens it will happen.”

Example 26: If I wanted to go and see a gynecologist, my mother would automatically assume that I am having sex but that’s not necessarily so right – so if I wanted to go, I would keep it private because I don’t think she is going to understand that me taking care of my reproductive health doesn’t necessarily imply something else. (second generation female)

Example 27: Your parents feel they have a right to know specially if it's about health concerns, but you are 18 and you are like well if I don't have to mention it to them, I am not going to mention it. (second generation female).

Example 28: They really think I've never done anything (sexual activity) and I am like 21. I don't know, for me that's old but for them no it's like you have to wait until marriage still so you know, it's like it's a gross thing for them. (second generation female)

Example 29: So a big issue with undergraduates is friends who drink and so I will - my Mom will ask "do any of your friends drink?" and you really don't want to tell them that because you know as college culture that everyone drinks but that doesn't necessarily make them irresponsible or an alcoholic so you keep that information out because you do want to respect this person's reputation that although she may drink every once in a while, you now it really doesn't impact on what good person she is - so you leave that information out and you also don't want to think that just because this person drinks, that this person is a bad influence on you and you can already see from my point of view, what conversations are going to come up. So you just squash those conversations, you just say - nope, none of my girlfriends drink. (second generation female)

Such issues where children find compliance unacceptable come up frequently and according to the participants, non-compliance with private information sharing expectations by way of deception (fabrication and withholding of information) is a common choice both in their own lives and among their peers. This is not surprising. Within the interpersonal communication literature on privacy management, it has been noted that adolescent children often use deception as a way of maintaining autonomy (Petronio & Caughlin, 2006). Another way of responding is to directly refuse to comply with parents' information seeking. This kind of response is reported by both the second generation as well as parents. Children agree that these are relatively uncommon because such behavior implies a direct challenging of parents' power. However many parents report that such responses are common and that because of them parents adopt indirect modes of monitoring.

Example 30: When I cannot avoid, I will be as truthful as possible but I don't give away too much information. I'll just give like a general idea of it but I am not always a fan of it because if I like say "Oh other people do that" they will just say "oh we are not worried about other people, it's what you do" but it will be like... I don't lie to my parents but then. I guess lying is even worse because they find out one way or the other. (second generation female)

Example 30: Like I if I will do bad on a test, I won't tell anyone because it's my thing and I will work on it on my own. If I like I went out at night, I wouldn't tell my mom because I know they will worry, like I can take care of myself – like I just think that I wouldn't necessarily worry other people. (second generation female)

Example 31: Sometimes I agree because agreeing is easier than arguing with my mother – makes her happy and gives her peace of mind. (second generation female)

Example 32: I can say my overall pattern is that if they caught me somehow red-handed I would comply, that's just it, in full. (second generation female)

Overall, the choice between compliance and non-compliance is related to powerlessness, concern for parents' role and tolerability of tension. Three types of behavioral choices can be noted. One represents a philosophy of acceptance or surrender where children comply because they think parents' actions are justified or because they think that parents are too powerful to oppose. Conceptually, this is closest to a conflict resolution situation, because the more crucial concern is addressed satisfactorily. At the same time, such resolution may be fragile. As has been seen in prior studies (Rolloff & Ifert, 2000b), acceptance of one's position of low power and withholding complaints can be unsatisfying in the long run because it involves a decision to live with dissatisfaction. A second behavior represents the opposite pole of acceptance and is characterized by direct refusal to comply. This behavior occurs when children perceive that their personal norm cannot be compromised. This in turn appears to be a product of the binding nature of the social norm constituting the topic of private information; the strength of the

personal norm; rewards and sanctions associated with compliance/non-compliance and concern for parents. Conceptually, this is similar to what has been noted by Vuchinich (Vuchinich, 1990) and Roloff (Roloff & Ifert, 2000b) as *agree to disagree* or *declaring a topic taboo* situations. Both parties are aware of each other's standpoint and deem the situation to be intractable. An important difference between the situations mentioned above and direct refusal to comply noted in this study, has to do with the nature of conflict issue. Here we see such behavior where the personal norm is judged to be more important than concern for harming relationship. On the other hand, agreement to accept disagreement or declare a topic to be out of bounds, is sometimes associated with conflict issues that are considered less important. A third type of behavior, which is conceptually in between acceptance and resistance, is public or deceptive compliance. In this case, individuals deceive parents into thinking that they are complying when in fact they are not. While there is an artificial semblance of harmony, children continue with their personal norms and parents continue their expectations.

In any case, both the choice to comply as well as the choice to deceive reflect motivation to avoid communication about the disagreement over monitoring behavior. As will be evident in the following description of motivations to engage in direct negotiation, such artificial harmony is rather fragile. Unless children continue to perceive the private information to be trivial and honestly comply, or parents do not discover deception, a situation of confrontation ultimately unfolds.

Motivation for Negotiation

So far it has been seen that a source of tension between social and personal norms of private information sharing for the study sample is the norm of monitoring and associated behaviors and expectations. Parents perform the role of socialization agents to enforce social norms, which requires monitoring, while children's personal norms emanate from desire for autonomy. This is further complicated due to affiliations with multiple groups where norms might differ. Children choose the path of compliance when they are able to tolerate the tension between the parents' expectations and personal norm. A second option is to directly refuse to comply. A third option represents a situation where neither compliance nor overt refusal is seen as viable. This is the situation where negotiation is required. Matching with the assumed definition, negotiation is conducted indirectly, through deception, or directly, through open communication.

As already noted, deception is a common behavior and this matches with prior research on norms, showing public compliance without private acceptance as a way of responding to norms. Deception is a non-confrontational, indirect manner of negotiation and in fact appears to be the default first choice when compliance is not an option. It involves maintaining an appearance of adhering to information sharing expectations while in fact hiding the relevant information and offering excuses if discovered. In this study, it is seen that children falsify, conceal, (Ekman, 1985), use half-truths and diversionary responses (R. E. Turner, Edgley, & Olmstead, 1975) . Children decide on certain boundaries for private information sharing; follow those boundaries but do not explicitly tell the parent about it. The parent might in fact be under the impression that the individual is behaving according to expectations and revealing or concealing

information accordingly. However deception can have several pitfalls not the least of which would be the possibility of discovery and of negative implications for the relationship.

Direct negotiation, on the other hand, would involve conversation about the tension and possible means of widening the latitude of acceptance of behaviors. When this study was designed there was no evidence that such conversations in fact occur. The possibility of such conversations was assumed based on the idea that non-compliance would necessitate communication. The information from the interviews confirms that direct negotiation does occur. While indirect negotiation by way of deception is commonly the first choice, direct negotiation is necessitated upon discovery or when deception itself is no longer acceptable to the individual.

Further it is found that even though parents are in a less powerful position and therefore logically have greater motivation to negotiate in order to be able to gain leeway, parents too have reasons for engaging in negotiation with children. For parents, negotiation is a process for convincing children about a norm and making it acceptable to them instead of using pure power assertion. Thus the choice of negotiation follows rejection of enforcement as an option. Again, there are reasons for parents to avoid both power assertion and negotiation and essentially withhold the power to control. Exploring the reasons why parents take a step down from enforcement and opt for negotiation or avoid both enforcement and negotiation is important. This is because such choices imply that certain forces can undermine socialization agents' power, which in turn can influence group members' ability to successfully negotiate.

In this section, the factors that influence group members (children) to choose

between indirect (non-confrontational and deceptive) and direct (confrontational) negotiation and socialization agents (parents) to choose between power assertion, negotiation and avoidance of both are discussed. For both groups the processes of self-efficacy, self-regulation and conviction about norms are important.

Children: Choosing between direct and indirect negotiation.

Self-efficacy. The term self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1982) is widely used in the persuasion literature to describe an individual's self-perceived ability to change behavior or circumstance. In the context of norms as well we see a similar phenomenon affecting the motivation to engage in direct negotiation. The sense of self-efficacy is related with *asymmetric power* in the parent-child relationship. Children wish to maintain a loving a close relationship with parents. They do not want to harm the relationship. Further, they are aware of parents' power to curtail freedom as well as the deference rules which have to be circumvented or managed in a conversation. They perceive differences in standards of judgment with other parents and anticipate negative reactions to statements about personal norm. Thus self efficacy in the context of negotiating monitoring behavior and related normative expectations has to do with the self-perceived ability to successfully negotiate without harming the relationship with parents and without losing access to the resources that parents have to offer. The motives of relationship protection and self-protection (W. A. Afifi & Guerrero, 1999; Lippard, 1988) combine with the sense of low self-efficacy to decrease motivation to engage in honest conversation. On the other hand, lessons from communication history or support from one parent can increase self-efficacy and hence motivation to engage in direct negotiation.

Asymmetric power. Individuals' responses about avoidance show that awareness of parents' power is related with perceptions of low self-efficacy. Everyday experience with parents' socialization attempts, monitoring, warnings, advice giving, and similar behavior, leads individuals to believe that a transgression would be met with severe ramifications. The lack of power creates fears about self-protection from sanctions (W. A. Afifi & Guerrero, 1999). In addition, statements by parents like "So and so's children drink so much but I know you wouldn't do something like that" or "So and so's daughter got pregnant and tried to get an abortion on her own, but I am sure you will be fine, you are not having sex", create feelings of guilt and fear in children especially if they do drink or if they are in a serious romantic relationship. The idea that these behaviors could be completely out of the purview of their parents' acceptance makes children expect the worst of reactions if they were to come out with them. When these expectations are reinforced by monitoring episodes where parents use power assertive tactics, the motivation to avoid direct negotiation is reinforced.

Example 33: So I was, I had just started dating this guy and he is white. And we are all hanging out in his room and I am asleep, and then my other friend, not the guy, he wakes me up and my mother is standing at the doorway of the dorm room. I don't know how she got in..... So she followed someone inside and came up the stairs searched / looked into to my room, found out where I was and I just like woke up, I said " hi Mom:" and I introduced her to everyone and then I went out, we went out to her car because it was parked outside and she asked me questions, She was like "are you dating anyone?" I was like "yes" and immediately she was like, "have you had sex?" I just said " NO". and then she said, she is like "are you going to have sex?" I said " I don't know" and she was like she said " wait". (second generation male)

Further, the relationship between a parent and child is governed by deference rules that discourage questioning or challenging. These deference rules reinforce parents' status in the hierarchy. Breaching conventions of decorum is considered a serious social

offence as manners and etiquette signal respect for other individuals and relations (Bicchieri, 2006). Consequently, the very act of negotiating can be construed as an act of challenge, making it impossible to even get to the norm that was originally in question. Telling parents something like “I do not want to follow your norms of information sharing” is a deviation from norms of child to parent display of respect (Goffman, 1967; Segal, 2002). It is seen as confrontational with the possibility of serious sanctions and relational harm. Thus this deviation itself has the potential to overshadow the original concern about information sharing boundaries.

In addition individuals’ need to follow a personal norm of information ownership is prone to being misunderstood. From a position of low power, it is difficult to make someone understand that the need to own information is not necessarily related with the need to hide guilt. Children perceive that a statement about the personal norm of owning information can be interpreted as an admission of guilt and serve to make parents more suspicious of their activities. A statement meant to establish boundaries can be interpreted as unintended disclosure. The result of such interpretation could be criticism, increased monitoring and restrictions on movement. To those in power, it seems logical that if there is no transgression, there is nothing to hide and consequently there should be no qualms about sharing information about a behavior. It is in fact a noted phenomenon in the literature on privacy and surveillance (Shoeman, 1992) that assertion of privacy rights can be taken by informal or formal agents of social control to reflect guilt. This gap in understanding the meaning of ownership can be difficult to address and the easier way may just seem to be avoidance of direct negotiation.

Example 34. If I ever did bring up something like that, say – “Mom I don’t really want to tell you these things, she would flip out on me and then she would

probably make me commute, and even if I just said, I don't want to tell you if I am going to do this, because of this, she would flip out on me and I'd be way too scared to do that because I don't wanna commute ... because like she would....like to her, it would be a sign of me actually doing these things and she would just assume that I have done all of those things and then I would have to just suffer the consequences. (second generation male)

Example 35. I think I personally feel, I could be wrong, but I personally feel that they may feel even insulted if we tell them that "no, this information is private; I don't want to tell you because well", they feel "well, we are your parents, we need to know everything". (second generation male)

Communication history. The motivation to negotiate is also affected by perceptions created from past experiences. Based on communication history, individuals have expectancies about parents' reaction to their negotiation attempts. Individuals feel comfortable negotiating when they feel assured that their arguments will not be met with intense emotional breakdowns or sanctions. Some participants reported that communication in their homes is frequent, open (a variety of topics, fewer taboos if any, less requirement of formal deference rules), argumentative as well as emotional (e.g., "We shout a lot") communication. These participants expressed greater willingness to negotiate. On the other hand of prior experience indicates that parents' reaction will be overtly negative, there is a sense of intimidation.

The importance of communication experience is also seen where individuals' expectation of parental behavior are violated and their motivations change in response. Children often expect extreme reactions from parents but through experience find out that parents' reactions need not be as extreme as they expected. Then they are more likely to attempt negotiation. A breakthrough can happen when something leads to a negotiation episode. A process of self-regulation (detailed below) can lead to an urge to eliminate the burden of secrecy; or the parent may suspect a transgression and initiate a conversation;

or a certain moment of intimacy and camaraderie can create confidence. For instance, a young woman once came home late and drunk. Next morning, she expected to be severely berated by her parents but found that her parents were sympathetic and focused more on health and safety issues than on sanctioning her behavior. While this participant did not directly link this incident with a change in her attitude towards negotiation, she considered this to be an important episode with respect to a change in her perception of her parents' expectations. Similarly certain other participants related how they disclosed their dating behavior out of sense of guilt for hiding it and found that their parents' responses were more sympathetic than expected. These examples show how assumptions and inhibitions get countered through actual experience and individuals realize that they are not as powerless as they originally assumed.

However the opposite might also happen. An individual may expect monitoring to decrease on evidence of compliance, but monitoring actually increases. Again, expectations of negative repercussions may be supported, when parents' repeated messages about expectations are perceived to hint at sanctions. In these situations, individuals' motivation to avoid negotiation gets reinforced. For instance, the same participant who described communication with the mother as focused on rules of information sharing (example 36) also mentioned being fearful that any negotiation attempt would cause his parents to significantly curtail his privileges.

Example 36: My Mom, she just asks very probing questions like when I saw her the other day - she asked the other day "did you have sex?" – things like that they are very unguarded about things like that, they will just ask . They just are very clear; like my mom had said, she wants to know before we do anything like if we do want to drink we should call her and talk to her about it – she can be, I'll give her that – she can be reasonable but like we have to let her know before we do things (second generation male)

Prior communication experience also influences whether individuals feel confident about their own ability to negotiate. The sense of powerlessness can be exacerbated due to a perception of self as incapable of being successful at negotiation. Individuals perceive shortcomings in the way they communicate and conclude that they are incapable of successful negotiation, similar to the prediction of Self Perception Theory (Bem, 1967). There can be a feeling of awkwardness and discomfort and lack of control over the negotiation process. On the other hand, prior experience might also highlight a promising formula.

Example 37. I guess..... I didn't know how to handle them I am really bad at handling these situations ... it would just get really awkward and they can tell something's on my mind I guess, I just don't say anything... I just or try to change the subject or I like... or I lie to them, but they know I am lying, I can never like – it's always showing on my face. (second generation female)

Example 38. That was by design and I think you know I have to be fair, I do manipulate the situation to my advantage I want to be the independent American born you know Indian woman and I will tell my parents you know you don't have to ask my husband's permission, and you can ask me... but then when they ask me certain questions that I don't want to answer, they will expect my husband to say no and not me to say no, I say I have to ask my husband. So I do play the card I admit to my advantage. (second generation female)

Support from an ally. An ally is someone who is perceived to have greater power over the parent than self. It could be one of the parents or a sibling or even a spouse. When individuals feel that their arguments would be acceptable to the ally and that this ally would be able to influence the parent, they feel more confident about the outcome of negotiation. This shows that one parent's power to enforce a norm is limited by the amount of support available from the other parent. In one instance a second generation woman recounted how she was able to ward off her mother's attempts at seeking information about her dating behavior with fairly aggressive and threatening statements

about boundaries, because she felt she had the support of her father. She felt (and was proved right) based on previous interactions, that her father would understand why she wanted to keep that information private as well as her need to be aggressive. She has a conflicted relationship with her mother and she feels that the root cause of this conflict is her mother's inability to adapt to American cultural as well as generational norms and her emotional nature. On the other hand, she views her father as an intelligent person who can be won over with rational arguments. In another example, a second generation man described how he pre-planned with his father, every little detail of any disclosure to his mother. He feels that his father is more calm more understanding and better able to handle his mother's reactions.

CPM based research on families have shown that family members tend to create privacy cells which include some members of the family while excluding others (Petronio & Caughlin, 2006). The current research shows that such privacy cells can become power centers. A member is chosen for being privy to secrets based on expectations of support. Subsequently support is used to deflect the power of the member excluded from the cell potentially leading to change in definition of acceptable behavior.

It is not to say that group members do not negotiate if they do not have access to support or when their attitude towards norms is not characterized by empathy or conviction. They also negotiate when they feel *pushed to the wall*. When individuals feel that they are being monitored relentlessly, they find fewer opportunities to hide behaviors led by their personal norm. Also when they find parents trying to instate several detailed communication rules, they feel pressured. At this point individuals feel compelled to talk about their dissatisfaction and negotiate for some leeway.

Self-regulation. Group members reflect on how they choose between indirect and direct negotiation. Though indirect or deceptive negotiation is usually the default first choice it is not necessarily the preferred choice. They do not want to be dishonest. Consequently the act of hiding true information is a source of dissonance between actual behavior and personal standard. Direct negotiation is chosen when the dissonance experienced between actual behavior (covert non-compliance) and preferred behavior (openness about personal norm) becomes intolerable.

This echoes the process of self-regulation articulated by Bandura (1986) where individuals regulate their own behavior based on their own knowledge and personal standards. Avoidance of communication is motivated by the need to avoid negative repercussions. In contrast, the option of negotiation through verbal exchange is a result of the need to resolve guilt and reconcile behavior with personal standards. Individuals find that the initial decision to hide a transgression becomes a slippery slope where additional covert behavior is required to cover up the initial hiding of information. Lying becomes too hard to continue. This makes individuals question their self-concept. In addition hiding actual behavior is perceived to cause an emotional rift and loss of sense of intimacy with parents. This creates emotional pressure and verbal exchange is seen as the route for release.

A difference can be seen between group members who perceive the relationship with their parents positively and those who perceive the relationship to be predominantly conflicted. Children in the first group, even though aware of the power difference, feel less awed by parents. They also feel more uncomfortable with avoidance. They may initially opt for avoidance but are more likely to initiate negotiation to dispel the feelings

of dissonance and guilt as well as to bridge the distance.

Example 39: So I started...lying a little more it almost felt like a I created a rift with them. I could just do what I wanted, I could get away with what I wanted in terms of I could just lie and that it could work. I saw my other friends doing it – my other Indian friends doing it.... I was never caught and I saw that and I noticed that there was an obvious rift, I was lying, ... I was uncomfortable. I considered myself very close to my family and despite this lying, I wanted to feel close to them. I wanted to live by that and so finally I broke up with her and I kind of just confessed to my parents, I kind of just put it on the table. I wanted to be very close to them, I didn't want to be one of those kids who just completely lose touch with their parents and grow into this be like this completely rebellious like crazy child, so I didn't want that I tried to have kind of this calmed down conversation. I didn't want to scream, I didn't want to yell, I just kind of wanted to tell them how I felt and I hoped they would understand. And they did. They really did. (second generation male)

At the other extreme are individuals who feel as if they are being constantly monitored by their parents. They feel that they are never trusted and that their parents unfairly and unnecessarily intrude. When working with these perceptions, avoidance seems to be the only available option. In these instances, negotiation is more contingent on discovery. Individuals continue to follow their personal norm in private or in the presence of the peer group where it is acceptable without letting their parents know. When parents discover and seek account, children can no longer “avoid”. They are faced with the choice of giving up their personal norm (complying) or negotiating.

Sense of “right” (conviction about personal norm). Group members are inclined to negotiate when they consider their private information to be not incriminating. When they believe that their lifestyle incorporates norms that parents believe in and their general behavior is marked by lack of deviance, they should not be subject to monitoring.

Similarly, when they feel that their parents' expectations are unjustified and their personal norms are valid, they are inclined to negotiate. However as seen in the data, this

occurs more when children are older and or when they have support from other sources that is when the power difference with the parent is lessened by some factor. This finding is consistent with the literature on compliance resistance where it is seen that one of the contexts in which individuals are likely to resist the influence of others is when they strongly believe in their own standpoint (McLaughlin, Cody, & Robey, 1980).

Example 40: They never interrogated about any of my personal sexual issues. They know that I would get very upset if they did because I will stand up for myself (second generation male)

Example 41: I mean if they ask me for information, if they ask me, I am more the put my foot on the ground kind of person now. I say well you know I am not going to tell you that and they I think they are more understanding than they were before because they are starting to see me more starting to enter into this different type of culture than they were brought up in. they don't understand it more and more but they at least my father is more and more inclined to be understanding, you know. (second generation male)

Parents. Parents need to communicate about norms with their children as part of their socialization role. The motivation to negotiate as opposed to asserting power is related with concern for maintaining closeness in the relationship with children and a proactive and flexible orientation towards socialization. It represents a facilitating rather than a controlling socialization philosophy. On the other hand the motivation to avoid even negotiation and withhold socializing efforts altogether is associated with outcomes of prior communication, where negative outcomes affect sense of self efficacy.

Choosing between enforcement and negotiation.

Concern for relationship. Parents do not want to perform their social role to the detriment of the relationship with children and this leads them to choose negotiation over power assertion. Not only is the relationship a concern for its own sake but also for its

implications for norm related goals. Parents feel that an intimate relationship is a good foundation for socialization efforts. They feel that if their children trust them and like being with them, they are more likely to absorb those lessons and less likely to deviate.

Example 42: I don't want to be like a lawyer "do you have a boyfriend, do you", that would shut her up you know, so I wanted to do in a joking, friendly manner, meaning – you are growing up, I am your friend, tell me if you want to what's going on" I used to sit with her and watch all kinds of those teenage shows and would say " Oh so cool, I wish I was fourteen and could wear those clothes" so I wanted to make her comfortable – if you have a boyfriend, it's okay, it's not bad, I am not going to tell you anything all I am concerned is that that shouldn't harm your studies and don't take a step in your life which you will regret. I am there to protect you. We are there for you. That's the only message we wanted to give her so that no matter how much she screams, no what she does, that's what we wanted to tell her. (mother)

Socialization philosophy. Power assertion is chosen when parents consider norms binding and that any leeway cannot be considered. In contrast, a negotiation-oriented attitude is adopted by parents who wish to present a liberal and flexible stance. Some parents believe that restrictions lead to rebelliousness. This perception develops based on children's behavior in prior conflict episodes or feedback from other parents. Further, they empathize with children's identification with the peer group or their objections towards the social norm and evaluate their own stand accordingly. Often this means changing their own expectations and being open to children's pleas for flexibility.

Example 43: I learned one thing that sometimes it's not very, it's not beneficial if you are extremely strict, if you place too many restrictions on your child. I realized it made me realize that that's the time they are going to go behind your back, so you basically pick and choose your wars, uhm battles. That made me think that you know if I have instilled values in my children, uhm, I have that much trust that they are not going to do something totally you know against the norm, at the same time I also wanted to establish more of a friendly relation with my daughter uhm with both my kids, that way if they have an issue, where they should feel comfortable to come and talk to me. But if I make the relationship one of a strict Mom or strict school-principal and student kind of a relationship, they certainly wouldn't say anything, not even you know, but they

will probably go behind my back. (mother)

Thus, it is clear that when parents opt for negotiation instead of power assertion, it is because they wish to adopt a conciliatory and facilitating approach towards socialization. At a broader level, this indicates that even those who ostensibly represent the group's viewpoint and legitimately or informally act as control agents, can sometimes have a flexible attitude towards norms.

Reasons for avoiding both enforcement and negotiation. While negotiation can be construed as a voluntary step down from power, there is evidence that at times parents avoid even that. The primary reason appears to be related to the sense of self efficacy. Their sense of self-efficacy is related with how they perceive the relationship with the child; availability of reliable scripts; the communication history and availability of support from the other parent.

Relationship with group members. At times, children, over whom parents are supposed to have power, can prove to be more powerful than expected. Parents learn this from experience. They feel shut out by strong and continued resistance and start avoiding conflicts. This stand-off may be relevant for only one particular issue or represent a general stance of avoidance permeating more than one normative issue. It is almost like a learning process where parents feel that they have to accept whatever information their children give them and that there is a communication gap they simply cannot bridge. Parents find children either vociferously resisting parental attempt at monitoring or simply withdrawing from such conversations. One of the parents said about her daughter, "She will just not understand".

Example 44: My younger son – I saw a comment on his Facebook, or somebody commented about him on Facebook, I thought he had commented that “I am very frustrated with my life”. So I was concerned and wanted to ask him about it. Otherwise I would not have admitted to have gone through his Facebook. So I said “what is this, what is happening, I saw this comment on your Facebook page?” He was upset and said “why did you do this? I did not give you access to my Facebook account, why did check it out? this was not right”, like that. (He said), Mom does not need to know about this, there is a lot of private stuff on Facebook which moms do not need to know. (mother)

Example 45: First time she came back from college, last winter or sometime around then, I came back from work, made tea and called her and asked her a few things after some initial conversation, first of all when I called her, she was busy but after calling her a few times, she came... so after a few general things if I asked her any questions about this topic, then she would say “That’s why you called me, that’s not the conversation I want to have I am not sitting here”. She would say that and go back upstairs (to her room). So now that’s why I don’t. (mother)

The above accounts suggest that parents may be at the receiving end of conflict avoidance tactics such as suppressing arguments and declaring topics taboo (Rolloff & Ifert, 2000b). In both the examples, parents appear to be facing children who withdraw from conversations in order to avoid acquiescing to parents’ information seeking or negotiating. Further, in the second example the subject of parents’ queries is declared to be out of bounds. There appears to be a demand-withdraw pattern of communication (Caughlin & Malis, 2004a, 2004b) and the unpleasantness perceived in various episodes motivates parents to avoid them in future. Even before the conversation starts there is a premonition of failure. Parents feel overpowered by children’s sense of conviction about personal norms and strength of resistance. In response, they avoid negotiation.

Availability of scripts. Negotiation is avoided when an appropriate script is not available. Parents report having grown up in homes where sex was never discussed or part of any coming-of-age pep-talk. It was something that was just known and

understood. Since pre-marital sex was considered completely unacceptable, any discussion was considered unnecessary. However, as immigrants, parents perceive that the majority culture accepts sexual relations outside marriage. They also believe that their children subscribe to peer group norms and feel that they can do little to convince their children otherwise.

What they seem to be experiencing is the lack of a script. While some parents respond to the perceived sexual freedom by not treating sex as a taboo subject and by talking about it (“I just tell my daughter – be sure to use a condom”), others find it an awkward topic to broach. Those who choose to be open, have conversations with their children about the subject of sex itself as well as about sharing information about sexual activities or intentions. Others refrain from addressing the topic out of discomfort as well as a sense of it being fruitless. So they adopt a “don’t ask don’t tell” policy and in the process maintain an air of ambiguity about whether and what they know, allowing children to also protect their information.

Example 46. My older daughter – junior and senior years, she went to Columbia for summer programs – she would go, stay there. I don’t know what she did over there. I never talked about this topic with her. Probably because my mother never talked about it to me. So it’s a topic which is weird. (mother)

Example 47. They want to know everything, but if it’s something they dislike, they don’t want to hear about it at all; they just want you to stop it; whatever it is you are doing. Like they want they insist – they want to know so that they can tell you to stop, then they don’t want to hear about it like it doesn’t exist. (second generation male)

Absence of support. Parents’ power may also be compromised when one parent differs from the other. In this sample, this was reported by mothers. They described fathers as being more liberal and supportive of children’s personal norms. This is also

borne out by the accounts of the second generation men and women who reported seeking support from their fathers against their mothers. In this situation, among mothers *lack of support from spouse* leads to avoidance of negotiation. The father and child get together to create a power center that cannot be countered by the mother.

Example 48. I wish they were more open with me but they are not open, but their dad also doesn't want – he says “why should they tell you everything?”
(mother)

Overall, motivation to engage in negotiation is associated with individuals' self-perceived ability to manage asymmetric power, concern for parents' perspective, personal standards of honesty and openness and communication history.

When do people communicate about norms: A summary and reflection

Overall results. The manner in which individuals choose to comply or negotiate or deceive is depicted in figures 1 and 2. Conversation about norms can ensue because of both children and parents' concerns. For parents, communication about norms is an integral part of their socialization function and more often than not initiated by them. Negotiation is part of a liberal and flexible approach towards socialization and is only constrained when there is lack of script; when parents are not in agreement; or when there is serious concern about jeopardizing the relationship with the group member. Concern for the relationship might however vary according to the nature of the relationship. In this study we looked at parents and children and consequently the relationship with group members is of high attachment. In comparison if we were to look at a priest and his / her relationship with individual members of a large congregation, we may not see the same level of emotional significance or concern because of the social distance.

For children, it is different. For them, tension is a necessary but not adequate precondition for communication. Tension is pervasive but for interaction to occur it must be triggered by specific behaviors. Such behaviors include parents' monitoring behaviors and expectations about information sharing. Children choose whether to comply with such behaviors and expectations if compliance is tolerable and this depends on the content of private information. They can also choose to comply out of respect for parents' role and authority. However compliance is not always a viable option. When they have indulged in forbidden behavior, there is much risk perceived in complying with parents' information seeking. Asymmetric power implies low bargaining power in favor of personal norms. In addition, associated norms favoring the parents, such as deference rules put further obstacles. Children fear that they will not be able to successfully negotiate without harming the relationship with their parents. Further, they fear that complying with parents' information needs would reveal information about behaviors which parents consider sanction worthy. Consequently the default reaction to the tension between the parental monitoring norm and the personal preferred norms of controlling private information is to to hide non-compliance.

The reasons for engaging in deception identified in this study, match with motives uncovered in several prior studies. Camden, Motley and Wilson (1984) found that people use lies to enhance or decrease affiliation as well as to protect own resources. Lippard (1988) identified eight categories of motives for deception which include resources, affiliation, self protection, conflict avoidance, protection of others, manipulation of others, obligation excuse and joke. Of these, the first four categories are reflected in this study. Ekman (1985) found that children lie to avoid punishment, acquire resources,

protect friends, protect self or others from harm, win admiration, avoid awkward situations, avoid embarrassment, maintain privacy and assert power over authority.

O'Hair and Cody (O' Hair & Cody, 1994) categorized all documented motives for deception into six groups relating to self, other and relational concerns. These groups are *egoism* and *exploitation* (self), *benevolence* and *malevolence* (other) and *utility* and *regress* (relational). The motives for deception as found in this study match closely with the utility category (tactics, used to enhance, repair, improve or escalate relationships). Overall, in comparison with the various motives for deception identified in literature, the motives identified in this study, relate with protection and the perceived inability to be honest. Motives related with harming others or relationships are not relevant. Perceived consequences of honesty are negative and consequently, deception is chosen. This is consistent with Levine, Kim and Hamel's (Levine, Kim, & Hamel, 2010) recent argument that people lie only when honesty is problematic.

Despite the risk associated with negotiation, it may occur when the group members' lack of social power is mitigated by lessons learned from prior communication or availability of support. This is also facilitated when disagreements between parents becomes apparent to a child as then s/he can affiliate with the like-minded parent and lobby for the personal norm. In sum, children's motivation to engage in negotiation is dependent on individual and power related factors such as self-efficacy and self-regulation as well as situational factors including perceived parental attitude and communication norms (as learned from prior communication experience), and availability of support (allies, workable formulae).

The manner in which children choose between compliance, indirect negotiation

and direct negotiation and parents choose their approach to communication, leads to conclusions about the goals of negotiation and the constraints on negotiation. For children, the primary overarching goal is about making the monitoring norm less binding so that there is opportunity to exert control of private information. Depending on how particular episodes of interaction are triggered, there are additional specific goals such as resisting information seeking; controlling accessibility to physical domain and so forth. For parents, the primary overarching goal is to reinforce compliance with monitoring but there are additional situational goals such as gaining access to children's rooms, Facebook, and mobile phone or finding out information about a particular topic.

In addition, it can be concluded that there are two major constraints on negotiation. One relates to concerns for the relationship. The decision on compliance for children involves concern for parents. Again the decision between indirect and direct negotiation involves concerns about power differential. A second constraint relates to the fact that private information sharing is more than just about the act of information sharing. It is linked by definition to other behaviors. Hence the topic or content of private information is an important influence on the decision to comply.

Link with extant theoretical frameworks. The findings are consonant with a number of available theoretical frameworks. The parents' report of children's resistance and withdrawal from conversations about information sharing and information sharing norms appears to mirror the demand-withdraw pattern of communication noted in earlier studies on parent-adolescent communication (Caughlin & Malis, 2004a, 2004b; Caughlin & Ramey, 2005; Malis & Roloff, 2006). In this literature withdrawal is often characterized in terms of both passivity as well as resistance (Roloff & Ifert, 2000b) .

Based on what parents report here, both the overt refusal as well as distancing are probably better defined as forms of resistance. However the cycle of behavior where parents demand compliance and children progressively increase resistance either in the active or passive form appears to mirror the demand-withdraw pattern.

The effect of power on the motivation to negotiate is a reflection of the Chilling Effect described by Roloff and Cloven (Cloven & Roloff, 1993a; Roloff & Cloven, 1990). The Chilling Effect describes a phenomenon where individuals refrain from voicing relational complaints because they feel powerless with respect to the relational other. This effect has been documented earlier in the context of parent-child relationship (T. D. Afifi & Olson, 2005; T. D. Afifi, Olson, & Armstrong, 2005). Parents command dependence power as well as punitive power (Solomon, 1998) over their children and when children are in awe of this power they refrain from revealing sensitive information to their parents.

The kind of phenomenon demonstrated in examples of influence of communication history on motivation to negotiate, are similar to those described by the Cycle of Concealment model (T. D. Afifi & Steuber, 2010). In this model, it is posited that based on the communication history in a relationship, individuals develop expectations about whether secret revelation will result in verbally aggressive reactions from a target. When aggressive reactions are expected, individuals continue concealing secrets. The model looks at a more specific scenario than covered in this study. This study does not look at secrets, nor do children report verbally aggressive strategies being used by their parents. Instead it looks at the communicative process of negotiation. However the same pattern as described in the model can be seen occurring with regard to

motivation to negotiate. Expectation of negative repercussions leads to continued avoidance. Conversely, when prior communication experience creates positive expectations, there is greater motivation to negotiate.

In addition children and parents' descriptions of influence of prior communication experience and socialization approaches point to the relevance of the Family Communication Patterns framework (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994; McLeod & Chafee, 1972; Ritchie, 1991). This model focuses on the nature of communication between parents and children and recognizes that families tend to have particular orientations towards communication including conversation orientation and conformity orientation (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). Conformity orientation is about how much variation is allowed in beliefs and actions among family members and how much experimentation is allowed. Conversation orientation relates primarily to the frequency of communication and variation in topics of conversation. Based on these, four types of communication patterns are identified including consensual (high on both orientation), pluralistic (high conversation orientation and low conformity orientation), protective (high on conformity, low on conversation) and laissez faire (low on both orientation). Children's report of the reasons for avoiding negotiation suggests that their decisions are influenced by perceptions of the family communication environment.

Within the family communication literature, Chilling Effect and Cycle of Concealment have been related with family communication patterns (T. D. Afifi & Olson, 2005; T. D. Afifi, et al., 2005). Similar to the findings of Afifi and Olson, in the current data, there appears to be an association between conversation and conformity orientation and the motivation to negotiate. Children who describe the family

communication environment as more conversation oriented also report greater motivation to negotiate compared with those who describe communication in their family as characterized by a focus on rules and expectations.

Another relevant framework is the Risk Perception Attitude (RPA) framework (Rimal & Real, 2003a). The RPA framework is widely used in health communication interventions and posits that individual's perception of risk of a disease is moderated by his/her beliefs about efficacy to determine the motivation to adopt preventive and self-protective behaviors. A number of studies have supported the hypotheses that preventive and protective behaviors vary according to the levels of perceived risk and self-efficacy. When people perceive high risk but do not believe they can control the outcome, they are unlikely to adopt preventive behavior while people who have high self-efficacy beliefs tend to be highly motivated to adopt preventive measures. Again, when people perceive low risk and low self-efficacy, they are indifferent, while in the context of low risk and high self-efficacy, they act proactively. This framework has been applied across several health issues including cardio-vascular diseases (Rimal, 2002) breast cancer (M. M. Turner, Rimal, Morrison, & Kim, 2006), Human Papilloma Virus (Krieger, Kam, Katz, & Roberto, 2011), industrial risks (ter Huurne & Gutteling, 2009) and workplace safety (K. Real, 2008). Among the various preventive behaviors studied, a communication behavior that has been looked at is information seeking.

In this study we see a similar interaction of perceived risk and self-efficacy with regard to motivation to negotiate. Children or group members tend to perceive high risk of negative outcome of negotiation because of their lower power status as well as the strong relational attachment. Because of the same reasons, they also often experience low

self-efficacy. Consequently the initial response to tension between parents' expectations and personal norms is avoidance of negotiation. Similarly when parents perceive high risk of harm to relationship and low self-efficacy due to lack of scripts, lack of support or deteriorated relationship, they too tend to avoid negotiation. Conversely, when self-efficacy is higher owing to availability of support, there is greater motivation to negotiate.

In sum motivation to negotiate is strongly associated with relational concerns and also to an extent with the implications of other behaviors. In the following section, what happens after, that is, the manner in which direct negotiation is carried out is described.

Section 2: How do people communicate about norms?

In the previous section, the motivations for using communication to negotiate were examined. It was found that when compliance is not acceptable, individuals' initial tendency is to negotiate by using communication to hide or excuse noncompliance and avoid using direct communication. However when this cannot be sustained whether because the noncompliance is discovered or because individuals feel guilty about it, direct negotiation becomes necessary. It was also found that as part of a liberal and flexible approach to socialization and out of concern for endangering the relationship, parents adopt a negotiation approach. This section is devoted to how direct negotiation is carried out.

Two assumptions regarding how individuals communicate about norms were that communication is purposive (i.e., there are goals and there is planning) and that communication has the character of negotiation. Information from the interviews is consistent with both these assumptions. Following this, the findings about how negotiation is carried out is presented in four parts. First the goals of negotiation are discussed. Next, the discussion focuses on if and when individuals plan their approach. The focus here is when interactions are planned. Finally, the strategies used during negotiation are described.

Goals of negotiation.

One of the key assumptions for this study is that negotiation of norms is purposive or goal-directed and that the existence of such goals implies a planning process. With reference to the Goals Plan and Action model (Dillard, 2004) (GPA), it was assumed that individuals would have primary and secondary goals for communication. This assumption is consistent with what is seen in the data.

Children.

Primary goals. An overarching goal expressed by participants is to change parents' definition of who they are. They are aware that parents monitor them because they are their wards. At the same time they want to be recognized as responsible individuals who do not need monitoring. This is the omnipresent goal across interactions about norms with parents (examples 2 and 14).

When interaction is triggered by parents' monitoring behaviors or information sharing expectations, there are more specific goals such as establishing the legitimacy of personal norms; securing the freedom to not share a particular information when parents seek information; to have control over how much they want to participate in information sharing when parents try to institute family norms of information sharing; to have control over the boundaries of information obtained through monitoring (when parents share that information with other network members); reinforcing boundaries of role behavior and resisting parents' power (examples 40 and example 49 below).

Example 49: In that case I told them straight out not to tell anyone anymore, I just wasn't okay with it you know. (second generation male)

Secondary goals. The secondary goals are evident from the motivations for negotiation. These include concern for relationship and the content of private information which relates to objectives for other behaviors.

Concern for relationship. As individuals try to gain leeway for their personal norm of information sharing, they have to ensure that the sense of emotional attachment and trust are not affected. As seen in the previous discussions on choice between compliance and non-compliance and indirect and direct negotiation, an important objective is to avoid challenging parents because of their power. In addition, children are also interested in having a close, friendly and pleasant relationship with parents. But negotiating can be construed as an act of challenge. Hence, children have to balance their norm goals with steps for avoiding unpleasantness.

Objectives for other behaviors. Children also have to retain control over the behavior that constitutes private information. If they are going to be noncompliant with the drinking / dating norms promoted by parents, they have to ensure that they negotiate private information sharing norms in a way that allows them to retain control over the information pertaining to those aspects of their life. Occasionally objectives for other behaviors may be prioritized over control over private information. They may be willing to be more compliant with monitoring if that allows greater latitude with other behaviors. This is evident in the negotiation strategies described later in this section.

Parents.

Primary goal. For parents, the overarching primary goal is to monitor. However within a liberal and flexible approach, primary goal is to find ways in which the norm can be reinforced while allowing some leeway for children's personal norms.

Secondary goals. Parents' secondary goals relate to their socialization objectives for behaviors other than information sharing as well as their concern for the quality of relationship with children.

Concern for relationship. Parents wish to enact their role without distancing their children and without losing control over children's other behavior. This necessitates planning. As evident in the previous discussion on why they opt for a negotiation approach as opposed to a power assertion approach, as well as the motivations for avoiding both power assertion and negotiation, parents wish to maintain intimacy and closeness in their interactions with children. They are cognizant of the fact that their monitoring behaviors restrict children's freedom and that they have to balance their monitoring role with efforts to minimize negative reactions from children.

Socialization objectives for other behaviors. Parents are aware that despite the rules they set up and norms they promote, children do have some control over how much private information they share. Sometimes they know it intuitively or they learn from prior experience (as in the examples illustrating reasons why parents avoid communication). Therefore they prioritize goals with respect to monitoring per se vis-à-vis other goals for other behaviors.

Example 50: So I am not particularly curious or inquisitive, I mean they are kids, they go through different phases, they have been teenagers going into adulthood, so they will have something's they are going to want to keep private, not that... even when growing up even we didn't want our parents to know everything or our feelings, or something which come naturally with age you know, you tell friends and not share it with parents, I think that's okay. (mother)

First, parents differentiate between norms of private information sharing (truthfulness, adherence to family communication rules, openness, and deprioritization of personal privacy) and other behaviors (activities with friends, career choices, grades, etc.) Making children cooperate with monitoring is prioritized when concerned about establishing and retaining accessibility to children's domain (phone call routines, open bedroom etc.). However, when finding out information is important, such as when parents want to monitor dating or drinking behavior, they are often more willing to be flexible about how and when children provide information. This prioritization is done quite strategically and is clearly evident in the communication strategies they use (discussed subsequently under "strategies of negotiation").

Second, within norms of private information sharing, they differentiate according to crucial and non-crucial information. Information perceived to be relevant for safety and security and sexual behavior are crucial. On the other hand sharing private feelings, opinions and perceptions is not considered crucial. For instance in the above example (example 51), a mother related how she did not expect her children to talk to her about every feeling or perception. The same parent also mentioned (example 52) how she prioritizes truthfulness and trust.

Example 51: I went on it tell her once you break the trust how hard it is to re-establish it because hereafter even if she tells me the truth I wouldn't believe her. (mother)

Planning for negotiation – A question of opportunity

Awareness of goals does not automatically prompt planning. From the participants' perspective, deliberate episode specific planning is not always a prominent or inevitable aspect of communication about norms. Often it is more about accumulating experience and information from ongoing communication episodes and using these intuitively during negotiation episodes. Again this is not about lack of motivation. Intuitively everybody considers planning useful. However, deliberate and focused planning for individual episodes is significantly dependent on opportunity.

The first condition that would influence the motivation to plan is *awareness of norm conflict*. Prior knowledge and at least some predictability about a future situation are required for any kind of planning. What matters here is awareness of disagreement over norms. Children may choose to comply despite disagreement or privately go against the norm, and not communicate their disagreement. It is always possible that concerns about social norms exist in one's mind without being obvious to others. In such a situation, only one person would have the opportunity to plan, the person who disagrees or the parent who wants to enforce.

However, in this research we see that both parents and children are aware of each other's perceptions about norms and able to predict certain patterns. Parents know and expect that generational and cultural factors will cause disagreement with their children. They know that while parents monitor children, children dislike being monitored. They are also aware that despite their status, they may not always be able to get their children to follow the norms they want them to. Therefore, whether they are intending to initiate a meta-communication episode about information sharing norms or reacting to children's

non-disclosure of a norm deviation, they plan for making such episodes pleasant, predictable and successful. Even if a conflict episode is not imminent, they try to put together a long term strategy that can be invoked if required.

Example 52: In my mind, the ideal is to give them an environment where they can flourish without worry or fear. (father)

Example 53. What I found is that when we had to talk to our kids... and this was mainly mostly in high school or we used to take them out for dinner and then ask them one, two, three questions and we could have a meaningful conversation in a restaurant, but at home if you asked them question number 1, they would reply to it but by then, the stress levels had already gone up and 2 and 3 cannot be asked or if it asked, then it means the door is shut on me for other questions. (father)

Similarly children also know that information sharing is a special concern for their parents and that their personal norms about sharing information are very different from what their parents would like them to follow. They learn this through their own experience and through their siblings and friends. Based on this, they develop a certain stance and a repertoire of strategies that they feel would help them with negotiation (e.g., example 39).

A second necessary condition for planning involves *scope and opportunity*. This is, in turn, partly determined by who intends to initiate an episode. When children are drawn into a conversation after parents have discovered noncompliance and deception there is no opportunity to plan. Predictability and opportunity are both available when conflict episodes recur. In that situation, even if one particular episode ensues without warning there is some degree of mental preparation for how it will be handled. A third condition that impacts planning is related with emotions generated in a particular episode. Individuals might plan but it may not be successful owing to spontaneous emotions generated in the episode.

The following paragraphs explain how intention to negotiate and opportunity to plan and emotions come together for children and parents.

Children.

Planning occurs for both indirect and direct negotiation. Scope and opportunity are important for planning for both types of negotiation. This is determined by whether a child is initiating the negotiation or responding to parents' initiation. An individual may plan a deception proactively, knowing that s/he would not be complying with an expectation. However, impromptu deception may also be required if parents seek information about compliance and the questioning occurs without warning.

Again, as already explained in the previous section the feeling of self-efficacy and the process of self-regulation influence the motivation to give up avoidance and negotiate. In this situation again, there is opportunity to plan because the group member is the initiator. However s/he may also be pulled into conversation if a parent has discovered the deviation that s/he tried to hide. In the following paragraphs participants' accounts of the planning process for self-initiated and parent-initiated negotiation are described.

Planning for self-initiated negotiation.

Indirect negotiation. The primary goal of negotiation is to stretch the latitude of acceptance behaviors with respect to a norm. The secondary goals include managing relational concerns as well as concerns related to the content of private information. In indirect negotiation, latitude of behaviors is stretched without the parents' knowledge and relational concerns are addressed by maintaining overt appearance of compliance and by avoiding potential unpleasantness of negotiation. Children are motivated to plan because

they want the deception to be successful. Success is determined by whether parents are deceived; whether the child is able to follow the personal norm and whether the deception is maintained, that is the non-compliance is not discovered.

Hence, children plan the *message content* as well as how to *manage circumstances*. For instance, they plan whether they want to present a complete fabrication or a half-truth (Example 55). Further, they use the help of compatriots such as siblings and friends to maintain the deception. For example, when trying to protect one's dating behavior from parents' monitoring, friends' help is taken to bolster the fabrication. In addition, activities may be planned in a certain way which helps cover up the non-compliance (example 55).

Example 54. For example if I was going out to a party, I wouldn't tell them about all 50 people that are there, they would probably like to know that for my safety. But I would like to tell them which of my close friends are going, just in case, because they have their phone numbers and I'll just neglect everything else, not tell them. (second generation female)

Example 55: I was freshman in high school with no place to go, no car. The only place to go was the public library which is walking distance from the High School. So every couple would do this.Like all the couples that were hiding. They always went to the library, they hung out there. And I would tell my parents, "yeah mom, dad, I have a lot of studying to do, I am going to stay back at the library a little bit. What I would be doing was hanging out with my girlfriend. (second generation male)

Direct negotiation.

The manner in which individuals plan to balance the primary and secondary goals through direct negotiation can be understood with reference to two specific examples, presented here as short case studies. The goals and nature of planning are related with the specific goals of negotiation.

Case study 1. This case study is about a young adult male second generation immigrant. This participant experienced much conflict with his parents during his adolescent years over norms of information sharing. Several issues, including whether or not he shared his information with them; how much information he shared; whether third parties such as guidance counselors should be involved as well as the implications of any disclosure he made to his parents. He felt that not only was he judged negatively for the behavior that he disclosed but also about the emotions he displayed. He perceived his parents as having more of a monitoring orientation than a friendly orientation. He also felt that their parents' excessive leanings towards Indian cultural notions prevented them from understanding his points of view.

Subsequently when he chose behavioral science as his area of study and potential career, he felt that he had expert knowledge about family interactions. At that point he was older and felt that he had more negotiating power than before and started trying to influence them to change their attitude. In his view, these discussions have not necessarily changed his parents' perspective but they have become receptive to his ideas.

Example 56. I would have to say because I feel one of the biggest taboo subjects in this culture is sexuality, and I am ... that's not something that I feel at all, I mean I'll talk about a great deal, I mean I'll break the taboo by talking about it in a general sense which no one in the family usually does. (second generation male)

This case study highlights the relationship between power, self-efficacy, sense of conviction, motivation for direct negotiation and planning. Expert knowledge provided a sense of self efficacy as well as a sense of conviction about what was to be fought for. Being older and therefore less dependent on parental resources also eliminated the fear of outcomes that the same individual had experienced as an adolescent or young adult. He

was aware of his own source of power and his plan was to leverage that.

Case study 2. The second case study is about an individual who had already deviated from the norm and wished to disclose it voluntarily. The need to disclose stemmed from a feeling of guilt. He had hidden information about dating that he felt he should have shared with his parents. After the initial propensity to hide this departure from parents' expectations, he realized he had flouted two norms. He had not followed the sexual norm his parents wished him to follow– that of not dating until a certain age as prescribed by his parents and the norm of honesty, by resorting to concealment (withholding information) (Ekman, 1985; Metts & Chronis, 1986). He was constantly aware of having done something that would hurt his parents. There was a sense of hypocrisy and all communication with parents seemed contrived and insincere. In other words, this individual experienced cognitive dissonance and a process of self-regulation worked to motivate him to disclose his norm departure. At the same time, the implications of disclosure of two norm departures – lying to parents and dating, were not lost. Hence self-protection (W. A. Afifi & Guerrero, 1999) became an important consideration. Last but not the least, the disclosure involved another individual (the person who this individual was dating). Hence yet another goal was to protect that person. Therefore the intended disclosure episode had to be planned.

This individual's planning included considerations for the target, the timing as well as the strategic content. He planned how he would justify his prior actions, how he would protect his partner, how he would protect the relationship with his partner (he did not want to give up on the romantic relationship), whom to disclose to (mother or father or both), whether to disclose to both parents at the same time or at different times, what

to disclose, what to hide, where to assert boundaries, what aspects to emphasize on, and in what sequence the arguments are to be presented. He expected support and sympathy from his father and approached him first. Further, with his help he planned the episode for disclosing to his mother.

This case study highlights the relationship between self-regulation, the motivations for indirect negotiation, motivations for direct negotiation and planning. First of all, this example demonstrates how the process of self-regulation can urge an individual to initiate norm negotiation. Second, it shows that even when individuals decide to initiate direct negotiation, the reasons why they had initially avoided it remain. The individual had departed from his parents' expectations and the possibility of sanctions was real. Hence he had to manage the goal of eliminating the source of guilt as well as protecting self and the dating relationship. This necessitated planning and the availability of support from one parent helped him to successfully fulfill these goals. His mother's reaction was not hostile; he did not have to undergo any negative consequence and he was also able to garner support for his romantic relationship. Last but not the least by persuading his parents to accept his romantic relationship he was able to make it easier for himself to comply with the norm of private information sharing.

Together with the previous one, this case study shows that the same processes responsible for the choice between avoidance of and engagement in direct negotiation, which are self-efficacy, self-regulation, a sense of conviction and availability of support, combine with specific situational factors to influence planning. Notably, both case studies also involved disclosure and the finding that planning is associated, is consistent with the disclosure literature (Greene, et al., 2003).

Planning for parent initiated conversation.

Individuals are not always likely to know when a parent might initiate conversation about the discovery of their deviation. In addition, emotions may impede the application of prior plans if any.

Episode unpredictability and planning. Parent initiated conversation occurs when they suspect or anticipate a deviation or discover it after it has occurred. When a deviation has not occurred and parents initiate a communication episode in anticipation or out of suspicion, there is no warning and hence no opportunity to plan. One might argue that if one has flouted a social norm, repercussions and in that sense parent initiated conversations should be expected and therefore there is always an opportunity to plan. What is seen in the accounts though is that children do expect to be accosted by their parents and even plan to prevent that, but do not necessarily know if, when or how the confrontation might occur. Also, there tends to be a significant time lag between the individuals' decision to deviate from parental expectations and the parents' discovery of that decision, which adds to the unpredictability. Thus, whether because of discovery of actual behavior or suspicion, when parents confront their children, it can come as a surprise.

Example 57: I had no idea, when he called and sounded upset, I was like may be it's because of my grades, cause like I had no reason, I couldn't think of any reason cause I had completely forgotten about that (pregnancy) test, so I had no idea. After I had taken the test, at first the doctor was like "No, you know, your parents won't find out, don't worry" but after I took the test – Oh that was the nurse saying that, but after I took the test, the doctor said no actually it will show up on this, I was like Oh crap! I was worried the whole time. But when nothing happened like for like a few weeks, they didn't say anything to me so I was like "all right", then I just kind of assumed that it would never come up. In my head it was like even if they saw it, they would never even dare to ask me that question, 'cause it's like, a like a taboo topic in our family. (second generation female)

Emotions and planning. Further, these episodes involve intense emotion. At the parent's end, there is anger and at the child's end there is surprise, guilt, fear and sometimes even anger. In these situations, children initially respond without planning and with impromptu intuitive lies. It does not mean that they have no strategy at hand. There are strategic aspects to these responses emerging from on the spot planning. Prior strategies, implicitly learned strategies and tactics come of use at this point.

Example 58: I got like scared. It took me so long (indicates with fingers a small amount) to realize how he (father) had found out. I was scared, I was nervous, and I didn't know what to say. It was awkward. It felt like... and I knew I was lying to him...and I think I might have refused to answer that question" (Second generation female)

Example 59: But it was really a bad amount of circumstances and she saw the were sitting very close together, we were holding hands and it was, she was kind of like she was I guess a little confused by that, to the least. So finally you know we separated, I went back to the car and she gave me a pretty good yelling. "What's going on there, what's happening?" and then I just I kind of played off.... We had been dating for like 5 or 6 months like... but I had to pretend now. I was like "I don't know, just trying something. I was very new. She held my hand, I don't know what was going on,".... I kind of almost started playing the innocent card, like I was the innocent bystander, "I don't know what was happening, she held my hand, I felt like dizzy, and I don't know", all these kinds of nonsense. (second generation male)

Recurrence of episodes and planning. If such confrontations recur, there is motivation to plan negotiation. Prior communication experience is used to prepare responses for hypothetical episodes. There is also a parallel effort to seek other means of strengthening boundaries and this can involve use of further indirect negotiation. For instance after being questioned by parents more than once about spending and saving decisions, a second generation woman reported setting up her own bank account without telling her parents. In parallel, she also planned to emphasize on her status as an adult who was working to earn extra money to explain to her parents why her financial

decisions should be beyond the scope of their surveillance.

Example 60: So I just I just kept denying that I didn't have the money and I told them like I have it in cash form or something so but they knew I was lying about it and my Mom was like and my mom was and then that's when the conversation became about my boyfriend and then it was like you are giving him money – it wasn't then about [edited]....it was about now I am spending money as a gauge about what I am doing, cause they don't watch my sister about how she spends money. They use how I am spending money as a gauge of what I am doing. So then I opened up my own account. (second generation female)

Example 61: I am sure it's going to come up. Like it's just – you really can't hide that much from your parents after a while so... but and then I would tell them – why are you so worried, it's my money and I am putting it to wherever – you are not at a loss here. (second generation female)

Example 62: I knew that no matter what happens, the questions will be cloaked in their own embarrassment.... So I wanted to treat them gently and give them as much information as they needed to understand the boundaries. (second generation female)

In sum, taking together the observations on self and parent initiated episodes, it can be said that among children, goal-directed planning occurs but is not an inevitable part of norm negotiation. It occurs when an episode is initiated by a children; there is self-efficacy (age, expertise, support); or when an intended episode seems particularly difficult because of multiple conflicting goals (as in the second case study).

When children are drawn into a negotiation by parents, there is usually little opportunity to plan because of lack of warning. At this time strategies learned from prior experience come into use. Responses are intuitive, that is based on tacit or implicit learning (Kellerman, 1992) from communication history. The use of such strategies is further influenced by emotions roused during such episodes. However if such confrontations become predictable, when individuals face predictable inquiries about their behavior, there is motivation and scope to engage in planning.

Parent.

Even though parents are confident of their power, they wish to balance the exercise of this power with concern for the relationship with their children. Therein is the motivation to plan their approach. They proactively plan for episodes that relate with their overall socialization approach. When they discover a deviation though, whether they plan depends on whether they have time and opportunity.

Planning as part of socialization approach. Parents know and expect that generational and cultural factors will cause disagreement with their children. Parents know that while they monitor children, children dislike being monitored. Parents are also aware that despite their status, they may not always be able to get their children to follow the norms they want them to. This leads them to plan meta-communication episodes.

These episodes are proactive and stem from expectation of conflict rather than actual conflict. Parents know that generational and cultural differences are bound to cause clashes with their children and they see these episodes as tools for preventing, minimizing and managing these expected conflicts. These episodes are parts of a larger plan to develop and maintain intimacy and trust as well as reinforce relational hierarchy. Thus they are more about giving shape to a socialization philosophy and a relationship vision.

Certain routines may be seen to be conducive to building a certain type of relationship and conveying certain socialization messages. Parents identify these and try to establish these routines. If they feel that togetherness helps information sharing, they establish routines of dinner table conversations and focus on the importance of family time. If they believe in free-flowing conversations, heated arguments and egalitarian

gestures as the way to gain intimacy, they manage their own behavior accordingly. If they want to reinforce their status as socialization agents, they identify and articulate rules of information sharing and the sanctions for deviance. These strategies relate to long term effort at relationship building and monitoring. These strategies also echo the findings in the literature on family communication environment and patterns. It has been found that families tend to display certain dominant patterns of communication. Some families promote a high degree of communication and relatively egalitarian independent styles (pluralistic) while some other families are more focused on rules and conformity (protective). It appears from the parents' approach that parents knowingly and purposively promote particular environments.

Example 63: From childhood we tried to instill in them that we will be open to you and you be open to us – the importance of honesty – we have to maintain that. And right from childhood, if we had an inkling that they are not telling us the truth, we would not scold them but tell that, “look this is a two way street, this is not a one-way street. If you don't trust us, we will not be able to trust you”. So reinforcing that, we have seen at least, both of our kids, they had developed a habit of telling us a lot of things, they were never, they never had, even now, when they have something, they openly discuss an issue, whether it was dating issues or whether it was about some – fight with somebody or any disagreement or anything in school or outside school in the community. And we try to encourage that and with that we did not have really a problem. If we ask them something, they never felt that we are crossing the boundaries and at the same time they felt that they can come and tell us what is happening.
(father)

Example 64: I think it is more on to the parents to determine how their children are going to respond – the way they I think the whole thing starts from their, how, if the parents are too restrictive from day one, sooner or later they will start revolting and acting obnoxious, so I think it's the parents' responsibility to make sure that they bring their children into that area of trust, so parents should take initiative in that respect. (mother)

Planning after discovery of deviation. As far as impending episodes can be predicted, specific strategies can be planned. Despite the awareness of potential conflict however, sometimes episodes are not predictable. Parents may suddenly discover that their child has lied. If there is a time lag between the parent's discovery and the confrontation, there is opportunity to plan. At these times, the same factors (communication history, specific norm goals, emotions generated and possibility of recurrence) that influence planning by group members on being discovered, apply.

Parents take into account their children's previous behavior; their likely responses to particular messages; their own preferred mode of communication and consider the ideal setting and timing for a confrontation. If parents foresee future episodes about the same norm goals, they plan for those as well. However, even when an impending episode has been carefully planned, the plan may fall apart as a result of the emotions generated in the encounter.

Example 65. Initially I thought I was not going to address it right away and wait and watch and see but then I think the moment she walked into the car I could not keep my anger contained so I came out with it straight and later I thought coming out with it straight is better than just to watch and wait with something that was bothering me a lot. (mother)

Example 66: After coming home (upon discovering that the daughter had been to a party where alcohol would be served, without telling the parents), I took her to the bathroom, put her under the shower, I must have spanked her also – I totally lost it – I don't know what I did. – My husband is a much calmer person than me. But he didn't stop it, because it was needed right? – But she, even till now, she has not revealed the name of the person who brought the alcohol. She is very open about hundreds of things – she would not tell me that. (mother)

In sum, among socialization agents, planning for specific episodes goes along with planning their overall socialization approach. Meta-communication is part of their attempt to establish desired communication norms within the family. When such

communication occurs upon discovery of a norm departure by children, as with children in the same situation, planning is often overshadowed by emotional reactions.

Goals and planning: A summary and reflection

Both children and parents plan how to balance their primary norm related goals with the secondary goals related to concern for relationship and objectives for other behaviors. However planning is dependent on opportunity which in turn is determined by awareness of tension, predictability of episodes and emotions. A notable finding is that among group members, goal directed planning certainly occurs but is not an inherent aspect of the negotiation process. The nature of negotiation is determined as much by tacitly learned and intuitively applied communication strategies as goal directed planning. Kellerman (1992) described communication as “inherently strategic and primarily automatic”. She explained that people tacitly learn how to achieve goals through communication and use and adjust their learning according to situational constraints when required. This is reflected in the findings about children’s responses to parent initiated conversation. Children pick up on useful strategies and when confronted use them. Among parents, planning goes along with their socialization approach. However, when negotiation is part of an episode following discovery of deviation, opportunity, predictability and emotions determine planning.

Negotiation

It had been assumed that communication about norms can be understood in terms of negotiation through which individuals and socialization agents try to reach mutual agreement or deal about the latitudes of a norm. Two possible variations in this interaction had also been proposed. One was a direct, open and confrontational approach, aimed at discussion of norms in order to arrive at shared agreement. The other was indirect and non-confrontational, aimed at hiding or excusing norm deviation. The study first of all confirms that such interactions do occur and are initiated by both children and parents. The two proposed variations are consistent with children's description of their negotiation experience. For parents, negotiation according to the first meaning is the first choice.

In the section on when people communicate about norms, children's reasons for engaging in direct negotiation were described. It was found that negotiation according to the first meaning is not the first choice among them. They first opt for indirect negotiation. Due to concerns stemming from asymmetric power in the relationship with parents, they lie or resist conversations where parents seek private information. In contrast, feelings of guilt at deception and sense of self efficacy motivate direct negotiation. Another finding was that parents, even though they have the power to enforce, at times prefer to avoid a hardline, adopt a liberal accommodating approach and negotiate. The manner in which children and parents conduct direct negotiation is the subject of this section.

Nature of negotiation.

Descriptions of direct negotiation obtained in the interviews reveal that a variety of communication strategies are used to fulfill the primary and secondary goals. The strategies used by both children and parents suggest that this balance is attained by adopting an attitude of compromise with respect to the norm goals and the strategies can be classified along a continuum of willingness to compromise.

It should be recalled at this point that the question of negotiation arises in a situation compliance is not perceived to be a viable option. Therefore converging with parents is already a rejected option. One choice may be to reject the idea of complying with parents' expectations in totality. For those who choose resistance, the communication goal is to simply convey their decision to all concerned. They have decided how they want to behave and from their perspective there is no scope for negotiation (as in example 66). On the other hand those who expect to find a common position need to negotiate. Compromise involves finding an agreeable point between following the personal norm in full form, and compliance. It reflects a stance in between resistance and compliance. It involves identifying what aspects of the social norm they will comply with; what aspects of their personal norms they are willing to give up; and how to minimize the sanctions that come with going against the social norm.

In the next and final part of this section the different strategies used by children and parents are described one by one with reference to definition, manner of balancing primary and secondary goals and perceived impact on the objective of mutual agreement.

Children.

Six negotiation strategies used by group members were identified. These strategies differ according to their implications for compromise and can be organized as progressing from proximity to compliance to proximity to total resistance. The strategies in that order would be *assuring*, *bargaining*, *critiquing*, *veiled negotiation*, *use of ally*, and *veiled threat*.

Assuring/Clarifying.

Definition. Children assure parents about their current and continuing compliance with other social norms in order to gain leeway with private information sharing norms. In their messages, children provide data to prove their compliance. In other words, group members justify non-compliance to one norm holding compliance to another norm as the reason.

Example 67: Like when they do ask me questions, about you know all those things (text messages in her cell phone from friends); I am like “that’s not your business, why are you looking at that? [Edited] Yeah, “that’s not your business” but I tell them anyway because I don’t want them to further worry, cause if I leave it as “that’s not your business”, they’ll go crazy about it. So I just say “that’s not your business” and “you need to calm down, but I am just going to tell you because I don’t want you to worry”. (second generation female)

Example 68: She kept saying “don’t have sex, I want you to wait, I want you to wait, I want you to wait”, and then I said, “Ma I am clearly responsible, you don’t need to worry about me.” (second generation male)

A similar strategy is reported in the compliance resistance literature as *justifying* (McLaughlin, et al., 1980). This term refers to strategies used when someone wants to explain one’s unwillingness for compliance on the basis of potential negative or positive outcomes for self or the compliance seeker. The two strategies are similar in terms of the central goal of providing a reason but differ in the conceptualization of reason. The

manner in which individuals are seen to use assurance in this study does not include references to potential outcomes. Instead it uses information about the current state of affairs as a justification for relaxing a norm.

The current compliance resistance literature on teacher –student relationship does not report any similar strategy (Ifert, 2000). The teacher-student relational context is also characterized by asymmetric power with respect to expertise as well as teachers' prerogative in evaluating and grading. The difference with the parent-child relationship is in the emotional character and the strategy of assurance reflects that. The example above (example 68) shows that its use is related with concern for the parent's feelings. Therefore this strategy is probably unique to familial or similar emotionally intimate relational contexts.

Primary Goals. A permanent change in parents' attitude is sought. Children want them to redefine how they look at their wards. They want parents to regard them as successfully socialized individuals and therefore no longer in need of monitoring. In other words, they want enforcers to redefine their own roles. In the short term, individuals also want parents to withhold information seeking through direct questions or inspection of their physical space.

Participants reported using this strategy when they felt that they were being monitored unnecessarily. It was a part of conversations that occurred following interrogative episodes where the parents thought that they have evidence of non-compliance when in fact the child had not flouted a norm. Children initially resisted parents' monitoring attempts by answering their question and then followed up with assurance. They felt that by providing assurance and a general account of their compliant

behavior, they would be able to persuade parents to scale back monitoring efforts.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. This strategy is used for balancing relational concerns with the primary goal. It is used both from a position of confidence as well as despair. The fact that one is not culpable is a source of confidence. There is confidence if children perceive parents to be friendly and are used to communicating easily and assertively with them. At first they try to resist and then they negotiate. In this situation, the strategy of assuring is directed more towards allaying the parents' fears. Children understand parents' need to monitor and want to assure them of their compliance.

This strategy is also used when children find themselves pushed to the wall, find parents to be intimidating and the conflict with norms to be intractable. They feel cornered by constant monitoring and interrogation and in that context this strategy is a plea for reprieve. At first they try to comply and avoid negotiation but when that does not work, they resort to this strategy. In this situation the strategy represents a desperate effort to influence parents to voluntarily scale back the enactment of their role. In either scenario, children adopt a primarily cooperative, non-aggressive and a defensive stance. Despite perceiving themselves to be in the "right", they do not challenge parents.

Impact. While the desired impact is a redefinition of social roles and scaling back of monitoring, the real impact is not very significant. Parents may be willing to stop interrogation at that moment for that particular issue and display a conciliatory countenance. At the same time they reiterate their beliefs about their role; justify their action and indicate continuing to enact their social roles. Over time however children do notice parents becoming more relaxed about monitoring.

Example 69: They said it was their job to see that I am okay and they reserve the right to do that. (second generation male)

Example 70: Honestly I don't think they did (change much). My mom still probably still looks at my messages. In general they have always trusted me, but through the yelling and Every time they bring up something, I explain it to them; you know "you need to calm down". So every time some incident happens, they become more at ease with me.... (second generation female)

In some cases, parents justify monitoring with reference to the child's behavioral pattern. For instance the parent of the second generation male (example 67) quoted above, responded by saying that monitoring was justified because she considered him to be more rebellious compared to her other children. In either case, whether parents respond amicably or aggressively, the children's personal norm of asserting private information ownership remains thwarted. Thus, compromise is not achieved. Parents' position remains as before.

Bargaining

Definition. Individuals negotiate the terms and conditions of compliance. This strategy includes a promise to be more compliant with private information sharing norms in exchange of some leeway with other norms. Group members promise to be more forthcoming about their lives to their parents if the latter agreed to reduce monitoring and sanctions for non-compliance with other social norms. This is the only strategy that is part of a negotiation initiated by group members. All other strategies are used in response to enforcement attempts.

Primary goals. Like the strategy of providing assurance, bargaining is aimed at bringing about permanent change in actual communication norms in the family. It is a move to change from a pattern of monitoring and avoidance to a pattern of information

sharing. The rationale is that the possibility of admonitions and judgmental comments deter voluntary information sharing about one's personal lives, especially personal norms. If enforcers can be influenced to withhold these negative reinforcements, compliance with the norms of information sharing would be easier. Thus individuals are looking for, again like the strategy of assurance, role redefinition. Instead of the erstwhile top-down action-reaction pattern where action (monitoring and sanctioning) is always from parents and reaction (avoidance or resistance) is always from children, a more egalitarian pattern is sought. By seeking a congenial atmosphere for information sharing, children try to reclaim ownership of information.

This strategy is used in two situations. In one scenario the urge to initiate negotiation involves self-regulation due to intense feelings of guilt for having lied (Bandura, 1991). In the second scenario, the urge to negotiate norms of private information sharing emerges from an immediate need for emotional release through disclosure.

Example 71: I kind of gave them, like "You have two choices, (a) I can keep lying to you and get away with all this stuff again and we would just never be close or (b) I can actually have you close in my life, tell you what is happening in my life and have you support me for it and at the end of the day I am not going to do whatever I want. But this way I can at least talk to you and you can give a reasonable yes or no in terms of what I can or cannot do" and they agreed with that. (second generation male)

Example 72: So I go to my dad. I go and explain to him I was lying. So my dad – as I already told – I was honest about everything... I was very calm coming to him and I explained to him. It isn't very often that I have to pull him aside and seat him down to talk so he was very serious to begin with. So he sat down. I explained to him "So there is this girl '**** *'". She was a Korean girl and I sat down and explained to him what I liked about her and that I was interested in her but before I pursue anything like before I date her, I want you to know what's going on, because I promised you that I would be open with you and in case anything does happen with this girl (which it didn't) but in case anything does happen with this girl, I want you to be a part of it, because I wanna feel

open with you. (second generation male)

Example 73: It was a break up and of course I was emotionally very upset and I went to my mother for consolation and of course she was there but she also pried for information. She wanted to know certain things uhmm but this time I wasn't willing to give her because this is not information I felt she would understand. She feels like she would understand everything, she is very judgmental. You know if I told her like I was dating someone, that was four years older than me she may have not taken it very well. So that's what I told her - I don't want to tell her about things very specific and to let it go. And luckily because I was older I feel, she may have let that go but that was when I was 23. (second generation male)

The first two examples (examples 73 and 74) are from the accounts of the same person. He felt guilt at having lied and needed to negotiate with his father for excusing his lying behavior and the fact that he was dating someone (when that had been explicitly discouraged at home). In addition he needed his dating behavior to be accepted. He actually wanted to comply with his parents' expectations of openness but without negotiating for these goals, he could not and hence he bargained.

The third example represents the account of an individual whose romantic partner had broken up with him and he was in need of emotional support. He had been concealing an inappropriate romantic involvement from his parents and knew that in the process of disclosing would involve information about his involvement and also the fact that he had concealed that information. While he needed the emotional release he was not willing to discuss the nature of involvement, especially the identity of his ex-partner. Therefore there was a need to negotiate the terms and conditions of disclosure (complying with the information sharing norm).

One particular tactic is evident in the guilt-resolution scenario. This is the tendency to stress on the fact of volition. Enforcers' attention is drawn to the fact that the

disclosure is out of volition and not because a norm departure was discovered. Volition is presented as proof of overall compliance, regard, trust and attachment. As proof of compliance and regard, volition is also the rationale for reducing sanctions and for changing the child's status from "ward" to "responsible individual".

Balancing primary and secondary goals. The primary goal of role redefinition is managed along with the two secondary goals identified before - concerns for maintaining freedom for other behaviors as well as concern for the relationship with parents. This strategy tries to secure some freedom for other behaviors. When conditions for compliance with private information sharing norms are negotiated, the agreement automatically involves a reduction in sanctions for non-compliance with other behaviors.

Relational concerns are managed by avoiding challenging parents' authority. Unlike the strategy of assurance, this strategy is part of negotiation following non-compliance, which implies that it involves managing fear of sanctions. Bargaining is done in the form of a request but it involves a reminder that an individual has control over what information s/he wants to share. Further, the support of an ally may also be sought to help them with negotiation. This strategy is also used when based on perceptions of the relationship and past communication experience; parents are expected to give a sympathetic hearing.

Impact. The results of this strategy are more satisfying for the individual than those of assurance. Parents do appreciate the fact that their offsprings trusted them and approached them voluntarily. They take full advantage of children's willingness to talk and exercise their right to monitor in full measure but are amenable to reducing the sanctions for the norm departure being reported. One can see two types of impact on

norms here. The private information sharing norm is reinforced as more important than other behavioral norms and serves the purpose of parents. This is evident from the fact that parents are willing to let go of the sanctions for the other norms in exchange of compliance with the information sharing norm. At the same time, trust is established and children do find their parents' attitudes towards them becoming more lenient. They find their parents to be more trusting and accepting of them as mature adults compared with before.

Example 74: So after putting everything on the floor, they were very okay with it. They were kind of like "I want, like that you are coming to us", and it was like andAs long as there is some sort of I guess mutual agreement, there.. it was almost like "good conflict" that came up between us. We were trying to figure out meeting between the two of us, this a middle ground between both the norms that we had been raised, my American values with an Indian tint and then their completely Indian values with a little bit of an American tint. And we really did find a middle ground. We really did. (second generation male)

Thus, in comparison to the previous strategy of assuring, bargaining appears to result in some degree of convergence.

Critiquing

Definition. Group members question the very basis of monitoring. This is in direct contrast with the strategy of assuring which is used for seeking reprieve while legitimizing parents' concerns. This strategy is based on the assumption that the norms that parents are trying to enforce are inappropriate or irrelevant. Members present arguments challenging the legitimacy of the norms. They refer to the generational and cultural gap and claim that parents' expectations are unfair.

This also involves strategic and assertive use of communication avoidance as demonstrated in example 76. Responding to parents' information seeking behavior is

deliberately avoided. This is motivated by the need to appear in control and not intimidated; as well as to characterize the parent's position as unfounded. The message is essentially "you are making a big deal out of nothing."

Example 75: I am like, I just yell at them. Like "Are you crazy?"... I am like you just have to trust that you raised me right and you know.... I just say different things... like the generation has changed like all around the world the generation has changed and what you did as children is not what children in where you grew up do now. I just like... I yell at them a lot, just like "you really need to calm down." (second generation female)

Example 76. So when something concerns them to that much of a degree or they keep bringing it up and I don't respond to it, cause I am like I am not going to deal with it and eventually they will come up with "we saw this text message. Is this person bothering you" or something and I am like "you need to calm down, you are really annoying, you raised me right." It's like that. (second generation female)

Goals. Similar to the context for assuring, this strategy was used when individuals thought that they were being monitored relentlessly and unfairly despite their generally compliant behaviors. They felt that where they followed their personal norms, they were right in doing so. Thus they operated from a feeling of confidence about their normative stance and wanted to push back on their monitoring behavior.

The participant quoted above explained how her parents frequently misunderstood the communication between her and her friends. The parents monitored her cell phone usage especially the text messages, and often interpreted some of those as inappropriate or bordering on harassment when in the participant's perspective they were peer-group jokes. She felt that the cultural and generational gap led to these misinterpretations. Her parents were unfamiliar with the current American youth culture and that resulted in unwarranted fears. In the above example, she tried to dissuade her parents from monitoring her communication with her friends by explaining that her behavior was

compliant and hence there is no reason to monitor. Despite how the communication with her friends sounds to them, there is no non-compliant behavior and it simply represents the culture of her peer group.

When examining the choice of avoidance, we had seen how concerns about not being able to bridge the gap between own and parents' frames of reference / perceptions of norms can influence individuals to avoid negotiation. This strategy represents the alternative scenario where children make an effort to bridge the gap by talking about the factors that cause it. Thus this strategy is an effort at resolving the conflict between social and personal norms via achieving a common understanding.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. Like the strategy of assurance this strategy is used by individuals who feel secure in their relationship with parents. While respectful of parental authority in general, they do not feel intimidated. Prior communication experience tells them that parents will not necessarily react negatively to their assertiveness. They find that their parents are accommodative of these occasional departures from role performance and deference rituals. They feel free to express their frustration and anger and use distributive communication (Guerrero, Andersen, & Afifi, 2001) without having to worry about harming the relationship.

Compared with the choice of indirect negotiation, one can see the effect of flexible deference rituals and friendly communication environment. Individuals are able to lay stress on the rationale for their personal norm without appearing out of line or disrespectful towards authority. The objective of balancing relational concerns with normative concerns is made easier because the relationship is friendly to begin with.

The literature on compliance resistance in the classroom, reports a similar strategy

used by students to question teachers' power but one which is used in a more hostile manner as a challenge (Burroughs, Kearney, & Plax, 1989).

Impact. Individuals are able to convince parents about their perspective as well as that the extent of monitoring is unwarranted. Parents respond by referring to their role requirements but do not sanction the child for speaking against the social norm. They too try to bridge the gap between their understanding of the parental role and their children's understanding of the norm of monitoring by explaining the specific concerns behind their monitoring behavior. This strategy does not affect the practice of monitoring per se, but it does influence parents to listen to children's perspective.

Example 77: They will say, "Listen we are concerned, we didn't grow up here, we are just concerned. Can't you understand that?" (second generation female)

Veiled negotiation

Definition. This strategy uses equivocation where the receiver is expected to understand the double meaning and respond to the covert meaning. The literal meaning implies compliance but the meaning below the surface is really a reiteration of the preferred norm. For instance, in response to parents' question about son or daughter's marriage plan, the answer is "we will take this under advisement". Alternatively a daughter may say "okay, look at them anytime, go ahead" when she finds that her parent frequently monitors her cell phone records. In both these examples, the individuals are apparently complying with their parents' monitoring norms. However that is clearly not the entire implication of the messages.

Saying "we will take this under advisement" is actually not a complete answer to a question about whether a dating couple has progressed to the subject of marriage. It appears to signify that the concern is considered legitimate but a detailed or direct answer

is unwarranted. It is an attempt at stalling the conversation. This becomes clearer when we take into account what happened as a result. In the participant's account, the parent immediately retreated and agreed to desist from attempting any further involvement. He reacted to the meaning below the surface, which was essentially "we do not want to answer this question now."

In the second example, the child appears to agree to complete transparency in response to parents' monitoring. However, there is also the implication that she has nothing to hide. This in turn seems to point out that the extent to which parents monitor her is beyond necessity; that they are over-performing their role. Thus as noted by Chovil (1994) in earlier studies, equivocation is used to effectively communicate private information boundaries in problematic situations.

Primary goals. Individuals want to remind socialization agents of boundaries. Providing an evasive answer is meant to alert the parent that s/he is overstepping a boundary. This strategy is thus an effort to push back. Like assuring, this strategy is based on the hope that parents will voluntarily retreat if they are reminded of boundaries.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. Both the above examples are seen with children who believe that they have a secure and close relationship with their parents. Given the asymmetric power and the assumptions of parental authority common to most societies and certainly Indian culture, this strategy, like critiquing, has the potential to anger the parents. However, as in the critiquing scenario, individuals use this strategy when they are sure that the relationship will not be harmed and that the message will be interpreted as intended.

At the same time it is noteworthy that this strategy is used instead of unqualified

resistance. Even though children feel unwilling to comply, they do not directly refuse to go along with the social norm. The use of equivocation therefore also suggests that users of this strategy do not want to challenge the social norm per se. They want to use a relatively aggressive method compared with assuring or bargaining to reduce the extent to which the norm affects their life, and reinforce boundaries.

Impact. In this research we see that the impact is different based on the power balance. Once children reach a certain age and academic or professional level, parents are less inclined to use their power to monitor them. They might continue a certain degree of monitoring especially in the context of crucial norms such as marriage but are more tolerant of children's assertive responses. This is what happened in the case of the participant who provided an evasive answer in response to a question about marriage plans. The parent immediately took the hint and retreated. According to the participant, this in fact continues to be a pattern of behavior. In this case the social norm that parents are trying to follow is pushed back while the child's personal norm gains acceptance.

In the other scenario, the child was still a ward of the parents. Even though they were tolerant of her departure from deference rituals, they did not scale back their monitoring. They ignored the sarcasm and double meaning and continued with what they thought was appropriate. In this case, the child was not able to negotiate any leeway from the social norm.

Use of an ally

Definition. Individuals sometimes use the help of an ally. This ally could be a peer like a sibling or cousin or spouse or even a socialization agent, like one of the parents. Allies are used in a number of ways. Allies are consulted to stem self-doubt about one's

personal norm and to plan the negotiation process. In this situation the individual fortifies his or her arguments with suggestions from the like-minded ally and designs the negotiation process in a way that promises success.

Allies are also used to negotiate by proxy. The ally agrees to stand in for the individual and deliver the message. It is someone who is important enough in the family so that parents will listen, and out of the purview of monitoring. An example would be the spouse of the individual. In this form, this is as much an indirect strategy as a direct strategy. The individual avoids negotiating on his/her own but is able to achieve the norm goals. In addition, when the ally is someone of equal or more power compared with the enforcer, for example if one of the parents takes the side of the child, it becomes difficult for the other parent to enforce the social norm.

Example 78: So we went out to dinner and we had a nice dinner and the menu cards come for dessert and my Dad goes, "What's the plan for now?" and ***** and I knew what exactly he was talking about (marriage plans) and my now husband said "Thank you for your concern, we will take this under advisement." To be fair I do manipulate the situation to my advantage. I want to be the independent American born you know Indian woman and I will tell my parents you know you don't have to ask my husband's permission, but then when they ask me certain questions that I don't want to answer, they will expect my husband to say no and not me to say no, I say I have to ask my husband. So I do play the card I admit to my advantage. (second generation female)

Example 79: And then he finally came to the point "Did you tell Mommy? I said "uhmm, no". "Are you going to?" "I was planning on it". "Do you need my help?" "Yeah" so we kind of figured out a way of saying. Every single time I come to my Dad – with any conflict, we always kind of walk into the conversation, I kind of walk in solo, my Dad has to pretend he hasn't heard it. He has to pretend that he is hearing it for the first time. So every time I approach my parents, it has to seem like they are presenting a united front because my mom never wants to know that I feel safer with my Dad than my mom. So finally he explained to me like "Okay so, mention the fact that it's not that serious, mention the fact that you just want to be honest with them". He started explaining all the points in terms of what I should be bringing up. The last points to bring up are that we have gone for dates and that she is Asian and that she has not told her parents, that she has been lying about it to her parents,

different than I intended – he said not to mention those points – ignore it till the very very end. So I am like okay let's go. So my parents like to sit down every evening and watch Indian soap opera. So I came to them... And I explained to them “guys can I talk to you about something” as though my dad knows nothing at all and my Dad is a great actor at this point. He has got huge experience. And he is like “Oh tell us about it” so I sat down explained to my Mom. (second generation male)

Goals. There are two goals. One is to bolster justification for one's personal norm. Justification can be achieved in two ways. Consulting with a like-minded peer provides confidence in one's beliefs as well as additional rationale and arguments that can be presented. One can present the personal norm in an even stronger light if an ally agrees to back up the individual in the conversation with the enforcer.

The second goal is to contain the parent's power to enforce. If the ally has the same social position, s/he would have similar power. Then his or her support for the child can help contain the parent's power. The child is then in a better position to bargain for tolerance for his/her personal norm and some leeway for behavior.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. Interestingly, this strategy is used both in the contexts of a secure relationship as well as where there is a history of unsatisfactory negotiation. Using an ally can make negotiation much easier. Hence even where there is closeness and intimacy, it is seen as a useful strategy for withstanding the enforcer. Therefore when the individual feels very strongly about his or her personal norm, using an ally, if available, seems like a safer route. The participant, who reported using an ally to negotiate in her place, did so even though she shared a very close relationship with her parent and felt confident in her ability to negotiate. Her objective was to nip the parents' monitoring effort in the bud without seeming to be belligerent or rebellious. She had had time to plan and secure the ally's cooperation and wanted to spare

no effort at negotiation. For her, this is in fact a frequently used strategy – a formula that she always found to yield satisfactory results. It is a way to maintain a certain face in front of the parents, a face that helps her to follow her personal norm without facing sanctions.

An ally is especially useful when the individual is intimidated by the enforcer or when there is fear of conflict escalation or relational deterioration. In such a situation, the ally's support (especially if the ally is someone with a high social position) helps present the personal norm as a justified preference instead of non-compliant behavior.

Impact. The ally's presence in person, especially when of the same position as the parent has a significant effect on the negotiation process. The enforcer's power is curtailed and the individual has a better chance of avoiding sanctions. The personal norm is presented in stronger light and the individual is able to get some leeway from the social norm.

Veiled threat

Definition. The child hints at negative consequences for the parent if s/he is unwilling to accept the individual's preferred norm or not provide any leeway with the social norm. It is presented in the form of an ultimatum or a question that addresses the parents' inner fears about children not complying with norms. This strategy is exemplified by the following quotes from a child who was reacting to parents' efforts to monitor activities with a romantic partner by spying on them and asking indirect questions about sexual involvement.

Example 80: I talked to my parents and said "Look we can play these two ways. I took the risk bringing home somebody... my boyfriend, who is important ... whoever is important in my life, you should know who they are and you should know what's going on. However if you continue to act in this

way and make people uncomfortable, then I won't be able to bring anybody home and you won't know what's going on. So I am inviting you to partake of my private life in my own terms or have none of it." I was living in college, I was living in a dorm and they cannot monitor me in any way shape or form and they realized that... (second generation female)

Example 81: I said "fine, well do you want me to tell you the truth or do you want me to lie to you"? and that was sort of in other words – "you know what's going on." And I think she might have asked me a similar question in college, like.... "Does your boyfriend sleep over?" and it's the same question and I give her the same answer every time.... I don't know what I would say if she said she wanted to know the truth and at this point it doesn't matter thank God! But can you imagine if she ever said that? (Second generation female)

Primary goals. A veiled threat is meant to make parents realize that children have already chosen certain personal norms over social norms and influence them into voluntary retreat. Enforcing a private information sharing norm that brings that choice out in the open (especially when that choice relates to a critical issue like sexual behavior), may not be palatable. If it comes out in the open, it would become obvious that parents have not been able to enforce a social norm (in this case a sexual more). Thus the child attempts to sensitize parents to the fact that despite monitoring rights, finding out certain types of private information may undermine their social role rather than reinforce it.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. This strategy appears to be used when the individual is very confident about his/her personal norm; considers the social norm to be irrelevant and feels sure about own ability to negotiate. Confidence may be further bolstered by an ally's help. Thus the individual begins with a perception of self as powerful and wants enforcers to recognize that position of power.

While the goal is to create fear of negative consequences, message may be

couched in humor or presented as a “calm, non-emotional, logical” argument. In fact this is why this strategy was named “veiled threat” instead of just “threat”. Children want socialization agents to see the strength of the individual’s norm, as well as the limits to their power.

At the same time, children remain cognizant of parents’ power. They privately worry about what would happen if the enforcer decided to play along and not accept the threat. The first example above shows an ultimatum. Though framed as a choice, it clearly specifies that the child will decide the outcome and not the parents. The strategy as shown in the second example is based on the probability of enforcers taking the hint, preferring not to hear disturbing information and choosing to withdraw. However if the opposite happens and the enforcer is not intimidated, there is little that individuals can do. Thus, we see that despite the comparatively aggressive stance of the strategy, individuals privately remain concerned about the asymmetric power.

Impact. This strategy appears to work. Fear is evoked as intended and parents respond to the ultimatum by retreating. Thus the social norm is negated and the child’s personal norm gets accepted without him/her having to endure sanctions.

Example 82. Actually my dad apologized. (second generation female)

Example 83. And she immediately started saying “hey raam hai raam, hai raam” (Oh God, Oh God1), I said “mandir (temple) is in the corner over there, this is the breakfast table, Hai Ram is over there, chai is here, okay, okay, and sort of that was in other words you know what’s going on. (second generation female)

Parents

Parents' strategies reflect varying orientation towards control and leniency. The control/leniency orientation corresponds with their perceptions of what aspects of the norm are to be binding and what aspects can be flexible. Three strategies used by control include *emphasizing trust*, *facilitating compliance*, and *justifying*.

Emphasizing trust.

Definition. As can be seen in the examples below, parents tend to use *comparative statements* about the significance of private information sharing norms versus other norms. In fact they attach greater significance to norms of information sharing such as transparency and honesty compared to the behavioral norm about which they seek information. They describe violation of the other social norm to be more tolerable than secrecy or dishonesty. They highlight what is at stake in each case. Violating a norm of information sharing, risks parents' trust. Parents' trust is pitched as having greater value than the benefits of covering up or peer support.

Example 84: I told him that if you lose your parents' trust, no friend can compensate for that. (father)

Example 85: I always tell her, "If I have to hear something about you, I'd rather hear it from you and not from other people". Then again my primary concern is who she is (going out with), I don't care if they are girls or boys or Indians or American or Chinese, as long as she is open. (mother)

Example 86: We tell them we accept that you are being truthful and please do not lie to us because we have another rule in this family that you make a mistake, there is one punishment for that but if you lie, then the punishment is much more serious. (mother)

Primary goals. Parents want to reinforce private information sharing norms at the expense of other social norms. Therefore at one level, the compromise is between two

interrelated norms. At another level, the emphasis on trust is used to shift the onus of control on to group members. The focus is shifted from monitoring to internalization of norms. In effect, children are required to prove themselves “worthy” of withholding social control measures. While parents may change their overt behavior, they remain attentive to children’s compliance behavior.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. This strategy regards children as being responsible for their behavior. Rather than a negative view of members as prone to rebellion, it is based on the belief that group members can and would voluntarily comply. Part of the control is handed over to them and in that sense this strategy involves granting group members more power than the relationship would normally afford. It is expected that this will minimize unpleasantness associated with exchanges involving controlling behavior. Further, the strategy explicitly prioritizes private information sharing norms over other behaviors. It is aimed at ensuring information sharing while providing some leeway with other behaviors.

Impact. Parents rely on children’s obvious communication patterns to understand whether this strategy has the desired impact because unless there is evidence of norm violation there is little opportunity to know whether the group member is lying or speaking the truth. If parents notice a general pattern of openness; overall consistency between their reports of behavior and overt behavior; references to both controversial and uncontroversial topics in children’s communication and find them following the family communication rules (e.g., calling ahead to inform about delay / change of schedule), they judge the emphasis on trust to have been successful. However at times there are doubts about what type of lie (Ekman, 1985) children use, that is, how much they falsify

(deliberately provide false information) versus conceal (withhold the truth). Sometimes there is an intuitive feeling that while children might not present false information, they might conceal certain aspects of their behavior. Therefore the impact of this strategy on the norm is somewhat unclear for parents.

Facilitating compliance.

A number of strategies are directed towards making compliance easier. While monitoring involves active information seeking, these strategies are about creating conditions for voluntary and pleasant information sharing. They involve one-sided strategic behaviors aimed at bolstering the quantity and quality of communication by reducing communication inhibiting elements.

Strategic self-disclosure. Parents demonstrate openness in communication. They discuss episodes from their own life, which could be considered somewhat deviating from norms, to present a friendly, empathetic persona as well as to indicate identification. By talking about one's own dating experiences and attempts at attracting the opposite sex's attention despite the conservative anti-dating culture of their youth in India or about experiments with alcohol in college, parents seek to establish a sense of camaraderie. Appearing as compatriots instead of adversaries is expected to create a perception of accessibility to counter the power imbalance. One of the parents noted how as a result of such disclosure, her daughter later talked to her about her romantic relationship.

Example 87: I asked her once "why aren't you dressing up?" she asked "why?" I said "but then boys won't look at you if you don't dress up". She asked "why do boys need to look at me?" I said "well, you want to have a boyfriend, don't you?" I wanted to find out this way what she is doing, does she have boyfriend, from that conversation, I understood that she was not yet into that stage. Little later she came and asked me "Did you have boyfriends?" so I said "No, but definitely I and my friends used to dress during the Pujas in pretty saris hoping we would be noticed". Then she was very interested, "Really what did you do,

what did you do”... more questions. So that’s how I tried to find out what is happening in her personal life. (mother)

Relaxing taboos. Parents identify other norms that undercut compliance to the norm in question. Taboos can be powerful inhibitors of communication about certain critical norms and when there is a need to discuss those critical norms those taboos have to be addressed. For instance, the topic of sex is approached with humor to make it less uncomfortable. Similarly, with alcohol, parents feel that the simple act of talking with children or letting them participate in drinking can positively affect the way children view alcohol. After being invited to drink with adults, when children come back later to discuss cocktail recipes, parents feel that drinking together has helped to make the topic of alcohol less of a taboo and opened up future communication.

Approaching the private information sharing norm through another. Parents sometimes approach private information sharing norms via other behavioral norms. They demonstrate a flexible attitude towards the other norm by participating in it so that children feel comfortable about following the information sharing norms with respect to that behavior. For instance, some parents allow their underage children to drink in front of them as an acceptance of the fact they would be drinking anyway as soon as they went to college. It is expected that once the excitement around alcohol is tempered, children would be more likely to use good judgment and less likely to hide such behavior from their parents.

Highlighting norm relevance. Similar to emphasizing trust, parents highlight the relevance of private information sharing norms in parent-child relationship. They focus on the notion of attachment and potential negative outcomes of not following the norms.

They assert that parents have the right to ask for information and discuss what might happen as a result of secrecy. For instance, one parent, on learning that her son had been lying to her as well as his teacher about homework, tried to convey that his secret would have been revealed as soon as she and the teacher met. One of the things she told her son was, “What would have happened if I had met your teacher and she asked about your homework?” She tried to emphasize that secrets have a way of getting out and cause greater harm than the topic of the secret.

Primary goals. These strategies reflect the motivation to prevent norm violation. Consonant with the primary goal of parents, these strategies are expected to help enforce norms and this is most evident in the strategy of highlighting norm relevance. However another important objective is preventing conflict escalation and unpleasantness. Parents expect conflict and recognize the possibility that power assertion or controlling actions alone may not bring about compliance. Relatively passive and manipulative strategies such as these are considered more effective.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. Relational concerns are addressed by the focus on preventing unpleasantness. A preventive approach addressing potential conflict without even actively engaging the children avoids unpleasantness while also serving the control function.

Impact. Parents perceive proactive measures to be very satisfactory in the long run. The primary compromise appears to be in manner of exerting control, as moving away from overt power assertion. A broader definition that allows friendly and identification promoting behavior helps them to achieve their goal of enforcing norms.

Accounting.

Definition. Parents account for their controlling behavior to children. In other words they provide justifications for performing their role. Overtly, the messages look much like induction (Brody & Schaffer, 1992) since they include explanations and reasons. However the difference with induction is apparent from the antecedents of the use of this strategy.

Parents often indirectly monitor their children's activities by observing their friends, listening in to telephone conversations, examining text messages on mobile phones and reading their email whenever there is an opportunity. This form of indirect monitoring is most often done without the child's knowledge. Sometimes, children discover that parents are spying and sometimes parents volunteer the information (especially when they have found disturbing information). Discovery of covert means of monitoring can put parents in a vulnerable position depending on the parent's attitude and this is when this strategy comes of use.

Some parents consider all forms of monitoring to be justified. To them, the perception that they have the right to monitor implies that espionage is justified. These parents retain their assertive stance and focus on the violation they have discovered instead of the means of gaining information. Instead of offering an explanation, they simply reiterate the significance of their role and the norm. Notably the instances of this attitude in this study were seen among participants who described their family situation to be characterized by low conflict.

Example 88: As long as I am paying taxes, as long as you know the mortgage is in my name I get into my son's room and through his closet and anywhere possible to make sure that he is doing well, that everything is fine. (mother)

In other cases, parents act in a defensive mode. This occurs in situations where the parents find enforcement difficult owing to the child's personality, escalating unpleasantness from prior showdowns or lack of support from spouse.

Example 89: I told him- we are not going to use our knowledge of their activities to do some harm to them...that's what we would like them to know... I am not going to do any harm to him, even if I see that he is doing something wrong, maybe I would just have a talk with him. (mother)

Primary goal. This strategy is essentially an effort towards making the child accept the parent's actions. For some parents, it is about reinforcing compliance by reminding children about their power. For others the objective is to allay fears of sanction with the expectation that the child see the parent's role performance in more positive light.

Balancing primary and secondary goals. For parents who use this strategy to reinforce compliance there is no secondary goal. They want to assert their power and remind children that compliance is not an option. For others, this strategy is primarily about managing relational goals. It is used at low points in the parent-child relationship and an explanation of behavior is presented with the hope that once the parents' motivations become clear, the group member will be more receptive.

Impact. Where used assertively, parents are satisfied that the strategy results in compliance. Where used as an appeal, this strategy is not successful in reinforcing the social norm. Despite the explanations provided, children reiterate their personal norm and reinforce the boundaries they want parents to follow.

Negotiation strategies: A summary and reflection

Reflecting on the negotiation strategies leads to six observations. First, the strategies show that when communicating about a norm, individuals negotiate what are acceptable behaviors and boundaries of those behaviors. As we see in the strategies, people do not necessarily challenge or question a norm per se. From their stand point, they simply try to find some wiggle room and negotiate with others to legitimize it.

Second, in the effort to seek legitimacy for leeway with a norm, individuals talk about behavioral expectations and the rationale for such expectations. In the strategies of assurance, critiquing and highlighting of norm relevance, rationale for the norm are discussed. These strategies imply that parents should reflect on the reason for following the norm of monitoring and whether this norm is relevant in all situations. Strategies of assurance and bargaining focus on relationships between private information sharing norms and other norms. These strategies establish a link between behavior with respect to other norms and the practice of monitoring. Again, bargaining, veiled negotiation and veiled threat involve the notion of agency. These strategies ask that individuals reflect on who is really in power. Does the parent really have the power to enforce or is his/her ability to enforce dependent on the volition and cooperation of children? The strategy of veiled negotiation brings up past assumptions or agreements about the norm. The strategy of using an ally brings up both agency and rationale. It challenges the parent's power and also raises the question that if one socialization agent is in favor of the personal norm then is the other justified in enforcing the social norm? From among the parents' strategies, highlighting of relational assumptions directly establishes the link between compliance and group solidarity. The facilitation strategies are used in recognition of the

value of children's volition and cooperation while highlighting of norm relevance again focuses on rationale.

Third, it can be seen that the communication strategies do not necessarily help achieve a modified and mutually acceptable behavioral boundary. Strategies like assuring and critiquing fail to move parents from their position. Effectively, the primary positive outcome of these strategies is that they allow children to express their point of view and strike up conversation about rationale, without any negative impact on the relationship. On the other hand, it appears that relatively more aggressive strategies on the part of children are likely to be more effective in achieving leeway. Again, just because children have been successful in achieving a revised behavioral boundary does not mean that the parents' position has moved towards compromise. The strategy of veiled threat is the key example here. In this, the child is assertive enough to be able to neutralize parents' power. Parent's expectation remains the same but the child is able to forcefully eke out greater latitude of behavior. The only strategy which indicates some degree of modification in expectations is bargaining. Similarly parents' use of facilitating strategies also appears to influence children's willingness to comply, based on parents' perceptions.

Fourth, the importance of the notion of rights is evident in the strategies of assurance, critiquing and veiled threat. Use of these relatively aggressive strategies is associated with individuals' attitude towards norms. When they have a strong sense of conviction about their personal norms, that is they feel little or no guilt with respect to the norm which parents wish to enforce, they use such strategies. The conditions under which children choose the path of negotiation as well as the strategies they devise and choose show that a sense of "right" has the potential to trump socialization agents' power. The

perception of one's "rights" to follow personal norms is related to the choice of relatively aggressive strategies, such as veiled threat and use of ally, which show a greater potential to influence the socialization agents.

Fifth, private information sharing norms are not negotiated alone. They are negotiated in association with other social norms. Strategies for negotiating private information sharing norms are interwoven with strategies for negotiating other norms. Thus, negotiation involves more than one instrumental goal (Clark & Delia, 1979). This is most evident in the strategy of bargaining where goals related to monitoring norms and other social norms are addressed together. Children promise more cooperation with monitoring if the sanctions for some other social norms are relaxed (bargaining). Similarly, they try to justify relaxing of routine monitoring by assuring about their behavior with regard to other norms.

Again, parents make clear their attitude towards other norms in order to facilitate compliance with private information sharing norms. We know that norms are part of a system. There may be multiple norms related to a behavior and some of those may be complementary and some even contradictory. Hence norms are unlikely to change in isolation. In that sense this research underscores the value of looking at interpersonal communication strategies for understanding the role of communication in normative influence. This is because examining these strategies would help us isolate which norms tend to be negotiated together and how communication is used to prioritize or de-prioritize and hence reinforce or undermine interrelated norms.

Finally, along with the findings on conditions for avoidance and negotiation, the strategies suggest that normative influence is a bidirectional process. It is more complex

than a pattern of top down enforcement and compliance or enforcement and resistance. A basic assumption for this study was that children negotiate. The results show that parents are often willing cooperators in this negotiation process (e.g., bargaining). Also whether willing or not, they do get influenced by children into changing their behavior (e.g., veiled negotiation, veiled threat). This is not surprising given that the literature on socialization has long recognized it to be a bidirectional process (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). This finding has methodological significance because it shows that looking at both the socialization agent and the child's perspective at the same time is likely to yield more complete information on normative influence compared with looking at either one group.

Section 3: Reflections on the role of communication in normative influence

An important function of conversations is negotiation of meaning (Ruben & Stewart, 2006). Taking together the findings for both research questions, that is, when and how people communicate about norms, it can be concluded that this function is applicable in the context of norms. Communication brings norms into focus via discussion of empirical and normative expectations and behaviors and clarifies what is acceptable behavior.

At first, depending on the motivations of individuals, certain norms get identified out of multiple norms relevant to a situation and different aspects of this norm (behavior, sanctions, relationship with other norms) are highlighted. When individuals experience a conflict between a social and a personal norm, their decision to communicate about it is the first step in highlighting normative expectations. If we look at the specific context of this study, the decision to communicate determines whether a private information sharing

norm will be negotiated at all. One may choose to not negotiate an expectation or behavior; use falsification or concealment of facts relating to the content of private information; or negotiate the norm directly. When individuals choose to comply, the expectation is not challenged. When indirect negotiation is opted for, private information sharing behaviors are not negotiated, only the content of private information stays in focus. Only when individuals engage in direct communication, behaviors relating to information sharing norms come into focus. Thus choices made upon perception of tension between parents' expectations and personal norms determine whether a norm will be discussed at all.

Next, once the behavioral expectation and/or behavior are brought into focus, the manner in which the communication occurs highlights various aspects. What aspects come to light and how they are positioned are also influenced by individual motivations and beliefs. The need to balance behavioral expectations (from the parents' perspective) or personal norms (from the children's perspective) with relational concerns translates into a continuum of willingness to compromise, which determines what aspect of the expectations or behaviors one would firmly defend and what aspects one is willing to let go. Children choose a point of compromise between compliance and resistance while parents compromise between control and leniency. Through this process acceptable or unacceptable behaviors get defined.

Acceptable behaviors are clarified primarily through highlighting of rationale in terms of conditions of applicability, assumptions, relationships, and strengths and weaknesses. The strategy of assuring highlights the relationship between private information sharing norms and other behaviors. This in turn draws attention to the

rationale for following (or not) the private information sharing norm vis-a-vis the personal norm. Critiquing also addresses rationale by focusing on conditions which determine the social norm's relevance. Similarly, use of ally helps bolster the legitimacy of the personal norm. Parents' use of emphasis on trust draws attention to the link between normative behavior and the mutual relationship between socialization agent and group member. The implications of asymmetric power and consequences of noncompliance are reiterated. Again, justifying clarifies the parent's motivations while acknowledging the significance of children's volition. Conditions of compliance are addressed by bargaining. Bargaining brings to fore the fact that compliance is at least partially dependent on the volition of the child and to that extent the parent's powers are limited. Thus this strategy clarifies the power equation between the socialization agent and the group member with respect to the norm.

Clarification of power equation also occurs through veiled threat and veiled negotiation. Veiled threat is a fairly clear statement of the reversal of power balance between parent and child. The parent is sensitized to his or her lack of power and inability to enforce the norm. In this way, this strategy also highlights the weakness of the norm. In addition to addressing the power equation, veiled negotiation also focuses on assumptions. It works to highlight prior consensus about the norm and in that sense is also a reinforcing mechanism. It also redefines the concepts of compliance and non-compliance as well as the roles of the socialization agent and the group member. The group member takes on the role of the socialization agent reinforcing a prior consensus about the norm while defining the socialization agent's action as norm departure.

Finally, the various strategies used by parents for facilitating compliance provide

clarifications from the socialization agents' perspective, on expected behavior, sanctions and the extent to which parents would assert power. They also define social norms qualitatively, for instance, whether the behavior is easy or difficult; and address emotions (e.g., unfounded fear of sanctions).

Thus, the process of choosing between compliance, indirect negotiation and direct negotiation is like a *funneling* and *sifting* process. Tension felt in terms of dissonance between personal standards and actual behavior; guilt for having flouted an internalized norm or indignation at being expected to behave according to a social norm brings the norm into attention. Then choice of direct negotiation funnels out the private information sharing norm from among multiple behavioral norms worth communicating about, and makes it a subject of interaction. Subsequently the negotiation strategies sift out various attributes relating to the norm and these attributes help explain the rationale behind behavior or expectation in question.

This interpretation matches with the Focus Theory of Normative Conduct proposed by Cialdini and colleagues (1991; Cialdini, et al., 1990; Kallgren, et al., 2000) and Kallgren and colleagues (Kallgren, et al., 2000) which says that individuals follow a norm when it is salient. Perceptions of what norm is applicable at a point of time are influenced by situational and circumstantial factors. Further research based on this theory has suggested that even personal norms are impacted by whether the individual's attention is focused on self versus another circumstance. Studies based on this theory used priming as a way of activating norms while this study demonstrates how direct communication activates norms. The strategies of assurance, bargaining and facilitating compliance make the private information sharing norm as well as a second behavioral

norm salient. The strategies of critiquing and veiled threat make contradictory norms salient. Veiled negotiation makes a modified norm salient while justifying makes the meta-norm of monitoring salient.

In this way, negotiation of personal and social norms through communication effectively helps relax or tighten a norm. One conversation might highlight the negative results of normative restrictions as rationale for acceptance of leeway while another might highlight positive implications and help reinforce the norm. One conversation may define openness in private information sharing as honesty and being “down to earth” while another might highlight it as lack of discretion. As individuals participate in such conversations, the mutually conducted analysis creates a common frame of reference for the norm.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

The objective of the study was to obtain a description of communication about norms in order to gain a better understanding of the process of normative influence. Conversations about private information sharing norms between immigrant parents and children were targeted as source of data for obtaining such description. Accounts obtained from qualitative interviews revealed conversations about expectations derived from injunctive norms. It was found, consonant with the study assumptions, that conversations ensue from tension between social and personal norms. Tension gets expressed through everyday behavioral choices with regard to compliance or non-compliance which in turn causes friction with parents. In the effort to fulfill the socialization role, parents follow the norm of monitoring children. They seek information and gain access into children's domain in order to keep abreast of their lives and share that information with other agents for social comparison. These behaviors however challenge children's personal norm of controlling information. In this situation, they choose whether to comply. If they decide not to comply, they decide whether to bring their non-compliance to parents' attention and negotiate for leeway or whether to conceal it. When confrontation occurs either because children have chosen to negotiate or because parents have discovered the concealment, a variety of strategies are used by both to analyze the expectations and arrive at a shared agreement about acceptable behaviors. This overall process helps understand the role of communication in normative influence in different ways.

First of all, these findings present a dynamic view of norms in contrast to the sociological and social-psychological views of norms as static entities controlling individuals through external sanctions or their own perceptions. Behavioral expectations are seen as being brought into focus by the choice of negotiation and then analyzed in terms of acceptable behavioral options. If we follow Bicchieri (Bicchieri, 2006) and Homans' (1950) arguments, the stretching or limiting of boundaries can lead to change in norms, when a sufficient number of people start behaving according to those changed boundaries. The data for this study does not extend to include the impact of negotiation on subsequent behavior or interactions beyond the family. What is presented here is an account of individual's negotiation of expectations arising from norms, not a complete account of the process of being influenced or being able to change norms. Instead this description pertains to interactions that have the potential to start or stave off norm change. This account includes variables such as self efficacy, conviction about norms, opportunity to plan, conversation initiation, willingness to compromise and communication strategies which can be examined in future studies for their impact on behavior and empirical and normative expectations.

Second, changes in behavioral boundaries and expectations are associated with the interaction between group members and socialization agents. The tension felt by individuals gets translated into conflict or disagreement in the relationship, which needs to be resolved. The conflict resolution process between individual and socialization agents results in changes in definition of acceptable behavior.

It is seen that individuals use communicative acts to withstand the influence of social control. The fact of being less powerful or resourceful initially acts as a powerful

deterrent against non-compliance or overtly challenging behavior. However, the tension between normative expectations and personal norms translates into a tension between overt behavior and personal standards and a process of self-regulation leads a person to negotiate. Alternatively, they are forced into negotiation when socialization agents seek account for non-compliance. In either scenario, when individuals are engaged in negotiation, they are able to use communication to fight for their personal norms. Socialization agents also often willingly participate in the process of modifying expectations. In fact the same processes of self-efficacy and self-regulation that propel children's choices also influence parents' choices. This is interesting because of the inherent power differential as intuitively one would accord the problem of self-efficacy to those with lower power. Also notable are the "sense of right" (among children) and prioritization of norms (among parents) phenomena. These observations highlight that normative influence is not only about social power.

Third, it is apparent that when individuals think about norms, it is not in terms of a monolithic entity. Individuals do more than simply perceive a norm. They think about it analytically and with respect to its attributes and rationale. When they engage in negotiation, this is what they talk about.

Fourth, the study highlights the importance of emotions in communication about norms. Feelings of fear and guilt inhibit communication about norms. On the other hand, the need to resolve guilt motivates communication. When individuals have internalized a norm (in this study, the norm of not lying), and they are non-compliant for some reason, they feel intense guilt and that motivates them to communicate about the tension they perceive. Again, it is the need for nurturing emotional attachment with children and

consequent fear of endangering it which motivates parents to adopt a facilitating perspective in place of or in combination with an enforcement approach. The role of emotion is evident in the strategies as well. The strategy of assurance is used out of concern for parents' feelings. Similarly parents use facilitating strategies to inspire trust and comfort in their children's minds. Conversely children try to leverage parents' fears and insecurities through the strategy of veiled threat. Thus emotion is significant both as a motivator and a target of communication about norms.

Fifth, the findings demonstrate links between the concept of normative influence and a number of other extant communication concepts and theories. These concepts and theories help us gain more insight into the phenomena identified from participants' accounts. Five different literatures can be identified that are directly relevant for gaining greater understanding into the role of communication in normative influence including the literature on topic avoidance within the area of interpersonal communication; the literature on disclosure; the compliance gaining and resistance literature; the family communication literature and the persuasion literature on efficacy and risk.

The tussle between parents and children over sharing of private information can be seen in terms of demand-withdraw communication as well as the literature on chilling effect and the cycle of concealment models. Again, negotiation or private information sharing norms includes disclosure (Altman, 1976; Derlega & Chaikin, 1975, 1976, 1977; Greene, Derlega, & Mathews, 2006; Westin, 1970). Therefore, the disclosure literature, especially the branch on boundary management (Petronio, 2002) is relevant for comparison as well. When people initially choose to avoid negotiation, in order to explain why a certain behavior merits leniency, they have to disclose behavior they had

been lying about earlier. The case studies described earlier (in the context of group members' planning for self-initiated negotiation) demonstrate such situations. Further such disclosure has to be protected from being leaked out to third parties because parents tend to share that with other parents to testify for performing their social role as well as for social comparison. By viewing this in terms of boundary turbulence, one can better appreciate how parents' obligation to answer to their network members influences children's perceptions of their own behavioral options. If children comply by allowing parents to monitor, details of their life could become known to those outside the family implying a loss of control over private information. If children try to control boundaries by not complying with monitoring, parents face difficulties in fulfilling their social role. Further children can get together and collude on protecting each other's boundaries. Thus it becomes apparent that normative influence is not only about the relationship between a single socialization agent and a single group member; it is influenced by third party relationships as well.

The processes of compliance gaining and resisting are also found to be part of the process of negotiating norms. One difference with these literatures is related to the notion of power. The findings of this study exclusively relate with asymmetric power while the compliance literature primarily covers situations of request where the relative power of the target and requester is unspecified, with the exception of the teacher-student context. Despite this difference however, the compliance gaining and resistance literature is relevant because of the centrality of the process of persuasion. The strategies revealed in the participants' accounts show that negotiation involves persuasive attempts by both the children and parents.

Throughout the process of deciding to negotiate and actual negotiation, the influence of communication history and family communication patterns is apparent. Parents' responses indicate that they often deliberately cultivate an environment which facilitates information sharing. Again, children report that certain types of communication patterns are more encouraging for negotiation attempts than other types. The literature on family communication environment records conformity orientation and conversation orientation as two tendencies in family communication patterns and pluralistic, consensual, protective and laissez faire as different types of environments. Taking together the participants' reports and the extant literature, one can see that future research on the effect of family communication patterns on norm negotiation can help us better understand the conditions of normative influence.

In addition to interpersonal communication concepts such as the above, a number of persuasion concepts are relevant as well. As already discussed in the context of motivation to negotiate, normative influence is associated with an individual's sense of self efficacy and the process of self-regulation. The Risk Perception Association framework is another theory that helps understand the decision making process for negotiation. It provides a lens to analyze how individuals' perceptions of self-efficacy towards resisting or enacting control interact with fear of risking self and quality of relationships to influence the decision to negotiate.

In sum, communication about norms involves significant decision making processes as well as communicative acts aimed at defining behavior and is related with a large number of other communication processes such as persuasion and disclosure. It is the process by which individual perceptions of norms are pitted against the social control

conceptualization of norms and shared agreements are reached through clarification of meanings and implications of behaviors and expectations.

Limitations

There are certain limitations in this study. First, the generalizability of the study is limited. A small sample of 30 individuals was used. Also, a single relational context, a single normative context, and a single demographic context were focused on. The parent-child relationship is a significant context for learning about socialization. At the same time it is distinct from other socialization agent - group member relationships with respect to power differences and intimacy. This is a far more psychologically significant relationship compared to say a minister-congregation member, a supervisor – subordinate or an organizational leader-employee relationship. Both parents and children have much at stake with regard to intimacy whereas in the other cases, there may be greater concerns about resources such as social support and personal image. In addition, since parents and children generally live in close physical proximity there is greater scope for monitoring and lesser scope for hiding noncompliance. Hence in other relationships both the manner in which the conversations commence as well as the strategies could be different.

Again Asian Indian Americans represent a rather niche population in the US. Further, immigrants experience norm conflicts in a particularly intense manner because they have to balance loyalties to the native culture with the need to integrate and unlearn some of the internalized norms. Therefore the norm conflict that we see here could be amplified compared to what non-immigrants experience.

Norms of private information sharing are crucial because they are inherently

valuable for socializing and monitoring group members. These norms are also complex because they are related to other behavioral norms by definition. Also, these norms are often negotiated locally, such as within a sub-group, like the family. The manners in which these norms are practiced within a sub-group are not necessarily monitored directly by the larger group. Only the external evidence of compliance in the form of conformity to other behavioral norms is evaluated. A number of social norms are simpler and less crucial in comparison, for instance sartorial norms or presentation rituals (Goffman, 1967). A number of norms on the other hand are even more crucial and complex such as norms of marriage and sexual behavior. As a result the description obtained through this study is unlikely to be representative of all social norms.

The lack of generalizability is however partly mitigated by the fact that because of the narrow context, the findings can be understood as indisputably associated with a particular population and normative context. As such, this study cannot claim to have exhaustively documented the phenomena and nuances inherent to communication about norms. Nor can it be claimed that every single phenomena would apply in other contexts. However, it is important to note that the phenomena uncovered in this study relate with a significant number of well-known theoretical concepts. The generalizability of the study, although limited, lies in the association with these other literatures. This association demonstrates that the findings are not incongruous, counter-intuitive, contradictory or extraordinary compared with what we know about communication per se and are therefore likely to be representative of a larger population than the one studied. In addition, the issue of limited generalizability is balanced by the ability to identify choices and communication strategies that are indisputably associated with the immigrant parent-

child private information sharing contexts. The information may lack breadth but it has high fidelity.

Another important limitation relates with the conceptualization of the study. The objective was to use existing knowledge about social norms to develop a focused investigation. Consequently, findings from prior research were used as assumptions to base the study. This is somewhat in contradiction to the accepted practice of starting with a clean slate for an exploratory study. Indeed it is possible that by avoiding these assumptions certain phenomena would have emerged that were otherwise suppressed by the semi-structured (instead of unstructured) approach of the investigation. However the aim was to use existing knowledge as a springboard and add information rather than assume that nothing is known. To that extent, the objective has been met because the findings point to a number of variables that were not initially established as related with normative influence such as self-efficacy, self-regulation, topic avoidance, communication strategies, disclosure, chilling effect, cycle of concealment, risk perception association framework and family communication patterns. In addition, they provide an explication of the decision making process for communication as well as a description of communication episodes.

Another methodological limitation is that the accounts obtained were remembered experiences and perceptions, not actual observed incidents. Hence they contain incomplete information about the circumstances and the role of others. These limitations, however, are at least partially countered by the fact that observing actual episodes of norm negotiation would be extremely difficult from logistical as well as ethical perspectives. Norm negotiations between parents and children are not only private but

also often occur unpredictably. The opportunity to observe a naturally occurring episode therefore would be hard to find. If one chose to simulate norm conflicts and expect individuals to respond to hypothetical situations, it would again move away from natural behavior. The current design at least provides authentic versions of the participants' perspective. Even if these are based on memory, they tell us what the participants consider to be the truth and therefore provide first hand insight into motivations.

Again, interviewing parent and children dyads would potentially have yielded richer information. For instance it might have been possible to establish clear links between type of communication strategy and behavior change if any. It would be a more controlled design where norm reinforcement efforts could be directly compared with negotiation efforts. Future research should certainly consider such a design.

The study also focuses on single episodes of conversation. In reality, conflicts seldom end in one episode. Resolution can take several episodes of conflict management and often conflicts may remain unresolved over long periods of time and may even be deemed intractable (Johnson & Roloff, 1998; C. W. Miller & Roloff, 2006; Roloff & Ifert, 2000b).

While analyzing the findings, several theoretical concepts (already named above) have been referred to substantiate the explanations. However the relevance of these concepts has not been explored in detail. Future research focused on these concepts individually and in-depth will likely yield rich information. An important example is the notion of disclosure. It is clearly an important aspect of the negotiation process but this study looked at negotiation overall rather than the processes within it. Considering the various factors and processes influencing the decision to disclose, one can appreciate that

a large number of other influences would act on the decision to negotiate. The fact that another significant communication process is associated with negotiation means that it is a more complex process than portrayed in this research. As already mentioned, the main focus of this study was to provide a coherent description of participants' perspective, as a result of which theories have been primarily referred to provide additional insights and not for structuring the findings.

Similarly relationships are treated primarily as context when it is clear from the findings that relational concerns constitute an important factor in the communication decisions. The nature of these concerns has not been explored and that is needed for more in depth understanding of the complexities. Despite these limitations however, several contributions can be identified and these are described in the following section.

Contribution and future directions

This study makes five contributions. One contribution of this study is that it provides a description of interpersonal communication about behavioral expectations about private information sharing behavior. This is useful because norms are propagated and maintained in the context of social relationships and such description is effectively a view of the social agreement process that is considered to be at the heart of normative influence. The antecedents of negotiation (expectation of conflict, specific behavioral triggers, balancing of power differential, dissonance between behavior and attitude toward norm), the planning process and the strategies together trace communication about empirical and normative expectations from individual cognition to verbal explication in interaction to behavior. While the description is certainly not exhaustive,

one can see the dynamism and complexity of norms and identify variables that influence communication about norms to take certain direction and influence certain behaviors.

A second contribution is towards highlighting the dynamism of norms and indentifying normative influence as a bidirectional process involving both group members and socialization agents. Further, the importance of emotions in the communication process is highlighted. This provides an additional perspective for viewing norms along with the sociological and social psychological perspectives which present norms as external control mechanisms and individual reactions as purely cognitive.

The study offers a way to bridge the individual and social conceptualizations of norms by presenting interpersonal communication as a process for maintaining or modifying norms. The findings are particularly relevant to a problem noted about the literature on communication and normative influence. Yanovitzky and Rimal (2006) note that there is theoretical ambiguity in the understanding of normative influence owing to the tension between social (relational) and individual (cognitive) conceptualizations of normative influence and the difficulty in integrating these conceptualizations. The social conceptualizations look upon norms as structuring and controlling mechanisms (e.g., collective norms, injunctive norms, normative influence, and public compliance). The individual conceptualizations focus on how people understand norms (e.g., perceived norms, descriptive norms, informational influence, and private acceptance). The findings with regard to motivation to negotiate suggest that communication about the tension between social and personal norms can serve to both *maintain and counter controlling forces* through the process of communication. When group members avoid direct

negotiation, compliance or even the appearance of compliance can maintain the social norm by keeping the expectations unchanged. However, when they engage in direct negotiation, they set up the stage for modifications in the norm. In the same vein, when socialization agents are inclined to negotiate with group members, they set the stage for greater flexibility and latitude of acceptance of behaviors.

As a third contribution, the study demonstrates that normative influences lies at the confluence of several communication processes. In that sense it brings together a number of literatures. The relevance of interpersonal contexts for learning about the processes of social influence is easily seen. Socialization agents and group members use every day interpersonal communication processes including facework (emphasizing relational assumptions) (Goffman, 1959), control and support messages (Brody & Schaffer, 1992) such as emphasizing relational assumptions, relaxing taboos and justifying, explanations; self-disclosure (Greene, et al., 2006; Jourard, 1971); setting communication rules, compliance gaining (Kellerman & Cole, 1994; Marwell & Schmitt, 1967; McLaughlin, et al., 1980; G. R. Miller, Boster, Roloff, & Seibold, 1977) and resisting tactics (Ifert, 2000; Ifert & Roloff, 1994) and even avoidance (W. A. Afifi & Guerrero, 1999; Baxter & Wilmot, 1985; Guerrero & Afifi, 1995a), to commence and conduct negotiation. Similarly, the family communication patterns literature is relevant because individual choices are clearly associated with perceptions of the family communication environment. Again persuasion concepts like self-efficacy, self-regulation and risk perception association are associated with motivations to communicate.

This study makes certain contributions to these literatures as well. For instance

the findings suggest that the process of disclosure may be associated with other communication processes such as negotiation and that therefore it might be worthwhile to examine how disclosure as a stand-alone process differs from when it is associated with another process. Again, the study offers a descriptive view of how family communication environments impact communication. Participants' responses show that their view of the usual communication practices within their home, such as whether frequent, spontaneous communication is the norm versus rule governed hierarchical communication, affects individuals' motivation to negotiate as well as the nature of negotiation strategies.

Based on these associations, several predictions worth exploring through future studies can be proposed. The findings regarding motivation suggest that future research should examine the manner in which emotions, especially guilt and fear influence communication about norms. Again, the manner in which pluralistic, consensual, protective or laissez faire communication environments influence communication would be useful to explore. Do pluralistic or consensual environments encourage more communication? Does that mean that these environments are also associated with greater possibility of norm modification? Is the converse necessarily applicable for protective environments? Based on the findings about negotiation strategies, it would be worthwhile to examine how the strategies differ with respect to their impact on norm maintenance or norm modification. This study suggests that relatively assertive strategies on the part of children, like veiled negotiation, veiled threat and critiquing are better at resisting parents' expectations. Is that observation generalizable to other relational or normative contexts? Again how exactly is negotiation that includes disclosure different from when it

does not include it? Does disclosure of past deceptive behavior reduce an individual's ability to negotiate?

Finally, the findings of the study have certain practical implications.

Communication interventions aimed at changing behavior often have to grapple with the behavioral norms (perceived and actual) in the target group. This study provides some insight into how individuals resist norms. Such information would be relevant both where efforts to establish health norms are being resisted as well as where the target group needs to be taught to resist harmful norms. The discovery of RPA as a relevant framework is important in that regard. Communication interventions aimed at changing harmful norms (such as child marriage; or when empowering women to insist on contraception) often have to be conducted in hierarchical and patriarchal cultures. In these cultures, the agents of social control are in favor of the harmful norm and therefore difficult (and potentially useless) targets. At the same time those who experience the harmfulness of the norm have little power to speak up. This study provides an indication of communication barriers they face with respect to authority. Of course in this study the relational context studied does not include abuse or violence and is primarily loving and nurturing in nature. However it is also characterized by a power differential and because of that this study provides a preliminary view of negotiation from a low power position. Again current perspectives on teenage health, especially drinking and drug abuse include the view that parents can play a strong role in preventing and discouraging such behavior. To that extent this study offers insights into children's thought processes and resistance strategies which if known to parents could help them shape their socialization approach.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Social norms are first and foremost a property of the group, a product of agreement among members about acceptable rules of conduct that emerges through social interactions and in the context of specific social relationships. In this study accounts of negotiation of norms, or in other words, the process of formation of such agreement were gathered. The parent-child relationship context and norms of information sharing between parents and children were focused on. Further, it was assumed that studying situations where individuals face tension between social and personal norms would yield most useful information about the agreement process. As a result, we obtained both social control agents and group members' perspective of the agreement process in terms of how the norms are dealt with.

The findings suggest that communication about norms involves communication about behavioral expectations and boundaries. Communication helps to clarify the limits of acceptable behavior. As children and parents try to reach a shared agreement about behaviors, a boundary is stretched or tightened. Communication ensues when individuals perceive tension between social and personal norms and this translates into tension in the relationship with socialization agents. The decision to not comply and use direct communication draws mutual attention to the behaviors associated with the norm. Communication however has to balance concerns about the behaviors with concerns about the relationship. Neither children, nor parents wish to negotiate norms at the cost of negative implications for the relationship. Children have to negotiate from a position of lower power. Parents on the other hand have socially endowed power to talk about norms. That is in fact their job. Consequently conversations initiated by parents occur

more easily than those initiated by children.

The concern for not harming the relationship translates into a certain degree of inclination for compromise. Accordingly, once negotiation commences both sides use a variety of strategies for meeting this balance. Through these strategies individuals are able to develop a mutually agreed upon set of expectations. Sometimes these expectations reflect a combination of social and personal norm attributes that both agents of social control and group members agree on. At other times the expectations are more favorable for one than the other, such as with veiled threats or veiled negotiation.

These findings are similar to those of a study on wedding photography by Strano (Strano, 2006). Strano's study demonstrates how individuals use wedding photographs to find and express a balance between conformity and individuality. While broadly adhering to perceived norms of wedding photo composition, people include particular angles, positions and other features to highlight aspects of the wedding critical to them. Effectively, the current study and Strano's study show how communication becomes a process of combining social and personal norms and legitimizing that combination in order to achieve greater freedom of behavior.

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of the sample

	Parents		Second generation	
	Mother	Father	Women	Men
Age range in years		44-65		19-35
Years in the US		15-40		16-35
One child families		2		0
Two child families		12		14
Full time working	2	6	1	0
Part time working	7	0	7	6

Figure 1.

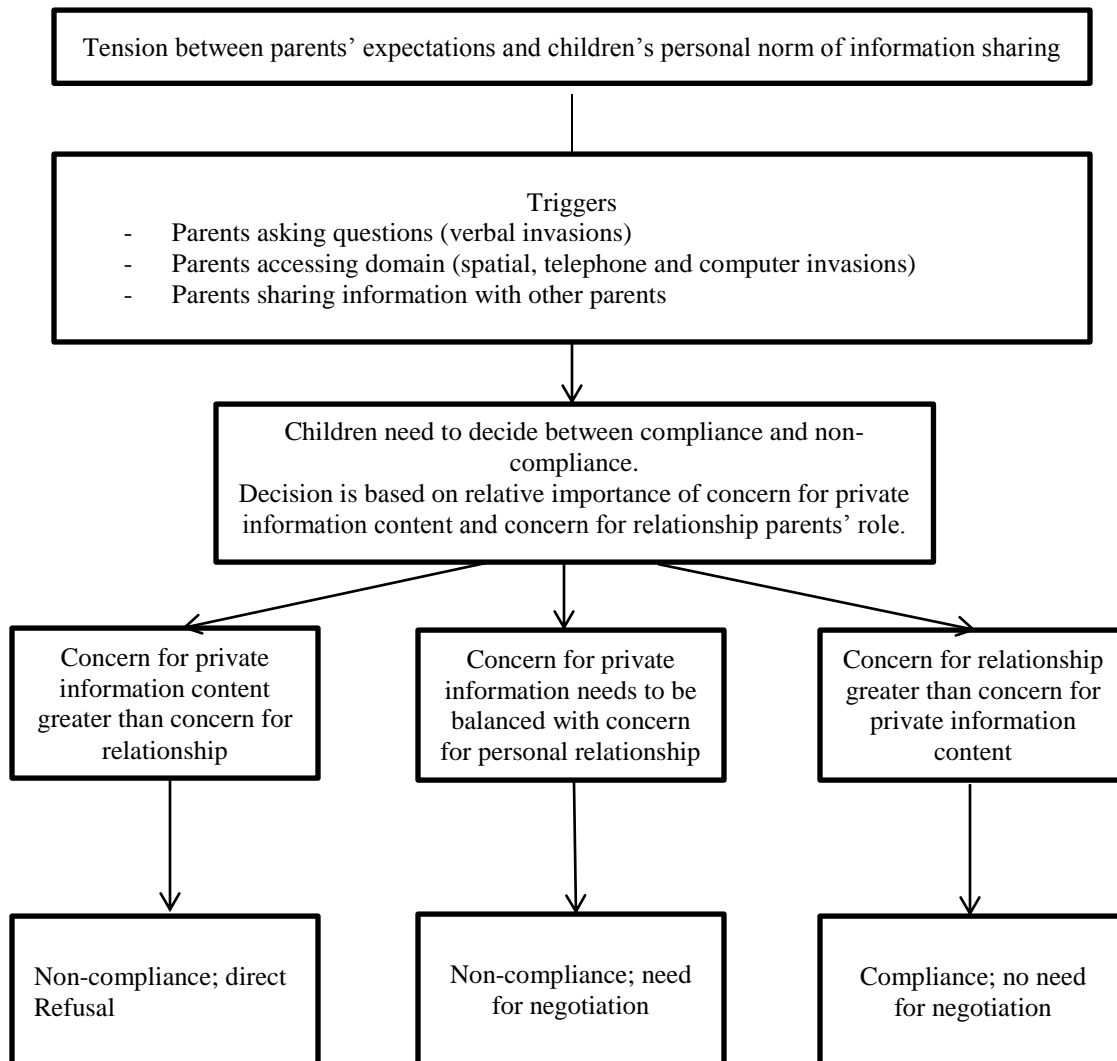
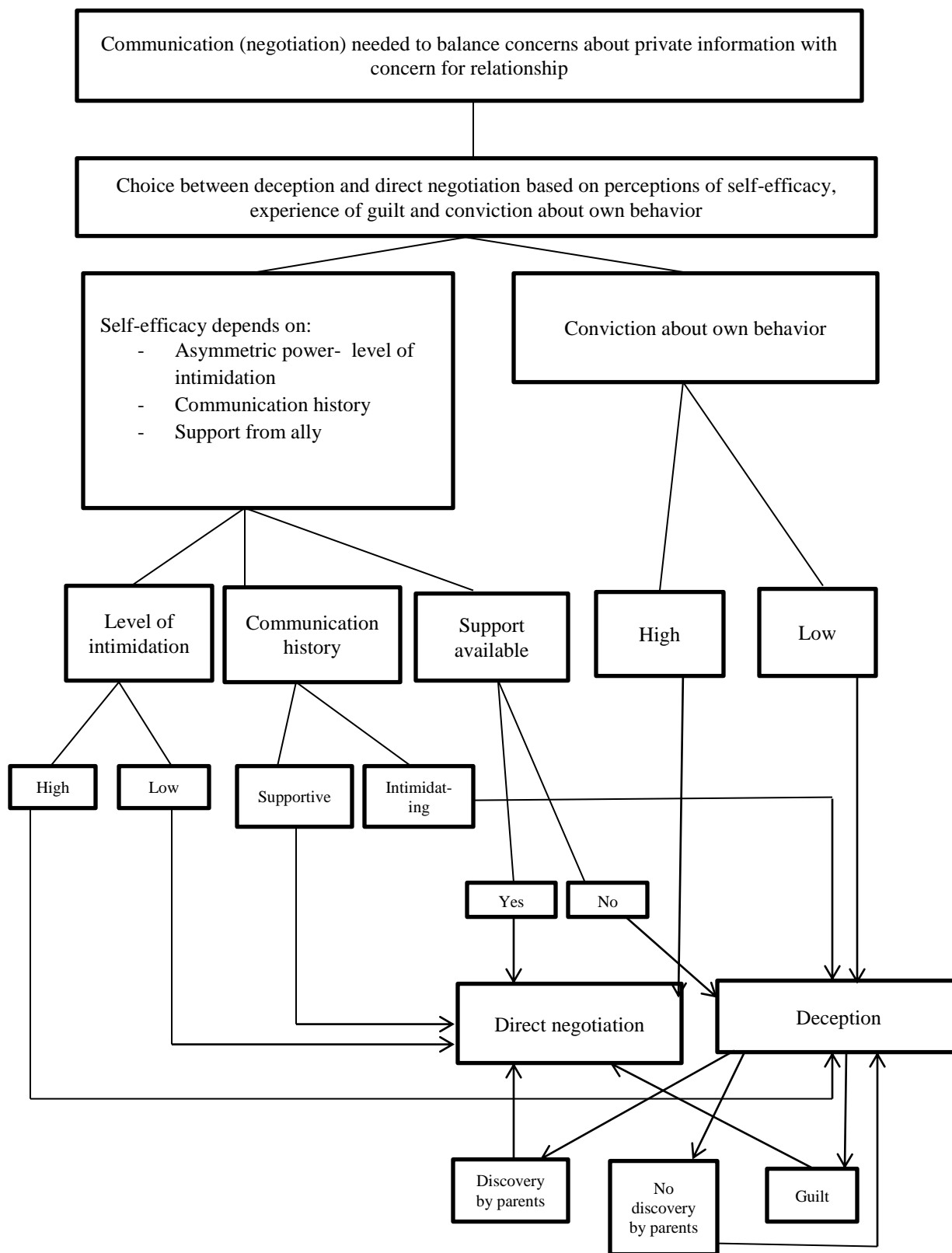
Antecedents to negotiation: Choosing between deception and direct negotiation

Figure 2.

Conditions for deception and direct negotiation

Appendix A

Informed Consent (Individual interview)

Negotiating the Norm: How People Use Communication to Manage Conflicts Between Social and Personal Norms in Interpersonal Settings

Please read carefully and sign below:

Purpose of the study: This research is being conducted towards the completion of a doctoral dissertation. The purpose of the research is to understand the experience of Indian immigrants and their children with norms of privacy. The principal investigator is Shuktara Sen Das and the Co-Principal Investigator is Dr. Itzhak Yanovitzky.

Procedure: Your participation will involve telling us about your experience in this regard. If you agree to participate, yours will be one of 32 interviews. The interview will last for one to one and a half hours during which I will ask you some questions pertaining to the above topics. The interview will be recorded and transcribed by myself or a research associate. At a later stage, as we (my advisor and myself) analyze your and others' interviews, we may contact you again for additional information.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in the study is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time during the interview.

Risks: I do not intend to ask you for any personal information that may be damaging to your reputation, self esteem, legal or financial position. Your recounting of experience will be limited to what you wish to tell me. I do understand that the topic of immigration and relocation can sometimes bring up painful memories. If you feel that that is likely, you may withdraw at any point during the interview. In the unlikely event that you feel highly disturbed, I will not be in a position to provide professional help. Therefore you are requested to use your judgment to decide whether to participate or not. Please do not provide any information about any illegal activity.

Benefits: You will not have any material gains from this research other than a small gift (a 10\$ gift certificate). However your participation will help us greatly to understand the immigrant experience.

Confidentiality: Information about all recordings and transcriptions will be protected. Your identity will remain anonymous. However, if you are willing, your contact information will be retained separately by us until the end of the research. This is because we might need to contact you to review our findings to ensure that we have accurately represented the information provided. We will also need to preserve the data for at least three years and potentially for an indefinite period after that as we believe that the data from this research will be relevant for later studies on the same topic. However, this will be done only if you explicitly and separately provide permission at the end of the interview.

Rutgers University Disclaimer: While Rutgers University supports this research, it is not responsible for how the research is conducted.

Signature of subject stating that page 1 of the form has been presented to him/her:

Contact information: If you have any questions about the study or study procedures, you may contact myself (Ms. Shuktara Sen Das) or my faculty advisor (Dr. Itzhak Yanovitzky). Our contact details are:

Shuktara Sen Das

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If you wish to find out more about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the IRB (a committee that reviews research studies in order to protect research participants) by contacting the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey

Institutional Review Board of Rutgers University

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

3 Rutgers Plaza

New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559

Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be provided a copy of this form for your records.

Please print your name and sign below if you find the above conditions agreeable and you wish to participate in this interview.

Subject name: (Print)

Subject signature: _____ Date

Principal investigator's signature: _____ Date

Consent for audio recording

Negotiating the Norm: How People Use Communication to Manage Conflicts Between Social and Personal Norms in Interpersonal Settings

This research requires that the interviews be audio-recorded. The recorded materials will be accessible to me, my advisor and one research associate. The recorded material will be transcribed to help us read and understand the information.

The recorded material will be stored in a locked file cabinet with no link to your or any other participant's identity. The recorded material will be retained for three years since this data has potential for being useful for research from other perspectives as well. After that, it will be destroyed.

Please sign below if you consent to recording this interview.

I have read all the above information and agree to recording of this interview:

Subject name (Print):

Subject signature

Date_____

Principal Investigator's signature

Date_____

Appendix B

Key informant interview protocol

I will be conducting a research on social norms and conflicts resulting from differences in cultural norms and personal norms. For this purpose I need to learn the words and phrases that are most frequently used by Indian immigrants to refer to social norms as well as examples of social norms related conflicts that they experience and would like your help with designing the interview.

I would like you to read the following description of social norms that I have derived from literature after which I will be asking you a few questions:

“Generally speaking, norms are the formal and informal rules that groups live by. Social norms grow out of shared social values and are the means through which values are expressed in behavior. Norms specify how people must, should, may, should not, and must not behave in almost every conceivable situation. Thus, the term "norms" actually covers an exceedingly wide range of behaviors, from strict “mores” (the *must* do behaviors) that are tied to values crucial to group survival (for example, the Ten Commandments) to the looser “folkways” (the *should* do behaviors) which permit individuals some leeway to behave as they like within acceptable parameters, such as how they should dress for an informal social gathering. Accordingly, norms also vary in the kinds of sanctions that are attached to violations of the norms. Violating important norms will typically result in harsher social sanctions than violating less important norms. Finally, norms are expected to result in similarities in thoughts, feelings, and behavior among individuals and groups, but they must be differentiated from other natural or accidental similarities in that they emerge from social interaction and mutual influence

between members of a group.”

1. What according to you are the usual ways of referring to the phenomenon described above? Please give me Bengali/Hindi as well as English options.
2. Do you think that the above description could be used at the time of interviewing to explain the subject of my research or do I need to modify it in anyway?
3. If it needs modification: What differences do you see between the above description and the way in which Indian immigrants generally understand social norms? What factors (if any) should I keep in mind while interviewing about social norms? For instance, what in the above description might be a source of confusion/miscommunication?
4. My research will be conducted among parents and children. Given this context, what are some examples of conflicts that commonly occur between immigrant parents and their children?
5. I further plan to conduct my research in the context of norms about private information sharing. By “private information sharing” I mean questioning and disclosure of personal information that would not be known any anybody unless a person chose to disclose it, e.g., pregnancy, dating, health conditions, income etc. How significant do you think this issue is for immigrant parents and their children?
6. Are there specific cultural norms about private information sharing that could cause clashes between parents and children?

7. Can you suggest some examples that I could use to explain my questions in the interviews?
8. Do you think that the term “norms of private information sharing” would be plausible for Indian immigrants? If not, how can I make it more realistic / identifiable?
9. If you think that “norms of private information sharing” is not an accurate reflection of the experience of immigrant parents and children, can you suggest related phenomena that may be more representative and relevant for the Indian immigrant population?

After the above, the main interview guide will be administered to obtain feedback about the way the questions have been framed.

Appendix C

Interview Protocol (for main Interview)

A. Introduction

- a. Researcher states the purpose of the research and introduces self: “In this research I am trying to study family conversations about social norms”.
- b. Obtaining initial information including year of migration, residence status and number of children

B. Clarifying the concept of social norm

I would like to find out about your experiences with some of the norms that we follow in our everyday life. By “norms” I refer to the rules for behavior that people commonly follow and which most people feel *should* be followed. Some of these rules are “social norms”. Social norms are rules that we follow as members of a group such as the rules we follow as Americans, as Indian immigrants, because of our religion or even as members of the organizations we work in. Some of the social norms are deeply rooted in a culture and widely followed such as norms related to marriage and fertility. Some of them are less serious and more flexible such as fashion fads. Again, there are some rules we follow as a family, such as rules about observing religious practices (e.g., which cultural festivals to attend regularly), protocols involving hierarchy in the extended family, having a regular “family time”, budgeting (e.g., saving for an annual vacation by economizing on other expenditures) and similar examples. In addition we often follow personal norms that arise from personal beliefs and which sometimes differ from social

and family norms. I am particularly interested in these kinds of situations, that is, about your experience with situations where a personal norm clashed with a social norm.

C. Establishing the context; identifying approach/avoidance occasions:

There is one particular issue that I would like to ask about: Social norms about private information sharing versus personal norms about private information sharing, specifically how social expectations about what we should /can reveal about ourselves clash with our personal preferences for what we want to reveal.

1. Do you think such a clash is common?
2. Have you ever faced such a situation? If yes, can you describe to me what the situation was? *(Note the participant's role, i.e. whether his/her personal preference was being compromised or whether s/he represented the social norm),*
3. How significant would you say this issue is between you and your (parent/children)?
4. How do you and your parents/children usually handle such clashes?
 - 4.1. What do your parents/children do?
 - 4.2. What do you do?
 - 4.3. Can you give me examples of such clashes and the usual manner in which you handle each situation? Also, what made you think that these would be the best means of handling such clashes?

(Note instances where communication is approached and avoided)

Differentiating between compliance and non compliance choices:

5. (For the violator perspective) You mentioned some instances, where you decided to accept the social norm and behave accordingly and some instances where you decided to talk about it with your parent/child. What was the difference between these situations?
 - a. What made acceptance seem a better choice in some cases compared to confrontation
 - b. Would it be possible to recall what happened before you made the decision to go along with the norm or challenge it, in each instance? – Did something happen or did someone say something... what thoughts went through your mind?

Differentiating between avoidance and confrontation choices:

6. You mentioned some situations where you chose not to bring up the issue in conversation and decided to manage the conflict in a different way. Can you tell me why you chose to handle the situation in this manner? What do you think would have happened if you tried to talk about it?
7. You also mentioned certain situations where you chose to talk about the clash. Can you explain to me why talking was the preferred option in this case?
8. What in your opinion are the differences between situations that can be handled without a discussion compared with situations where discussions are necessary or preferable?

D. The key research question

I would now like to know more about clashes where you chose to have a discussion with your parent/child.

1. Can you think of a conversation that you initiated?
2. Could you describe it to me? *Participant should be allowed to describe freely.*

Researcher should note or ask:

Once the participant finishes describing, depending on the level of detail s/he has provided, follow-up questions should be asked following the questions in Section E.

E. Questions pertaining to the four stages of the hypothetical model for the initiator perspective

Step 1: Decision to engage in negotiation

1. What exactly was the issue? What was the social expectation regarding privacy and what was the individual standpoint?
2. What was the situation? Why did the issue arise?
3. How did the conversation start?
4. What was the main purpose of the conversation? What point did you want to make?
5. Was this the first time this issue was being discussed?
6. (If discussion had occurred earlier), what had been discussed earlier? Was this conversation a continuation?
7. Would you have thought differently about raising this issue in conversation if it involved other people in place of your parents?

8. Under what circumstances would you have not brought up the topic? Earlier you had mentioned some instances where you chose not to talk about the conflict.

What was different about this situation?

9. Where and when did the conversation take place?

Step 2: Plan

Primary Goal (Normative issue)

10. Did you do some prior thinking on any aspect of the discussion, like what to say; when to say; how to say etc.?
11. If you did some prior thinking, can you recall what you had planned? For instance, what arguments did you plan to present?
12. Was this going to be the first time you brought up the issue?
13. If there were prior discussions, what particular objective did you wish to address in this?

Secondary Goal (Constraints)

14. Did you expect the conversation to be easy / routine/ difficult? If so why?
15. What problems/obstacles did you expect?
16. How did you plan to manage these problems during the conversation?
17. Did you take any cue from any earlier conversation for handling this conversation?

Step 3: Negotiation (conversation)

18. What did you say to start off?
19. What was the response? Was it what you expected?
20. What did you say to that?
21. How did the rest of the conversation go? What did you say and what did your (child/parent) say?
22. What were some of the significant moments in the conversation, for instance, particular words or phrases that were used; particular emotions that were expressed; turning points if any; interruptions if any, etc.
23. To what extent did the conversation go according to your plan?
24. To what extent did you have to adapt your approach based on your parent/child's responses? Can you recall examples of how you might have had to change your approach according to what the other person said?
25. What were (if any) some of the turning points in the conversation?
26. Comparing this with other conversations that you have had regarding the same issue or a similar issue, how was it similar or different? Did prior conversations affect the way you handled it this time?
27. How did the conversation end? How long did the conversation last?
28. Was the issue resolved in a single conversation or did it take several occasions?

Step 4: Reflection/Outcome

29. How did you feel about the whole conversation? Were you satisfied with the way it went? What was good or bad about it?

30. What was the outcome of the conversation? Do you think the purpose was met?
31. What impact did the conversation (if at all) have on your perceptions about private information sharing?
32. What did you learn anything, if at all?
33. How did you parent/child behave during the conversation? How did that make you feel?
34. Did your (parent/child) agree with you? How do you think your points affected them- did it change their opinion?
35. In what manner if at all did the conversation affect your relationship?
36. In case of a similar future conflict, how would you handle the relationship?
Would you change anything?
37. Earlier you had mentioned some obstacles that you expected when confronting your parent/child regarding this issue. Now that this conversation is behind you, do still expect the same obstacles in similar future scenarios?
38. How did you feel about the way you handled the conversation?
39. Did it go according to your expectations from yourself (for instance, were you able to frame arguments the way you think they should be)?
40. Looking back, how would you evaluate your strategy – do you think it was good/bad; successful/unsuccessful....?
41. Assuming that a similar situation arises again, how would you (if at all) change your approach?
42. How did this conversation compare with other conversations you may have had regarding the issue?

43. Have you ever discussed this conversation with anybody else? If so who?
44. Did this conversation affect the way you see private information sharing in other relationships, e.g., siblings, friends, spouse or professional relationships?

Appendix D

Validation/theoretical sampling interview protocol

Validation

1. I would present the conclusions that I wish to validate and ask:

- do you agree/ does this resonate with your experience?
- if you think that my conclusion is valid can you tell me a little more about how it relates with you or your family's or your friends/relatives' experience/opinions?
- if you think that my conclusion is not valid can you explain to me how this differs from your or your family's or your friends/relatives' experience/opinions?
- do you think additional information is required for this conclusion to be more valid? If yes, what kind of information would you recommend that I look for?

Theoretical sampling

As I conducted my research, I identified some ideas/concepts for which I need for information.

2. What is considered to be "ideal parenting?" – what aspects of this idea (if any) are derived from parenting norms in India versus among Indian immigrants in the US versus the host culture?
3. Many parents speak of "Indianness". Can you tell me a little bit more about what this means?
4. I found that fathers and mothers address the issue of norms differently when addressing a disagreement with their children. Do you think this is true? Can you tell me more about this? How are Indian immigrant fathers and mothers different in their

approach to socialization?

5. I found that parents and children often have different notions about what kind or how much family information should be shared with individuals outside the family. Do you agree with this? Can you tell what your experience/ opinions are in this regard?

- Are parents more wary of what information goes outside the family or are children more wary? Why?

- What kind of information do Indian immigrant families try to keep contained within the family? Why?

- I found that children of Indian immigrant parents are often very protective of information about their friends – do you think this is true? Can you tell me a little bit more about your experiences/ opinions in this regard?

- I found that some parents get upset when children share information with guidance counselors in schools. What is your experience in this regard?

6. I found that some parents feel uncomfortable asking about children's sexual behavior. As a result they adopt a "don't ask, don't tell policy". Is this true? Also is this true of any other norm?

7. It seems that if children notice a difference between father and mother's normative alignments and that affects the way they communicate. Do you think this is true?

8. I also noticed that working mothers versus homemakers are viewed differently by children. Do you agree with this? Can you explain to me why this might be happening?

9. I would like to present to you some communication strategies about which I need more information. (I would present the strategies as I know them and ask the participant certain questions)

- when / where is this strategy used?
- who tends to use this strategy?
- in what way is this strategy useful or harmful?

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