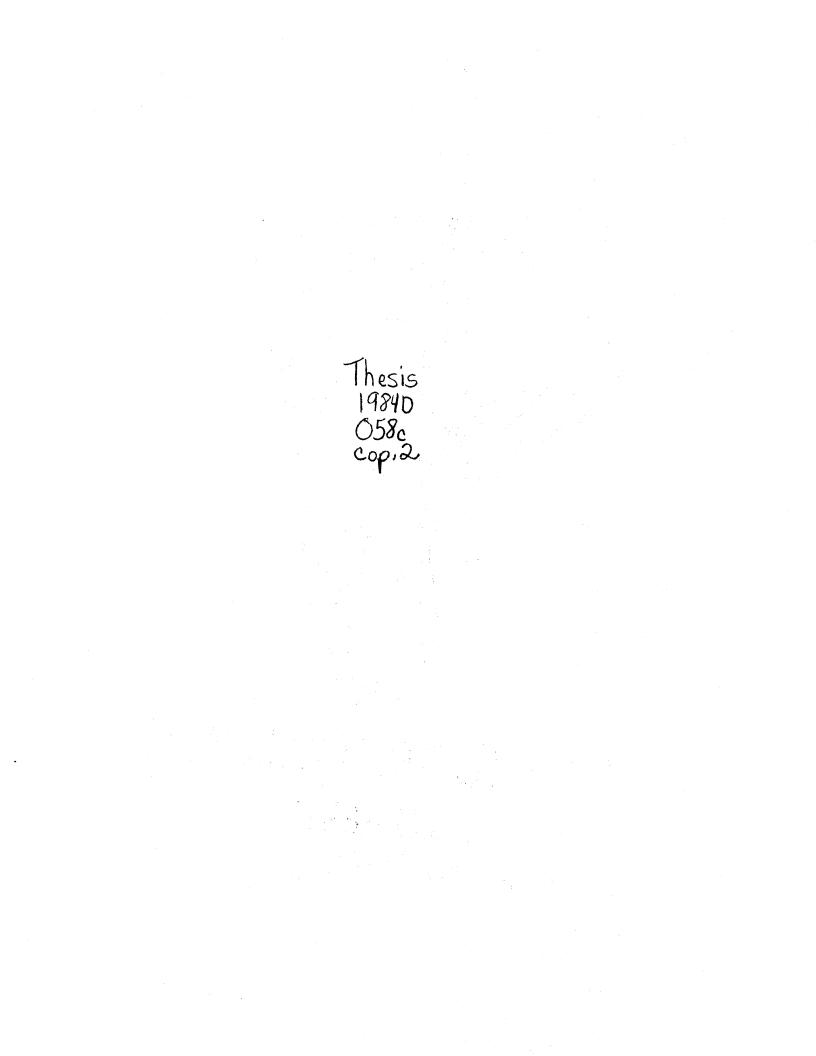THE COPING STYLES OF ORIENTAL YOUTH

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese who immigrated to the United States after World War II are substantially different from those who came earlier. Even though they have achieved great social mobility as a result of their educational background and the acceptance of the American public, they seldom are available for empirical investigation (Yao, 1979). Moreover, according to the latest information published by the world-wide Chinese Central Daily News (Chan, 1978), the total estimated Chinese population in the United States, consisting of college students, permanent residents, and also American citizens (by birth or through naturalization), has risen to 700,000. Following the change in immigration laws effective since June, 1965, approximately 145,000 Chinese immigrants, predominantly from Hong Kong, have entered the United States. San Francisco is the second most frequent destination of these newcomers (Stein, 1974).

Attitude and belief among Chinese people toward mental illness became increasingly important with the rise of psycho-social ideology and the community mental health movement. Some negative aspects of their attitudes toward mental illness and the inadequacies of services, have been tied to low utilization rates of mental health facilities (Hee, 1978). The American Psychological Association Task Force on

Health Research (1976) has indicated (a) that good health is one of the top concerns of Americans and (b) that large segments of the population, particularly the disadvantaged and minority groups, lack access to adequate health care. These inadequacies are also apparent in mental health care. Because community mental health centers represent one of our major resources in the promotion of mental health, it's vital that these facilities respond to the needs of minority groups (Sue, 1977).

Some special problems of a minority group were noted in Huang and Pilisuk's (1977) article. For instance, the residents of San Francisco's Chinatown suffered from the consequences of a substantial number of economic and social problems. These problems reflect the history of the Chinese-Americans and the orientation of American society towards them. The United States immigration laws have presented particularly stressful circumstances for the traditional Chinese-American family. The relationship of such social stresses to the incidence and form of psychopathology - including an unusually high incidence of suicide - is noted.

In addition, the influences of cultural, and social assimilation have undermined the commitment of Chinese youths to traditional cultural norms, and social disequilibrium can be seen within the family as well as outside the home. Chinese vary in the extent to which they have become progressively removed from their parental culture, and the social distance between Chinese with different life styles have segregated them into a variety of disparate groups (Fong, 1973).

Abbott (1970) wrote that the personality characteristics of the Chinese-American students seem explainable through the analysis of

their family structures. For instance, the family emphasis on conformity, respect for authority, and submergence of individuality makes the individual less autonomous. The conservative nature of the family, its emphasis on fixed ways of behaving, traditions, etc. (Wright, 1964) may contribute to the student's discomfort in new situations. Therefore, they may exhibit greater anxiety and lower tolerance for ambiguity. Finally, the guilt and shame that the Chinese use to control behavior (DeVos & Abbott, 1966), the possible culture conflict they may experience, and their discomfort in relating to those outside the family frequently cause the Chinese-Americans greater emotional distress (Sue & Kirk, 1972).

Psychological studies in the area of stress and coping styles of Chinese-American populations are extremely scarce. The major reason is that individuals from this cultural group are relatively inexperienced with this type of research activity. In addition, parental influence towards their children, in many cases, appeared to be rather reserved (or guarded), and therefore, make them less likely to reveal any family "secrets" to outsiders. Thus, the recruitment of students to participate in the present study required not only the experimenter's knowledge in relation to the students' background (i.e., family influence, assurance from authority figures, etc.), but the necessary support from the principals of the schools involved. Fortunately, both the principal and the administrator of the high schools seemed to understand the importance of this investigation and its contribution to the area of minority research. They, without any hesitation, were willing to offer their greatest assistance along the data collection

phase of this project. This "unexpected" assistance from them proved to be extremely crucial for this type of research.

As significant as the administrators involved are some important characteristics of the students and their respective schools. The students in this study were from two Chinese speaking high schools in the Chinatown of San Francisco: Central Chinese High School and St. Mary High School. There are a great many commonalities between these two schools in style and format. Since the majority of the students in the study attended the Central Chinese High School, a brief description of this institution will be given. First, the school consists of fourteen different classes which range from grade school to senior high. In addition, there are four separate classes which operate on the weekends making a total of 18 classes. There is a wide variety of courses offered in this institution, and without exception, all instruction is given in Chinese. The placement of each student is determined by his or her Chinese language fluency. Therefore, it is common to find the students' ages range from 11 to 17 in a particular class simply because they all possess the same level of language skills.

The Central Chinese High School has a history of ninety-six years. Its instructors are graduated from different universities in China and all of them are specialists of the Chinese language. One interesting comment worthy of notice is that strict and admirable regulations (by Chinese standards) are common practices in this institution. For instance, the students are required to bow to their teachers at both the beginning and the end of its classes. Although the composition of its students varies a great deal (e.g., different ages, backgrounds, etc.), there is one common goal for all of them, that is, the

acquisition of knowledge from an institution that specializes in the Chinese language and culture.

The purposes of this present study were to investigate the major coping mechanisms employed by Oriental high school students at these two Chinese speaking high schools located in San Francisco; to relate some demographic materials to the coping styles of such students; to investigate the effect of birth order on the coping styles of these students; and to investigate the differences between male and female students in the five major coping styles.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite a decade of phenomenal growth in the mental health
movement, Asian Americans have remained outside and have been excluded
from the mental health delivery systems in the United States. Reiko's
(1975) study examines some academic and popular misconceptions regarding
the mental health status and needs of Chinese Americans as past members
of the Asian American community. His literature review shows the
following: (1) The extent of mental health needs and suffering in the
Chinese American community is greater than what it was previously
assumed; (2) The Chinese American attitudes toward mental health problems
and toward seeking help may have negative aspects; (3) While many
traditional psychiatric facilities tend to exacerbate this negativism,
a program indigenous to the community may be more acceptable to the
residents.

In order to explore the mental health needs and its attitudes in
the Chinese American community, Reiko conducted 100 door-to-door
interviews in Oakland, California's Chinatown. Subjects were asked
about the needs and problems of themselves, of their friends, and of
the families. They were also asked about their attitudes toward
seeking help.

Reiko's (1975) survey indicated that the residents were guarded about the discussion of problems, particularly those of an interpersonal or psychological nature. The fact that 99% of the respondents were foreignborn and had difficulty speaking English confirms the validity of the Chinatown Family Outreach Center's (CFOC) emphasis on bilingual services. Although the survey failed to support the hypothesis regarding greater distress in the community, the large turnout at CFOC provided some confirmation on this question.

A recent study in the development of coping style done by Diaz-Guerrero (1979) reported that psychological literature has been searched for early definitions and for notions akin to the concept of coping. Many clinical research articles have been written in the last two decades on the subject of ego function, ego strength, coping and defense. A number of ingenious scales and interviews have been developed to measure these concepts, almost all from a psychoanalytic frame of reference.

In its original form, the concept of coping style derived naturally from the fact that humans all over the world have to deal with problems. It was felt that throughout human history, different cultures arrived at preferential ways of dealing with problems. Thus, the style of coping is a function of culture, of the personalities of culture transmitters; and of the methods employed in socialization to ward off counter-cultural forces. The theory and data in Diaz-Guerrero's article suggest that the most powerful countercultural forces are the various kinds of individual reaction to rebellion. These forces could both be biologically or psychologically oriented in respect to traditionally accepted sociocultural premises. Other countercultural

forces working against the historical tradition are frequently present in mass communication, modernization, urbanization, social mobility, and, particularly, in democracies, the educational system.

The same author further stated that little is known at present about the initial steps in the development of coping style. Whatever the specific process through which the style of coping is individually acquired, it appears to be well established by the age of 6. The author agreed that it seemed impossible to make simple generalizations based on the complexity of these cross-cultural studies. Moreover, as for many other psychological phenomena, coping style shows interactions with other major variables such as stress of task, age, sex, and social class, as well as culture. A passive or active coping style will usually appear in several factors and in reference to several dimensions. Only a tentative beginning has been made in outlining this complexity.

Bourne (1975) reported that, as a minority group, Chinese were unique in that whether born in the United States or China, they assiduously resisted, until very recently, any tendency toward assimilation. His paper reviews the history of the Chinese student in America and examines the conflicts which related to the special role of the Chinese on campus. Specifically the authors examined the nature of the problems which were manifested by the Chinese students who sought help through the student health program at a large West Coast university. The problems are reviewed as a reflection of the stresses caused by currently changing attitudes toward assimilation in the Chinese-American population. Interestingly, except for a brief overview by

Fong, this is a group that, despite its size and significance, has been ignored in the literature.

In the Bourne study, the relative sibling rank of the students did not differ significantly from that of the overall Chinese student population at the university. However, oldest children tend to be predominate, reflecting the strong Chinese emphasis placed on the oldest child to achieve academic and other types of success. Moreover, the demand for excellence was reflected by the students in treatment who described the exceptional pressure placed on them by their families. In this, they were representative of all Chinese students, yet the demand for excellence was also frequently seen as a contributing stress in causing their emotional difficulties. The traditional respect for the learned in China was maintained among Chinese in the United States even when, for economic reasons, access to higher education was unavailable to them. As a college education gradually became a reality, it was often necessary for the family to invest all of its resources in the education of one individual, usually the oldest son. There was considerable pressure both to justify his selection and to fulfill the filial role by bringing honor to the family.

Conflict with parents and the extreme anxiety evoked by even entertaining the idea of contravening their wishes was manifested in many ways. Several of the patients were extremely resentful of the career choice made for them by their parents but were both unwilling to express their anger toward their parents or to confront them with their desire to change fields, as was described in Bourne's study.

Intergenerational conflicts are universal and by no means restricted to the Chinese. However, the traditional role of filial

respect makes it particularly difficult for the Chinese child to find opportunity for direct expression of conflicts, a situation that is aggravated by the disparity between his required role and that of children in the larger surrounding culture.

Bourne (1975) also noted that as a group, the male patients led characteristically restricted lives. They were socially isolated, spent most of their time studying, and had few other interests or recreations. They had few friends of either sex and dated very little. It has been suggested that this picture, which tends to be characteristic of male Chinese students in general and not merely of the patient group, is a product of the revered position of the male child in the Chinese family. There is an exception that they can remain passive and that social interaction will revolve around them without their having to be in an aggressive role to influence events. Furthermore, in the campus environment, they are cut off from their immediate family and their contacts are frequently with other Chinese males who are used to functioning in the same way. An added factor is the extreme emphasis on scholastic achievement, with its implications that any time spent on social activities for purely pleasurable ends is a betrayal of the family that has worked hard and sacrificed to get them to college. However, this factor seems to function largely as a convenient rationalization for not taking an unaccustomed role in social relations.

While Chinese men may be shy and reticent about dating in the American style, Caucasian men feel no restraint in approaching Oriental girls. The attractive Chinese females are usually sought after by many campus males. These females are perceived as "exotic" and

therefore particularly inviting. Many Chinese girls who would

preferentially involve themselves with Chinese men are not able to do

so because Chinese men fail to take the initiative; instead, they date

Caucasian men as at least preferential to having little or no social

life.

While many Chinese girls become involved with Caucasian men,

the liaisons seem to generate unusual psychological conflicts. Of

seven female patients seen in the mental health clinic, five were

dating Caucasians and for four it was the primary precipitating cause

of the problems that caused them to seek help. In each girl, there were

strong feelings of guilt and the conviction that she was doing

something wrong.

As much as any minority group in the country, the Chinese

population is under-going a major upheaval in regard to its relation-

ship with the larger society. Content in the past to adapt by isolation

and avoid any attempt to become assimilated, many Chinese are now

willing and eager to become absorbed into the mainstream of American

life. A decline in anti-Chinese sentiment, a termination of ties of

older Chinese with the mainland, a steadily increasing percentage of

the Chinese population born in the United States, and the unprecedented

impact of the black movement on other minority groups have made

assimilation rather than isolation the predominant adaptive mood of

the Chinese-Americans. The price of this adaptational change, with

increasing interaction with white society, is a substantially greater

chance for situations of psychic conflict and emotional turmoil.

Psychiatric hospital admissions and suicide patterns clearly reflect

this change in relationship between the Chinese and the Caucasian community (Bourne, 1975).

Bourne (1975) continued to write that the stage in life when the greatest demand for adaptive change occurs is the adolescence and early childhood. For the Chinese student, with a shifting milieu of cultural demands and values in the background, the process of becoming adult is made particularly difficult. In the earlier years, there was minimal conflict for the Chinese student in the American university environment. The values of his cultural heritage, whether he came from overseas or was born in America, was clear. He responded to them without feeling conflicted by any desire to assimilate or adopt alien ways. Now the demands are mixed and conflicting, and too often, as in the case of the socially passive male, the Chinese student is ill-equipped to deal with the Caucasian campus population. At the same time, there are no longer the same rewards if he or she remains totally adherent to the Chinese cultural values. In fact, the person who cannot deal effectively with the entire American population discovers few professional opportunities exist after graduation.

Numerically, the incidence of psychiatric illness, as judged by the percentage of the Chinese student population that seeks help, is no longer than that for Caucasian students. However, there is a great reluctance to go outside the family for any kind of assistance. In addition, there are many Chinese students who suffer great anguish but either do not reach a breaking point or have such ego strength that they can withstand considerable ambiguity, conflict, and stress. However, even the latter students often pay a high price for preserving their psychic integrity, such as devoting themselves compulsively to

their academic studies to the exclusion of almost all else (Bourne, 1975).

Kuo (1976) conducted a empirical testing on Chinese Americans in the area of theories of migration and mental health. His position is similar to Kantor's (1969):

> Migration, in and of itself, does not precipitate the
> development of mental illness. Migration, however,
> does involve changes in environment which imply adjust-
> ments on the part of the migrant. These adjustments may
> be reflected in improved or worsened mental health (p. 297).

The four theoretical formulations in Kuo's article investigated are social isolation, cultural shock, goal-striving stress, and cultural change. Kuo indicated that these theories can be charac-terized as frame-works which seek to identify the most stress-producing life changes experienced by the migrant and their potential impact on his mental health. All four theories assume that the process of settling in a new society is stressful and that the tension produced by attempts at adjustment begins immediately upon the immigrant's arrival. The theories suggest that stress factors such as social isolation and others may lead to the onset of psychiatric symptoms, which may grow more severe if conditions remain difficult. Each theory, however, selects different kinds of life changes as most problematic. Hence, each reaches different conclusions about the method by which migration precipitates mental disorder.

Kuo (1976) continued that the theory of social isolation postulates that migration involves not only physical separation from the homeland, but also the separation from one's orienting set of mutual rights, obligations, and networks of social interaction. These different factors seem to cause the most destructive experiences

associated with immigration. The migrant must sever both personal and social ties and enter a new social network whose tiny size becomes a barrier to social betterment. Migrants often experience strong feelings of loneliness, alienation (Handlin, 1951) and desocialization (Jaco, 1970), low self-esteem, and an inability to cultivate or sustain social relationships (Weinberg, 1966). However, Lowenthal (1964) found that isolation per se was neither decisive nor significant in the onset of mental illness among the aged group. Weinberg suggested that situational isolation precipitates mental illness and that one's subjective interpretation of isolation may predispose him to mental illness. Thus, the theory of social isolation suggests that a severe limitation of contact and communication with the larger society causes the immigrant great stress in the performance of social roles that he plays and might directly or indirectly contribute to the onset of mental illness.

The second theory deals with cultural shock. Handlin believed that immigrants experience shock because of the severe feelings of personal inefficacy. Eisenstadt (1954) on the other hand, suggested that immigrants are disturbed by the experience of living in an unstructured, incompletely-defined field. Oberg (1960) pointed out that since value conflicts cause an immigrant to misinterpret cues of social interaction daily life cannot be taken for granted. Thus, these conflicts became instead a host of insurmountable problems. But regardless of the different emphasis, the cultural shock theory posits that those immigrants entering a society extremely different from their native community will find it more difficult to adjust than will immigrants with a similar cultural background. The theory also suggests

that the shorter the immigration period, the greater the shock, making

mental distress more likely to occur than otherwise. As the immigrant

becomes acculturized, his propensity toward mental illness is reduced

(Kuo, 1976).

The third theory of goal-striving stress delineates a unique

aspect of the immigrant's adjustment problem, that of unfulfilled

aspiration. Among the foreign immigrants from less urbanized and

industrial societies, the first generation will experience lower

goal-striving stress than their descendents. The newly arrived

immigrants hold a reasonable level of aspiration while they strive hard

for achievement. In contrast, their descendents may continue to strive

as hard as their parents but may suffer a setback since they probably

will experience a much higher level of aspiration due to the

socialization experience in the new society. The descendents believe

that they possess opportunities for success equal to those of the

dominant group members but in fact cannot overcome the consequences of

segregation and other forms of de facto discrimination. In other words,

the difficulty of becoming upwardly mobile produces higher degrees of

goal-striving stress, which will appear on the indicator of mental

illness (Kuo, 1976).

Kuo hypothesized in the fourth theory that cultural change has a

disrupting effect on the psychological orientation of the American

ethnic migrant undergoing acculturation. Overall, proponents of the

cultural change theory contend that the adoption of American core

cultural values involves a fundamental disruption of and shift in the

cognitive, affective and evaluative modes of behavior which were

patterned by the immigrant's native culture. Such changes are believed

to be particularly stressful and disturbing because the worth of the immigrant's native cultural orientation, which has long served as a behavioral guide; is now seriously challenged. Perhaps it may even be devalued by the competing American values. Seward (1964) observed that such cultural change promoted family disorganization and adversely affected the personality of different family members.

The independent variables in Kuo's investigation included the four global factors discussed above. The first factor, social isolation, was measured by questionnaire items dealing with spatial mobility in the United States (number of places lived in before migrating to the city and length of residence in the present dwelling), frequency of interaction with neighbors, relatives and friends, remoteness of relatives, and membership in (Chinese) community organizations. All these indicators of social isolation can be found in Jaco's (1970) study, where he found that on the aggregate level these indicators could differentiate between high and low schizophrenic areas. In his analysis, however, the measures were applied on the individual level.

In order to operationalize the concept of cultural shock, Kuo approached it from two directions. The first measure was an item on the respondent's length of residence in this country, with an underlying assumption that cultural shock varies positively with new residency. The second measure was a composite index on the respondent's adjustment problems stemming from finding a job and a place to live, learning to speak English, making friends, keeping up with the American way of life, and obtaining an acceptable social status. Each adjustment problem was

scored from 1 to 3 (a serious problem to no problem) and then summated
to make up an index of cultural shock.

Kuo's method of operationalizing the third theoretical concept,
goal-striving stress, was different from that of Parker, Kleiner, and
Needelman (1969), who used a ten-step striving scale representing the
"best" and "worst" ways of life and asked the respondent to identify
subjectively the steps corresponding to his present position and to
his aspired level. Parker et al. used the difference between these
two step positions to measure the aspiration-acheivement discrepancy.
Kuo's method was to obtain a balanced score between the subject's
level of aspiration, given the opportunity he saw in American society,
and the actual social position he acheived. To obtain this score, each
respondent's summated scores on both the aspiration and achievement
questionnaire categories were first calculated and then standardized,
and finally the aspiration and achievement score differences were
calculated to reflect the degree of goal-striving stress. Each of the
two categories consisted of eight items. In the aspiration category,
the respondent's feelings were elicited about his opportunities in
America in general and his perception of his chances of obtaining a
well-paying job, a college education, good housing, and unemployment
insurance as compared with American whites. In the actual achievement
category, these authors investigated the family incomes, occupations,
and educational levels of the respondents.

In order to provide a basis for measuring the fourth theoretical
concept, the Chinese-American's acculturation or change in value
orientation, Kuo employed Kluckhohn's four modalities of experiences to
categorize a person's value orientation, namely, activity (A),

relational (R), time (T), and man-nature relationship (M-N). In a
brief comparison of the Chinese and the American culture, it might be
argued that the activity dimension of American culture is more other-
directed and achievement-oriented than that of the traditional Chinese
culture (Hsu, 1953). In the relational experience, the American
orientation tends to be individualistic, whereas the Chinese leans
towards collateralism - individuals subordinated to group goals. In
the time experience, the American temporal focuses on the future and
on planning which differs from the Chinese culture that focuses on
the traditional past. An in the man-nature relationship, the American
culture has traditionally emphasized man's mastery of nature while
Chinese culture advocated man's harmony with nature. In contrast, Kuo
used the following items to measure the four modalitiies of experience:
1) there is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a
great love, gratitude and respect for his patents (R); 2) people
should discipline their children and encourage them to respect authority
(R); 3) one should not depend on other persons or things - the center
of life should be found inside oneself (A); 4) I would rather decide
things when they come up than try to plan ahead (T); 5) many of the
unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck (MN); 6)
most of the time, people are just looking out for themselves (R); 7)
I have always felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I want
(MN). These scale items are graded in the direction of Americanization
(1 to 4 points) and were summed to form a composite index of ac-
culturation.

Kuo (1976) concluded in his study that the salient findings are as
follows: 1) The Chinese-American's mental health varies positively with

his social status. 2) Although the Chinese-American's adjustment
problems in the American society usually co-vary with the social class,
the stresses of adjusting and adapting alone exert substantial negative
effects on mental health. The independent effect due to adjustment
problems suggests that within each social stratum, the individual's
severity of adjustment is a good predictor of mental health. 3)
Geographical mobility as measured by frequency of intercity mobility
correlates with poor mental health. It appears that anonymity, social
isolation, and tensions among Chinese-American family members to
adjust to new places increase the propensity toward mental distress.
4) Goal-striving stress tends to increase symptomatology of psychiatric
distress, and its adverse effects are more severe among the American-
born that the foreign born. 5) Acculturation or "Americanization" seems
to improve the foreign-born Chinese-American's mental health, but its
impact is too small to warrant a definite conclusion.

The impact of assimilation and changing social roles on Chinese
Americans was noted in Fong's (1973) study. In terms of the traditional
roles and values, Fong wrote that Chinese parents in America still tend
to maintain strict parental authority in their homes. There are
several empirical studies which provide supporting evidence. In
studying the child rearing attitudes of various subcultures in America,
Kriger and Kroes (1972) reported that Chinese mothers are stricter with
their children than are comparable samples of Jewish and Protestant
American mothers. Fong continued, the Chinese parents feel that their
children's behavior would reflect on them. The respect and obedience
that Chinese children give to authority figures are evident in other
situations, too. In studying the behavior of Chinese and Caucasian

children at a public school, Liu (1950) observed that all the school
teachers remarked that Chinese children are better behaved, more
obedient, and more responsible than their Caucasian peers. The interview
data on Fong's study showed that Chinese parents are much stricter about
controlling their children's aggression than are American parents.
Chinese parents want their children to conform to the traditional way
of gentleness, manners, and willingness to acquiesce; they do not want
them to follow in the foreign way of aggressiveness and competitive
behavior.

A source of stress among Chinese youth comes from the parental
authority. Fong (1973) wrote the following:

> In the process of growing up in America, the influences of
> acculturation and assimilation can undermine individual's
> commitment to Chinese cultural norms. When Chinese children
> enter the American public school system, they learn new skills
> and social values which are foreign to those of their parental
> culture. The socialization process in the school system
> is not without cultural overtones which sharpen the conflict
> of cultural loyalty faced by Chinese youths (Fong, 1968;
> Wright, 1964). It is common in the American culture to
> teach the individual to make his own decision and to assert
> his own independence, which is contrary to the Chinese
> approach. The bicultural child may, then, develop some
> conflict-laden identification with two social worlds,
> the one of parents and the other of teachers and peers.
> Oftentimes as the child grows older the peer values grow
> stronger and override parental sanctions. One of the common
> complaints of Chinese parents is that their children do
> not obey them - at least not as submissively as before (p. 118).

In the same study, Fong (1973) identified sex role as another
stress factor. He explained that the change in the status of females
has had quite an impact on the traditional Chinese family. With
respect to education, it was thought that it would endanger feminine
virtue; a girl was expected to be a devoted helper to her future
mother-in-law and a bearer of many grandchildren for her, preferably

male ones. The educational ambitions of contemporary Chinese girls have
broadened, but they may still find that their emerging role is not
fully accepted by all segments of Chinese society. As an illustration,
Wright (1964) found that in Hong Kong there are still cases of the
family food being sacrificed to provide education for a son, while many
daughters have to depend solely upon their own initiative to acquire
an education.

Stein's 1973 study was undertaken to explore and document the
phenomenolgocial experience and their processes of adaptation to
American society. There were only eight interviewed samples in his
study, and each subject was interviewed weekly over a three-month
period. The inquiries followed an interview protocol which sought
information about the individual's history and self-concept abroad;
reasons for emigrating and expectations for resettlement; the nature
of post-immigration experiences; personal changes undergone; and
opinions of various aspects of American society.

Stein (1973) found that the great differences between the
individuals interviewed and the disparities in their resettlement
experiences were most striking. Migration was found, overall, to have
improved the lives of four of the subjects. For the remaining four,
the numerous difficulties encountered have thus far adversely affected
their lives. Yet, only one of the subjects overtly expressed notable
ambivalence about being here, and even he entertained no thoughts
of permanently returning to Hong Kong.

Stein continued that with the remarkable diversity of experiences
described, it was, except in a few instances, impossible to formulate
conclusions or generalizations which applied to the whole sample. There

were, however, numerous common elements which were found in several of the subjects' accounts. Examples of more prevalent themes are the following: pre-emigration knowledge about the United States was scant and often inaccurate previous to emigration, anti-Chinese prejudice in America was heard of but was thought to no longer exist; initial impressions of Chinatown were extremely negative; Chinatown was of vital importance to all subjects at some time during resettlement; Chinese employers exploit newcomers, but the labor market outside of Chinatown is severely limited for immigrants; the independence of American children from their parents seemed threatening to Chinese who value family cohesion; and contacts with others besides Chinese immigrants were exceedingly few or superficial.

Some very current and experimentally oriented studies were reviewed by Cohen in 1980. Cohen suggested that continued exposure to a stressor may produce effects that appear only after simulation is terminated. These aftereffects of stress on human performance have been central to the stress literature for a number of years. This assertion is derived principally from an adaptive-cost hypothesis which suggests that although humans can often adapt to extreme conditions, there are cumulative costs of adaptation. An early form of this hypothesis, which emphasized the biological costs of the adaptive process, was proposed by Selye (1956). He asserted that after prolonged exposure to a stressor, one's adaptive reserves are drained; then the resistance breaks down, and exhaustion finally sets in. Others (Basowitz, Persky, Korchin, & Grinker, 1955; Dubos, 1965; Milgram, 1970; Wohlwill, 1966) make similar points in regard to poststressor effects on behavior. In the words of Dubos, "Although man is higly adaptable

and can therefore achieve adjustments to extremely undesirable conditions, such adjustments often have . . . indirect effects that are deleterious" (1965, p. 139).

Cohen (1980) reviewed the factor of crowding as a stressful variable. He noted that those who study the effects of crowding on human behavior have found it useful to distinguish between two kinds of density - social density and spatial density (cf. Loo, 1973). Social density is manipulated by varying the number of people occupying a fixed quantity of space, and spatial density is manipulated by varying the available space but keeping the number of people constant. Since there is evidence that the effects of density are to some degree dependent on this distinction (e.g., Baum & Koman, 1976), the following reviews of the effects of high levels of density on poststimulation performance will similarly distinguish between these two kinds of density.

Cohen continued to state that in an early study of the aftereffects of spatial density, Sherrod (1974) had groups of eight female high school students perform a number of tasks in either a large or a small room. After 1 hour of exposure, subjects were moved into a large reception area. Each student, at her own desk, was given some proofreading tasks which were used for testing their tolerance of frustration. Those subjects who had been working in high density (small room) showed less tolerance for frustration than did their low density (large room) counterparts.

In the same study, Cohen examined the predictable versus the unpredictable stressors. In brief, Cohen stated that Glass and Singer reported five studies which compared the poststimulation effects of

predictable versus unpredictable noise. The first two studies (Glass,

Singer & Friedman, 1969, Experiment 1; see also, Glass & Singer, 1972,

p. 47, 52) compared fixed versus random-intermittant exposure to a

broadened conglomerate noise which was made up of a number of fairly

typical urban sounds. In a third study (Glass & Singer, 1972, p. 55),

predictability was manipulated by the use of signaled (by a light)

versus unsignaled (light occurrence is random) noise bursts. Last,

predictability was manipulated in two other studies that were primarily

designed to assess the effect in inhibiting adaptation on poststimulation

effects.

In summary, Cohen concluded that the role of predictability in

producing stress aftereffects has not received considerable attention

since the publication of the Glass and Singer book. Existing evidence

does, however, suggest that aftereffects are more likely to occur

following exposure to the unpredictable rather than a predictable

stressor.

In relation to the controllable versus the uncontrollable

stressors, Cohen (1980) simply stated that the research clearly

demonstrates that providing a person with increased control over a

stressor or over a stress setting decreases deficits in the post-

stimulation performance. None of the reviewed studies, however, have

investigated whether or not increased control over a setting is

beneficial when there is no stressor present.

In the same study, the aftereffects on social behavior were found

by Rotton, Olsezewski, Charleton, and Soler, (1978) that both loud

speech and the combination of conglomerate noise and a taxing task

reduced one's ability to differentiate among people occupying different

roles. Epstein and Karlin (1975) reported that groups of men who were crowded were less cohesive and more competitive following the stress experience. Women, however, were more cohesive and less competitive following the crowded versus the noncrowded experience.

Overall, it appears that exposure to unpredictable and uncontrollable stress is followed by a decreased sensitivity to others. This includes a decrease in helping, a decrease in the recognition of individual differences, and an increase in aggression.

In addition to the exposure to the different stressors and the aftereffects, Cohen next discussed the nature of some coping strategies. He cited that it is possible that those exposed to the unpredictable, uncontrollable stressors use coping strategies during stressor exposure and maintain these strategies even after the stressor is terminated. Although a particular strategy may be adjustive during exposure, it may or may not prove to be adaptive after exposure termination. This persistence may be due to the overlearning of a coping response (cf. Rodin & Baum, 1978). This approach suggests that the coping response is under stimulus control but is not voluntary. For example, one may cope with crowding by withdrawing and persist in withdrawing from strangers even when not crowded.

Epstein and Karlin's 1975 laboratory study of spatial density provided evidence for the persistence of a coping strategy that is used during stress exposure. They reported that single-sex groups of women and men differed in their reaction to crowding stress. Consistent with the cultural norms, women tended to share their distress with each other, whereas men tended to hide their distress. These norms of sharing and hiding persisted into the poststress session in which men

who had been crowded were less cohesive and more competitive than uncrowded men and in which women who had been crowded were more cohesive and less competitive than uncrowded men. Baum and Valins' (1977) studies of dormitory design similarly suggested the persistence of a coping response. Those subjects from dormitories with a high level of forced interaction made more active attempts to avoid the possibility of contact with a stranger outside of the dormitory than those from dormitories with lower levels of interaction. Thus, an avoidance response that presumably developed as an attempt to cope with dormitory life seemed to persist even outside of the dormitory setting.

In conclusion, evidence from the laboratory and naturalistic research suggests that persistent coping strategies are responsible for at least some poststimulation effects. Although the data previously described are limited to situations in which the coping strategy is one that develops as a response to a particular stressor (e.g., withdrawal as a response to crowding), it is possible that the general strategies that are used to cope with a wide range of stressors persist after stressor termination (cf. Milgram, 1970).

In studying the cultural difference of the anxiety level between Chinese and American children, Chiu (1971) employed the Chinese translation and the English version of the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale. In 1971, Chiu used two samples of 613 children, 312 boys and 301 girls. These students were selected from the northern part of Taiwan, China.

Two important factors were studied in Chiu's 1971 investigation, namely, societal restrictions and parental attitudes toward child

rearing. He wrote that in comparison with the American children, Chinese children are probably exposed to a greater number of societal restrictions. Hsu (1953) points out that the restrictions imposed upon the Chinese children comes not only from parents and other seniors, but also from custom and tradition.

In relation to the parental attitudes toward child rearing Chiu (1971) stated that American parents try diligently to maintain a front of sweetness and light before their children even in serious domestic trouble or during a major business catastrophe. Chinese parents, on the contrary, make little effort to hide their problems and worries.

The overall findings of Chiu's 1971 study confirmed the hypothesis that Chinese children tend to be more anxious than American children. Chinese boys were found to be significantly more anxious than American boys, and Chinese girls to be more anxious than American girls. Analysis within individual cultural groups showed that the Chinese girls scored significantly higher on the Anxiety scale than the Chinese boys.

Paschal and Kuo (1973) conducted a cross-cultural investigation of test anxiety, manifest anxiety, and major self-esteem factors of self-concept among the American and the Chinese college students. Their major purposes were to study the influence of culture, sex, birth order, and their interaction with anxiety and self-concept.

They selected 60 subjects randomly from 20 undergraduate sections of a course in Human Growth and Development at Ball State University. These subjects had taken only one prior psychology course. An equivalent sample of subjects was taken from the psychology classes at the National Chengchi University By Professor Hsiung. These subjects were

individually matched on age, sex, grade equivalance, and three main categories of birth order.

Paschal and Kuo (1973) employed a 2 x 2 x 3 factorial multivariate analysis of variance procedure to test the mean difference of the seven null hypotheses (two levels of culture, two levels of sex, and three levels of birth order). The seven dependent variables were Number of Deviant Signs, Anxiety, Self-Esteem, Net Conflict, Total Conflict, Variability, and Test Anxiety. The significant level was predetermined at the .05 level on a two tail test. Interestingly enough, it was found that of the seven hypotheses tested only the one regarding culture was rejected at the .05 level of significance. The null hypotheses regarding sex, culture x sex, birth order, culture x birth order, sex x birth order, and culture x sex x birth order were not rejected.

Furthermore, these authors found that the Chinese subjects score signficantly higher on the Net Conflict than the American subjects but their conflict was Acquiescence as compared with Denial Conflict for the American subjects. Fitts (1965) says that Net (directional) Conflict scores measure the extent to which a person's response to the positive items differ from his responses to the negative items in the same area of self-perception. Acquiescence Conflict means that the subject is over-affirming his positive attributes whereas Denial Conflict means that the subject is overdenying his negative attributes or he concentrates on eliminating the negative. The Chinese Net Conflict mean score was high and slightly deviant, indicating that the Chinese subjects were overaffirming their positive attributes whereas the American subjects were overdenying their negative attributes.

Chang (1974), studied the attitude of Chinese students in the
United States. He chose the Chinese student population because they
have a unique sociocultural background and, therefore, may have a unique
kind of life experience in the United States. The combination of the
unique sociocultural background and life experience may produce a
special kind of attitude among the Chinese students toward the United
States. Chang's 1974 study was intended to investigate the life
situation of Chinese students in the United States and their attitude
toward this country.

In the same study, Chang (1974) described that most Chinese
students have an idealistic picture of the United States before they
come. To most of them, the U.S. represents democracy and freedom and
the American people represent friendliness and liberalism. Further-
more, Chang says that the idealization of the United States is often
intensified and perpetuated by the Chinese returning from America,
who typically report the rosy aspects but conceal the hardships and
the embarrassment of their sojourn. To those who return to their home
country, the visit is itself a social capital, and to make slight of it
would depreciate its value. The selective reporting and exaggeration
of the rosy aspects of the visiting have produced a misconception of the
sojourn and intensified the adjustment difficulties among the Chinese
students in the United States.

In his research project, Chang used a sample of 250 Chinese
students in the United States. These students were selected by a
purposive sampling method, and they were requested to respond to the
mailed questionnaire. The sex ratio among the Chinese students was
approximately two males to each female. The average length of residence

among these Chinese students was 38 months in the United States.

The length of residence of the individual Chinese students varied

from a few days to more than eight years.

Through his Frustration - Aggression hypothesis, Chang describes

many foreign students in the following:

> Frustration is a central theme among all studies of
> foreign students. The sources of frustration are numerous
> and divergent, arising from cultural distance or adaptational
> problems. Financial problems, language difficulty, racial
> barriers and consequent social isolation are all frustration
> experience. Frustration is both relative and absolute.
> In addition, the inherent difficulty and competitiveness
> in post-graduate studies poses another source of constant
> frustration and insecurity. A Chinese student's academic
> progress may not only be impeded by his inadequate English
> facility but also by his Chinese cultural background. To
> some Chinese students, the adjustment process is too painful
> to withstand. Many develop depressive and withdrawal
> symptoms. Under these repressive conditions, a Chinese
> student often projects an unfavorable or even hostile
> attitude toward the United States (p. 71).

In brief, Chang's 1974 study found that a Chinese student's attitude

toward the United States was found to be positively associated with the

degree of his contact with the Americans. He also found that 83

percent of the Chinese students have a favorable attitude toward the

United States. Lastly, there is no signficiant relation between

frustration and attitude toward the United States.

A more recent study was conducted by Yao in 1979. He examined

and analyzed the contemporary Chinese immigrants' assimilation. By

using two instruments (A and B), he measured the intrinsic and ex-

trinsic cultural traits of Chinese immigrants on a five-point Likert-

type scales ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". One

of the five points were assigned to each answered item, each of which

had five ratings.

Instrument A (24 items) measured the sample's intrinsic cultural traits. For example, it reflects attitude toward family relations, interpersonal relations, and America and the American people. In contrast, instrument B intends to measure the sample's extrinsic cultural traits. This 16-item instrument reveals feedback in the areas of social isolation, English proficiency, adaptation to the American lifestyle, and future prospective (Yao, 1979). In 1979, Yao discussed and obtained the following findings: In the area of attitude toward family relations, parental control over the behavior of children is still emphasized by a majority (57%) of the sample, but since extreme deference to the parents (41%) is no longer an overwhelming case, it can be concluded that open communication between these parents and children is now encouraged. At the time the individuals in the sample were raised, the children in China were expected to be totally obedient and subservient to their elders. They had virtually no voice at home. Gradually influenced by the Western culture, the relationships between the parents and children have been found more informal and relaxed. But, even so, a child's protest to his parents is still not widely accepted in China today. Undoubtedly, the results indicate that contemporary Chinese immigrants have become more permissive as a result of being exposed to and assimulated into the American culture.

In terms of their attitude toward interpersonal relations, Yao stated that as a result of the rapid assimilative process, conventional fatalism and inconspicuousness are diminishing among the contemporary Chinese immigrants. They no longer remain so reserved as formerly perceived by other Americans. Instead, they have now become more self-assertive and less tolerant of unpleasant situations (63%).

Yao (1979) says that in view of their attitude toward America

and the American people, half of the sample did not excessively

admire the American people and 87.5% indicated that the declining

moral standards in America would eventually weaken the strength of

this country. The results imply that the myth of white superiority

and influence over other races shared by many Asians, is, in this

instance, not true. Immigrants attitudes toward America and the

American people negatively changes once they settle in this nation.

Instead of idolizing America and her people as they did in their native

land, they now scrutinize the American scene more realistically.

In conclusion, Yao stated that according to the analysis of the

collected data by means of the two attitude inventories, the first-

generation Chinese immigrants were found to be rather complex in

their intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits. The comparison between

the intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits shows that the former

reveal less assimilation than the latter. The Chinese traditional

value systems and the use of the mother tongue still play an important

role among the contemporary Chinese immigrants. During the process

of cultural assimilation, the Chinese immigrants demonstrate different

personality characteristics and/or social behavior from those of

American-born Chinese who have been in the United States for more

than one generation (Yao, 1979).

Huang and Pilisuk (1977) filed a special report in relation to

the special problems of a neglected minority in the San Francisco,

Chinatown area. They wrote that in return for its significant

contributions to the larger community, Chinatown receives what can at

best be called "benign neglect." For example, this community has been

studied numerous times by different groups, but little has been done to change it.

These authors continued to describe the situation in which 54% of the city's 58,969 Chinese reported in Chinatown's 1970 census are jammed in this peculiar, confined, "sardine can" entity. Moreover, this area is a repository for the worst of this nation's social ills which include dilapidated housing, overcongestion, high unemployment and underemployment rates, poverty, and poor sanitation; the incidence of tuberculosis among its squalid tenements is more than double that of the rest of San Francisco, and the suicide rate is nearly three times the national average (Wang, 1972).

Another critical problem facing the immigrant family is housing. The immigrant has little choice but to join those in already overcrowded Chinatown or its spill-over environs. In the conventionally defined Chinatown "core" area, the density per residential acre stands at 912.4, 11.5 times greater than the city average. This is the area dominated by a building height of two to four stories, and its housing stock consists of units of two rooms or less. Many are hotel-type housing. Between one and two-thirds of the housing units are considered substandard, deficient in the amenities that most Americans take for granted. These antiquated buildings with deficient overhead lighting and faulty electrical wiring make such a habitat dreadful. Communal kitchens and community baths have become a way of life.

In the same report, Fong (1973) wrote that for somewhat younger adults with children, especially teenagers, Chinatown holds an entirely different set of problems. The strong multigeneration Chinese family has always required an intense loyalty and obedience from its children.

Not since the era of Confucian scholars has respect for the aged and the
concept of filial piety been so challenged. These values and traditions
meet head on with the American's democratic, egalitarian mores, and,
perhaps, more appropriately, the polarity of adoration of the young.
This attitudinal collision becomes inevitable for many when the East
meets the West. Chinese youth are bombarded daily by such indoctri-
nation, transmitted through classroom teachers and street philosophers.
Even if they are confined to the family's tight-spaced living quarters,
they cannot escape the omnipresent, audio-visual electronic tube.
The influence of the destitute parents fades before the value of equal
opportunity that is reinforced, at least verbally, in the peer culture.

Huang and Pilisuk stressed that it's the unsophisticated patriarch
who is most likely to be caught perplexed and unprepared. He has no
innovative way of dealing with the situation save the old tricks that
have been passed down to him through generations. So, he tightens
his grip on the insolent child. Sometimes the teenagers will fight
harder. Even worse, for the family, is the decline in respect (Huang
& Pilisuk, 1977).

Other problems in relation to the youth at San Francisco's
Chinatown are the crime and violence. These incidences are the youthful
ways of reacting to failure and disillusionment. For instance,
frequent problems involve school drop-outs, a product of insurmountable
language handicaps or academic deficits, and an antiquated school
system unresponsive to the Chinese language or culture. In addition,
the customary deficits of the ghetto existence include no spending
money, no wholesome recreation or outlet, no job, and little energy
remaining for love at home. They see no hope now or in the future.

Striking out is a form of protest, "righting the wrong," and a plea
for societal action (Huang & Pilisuk, 1977).

The concept of stress and coping mechanisms has been investigated
by numerous researchers in earlier studies. The development of stress
and its technique for coping was discussed in Schutz's 1977 book.
He wrote that the techniques for avoiding or distorting the stressful
feelings are often called defense or coping mechanisms and are thought
by many psychologists to be necessary, to some degree, in order to
maintain effective functioning. Furthermore, some theorists feel that
defenses so fully color the ways in which people present themselves
to the world that they constitute the main basis for liking or
disliking others.

In the same book, Schutz stated that the theoretical and experi-
mental literature in the field of defenses has not kept pace with the
growing realization of the importance of the defense mechanisms in
human life. The classical work of Anna Freud (1946) was the first
major advance over the seminal ideas of her father. A theoretical
framework based on the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship
Orientation (FIRO) theory is discussed by Schutz in order to provide
a conceptual scheme in the study of human interaction.

Briefly, Schutz (1977) explained:

> The FIRO theory of interpersonal needs postulate that
> the basis needs of inclusion, control, and affection must be
> satisfied, with satisfaction meaning an optimum expression of
> a certain kind of behavior (expressed) and an optimum receipt
> of this behavior from others (wanted). According to the
> demands of a particular interpersonal situation, there is an
> ideal behavior namely, a behavior that is consistent with
> one's self-ideal. Anxieties arise from a discrepancy between
> the ideal behavior or feelings and the actual behavior or
> feelings of the individual in the immediate situation. The
> unsatisfactory present behavior can be caused either by

some compulsion inside the person or by some external
circumstance such as being in a working situation where
certain types of behavior are prohibited.

Moreover, the interpersonal situations have three
components. 1) the subject(s) component is the person
(ego) in whom feeling exists; 2) the feeling ($\rightarrow$) component
is the feeling or affection directed from the subject
to the object; and 3) the object (O) component is the target,
usually a person, toward which feeling is directed.

This situation may be represented as $S \rightarrow O$, the subject
has feeling toward the object. Coping mechanisms operate
to bring the $S \rightarrow O$ behavior of reeling into congruity with
the $S \rightarrow O$ of the ideal and thus obtain an acceptable way of
perceiving the self in relation to others. In order to
alter or distort the basic siutation, any one or more
of the components of the interaction schema may be changed.
This alteration or distortion is the function of a coping
mechanism. It is defensive because the original feeling
toward the original object is not worked through or
resolved, but instead a change in the $S \rightarrow O$ schema is
brought about so that, temporarily, the feeling can be
handled acceptably (p. 47).

In discussing the literature of the defense mechanisms, Schutz

emphasized that if the idea of discrepancy and the $S \rightarrow O$ components is

an accurate explication, then the coping mechanisms discussed in the

pscyhological literature should be translatable into this terminology

without distorting their usual meaning and without adding character-

istics that are not clinically valid. The major defense mechanisms

usually described in the literature are given and accompanied by an

illustrative example. The first defense mechanism (dm) is denial -- it

is the existence of a feeling about a certain object that is disclaimed;

(e.g., "I don't know who this person in my dream represents, certainly

not my mother") (Fenichel, 1945). The second dm is Turning Against

Self -- the aggression and sadism against others are turned toward the

self when aggression is not acceptable and guilt feelings exist, (i.e.,

a child who hated her mother may turn hatred inward and torture herself

with self-accusation and feelings of inferiority (A. Freud, 1946). The

third dm is Isolation -- it's the emotional significance of an object

that is isolated from the dealing with this object; or the object is split (e.g. the splitting of contradictory feelings toward different objects -- for example, the good mother versus the wicked stepmother in fairy tales) (Fenichel, 1945). The fourth dm is Projection -- One's own affection and impulse are shifted onto others (e.g. a woman's hatred for female love-objects was transformed into the conviction that she herself was hated and persecuted) (A. Freud, 1946). The fifth or last dm is Regression -- the object, drive, or act which may change to an earlier form, as when an adult becomes "confused" and needs help when he is in an anxious situation (Schutz, 1977).

In relation to the Psychology of Coping, in the Lazarus, Opton's (1966) article, Murphy (1962) defines coping as an attempt to master a new situation that can be potentially threatening, frustrating, challenging, or gratifying. Lazarus et al. (1966) had earlier proposed a more restricted definition, applying the concept only to situations involving threat. This definition seems too narrow in scope, according to Coelbo, Harmburg, and Adam's book in 1974. Moreover, even more restrictive in some respects is the approach of Haan (1969) who differentiated coping from defense mechanisms on the basis of certain valuative properties (for example, coping is more flexible and reality oriented). Thus, the idea of coping has been used to cover the broadest possible forms of adaptive behavior, in which case it becomes nearly coextensive with the concept of adaptation, as well as to identify more specific and narrowly conceived adaptive processes.

At the present time, there is no adequate classificatory system existing in the concept of coping; however, there are some limited

schemes that deal with segments of the total problem. For instance, Freud (1946) offered descriptions and analyses of the defense mechanisms; Menninger (1954) wrote descriptions of coping devices of the ego arranged from the least to the most pathological; and Haan (1969) offered a tripartite model of coping.

In discussing some of the more important conceptual and methodological problems of a particular classificatory scheme, Coelbo et al. (1974) continued that the differentiation between repression on the one hand and an opposing defensive process variously called sensitization, isolation and vigilance, on the other hand, has long been of interest to psychologists engaged in the research on personality dynamics. Moreover, the research on defensive polarities may be divided into three main approaches, which differ in the conceptual emphasis, terminology, and type of assessment instruments employed. All three share a common bias in emphasizing the dispositional or personality attributes that lead to a defensive response, rather than the defensive response per se. That is, it is assumed that individuals differ in the disposition to employ one or another defensive reactions when exposed to the conditions of threat.

These same authors continued that the repression-sensitization dimension of coping is one of the most heavily researched in the current personality literature. On one pole repression is the hypothetical tendency to deal with threat by not admitting (that is, by denying) evidence of poor functioning, emotional disturbance, and socially undesirable traits or impulses; at the other end, (sensitization) is the tendency to concede such traits readily and to be oriented toward (sensitized to) the disphoric or threatening aspects of living. The

exact definition and labeling of these tendencies varies among the different investigators, along with the specific measures employed to assess them (although all use questionnaires).

The second type of approach is similar to the Rapaport's 1967 ego psychology tradition of diagnostic psychological testing. As opposed to a dimension approach, this type of classification scheme consists of a dichotomy between two presumably antithetical modes of defense, repression on the one hand and isolation on the other. It is exemplified by the clinical diagnostic approach of Schafer (1954) and by the cognitive style research of Gardner, Holzman, Klein, Linton, and Spence (1959), Levine and Spivack (1964), and Luborsky, Blinder, and Schimek (1965). Assessment of these defensive dispositions is made on the basis of styles of thinking and perceiving as observed in the clinical setting or in protocols derived from the Rorschach projective test data.

Two sets of criteria for differentiating repression and isolation have been devised for research purposes. Gardner and colleagues (1959) have looked for evidence or repressive tendencies on the Rorschach inkblot test; constriction of ideation, naivete, relatively unmodulated affect, unreflectivenss, and the absence of intellectualizing tendencies (analysis, qualifications, giving alternatives, and so forth) were considered indicative of this defensive disposition. The opposite pattern was used as evidence of isolation.

Goldstein (1959) has utilized a sentence-completion assessment technique. This third type of approach emerges with a trichotomous classification consisting of avoiders, copers, and nonspecific defenders. Avoiders are said to avoid threatening content, while copers are like

sensitizers in being hyperalert to the threatening aspects of their
environment, neutralizing threat by intellectualized means; nonspecific
defenders are persons who emphasize neither type of defense to the
exclusion of the other, presumably being capable of using whichever
is appropriate at the moment.

One must have a feel of the construct validity in order to
appreciate the nature of the coping process. Cronback and Meehl (1955),
Campbell (1960) refers this to the theoretical or interpretive meaning
given to any assessment test. Such meaning must be based ultimately
on the conditions that elicit the reaction, as well as on the response
of that reaction.

As suggested by Coelbo et al. (1974), the personality research
literature reflects a very casual attitude toward the use of terms
such as repression, denial, avoidance, and so on. For example, some
researchers commonly associate the disposition to repress with the
processes of denial or avoidance; and similarly, sensitization is
loosely associated with vigilance, approach, intellectualization, and
isolation, without careful specification of the acts presumably
involved in such processes and their interrelationships.

These same authors further commented that the completeness of a
classification in relation to the coping process depends on the extent
to which it encompasses all or most of the diverse forms of coping.
These forms may be primarily behavioral acts - for example, avoiding
and escaping danger, threatening, attacking, seeking allies or binding
oneself to a group to increase one's power over danger, and taking
substitute paths to an unachieveable goal. In other forms of coping,
such as seeking knowledge or searching for cues, congitive activity

may be especially evident. Furthermore, some coping response may be largely intrapsychic, as when threat is neutralized by defensive thought processes (for example, by the Freudian defense mechanisms), or when goals are achieved in wish-fulfilling fantasies.

Lastly, the Coelbo et al. study (1974) concluded that one of the major advantages of the concept of coping is that it brings together under a single heading research interests that have much in common but that have remained relatively distinct for historical and other reasons. In order to realize the unifying potential of the coping construct, we have to employ multiple research strategies and base our inferences on a variety of response measures.

Recently, Sidle, Moos, Adams, and Cady (1969) designed a scale to measure coping. In Part I of this scale, for example, three problem situations are presented to the subject with instructions to list all of the coping strategies he might use to handle each problem. In Part II, the problems are repeated with a list of ten coping strategies, and the subjects are instructed to check on a seven-point scale the likelihood that they would use each strategy. Gleser and Ihilevick (1969) have also developed a self-report device from which defenses are presumably inferred. As described, these two efforts are not directed at the coping or the defensive episodes, that is, of the manner in which persons handled a threatening experience. On the contrary, these are measures of coping dispositions, that is, tendencies to use one or another coping strategy in the event that actual exposure to threat occurred. Most personality-centered efforts to assess coping represent attempts to measure coping dispositions rather than coping acts (Coelbo et al., 1974).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Fifty-eight students (30 males, 28 females) from two Chinese
speaking high schools were the participants of this study.   These
schools are located in the center of Chinatown.   The ages of these
students ranged from 12 to 30 (only one student was 30) years old, with
a mean age of 14.7 years (Table I).

These students were assigned into 6 groups according to gender
(male/female) and to their birth order (i.e., oldest, middle, youngest).
Five groups consisted of 10 individuals and one group consisted of 8
(i.e., the youngest female group).   It is important to note that
the students' ages in each group might vary tremendously because of
language proficiency in class.   The majority of the students (48) were
non-natives of the United States.   Their average length of residency
varied from 3.5 to 8.3 years (Table I).   Moreover, the range of
length of residence extended from a half year to a 12 year interval.
Male students reported that they have been in the United States a
slightly shorter duration of time (i.e., 5.7 years) than their female
counterparts (i.e., 7.3 years).

TABLE I

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY
BIRTH ORDER AND SEX

	Oldest	Middle	Youngest
Males	10	10	10
Females	10	10	8

Students Age (in yrs.)			
Males	14.1	14	16.8
Females	14.4	15.2	13.75

Students Length of Residency in U.S. (in yrs.)			
Males	6.2	3.5	7.3
Females	6	7.5	8.3

Some additional characteristics of these students included
the following: (1) 72% of all students stated that they were either
currently living or had been living within the Chinatown vicinity
(Table II). (2) Most students of this study were non-natives (Table
III). (3) In relation to their impression of Chinatown, Table IV shows
that 89% of the students indicated fair to good feelings toward
Chinatown. About one third (33%) of these 52 students suggested that
they had only a fair impression toward Chinatown. (4) Lastly, 88%
of the same group of students expressed the opinion that life in
general in the United States ranges from Average to Good as indicated
in Table V.

Students were selected on a random basis within these two high
schools. The investigator was accompanied by the high school principal
when he visited each class of students who had met the basic
requirements for this study. That is, students had to be of Chinese
descent; they must have currently been living in the city of San
Francisco; and their ages must be commensurate with the high school
setting (with some slight variations because of their differences in
abilities). Some students had limited Chinese backgrounds and most
of them attended American schools in the day time. Lastly, the
majority of students have had experience living in the Chinatown
of San Francisco, although a few indicated that they were now
living far away from this area.

TABLE II

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS HAD LIVED
(OR LIVING) IN CHINA-TOWN

Yes	No	
7	3	Oldest
10	0	Middle (Females)
7	1	Youngest
8	2	Oldest
5	5	Middle (Males)
5	5	Youngest
42	16	Total (Both Sexes)

TABLE III

NUMBER OF NATIVE VS. NON-NATIVE STUDENTS
IN EACH CELL

	Natives		
	Oldest	Middle	Youngest
Males	1	1	2
Females	2	3	1
	Non-Natives		
Males	9	9	8
Females	8	7	7

TABLE IV

STUDENTS IMPRESSION OF CHINA-TOWN

Very Bad	Bad	Fair	Ave.	Favorable	Good	Very Good	
1	1	4		2	2		Oldest
		3	2	3	2		Middle (Males)
1		1	5	1	2		Youngest
2	1	8	7	6	6		Total (Males)
1		3	4		2		Oldest
	1	6	1	1			Middle (Females)
	1	2	4	1			Youngest
1	2	11	9	2	2		Total (Females)

TABLE V

LIFE IN U.S. IN GENERAL

Bad	Fair	Ave.	Favorable	Good	
	1	2	3	4	Oldest
	1	2	2	5	Middle
	1		4	5	Youngest
	3	4	9	14	Total (Males)
1		4	3	2	Oldest
1	2	2	1	3	Middle
		5	3		Youngest
2	2	11	7	5	Total (Females)

Apparatus

One instrument used in this study was a demographic survey.
Items on this survey sought information pertaining to the student's
age, length of residency in the United States, birth order, gender,
the impression of Chinatown, and the general satisfaction with life
in the United States.

The second instrument was a questionnaire constructed by William
Schutz. This tool (Coping Operation Preference Enquiry - COPE)
measures five major coping styles, namely, Denial, Isolation, Projection,
Regression and Turning Against the Self. This instrument assumes
that the student copes with anxiety in a characteristic way. Moreover,
its purpose is to measure the specific style that the student prefers.

The instrument COPE consists of 30 items (i.e., divided itself
into groups of 5), and each group of items describes a person and his
or her behavior in one of 6 particular situations. The student is
asked to judge how that person feels. The main task for the student
is to rank order five alternative ways the person might feel. Each
person and the situation described represents one of the five coping
styles (or defense mechanisms) which is measured by this inventory.
None of the items in this part contain obvious "right" or "wrong"
choices.

Procedure

In order to meet the language ability needs of these students,
all items used in this study were given in English and Chinese. The
Chinese translation was prepared by the investigator and the

translated materials were distributed to two persons expert in both

the English and Chinese languages at Oklahoma State University for

verification. Subsequently, the testing instruments were administered

to these students on a group basis. They were required to answer the

survey items and to judge the rank ordered items on the inventory.

Students were told that they were to answer these questions in their

preferred language. In addition to the translated instruction on

all materials used, the investigator was present to explain the

instructions orally in both languages and to answer any questions

from the individual student. Students were also informed about the

purpose of this study and they were free to leave the testing situation

at any time. (All possible means were utilized to ensure the protection

of student's identity.)

Prior to the data collecting process, contact was made with the

two area high school administrators. The principal and the administrator

from these schools were interested and offered their assistance

throughout the entire procedure for obtaining data. Both school

officials believed that this project might provide some important

findings for their respective high schools. As a result, they were

willing to include students participation in this study as a part of

the general school activities and to be responsible to the student and

his parent(s).

The present investigation used the 2 x 3 factorial design having

10 subjects per cell (with the exception of one cell, n = 8) (Table I).

The General Linear Model (GLM) was employed to do an analysis of

variance and F tests for each of the defense mechanism scores from the

COPE. Then, the Duncan's Multiple Range Test was applied to the variables

which indicated significant main effects. Lastly, overall Pearson
Product Moment Correlations were computed to determine the relationship
among the five defense mechanisms.

Debriefing Procedure

The students of this study were made aware through their principal
and classroom teachers that the investigator would be available during
the study to deal with questions and any adverse effects of the study.
Since the investigator was attending school in a different state,
he left his current address and phone number with the school
administrators, so that he could be easily reached.

Two weeks after the data were collected, a separate letter was
written on behalf of the investigator to each area high school principal
for their helpful assistance in this study. These officials were told
that the results of this study would be applied to students of similar
backgrounds, and interests. Any inferences drawn on this study would
be strictly on a group basis only. Furthermore, upon the completion
of this study, a copy of the results were to be submitted to each
school principal (and administrator). They were informed that they
were free to use any portion of the results as they saw fit. Lastly,
these officials were asked to discuss any pertinent findings with
interested students who were involved with this study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The present study employed the 2 x 3 factorial design having 10 observations per cell (with the exception of one cell, n = 8) (Table I). The independent variables for this experiment were the three levels of students birth order (i.e., oldest, middle, youngest) and the two genders (i.e., male, females). The dependent variables were the five defense mechanism scores from the COPE.

The General Linear Model (GLM) was used to do an analysis of variance and F tests for each of the defense mechanism scores from the COPE. Then, the Duncan's Multiple Range Test was applied to the variables which indicated significant main effects. Lastly, overall Pearson Product Moment Correlations were computed to determine the relationship among the five defense mechanisms. In addition, some demographic data were also incorporated into this study in order to provide some more plausible explanations for these findings.

As means of facilitating the order of presentation for the results of this study, the data from the students' birth order will be present first. Next, findings from other areas will be discussed in sequence as follows: students' predominant defense mechanism; students' patterns of defense; gender differences; and the correlation coefficients of the five major defense mechanisms.

Birth Order

The birth order analysis resulted in significant difference for
the students only in the area of Denial, $F_{(2,2)} - 3.13$, $p < .10$ (Tables
VI and VII). Specifically, the Duncan's Multiple Range Test for the
variable of Denial showed that middle group of students reported
a lower mean score than the youngest and oldest groups. In other
words, middle-born children used Denial as the dominant defense
mechanism. The students' birth orders revealed no further significant
difference in regard to the other defense mechanisms.

Predominant Mechanisms and the

Patterning of Defenses

Although the Regression variable appeared to be the predominant
defense preferred by the overall group of students (Table VIII), the
average Regression score differed from those of the other four
by less than one and a half points. In the same table, Denial is
ostensibly the only variable which varies greatly from the
remaining defenses.

It is more revealing to examine the patterns of scores given
in Table IX. The data showed that each Coping Style indicated
a different pattern based on the individual cell. Two of the five
cell patterns have ranges of 7.4 (Denial), and 7.3 (TAS). These two
variables have greater range variations than variables Isolation
(2.9), Projection (3.3), and Regression (4.1), accordingly.

TABLE VI

MULTI-ANOVA FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLE: DENIAL

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	PR F	R-Square	C.V.	Std Dev	Den Mean
Model	5	396.60	79.32	3.20	0.014	0.24	21.63	4.98	23.00
Error	52	1287.40	24.76						
Corrected Total	57	1684.00							

Source	DF	Type I SS	F Value	PR F
SEX	1	116.07	4.69	0.04
BOR	2	154.78	3.13	0.05
SEX*BOR	2	125.76	2.54	0.09

TABLE VII

GENERAL LINEAR MODELS PROCEDURE DUNCAN'S
MULTIPLE RANGE TEST FOR VARIABLE
DENIAL BY BIRTH ORDER

Means with the same letter are not significantly different

ALPHA LEVEL = .10		DF = 52	MS = 24.76
GROUPING	MEAN	N	BIRTH ORDER
A	24.17	18	Youngest
A	24.15	20	Oldest
A	20.80	20	Middle

TABLE VIII

COPING STYLE MEAN SCORES FOR BOTH MALE
AND FEMALE STUDENTS

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Den	58	23.00	5.44	12.00	30.00
Iso	58	16.41	4.13	6.00	25.00
Pro	58	16.90	4.32	6.00	28.00
Reg	58	16.29	4.68	6.00	25.00
Tas	58	17.40	5.57	6.00	30.00

TABLE IX

GENERAL LINEAR MODELS PROCEDURE
GROUP MEANS BY SEX AND
BIRTH ORDER

SEX	N	DENIAL	ISOLATION	PROJECTION	REGRESSION	TURNING-AGAINST-SELF
Male	30	21.63*	16.57	17.17	15.83	18.80*
Female	28	24.46*	16.25	16.61	16.79	15.89*
Difference		2.83	.32	.56	.96	2.91

BIRTH ORDER	N	DENIAL	ISOLATION	PROJECTION	REGRESSION	TURNING-AGAINST-SELF
Youngest	18	24.17**	16.22	16.94	16.39	16.27
Middle	20	20.80**	17.30	15.70	16.95	19.25
Oldest	20	24.15**	15.70	18.05	15.55	16.55
Ranges		3.37	1.60	2.35	1.40	2.98

SEX	BIRTH ORDER	N	DENIAL	ISOLATION	PROJECTION	REGRESSION	TURNING-AGAINST-SELF
Male	Youngest	10	21.10	16.60	18.60	17.70	16.00
Male	Middle	10	21.00	18.00	14.80	15.80	20.40
Male	Oldest	10	22.80	15.10	18.10	14.00	20.00
Female	Youngest	8	28.00	15.75	14.88	14.75	16.63
Female	Middle	10	20.60	16.60	16.60	18.10	18.10
Female	Oldest	10	25.50	16.30	18.00	17.10	13.10
Ranges			7.40	2.90	3.80	4.10	7.30

* = .05

** = .10

Gender

Among the five major defense mechanisms, the male and female students indicated significant difference on two dependent variables: Denial, F (1,2) = 4.69, p < .05 (Table VI); and TAS, F (1,2) = 4.56, p < .05 (Table X). These results suggest that in the area of Denial, the male students have a lower mean group score than the female students. This trend was reversed in the score with female students having the lower mean score. The group associated with the lower value tends to prefer this Coping Style, more than the comparative group.

Analysis of the reamining three defense mechanisms, however, failed to show any significant level of difference between male and female students. The findings for these variables were as follows: Isolation, F (1,2) = .08, p < .78; Projection, F (1,2) = .25, p < .062; and Regression, F (1,2) = .61, p < .44.

Correlations among Defense Mechanisms

Fifty percent of the correlation coefficients for the defense mechanisms indicated a level of significance at .05 or above (Table XI). All of these mechanisms are negatively correlated. A major reason for this negative trend is that the method of ranking responses tends to produce this particular pattern of result. However, since only half of the coefficients were shown to be significant, there are indications that some discriminations are among the defense mechanisms. As shown in Table XI, the Denial variable correlated negatively with variables Isolation, Regression, and TAS. The other two significant findings were the negative correlations of the variables Isolation with Regression, and Projection with TAS, respectively.

TABLE X

GENERAL LINEAR MODELS PROCEDURE FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLE:
TURNING-AGAINST-SELF (TAS)

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	PR>F	R-Square	C.V.	Std Dev	TAS Means
Model	5	371.81	74.36	2.77	0.03	0.21	29.78	5.18	17.40
Error	52	1396.08	26.85						
Corrected Total	57	1767.88							

Source	DF	Type I SS		F-Value	PR>F
SEX	1	122.40		4.56	0.04
BIRTH ORDER	2	112.50		2.10	0.13
SEX* BIRTH ORDER	2	136.90		2.55	0.09

TABLE XI

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

PROB>[R] UNDER HO: RHO = 0 / N = 58

	DENIAL	ISOLATION	PROJECTION	REGRESSION	TURNING-AGAINST-SELF
DENIAL		-0.30 0.03*	-0.04 0.80	-0.28 0.04*	-0.50 0.001**
ISOLATION			-0.17 0.21	-0.37 0.004***	0.00 0.97
PROJECTION				-0.16 0.22	-0.48 0.001**(***)
REGRESSION					-0.17 0.21
TURNING AGAINST SELF					

* Sig. Diff. in Combined Group

** Sig. Diff. in Female Group Only

*** Sig. Diff, in Male Group Only

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CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study seems to provide some partial support for the
hypothesis that the birth order appears to demonstrate a significant
difference in the students' responding pattern on the instrument COPE.
The finding further indicates that the middle child tends to obtain
a lower mean score than the children from the other two birth order
groups (i.e., older and younger) in one major defense mechanism -
Denial. The other defense mechanisms were found to be non-significant
in relation to the students' birth order. According to the theoretical
basis of the instrument COPE, a lower score for a particular defense
indicates the likelihood of the student's predominant feelings towards
that specific coping style. In other words, both the youngest and
the eldest students reported a lower tendency than the middle students
to use the Denial Coping Mechanism. Based on Schutz's (1977)
interpretation of Denial, he stated that the preference for Denial
(versus other choices of defense) is to not allow oneself to be aware
of his anxiety. For instance, the person would rather put the
unpleasant thoughts (or emotion) out of his mind and get on to some
other things, instead of wanting to know about it.

In light of Schutz's interpretation for Denial, the difference
obtained seems to be consistent with Bourne's 1975 findings.
Traditionally, the respect for the educated in China was maintained

among Chinese in the United States, and these folks perceive that it was

often necessary for the family to invest its resources in the education

of one individual. Frequently, this opportunity goes to the oldest

son. As a result, the oldest sibling seems to fulfill more

responsibilities than the younger siblings within the family system.

In order to bring honor (but not disgrace) to the family, the oldest son

may be more likely than the other children to confront and to face his

anxiety. It is probably due to the continuous exposure of these

pressuring types of experiences which increases their tolerance level

when being placed under stressful situations.

It is interesting to note that the youngest child also obtained

an identical mean score as the eldest child. This score suggests

that this younger group probably responded in similar manner as their

eldest siblings because both of these groups lie on the extreme ends of

the birth order continuum. Although it's difficult to specify as to

which traits are the main determinants for the differences which

appeared in the different birth orders of the these students, Adler

(1956) offered a unique framework to account for some of these

differences. According to him, the oldest child must be "dethroned",

must give up the position of undisputed attention and affection when

another sibling is born. Because of this, the oldest child cannot

escape some feelings of resentment at the birth of a younger sibling.

In contrast, the youngest child has many "pacemakers" to serve as models

of development, and never has the experience of losing attention to a

"successor". In brief, Adler concluded that whereas the oldest child

reveres the past and views his siblings with alarm, the second child

accepts the reality of sharing attention, the youngest child can

concentrate all his energies on catching up to his elders, and feeling

secure in the affection bestowed on him by everyone in the family. It

may not be surprising to learn that since the youngest child is indulged

and helped by everyone else in the family, he may respond to the

pacemaking function of older siblings by excelling beyond them all

(Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). In conflicting situations, Bourne's

1975 article reported that these students were usually both unwilling

to express their anger toward their parents or to confront them with

their desire to change goals. Again, the traditional role of filial

respect makes it extremely difficult for the Chinese child to find

opportunities for the direct expression of conflict in time of stress.

This leads to the plausible explanation for the middle child's strong

tendency to use denial as his coping style. Another justification

for this particular responding pattern is that the middle child might

feel that although similar pressure and role demands were placed upon

them from parents as any other children in the family, they probably

do not perceive the critical need to fulfill those demands; since the

birth order places them in a unique position (i.e., in the middle

versus the extreme ends), while the eldest child may feel obligated to

meet the parental demands, and the youngest child may feel the need to

compensate for the older siblings' failure to achieve success.

The overall findings from previous studies seem inconclusive as to

the specific factors which might contribute to the different responses

obtained from students in relation to their birth order. For instance,

some found evidence in creativity (Staffieri, 1970), others report the

opposite (Eisenman & Schussel, 1970). The picture is not clear as of

yet. Nonethelsss, Sears (1950), and Schachter (1964) found that first

born children are actually more dependent on others and more easily

influenced than those born later. That later born children are more

accepted by their peers (Sells & Roff, 1963) suggests a more relaxed

attitude in them. Perhaps it is the combination and the sharing of

some of these characteristics about siblings from both extreme ends of

the birth order continuum which resulted in the similar scores obtained

in this study. It should be clear that the birth order in itself

can not be viewed as the sole factor in contributing to the difference

obtained. It is likely that the combined factors (i.e., family

constellation, personal experience, etc.) that helped account for the

differences.

The predominant defense chosen by the overall group of students

is the coping style of Regression. According to Schutz's interpretation,

regression is the tendency to be very dependent and to look to others

for the answer for one's problems. Schutz added that the person actually

feels a great deal but expressing that he does not know how to avoid

the negative feelings without outside assistance. Waxler (1960)

presented a more elucidative definition for this defense. She defines:

> Regression is an alteration in the ego itself to the point
> where an earlier role is taken. It is assumed that this
> earlier role is ultimately the dependent relationship with
> the parent. Therefore, the item for regression implies
> recognition of the anxiety and a statement of the need for
> help employing the use of a parent-figure who is more
> experienced; the item implies also that help will be
> forthcoming, indicating an expected dependency (p. 94).

From both a traditional and a more contemporary perspective, the

preference for this particular defense comes hardly as a surprise.

Lin and Lin (1978) proposed strongly that the individual's trust and

sense of security rarely extended beyond the family circle, which

frequently includes those related by marriage or childhood friends of

the parents. This sphere of privacy usually extends from the individual to the immediate family members and then to the broader extended family circle. It is expected that the financial, educational, marital, health, or family discord which affects any of the individuals is perceived as the responsibility of the family. In short, Lin and Lin confirmed that the exposure of such information to outsiders is regarded as loss of face and a disgrace to the family. In addition, Abbott (1970) stressed the Chinese family's emphasis on conformity, respect for authority, and submergence of individuality. Thus, this type of family pattern seems to foster a strong inclination for dependency needs.

Because of the rather limited use of the instrument (COPE) in relation to the Oriental youth, it is important to examine the pattern of predominant defenses employed by a separate group basis (male/female). Although Regression was chosen by both groups jointly as their predominant coping style (as was discussed earlier), male and female students showed different patterns of coping style preference. For male students, their order of preference was Regression (most preferred), Isolation, Projection, TAS, to Denial (least preferred). In contrast, the female student's responses were ranged from TAS (most preferred), followed by Isolation, Projection, Regression, to Denial (least preferred). With the exception of the two defense variables Denial and TAS, the remaining variables were highly compatible with each other. For illustrative purposes, the variable Regression (one most preferred by male students) was differed slightly with the variable Regression (one that rank ordered second to least preferred style by female students). In other words, both groups (males/females) responded in

similar manner in regards to variables Isolation, Projection, and

Regression.

As to the variables of Denial, and TAS, they differed signifi-

cantly with respect to the gender of these students. In the Denial

variable, the male students obtained a lower mean score than their

female counterparts. This trend reversed itself in the coping style of

Turning against the Self. Since the interpretation for Denial was given

earlier in this section, the interpretation for TAS is defined by

Waxler as changing the object of the feeling from another object toward

which affect cannot be expressed or left, to the self. In other words,

this coping style is viewed as one way of dealing with anxiety--

blaming the self rather than others who also may be available.

On the basis of this present study, it may be difficult to

specify the most important characteristic which contributes to the

sex difference in these two coping styles since there are numerous

factors which may seem likely to affect this difference. Some of these

factors are the conservative nature of the family, its emphasis on

fixed ways of behaving, traditions (Wright, 1964); and the difference

in their psychological characteristics (Sue & Kirk, 1972). To account

for the pattern in Denial, traditionally the Chinese have stressed the

obligations of children to their parents. Decisions generally are made

by the elders; consequently, the younger members may not have had

much experience in the independent decision making process. As a

result, that seems to be consistent with the fostering of dependency

needs. Although both sexes seem to differ significantly in both of

these coping styles, their preference for this defense mechanism

(Denial) was treated as one of the least preferrable ways of coping,

in contrast to some other choices. This characteristic seems
particularly true with the Denial form of coping style. In order to
account for the trend reversal for the TAS coping style in respect
to the sex differences, a further clarification of the scoring system
for this coping instrument is necessary. In her dissertation, Waxler
described "the scoring procedure for the test follows from the goal
of obtaining data for an individual consists of ranks for each of the
defenses rather than an exact summary score." For instance, since the
students were asked to rank order the items from 1 to 5, the inherent
nature of this fixed ranking system would determine the last score of
any coping style. (A close analogy for this concept is the rationale
for the degree of freedom in statistical analysis.) Moreover, Waxler
explained that a large proportion of subjects also chose the defense
of TAS in her studies, her explanation was that this over-choice may
have been due to an extreme popularity of working of those items or
possibly the group (i.e., female students) as a whole was self-
selected in such a way that all actually preferred the same defense.
As a mean to negate the concept of wording popularity, Waxler
immediately proposed that the preferred defenses are assumed to be
personality characteristics which develop in childhood as means of
handling anxiety feelings. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that
these characteristics are one of several factors which later influence
the individual to select herself into a certain type of group.
Consequently, she stated that it is difficult to conclude that the
differential choice of defenses within a group is solely the result of
popularity in wording of the items since self-selected groups do differ
on the preferred defense.

As an additional source of information which relates to the male-female difference for their coping styles, the male students indicated that they tended to have a more positive feeling than the females in both their impression of Chinatown, and the life in general in the U.S. This finding suggests that the male students do not appear to be as critical as the females about their present surroundings and their living in general. The implication for that could be they are less likely to blame themselves for the problems which they may encounter in this country; while they are more likely to accept things as the way they come since they can depend on the other for assistance.

In order to provide further knowledge concerning the inter-relationship between these defense mechanisms, the Pearson Product Moment Correlation was introduced. In the combined group (i.e., both males and females), 50% (or 5) of the correlation coefficients reached the significant level of .05 and beyond. As explained in the results section, the statistical nature of this type of ranking system in scoring would produce negative correlation coefficients. Nonetheless, since only one-half of these values indicated significant scores, these coping styles seem to be discriminating from each other. Interestingly enough, both sexes appeared to share significant results in one common correlation coefficient. This is, the coping style between TAS with Projection. The other significant correlational pairs are given as follows: TAS with Denial; Regression with Isolation; Regression with Denial; and Isolation with Denial. The Denial variable seems to be negatively correlated with three different variables, namely, TAS, Regression, and Isolation. This occurrence seems reasonable since Denial was reported to be one of the least preferred

coping styles in COPE. Thus, in many cases, persons who chose other defenses would be less likely to prefer the defense of Denial.

In terms of the individual sex group, for the male students, there were only two coefficients that seem to be worthy of mentioning. In addition to the pair between TAS with Projection, the other pair of defense is Regression with Isolation. In contrast, the two pairs of defenses for the females are again, TAS with Projection, and TAS with Denial. As one recalled in the earlier part of this discussion, the defense of TAS was a popular preference response for the female students. The repeated occurrence of this particular defense for this group should hardly be counted as a surprise.

In conclusion, the investigator is fully aware of the fact that some of the factors of the students could be better controlled through the uses of additional schools and a larger pool of sample. (It would also be nice to examine factors such as students' attitude of immigration, the process of assimiliating into the host culture, and the degree of acculturation of these students. It is important to remember that the major intent of this study is to increase the awareness of colleagues and investigators from other scientific disciplinary areas to conduct similar studies.)

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APPENDIX A

PARENTAL PERMISSION AND STUDENT CONSENT FORM

Oklahoma State University   Date_____
Clinical Psychology Department
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078

     I, hereby voluntarily authorize __Eddie N. Ong__, of the Oklahoma
State University, be designated to perform the following study:
_____"The Coping Styles of Oriental Youth"_____.

     I understand that strict confidentiality will be observed of all
data collected under the guidelines established by the Department of
Psychology, Oklahoma State University. Complete anonymity (a coding
method will be used) will be preserved and data will be released only
to qualified professionals for scientific or training purposes.

     I further understand and agree that the data and information
related to and resulting from the study may be used for publication in
scientific journals but that my name/my child's name shall not be used
in association with these publications without my specific written
permission.

     By signing this consent form, I have not waived any of my legal
rights or released this institution from liability for negligence.
Furthermore, my son or daughter will be made fully aware of the fact
that they are free to leave this study at any time, and they won't be
penalized for nonparticipation. Should any problems arise during this
study, the researcher will be present to make any necessary arrangements
to deal with those situations.

親愛的家長：
　茲為研究華人子弟在美生活適
應的程度，誠徵求您同意您的子弟
參加這項問卷調查。問卷係採無記
名，且所有資料均絕對保密，故絕無
任何不良後果。此項研究能否順利
完成，實有賴於您的贊助。謝謝！
　　　　　　　　　　順祝
　　　　　　　　新年愉快
　　　　　　　屏藝民敬上

學生簽名
Student's Signature _____

家長簽名
Parent's Signature _____　　　　　　3/4/82

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Eddie N. Ong
Mar. 4, 1982
O.S.U.

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

問卷

1. School_____; Grade_____
   學校   班級

   Age_____; Sex_____
   年紀   性別

2. Were you born in the United States?   Yes ____;   No ____.
   您是否在美國出生的？   是   否

3. If you were born over-seas, how long have you been in the United
   States?
   如果您在外地出生，您在   ___yr. ___mo.
   美國住了多久呢？   年   月

4. Have you ever lived in China Town?   Yes ____;   No ____.
   您曾在華埠居住過嗎？   是   否

   How long have you lived there?   ___yr. ___mo.
   有多久呢？   年   月

5. How far do you live from China Town?
   您的住所離華埠多少距離呢？

   very close ___;   close ___;   far ___;   very far ___.
   十分近   近   遠   十分遠

6. Who lives in your house? father___; mother___; relatives___.
   同您一起居住的有：父親，   母親，   親戚

7. How many brothers or sisters do you have? __brother(s)__sister(s).
   您有多少兄弟姊妹呢？   兄弟   姊妹

8. I am the a) ____oldest child;   b) ____only child;
   我是排行   最大年紀   獨子(無兄弟姊妹)

      c) ____middle child;   d) ____youngest child.
            中間   幼子(最小)

9. Are you planning to get a college degree? Yes ____;   No ____.
   您打算在大學畢業嗎？   是   否

10. When you graduate from school, do you plan to work in the China
    Town area?
    當您在中學畢業後，您打算在華埠工作嗎？

                              Yes ____;   No ____.
                              是   否

11. When I get a job in the future, I wish to live *_ China Town.

當我在將來找到工做之後，我希望住在華埠的距離

very close to__; close to__; far away from__; very far away from__.

十分近　　　近　　　遠　　　十分遠

12. I _*_ talk to anybody about my personal problems (anybody could mean parents, teachers, good friends, co-workers, etc.).

我＊同別人談及自己的問題（別人包括家長，老師好朋友等）。

never __; seldom ___; sometimes __; frequently __; always __.

幾不　　少時　　有時　　多時　　時常

13. I regret that I came to the United States. Yes _____; No _____.

我後悔來到美國生活　　　是　　　否

14. My impression of China Town is _*_.

華埠給我的印象是＊

very bad__; bad__; fair__; average__; favorable__; good__; very good__.

十分不滿意　不滿意　過得去　普通　算是好　好　十分好

15. Life in general in the United States seems _*_.

我認為在美國的生活是＊，

bad ____; fair ____; average ____; favorable ____; good ____.

不滿意，　過得去　普通　算是好　好

APPENDIX C

COPING OPERATION PREFERENCE ENQUIRY (COPE)

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<u>79-88</u>

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_____

COPE

A FIRO AWARENESS SCALE

WILL SCHUTZ, Ph.D.

MALE FORM

DIRECTIONS: The following questionnaire is designed to see how you would guess certain kinds of people might feel in various situations. Several situations are described here by a person who has observed an incident. You are to guess which of the five alternatives best describes the way the person in the story feels. In the space beside each choice, rank your guesses: Place a 1 beside that alternative you feel is **most** likely, a 2 beside the one next most likely, down to 5 for the alternative **least** likely to apply in the situation.

EXAMPLE: **Harassed Harry**

   _3_ a.

   _1_ b.   (most likely)

   _2_ c.

   _5_ d.   (least likely)

   _4_ e.

NAME _____

GROUP _____

DATE _____ AGE _____ OTHER _____

CONSULTING PSYCHOLOGISTS PRESS, INC.
577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, California 94306

PERSONAL PAUL

"Paul is a very outgoing type of person. He tends to become very close and personally involved with others. He confides to them his innermost feelings and worries.

"Yesterday, he spoke to a friend and told him a great deal about himself. After thinking over his talk, he seemed to feel that he would have felt more comfortable if he had not confided so much. Perhaps he would enjoy his relations with people more if he didn't become so close and personal; if he were more cool and reserved.

"This morning Paul still appears concerned. How would you guess he really feels now?"

_____a. He may be too personal toward others, but he doesn't feel that this has much to do with how much he enjoys people.

_____b. He realizes that the fault for being too personal with others lies with himself and with no one else.

_____c. He feels that this isn't a very important problem. He isn't worried.

_____d. He feels that he may be too personal with others but that with help from someone more experienced, he could change.

_____e. Although he may be too personal toward others, he feels that this is mainly because other people behave that way toward him.

Please check your answers and make sure you have ranked the alternatives 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 for each item. Thank you.

SUBMISSIVE SAM

"In a group meeting yesterday, Sam, who rarely takes charge of things even when it might be appropriate, appeared to be very disturbed. When a request was made for volunteers for the chairmanship, Sam suddenly seemed to realize that he might like the job. He appeared to feel that he might enjoy his relations with people more if he were not so reluctant to be more assertive.

"Today he appears to be still concerned. How would you guess he really feels now?"

_____a. Although he may take too little responsibility, he feels that this is mainly because other people expect this of him.

_____b. He feels that he may take less responsibility than he should, but with help from someone more experienced, he could change.

_____c. He may take less responsibility than he should, but he doesn't feel this has much to do with how much he enjoys people.

_____d. He feels this isn't a very important problem. He isn't worried.

_____e. He realizes that the fault for taking too little responsibility lies completely with himself and with no one else.

WITHDRAWN WALTER

"Last night Walter was thinking over the fact that he usually does things by himself and hardly ever includes other people in his activities.

"Some time later a group of students from one of his classes came by and asked him to go out with them. Almost automatically, he refused. After they left, he seemed to realize that he would enjoy his relations with others more if he didn't always do things by himself; if he spent more time with people.

"This morning he still seems concerned. How would you guess he really feels now?"

_____a. He feels that he may do too many things by himself, but that with help from someone more experienced he could change.

_____b. Although he may do too many things by himself, he feels that this is mainly because other people are too busy to include him.

_____c. He realizes that the fault for doing too many things by himself lies completely with him and no one else.

_____d. He may do too many things by himself, but he doesn't feel that this has much to do with how much he enjoys people.

_____e. He feels this isn't a very important problem. He isn't worried.

ACTIVE ALICE

"Yesterday something happened to Alice which seemed to make her feel disturbed. Alice usually does everything together with people, and when others do things, she tends to join them.

"Yesterday a group of friends came over and asked her to go out with them. Alice seemed not to want to go, but went anyway. She appeared to realize that she might enjoy herself more if she didn't always join people but spent more time by herself.

"She still appears to be concerned about this. How would you guess she really feels now?"

_____a. She's not worried. She feels this isn't a very important problem.

_____b. She may do too many things with others, but she doesn't feel this has much to do with how much she enjoys people.

_____c. Although she may do too many things with others, she feels that this is because other people expect her to.

_____d. She feels that she may do too many things with others, but with help from someone more experienced, she could change.

_____e. She realizes that the fault for doing too many things with others lies completely with herself and with no one else.

COOL CLARA

"Yesterday Clara realized something about herself which appeared to disturb her. When she is with people, she usually acts rather cool and reserved. She is the kind of person who doesn't get very close to people or confide to them her feelings and worries.

"During a long conversation yesterday, Clara seemed to want to confide in a friend the things she worries about and how she feels—but she didn't. It appears that she became aware for the first time of the fact that she might enjoy her relations with people more if she were not so cool and reserved; if she were warmer and more personally involved with her friends.

"Today Clara still appears concerned about her realization of yesterday. How would you guess she really feels now?"

_____a. She realizes that the fault for being cool toward others is completely her own and no one else's.

_____b. She feels that this isn't a very important problem. She isn't worried.

_____c. She feels that she may be cool toward others, but with help from someone more experienced, she could change.

_____d. Although she may be cool toward others, she feels that this is because other people behave that way toward her.

_____e. She may be cool toward others, but she doesn't feel this has much to do with how much she enjoys people.

DOMINANT DONNA

"During a club meeting yesterday, Donna appeared to realize something about herself which seemed to disturb her. When she is with people, she is usually quite domineering. She takes charge of things and makes most of the decisions.

"After volunteering for the role of chairman, it occurred to her that she would have been happier just being a committee member. She seemed to realize for the first time that she would enjoy people more if she were not so domineering; not always making decisions for people.

"Today Donna still appears concerned about her new realization of yesterday. How would you guess she really feels now?"

_____a. She realizes that the fault for being too domineering lies completely with herself and with no one else.

_____b. She isn't worried. She feels this isn't a very important problem.

_____c. She may be too domineering, but she doesn't feel this has much to do with how much she enjoys people.

_____d. Although she may be too domineering, she feels that this is because other people expect this of her.

_____e. She feels that she may be too domineering, but with help from someone more experienced, she could change.

以下的問卷情況，有比較最填寫答案述情，而無問題情況描述。

的後作認填，如能"1"合的現狀，能"1"而答案描述情形，最態。

以同的工您前"2"可填適受者情，認填如能"1"合的現狀。

不況的而案填無明最感作心，而案填無明最感作心。

同六個案您，案答者最說為所示的，案答者最說為所示的。

位寫每答種能可表補示現者感：六個案答的能示此時表受。

各描著個五可有者再表者"5"能。　例：

是跟五這有次"5"是作填可。

問題情況描述 ………………

…………………………

3　a　…………………
1　b　………… ←最有可能的情形
2　c　…………………
5　d　………… ←最無可能
4　e　…………………

　　昨天有一件事情令亞明感到不安。亞明通常喜與眾人一起做群體活動,當別人做什麼事時,他喜歡參加一份。

　　昨天,有一些朋友來找他一起外出,亞明似乎不想參加,但是最後還是一起出去。他似乎覺得或許他能得到更多的歡愉和享受,如果不是時常同人們在一起而是多花些時間在自己身上。

　　亞明至今似乎還是對這一點煩惱。您認為他現時是怎樣的心情?

_____ a) 他不再煩惱這件事情,同時也覺得這或許是一件不太多群體活動,但是參與他和人們相連。

_____ b) 他覺得他和人們相連。

_____ c) 就算他感到這是人們對他的期待。

_____ d) 他感到關於參加太多群體的活動,如果是可以得到有經驗的人的幫助改善的。

_____ e) 他認為參加太多群體活動的錯失完全是他自己本身自找的,與他人無關。

　　昨天，亞芬覺得有些事情似乎令她和人們在一起保守，不輕易告知他人。她的本性不安，她會表現與自己疏離，當得冷淡及距離，她時常表現保持情感。

　　昨天和朋友在一起長談時，亞芬將她的煩惱告訴她，似乎領悟，但如果別人處理得比她好，她想，她的情感沒有講出來，不是太熱誠愉快，她會過於冷淡及保守與親近，她會疏離別人相處。

　　今日亞芬仍舊想著昨天領悟到的事。您認為她現時的心情是怎樣呢?

___ a) 她認為她對人冷淡全是個人的過失與他人無關。

___ b) 她不再為這點事苦惱而感到這是一件不十分重要的事。

___ c) 她感到她對人也許過於冷淡，但是可以改善。她如果改善，是對經驗之人的幫助，她經過的。

___ d) 就算她是這樣對人太冷淡，這是因為別人也對待她。

___ e) 她對人太冷淡，但她不覺得這件事有關著興趣所求。她和人們相處所得的歡樂對她連。

亞強對自己多了一重認識。當他同人們在一起時，他處理及決定大部份事情，自顧自的，似是自己有所有的事。他認為這是他初次感到擅權，及常替別人。當他擔任會長後，和大家相處，這反而會令他更不安。在集會之時，他的擅權令他不安；亞強自覺這不是有所有愉快的事。當一個亞強普通一些，如果所有事件都是善事，而善於事情……昨天認識他，分願愉快到決定起您，

今日，亞強還是關心着昨天的事情，他現在的心情是怎樣呢？

___ a) 他認為太擅權全是自己的缺點而與他人無關。

___ b) 他不再為這點事情苦惱，同時也覺得這是一件不十分重要的事。

___ c) 他或者是太擅權，但他不覺得這件事與他和人們相處所得的歡樂有關連。

___ d) 雖然他或者太擅權，他感到這是人們對他的期待。

___ e) 他感到他或者太擅權，但是如果經過有經驗的人幫助，他是可以改善的。

亞靖是一個十分外向的人。她對別人表現得很親近而成為相識的朋友。她告訴她人她本身的感情及煩惱。

昨天她對朋友談及很多私事。當她想深一層之後，她似乎領悟到對他人談及太多本身的底細，並無感到很舒適或許她會享受着她與朋友之間的良好關係如果她不是那麼地太親近與個性化，而是保持些拘謹和冷靜的話。

今早，亞靖似乎還是對這件事情關心。您認她現在的心情是怎樣呢？

___ a) 亞靖或者對人太親近，但她不覺得這件事與她和人們相處所得的歡樂有所關連。

___ b) 亞靖感覺到她和人太親近是本身的缺點而與他人無關的。

___ c) 亞靖感到這是一件不大重要的事情而不再為這件事情來苦惱。

___ d) 亞靖感到她或許是和人太易親近，如果能得到有經驗的人之幫助，她是可以改善的。

___ e) 就算她可能是太易親近人們，她感覺到這是因為別人是同樣地對待她。

　　亞靜似乎表現得很不喜歡管事，即使在這自願服務的場合，當大家要求推舉一位主席時，亞靜當時就認為這項工作及職位並不適合她的優柔寡斷性，她求得到和人們相處所得到的歡樂。在她本性下，她本性喜歡這項集會工作。如果不是受到和人們昨天安樂的場合服務，似乎她覺得許會享受到歡樂。

　　今天她似乎還是對這點事情關心。您認為她現在的心情是怎樣呢？

____ a) 就算亞靜很少擔當職責，她感覺到這是因為別人不希望她擔當。

____ b) 亞靜感覺到她可以擔當多些職責，如果她能夠遇到有經驗的人幫助，她是可以改善的。

____ c) 亞靜或者應該擔當多些職責，但她不覺得這件事與她和人們相處所得的歡樂有所關連。

____ d) 亞靜感到這是一件不重要的問題而不再為此而苦惱。

____ e) 亞靜認為擔當太少職責全是本身的過失而與他人無關。

昨晚亞輝想著他很多時都是單獨行動及很少與他人來往。不久之後,一班同學來找他一起外出。亞輝習慣性的拒絕他們的好意。當這班同學離去後,他似乎感到他可能會享受多些與人同處的歡樂如果自己不是太孤獨及多些時同人們在一起。

今早他還是似乎對這件事情掛心。您認為他現在的心情是怎樣呢?

___ a) 亞輝感覺到他或者太過於單獨行動,如果遇到有經驗人的幫助,他是可以改善的。

___ b) 雖然他可能是太過單獨行動,亞輝感到這是他人太忙而沒空找他一起來做事。

___ c) 亞輝認為太獨來獨往的行動全是自己的缺點而與他人無關。

___ d) 亞輝或者太過單獨行動,但他不覺得這件事與他和人們相處所得的歡樂有何關連。

___ e) 亞輝感覺到這是一件不十分重要的事情而不再為此而苦惱。

APPENDIX D

DEBRIEFING FORM

Eddie N. Ong
O.S.U.
Psych. Dept.
Stillwater, OK
(1-405-624-6025)

DEBRIEFING

Dear Parents:

The purpose of the present study is an attempt to investigate how your son and daughter expresses his/her feelings in the different areas of adjustment in the United States. Since this type of study is scarce in the field of psychology, the results of this study may prove to be important in order to further explore how immigrants adapt to the American culture. Furthermore, the findings of this investigation can only be interpreted on a group basis. Again, every attempt has been made to protect complete anonymity of your son/daughter's identity. In the event that you have further questions concerning any aspects of the present study or finding, please call collect at the investigator's home phone number (1-405-377-4382) or feel free to write to the following address (11½ University Circle, #7, Stillwater, OK 74074).

Again, your participation and helpful assistance for the successful completion of this study is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

親愛的家長：
　您好！十分感謝您同意，您的
子弟參加這項問卷調查。調查的
結果是會做成研究報告。所得的
資料均絕對保密，故絕無不良後
果。
　小弟有求各位家長的示教，如
有任何疑問，請撥電
(1-405-377-4382 or Collected)
祝　　　健康！快樂！　龐藝民敬上

3/4/82

APPENDIX E

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Sincerely,   Agreed to by *[signature]* Eddie M. Ong

[signature]   Title *[handwritten]* Graduate Student

Peggy Ferris   University degree and Dept. of degree
Permissions Editor
                                     [handwritten] M.S. Dept. of Psychology, OSU
[handwritten] 5/1/82
                                     If student, your professors signature

      Date   *[signature]*

VITA ⸲

Eddie Ngai Ong

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: THE COPING STYLE OF ORIENTAL YOUTH

Major Field: Psychology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Hong Kong, January 19, 1953, migrated
    to the United States, May 13, 1967, the son of Mr. and Mrs.
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Education: Graduated from West High School, Phoenix, Arizona,
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    College, Phoenix, Arizona, December, 1974; received Bachelor
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Professional Experience: Mental Health Technician II, Arizona
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    Psychological Association, Oklahoma, 1979-32; Student
    Member of American Psychological Association, 1980-82;
    Associate Member of National Academy of Neuropsychologists,
    1981-82; Full Member of Asian American Psychological
    Association, 1981-82.