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DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF
ASIAN AMERICAN AND EURO AMERICAN
STUDENTS AT A MIDWEST PUBLIC UNIVERSITY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

presented by

SANDRA EIKO TSUNEYOSHI

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

____Ph.D.____ degree in Clinical Psychology

Robert A. Caldwell
Major professor

Date 7/20/89

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DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF
ASIAN AMERICAN AND EURO AMERICAN
STUDENTS AT A MIDWEST PUBLIC UNIVERSITY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By

Sandra Eiko Tsuneyoshi

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1989

ABSTRACT

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF
ASIAN AMERICAN AND EURO AMERICAN
STUDENTS AT A MIDWEST PUBLIC UNIVERSITY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By

Sandra Eiko Tsuneyoshi

Asian American and Euro American college students in
the Young Adult stage of development are faced with many
challenges. There are certain tasks in the personal,
academic/career, and interpersonal areas that they need to
complete in order that they will be considered happy and
successful while they are in college and in the future.
Asian American culture is different from Euro American
culture, and therefore, Asian American students face
different challenges to their development. In addition,
their Asian American minority status creates additional
challenges.

This study attempted to test the contention that
culture would have an impact on Asian American college
students' completion of developmental tasks, the
identification of problems, and the requests for
information or assistance as compared to Euro American
college students. The relationships between the completion
of tasks, and (a) the identification of problems and (b)
the request for information and assistance were tested.
Thirty Asian American and thirty Euro American freshmen,
sophomores, juniors, and seniors were administered the

protocols. On the Student Development Task Inventory, Asian American students completed significantly fewer basic developmental tasks in the areas of autonomy, purpose, and mature interpersonal relationships. Specifically, Asian Americans mastered less behaviors in the areas of emotional autonomy, mature career plans, mature lifestyle plans, mature interpersonal relationships, intimate relations with opposite sex, and mature relationships with peers. In general, both Asian American and Euro American students had extremely low numbers of problems identifed and few requests for information and assistance on the MECCA Survey. Asian American students identified more problems than Euro American students in the interpersonal area. Patterns in the findings seemed to indicate that Asian American students had completed a low number of mature interpersonal relationships tasks and identified a high number of problems in the interpersonal area. Euro American students completed a high number of tasks in the mature interpersonal relationships area and identified a low number of problems in the interpersonal area. Also, Euro American students completed a high number of tasks in the purpose area and had a low number of requests for information and assistance in the academic/career area.

DEDICATION

I have a few people to whom I would like to dedicate this dissertation. First, to my father, Tommy Yasuto Tsuneyoshi, who lived three years short of seeing me complete my Ph. D. I owe my willingness to advocate and fight for the rights of the underdog and for what I believe in, to him.

Second, to my mother, Tatsuko Tsuneyoshi, who could have gone as far as I have in my education, if she had been given the opportunities I have had and the help she has given me. She deserves to receive a diploma.

Third, to my grandfather a.k.a. gramps, Ataru Fukuyama, who left Japan alone at the age of 16 for America, was a naturalized citizen of the United States, and who I found out had died at the age of 100 the day I wrote this dedication. He has served as a model for me. His sense of humor, innate wisdom, spirit, and gentle heart enabled him to be a helper, healer, "psychologist"--without training or a degree--to his friends and neighbors on a sugar plantation in Hawaii.

And last but not least, to the Asian American students at Michigan State University who I have worked with and who

have shared their lives, their problems, their struggles, and their hopes with me. I have a deep appreciation, love, and aloha for them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first thank my committee: Bob Caldwell, Ph. D.--advisor and chair (extra special thank you and appreciaton), Don Grummon, Ph. D.--original advisor, Al Aniskiewicz, Ph. D.; Bert Karon, Ph. D.; and Ray Frankman, Ph. D.--who I consider to be fine "human beings" and whom I selected because of their humanness, solidness, because they have their "feet-on-the-ground", and because they were not known to be prone to letting their issues get mixed up in/with being of help to students. I also chose them because I have appreciated their caring, support, patience, belief in me, and friendship that they have shown me throughout the time I have been at MSU. Their expertise, knowledge, and competence in different areas of psychology that have helped me in the completion of this degree and dissertation, are givens. I am very grateful that they agreed to be on my committee.

Indeed, I have many friends in Michigan and I thank the ones who I consider to be family who have helped me financially, intellectually, by feeding me, emotionally, and by lending me their ears and giving me their time: Mabel Nemoto, Haruo and Ming Huei and Steve Lin, Carmen Gear, Dawn

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INTRODUCTION

The Asian American student entering a large university is in a specific stage of development. During this stage, most every college student is confronted with tasks that arise in their personal, interpersonal, and academic/career development. This can be time of challenge and growth for all students, however, Asian American students are faced with additional factors that have an impact on their development. First, given some fundamental differences in cultural values, certain of the majority culture's developmental tasks for this period may themselves not be priorities or may be contrary to acceptable behaviors in the Asian American culture.

In addition, Asian American students are faced with additional challenges that result from their minority status and bicultural experience. Accordingly, Asian American students tend to be at a disadvantage in gaining access to and acquiring knowledge, skills, and techniques necessary for successful competition and affiliation with majority culture European/Euro American students while they are at the university and also when they graduate and are in their careers.

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This introduction will focus, first, on developmental issues: developmental stage theory and developmental tasks that face all college students. It will then, examine the factors that could differentially influence the developmental stage and tasks confronting Asian American college students: (a) A detailed consideration of evidence will be given that indicates cultural values, expectations, and beliefs impact on developmental tasks and make it more or less difficult for Asian Americans to be successful in their adaptations to college life and to mainstream life in America; (b) A review of issues that result from the Asian American student's minority status that includes stereotypes, prejudice, and racism of majority and other minority group members; and the acculturation/assimilation process. Asian American students are bicultural and majority students--that is, Euro American students--do not have these bicultural experiences before they enter college and during the time they are in college.

Throughout this document the terms Asian American and Euro American will appear with no hyphen, except where the findings of other researchers are reported using their descriptions for these two groups.

Developmental Stage and Task Theory

One of the major approaches in developmental psychology, the ordered-change orientation presupposes that development is composed of, "patterned or orderly change across time" (Gergen, 1977, p. 144). These regular changes are frequently viewed as being stages in development.

Sanford (1962) stated that this is not a stage defined in terms of academic status, nor in terms of chronological age; rather, in terms of progress toward developmental goals. There are three concepts of stage (a) biological-maturational, (b) cognitive-structural, and (c) sociocultural (Kohlberg, 1973). This study will focus on the sociocultural conception of stage.

Kohlberg (1973) made a distinction between two sociocultural conceptions of stage--the age linked social-role and the developmental-task conception. The former focuses on the part biological, and part socially constructed roles the individual is called upon to fulfill. The developmental-task conception focuses on those things a person needs to learn at a particular point in the life cycle in order to be judged by others and by himself or herself as being reasonably happy and successful. The developmental-task conception of stage leads to descriptions of what one needs (or ought) to do (Sugarman, 1986). Thornburg (1970) defined these tasks as, "skills, knowledge, functions or attitudes" (p. 464).

Havighurst (1953) stated the following definition of a developmental task:

> A developmental task is a task, which arises at or about a certain period in the life of an individual, successful achievement of which leads to happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society and difficulty

with later tasks. (p. 2)

Oetting (1967) similarly stated that full maturation of function depends on the ability of the organism to engage in appropriate environmental interactions. Oetting reasoned that:

> If these developmental tasks are available and
> the individual is able to participate in them and
> learn from them, he will continue to mature. If
> not, his development will be retarded, at least in
> the particular area where the developmental task
> was not used. Further, while it is possible that
> the resulting limitations will be isolated, it is
> more likely that they will prevent the individual
> from engaging in and using later experiences, and
> that they will be only the point of a widening
> pyramid of inadequacy. (p. 383)

Developmental tasks are then, those experiences that are essential to the full development of the individual (Winston, Miller, & Prince, 1979).

Havighurst (1953) distinguished three sources from which developmental tasks arise and gave examples of tasks: (a) physical maturation (such as learning to walk, learning to behave acceptably to the opposite sex); (b) cultural pressures of society (such as learning to read, and learning to participate as a socially responsible citizen in society); and (c) personal values and aspirations of the individual (such as choosing and preparing for an occupation, and achieving a scale of values and a philosophy

of life). It is more usual that developmental tasks arise, "from combinations of these factors acting together" (Havighurst, 1972, p. 6).

Theorists have proposed developmental tasks that are necessary for completion at different stages. For example, Havighurst (1972, pp. 43-94) presented necessary accomplishments for the adolescence stage and for the next developmental stage of early adulthood which spans the period from 18 to 30 years.

Chickering (1969), however, proposed that the period spanning the years from 18 to 25 must be studied as a distinct stage of development because the tasks of this period are related to, but are substantially different from those of both adolescence and adulthood. One of the themes that D. J. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, M. H. Levinson, and Mckee (1978) presented for this phase was making initial attachments to the adult world that included exploring its possibilities, imagining oneself as a participant in it, and making and testing some preliminary identities and choices for living. Similar proposals for this developmental bridge between the era of childhood and adolescence, and of adulthood as a distinct stage were proposed by Sanford (1962) and Levinson et al. (1978).

Chickering called this developmental stage, "The Young Adult". This new developmental stage was created by Chickering because of the increasing complexity or our time, "the fact that approximately 46 percent of the college age population is enrolled for undergraduate and professional

degrees, because of an increasing demand for skilled and specialized personnel, and the fact that universal higher education is approaching" (Winston, Miller, & Prince, 1979, p. 2). This stage is more characteristic of the college freshman than other categories of older and younger people because of age-linked factors and because of factors linked with going to college.

Chickering's (1969, pp. 8-19) Young Adult developmental stage includes the following seven major dimensions:

1. Achieving competence.

2. Managing emotions.

3. Becoming autonomous.

4. Establishing identity.

5. Freeing interpersonal relationships.

6. Clarifying purposes.

7. Developing integrity.

Developmental Tasks of the Young Adult

Coons (1970) proposed five similar prominent developmental tasks that are encountered by the college student during late adolescence and early adulthood: (a) the shift in the nature of one's relationship with one's parents, i.e., from a child-parent to an adult-adult relationship; (b) the resolution of a personal sexual identity; (c) the creation of a value system which fits the student as a truly unique individual; (d) the development of the capacity for true human intimacy; and (e) the choice of a life's work.

In the process of maturing, the college student should

be seen, then, as, "changing individuals engaged in a series of developmental tasks" (Oetting, 1967, p. 383). Some of these developmental tasks are personal--leading to knowledge of self-limitations and capacities, and understanding of emotional responses; some are interpersonal--leading to learning of new ways of dealing with unfamiliar environments; and some are regarding purpose--leading to learning of new techniques for solving problems, new ways of motivating oneself to concentrate and study, and to clarifying of goals (Oetting, 1967).

Personal

Under the personal area, the tasks involve developing autonomy. Leaving home for college involves increasing differentiation between the self and parents, great psychological distance from the family, and reduced dependency on parental support and authority (Sugarman, 1986; Levinson et al., 1978). It involves moving away from the assumptions that were the rules and standards of childhood (Gould, 1978). These internal constraints represent the values and assumptions of parents and their contemporaries.

During this phase these students have lived by false assumptions that bolster his/her illusion of safety, "a fixture of childhood encompassing belief in omnipotent thought, omnipotent protective parents, the absoluteness of parental rules and world view, and a whole system of defenses as controlling structures against a rage reaction to separation" (Gould, 1980, p. 765). It is a difficult

time for the college student as these assumptions are challenged and the experience is extremely contradictory (Levinson et al. 1978). The dynamics are similar to Erikson's psychosocial crisis- "on the one hand the wish to advance and progress, and on the other hand the desire to remain in or retreat to an earlier, less threatening mode of living" (Sugarman, 1986, p. 119).

Interpersonal

Under the interpersonal area, the tasks are intimate relationships with the opposite sex, mature relationships with peers, and tolerance (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977). Heath (1968) felt that the most critical developmental problem for freshmen appears to be relationships with both men and women. The major task is of first, accepting and then integrating the student's needs for giving and receiving affection and love into her/his concept of her/himself as an intellectual person. The student also needs to learn how to form integrative and stable personal relationships.

Purpose

In the area of purpose, developmental tasks include appropriate educational plans, mature career plans, and mature lifestyle plans (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977). Career developmental tasks have been identified by Gribbons & Lohnes, cited in Winston, Miller, & Prince, 1979; Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963. Super, Starishevsky, Matlin, and Jordaan's (1963) Career Pattern Study focused primarily upon the exploratory and establishment stages of vocational

development spanning the two life stages occurring between the ages of 14 and 25. The developmental tasks (Super et al., 1963) include: (a) Crystallizing a vocational preference, (b) specifying a vocational preference, (c) implementing a preference, (d) stabilizing in the chosen vocation, (e) consolidating one's status, (f) advancing in the occupation.

Developmental Subtasks of the Young Adult

Prince, Miller, and Winston (1977) summarized the neccessary developmental tasks for the college student. They used Chickering's seven vectors of development as the overall conceptual model for viewing developmental tasks and outlined the following subtasks under the three major developmental areas.

Personal

In developing autonomy the behaviors that need to be accomplished include:

1. Emotional autonomy: (a) To be free from continual needs for reassurance/approval, (b) to reduce dependence upon parents, (c) to develop relationships of reciprocal respect with parents/peers.

2. Instrumental autonomy: (a) To develop the ability to carry on activities and to cope with problems without help, (b) to be mobile in relation to one's needs and desires, (c) to demonstrate a capacity for self-sufficiency.

3. Interdependence: (a) To be aware of the relationship between one's behavior and community welfare, (b) to develop skills contributing to working with others, (c) to recognize

that one cannot dispense with one's parents, accept support without working for it (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977).

Interpersonal

The behaviors that students need to accomplish in developing mature interpersonal relations are:

1. Tolerance: (a) To develop an increased capacity to respond to persons in their own right rather than as stereotypes, (b) to develop respect for different backgrounds, values, (c) to resist a need to override others with one's own ideas.

2. Mature interpersonal relationships with peers: (a) To develop relationships of trust, independence, and individuality, (b) to develop friendships which survive difference and separation, (c) to respond with warm, open respectful friendliness, not anxiety, defensiveness or artificiality.

3. Intimate relationships with opposite sex: (a) To develop sensitivity to and awareness of other's feelings, (b) to shift intimate relationships from serving self-discovery to mutually supportive commitment, (c) to develop ability to love as well as be loved, (d) to test ability to make a long-range commitment (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977).

Purpose

In developing purpose the behaviors the students need to accomplish are:

1. Appropriate educational plans: (a) to make well-defined educational goals, (b) to see a relationship

between study and other aspects of life, (c) to develop awareness of the educational setting, (d) to develop good study habits.

2. Mature career plans: (a) To develop an awareness of the world of work, (b) to develop an understanding of abilities, interests, values applicable to occupations, (c) to synthesize facts and knowledge of self and the world of work, (d) to make a commitment to a chosen career field, (e) to begin to implement a vocational decision.

3. Mature life style plans: (a) to develop a future orientation that balances vocational aspirations, avocational interests, and future family plans, (b) to develop a sense of direction with sufficient clarity to identify next steps, (c) to develop an attitude of tentative commitment to future plans (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977).

Cultural Basis of Tasks

The majority Euro American values are reflected in the above developmental tasks that are used to determine if college students are reasonably happy and successful and/or if one's later development and achievement is inhibited or inadequate. Havighurst (1953), however, recognized that developmental tasks are culture bound and therefore are value-laden. When he addressed the various developmental tasks of adolescence he included the cultural basis for different tasks. Examples:

1. Patterns of social relationships vary enormously from one society to another, and within a complex society.

2. The approved feminine sex role is changing...less pressure to adopt the traditional feminine role.

3. Study of other cultures shows that conflict between generations is not a universally necessary part of growing up. The causes of the conflict that surrounds this task in our society are two. First, there is the fact of rapid social change which introduces a gulf between generations. Second, there is the close tie-up of marriage and independence from parents.

4. Marriage is the central institution of social life, and will vary as society varies. Children adopt the ideas and ideals about marriage that are prevalent in their society.

5. We do not have a ritual for making a young person responsible for the welfare of society...only in some rural parts of our society are young people still subject to strong influences that make them feel responsible for the good of the community.

6. Every society develops a view of the nature of the physical world and of man which is consistent with its dominant values.

The bi-cultural Asian American college student has also had the influence of Asian values. Madison (1969) stated that personality development in college must be understood in view of the impact of a student's past upon the present in the concepts of memory, habitual behavior, asociation, perception, emotion and motive. The impact of these Asian values must be taken into consideration when judging (by

others or by themselves) whether Asian American college students are happy and successful, given their achievement of the Euro American value-based developmental tasks, and whether Asian American college students will be happy and successful when they graduate. It is necessary to examine Asian culture to ascertain the similarities and differences between that culture and Euro American culture.

Asian American Culture

It might be noted that the term "Asian American" includes first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, etc. generation peoples with origins from approximately 18 different countries. Research concerning the range of the Asian American groups has been quite limited in volume and in scope. The majority of research has been done on those groups that have been in America for the longest periods: the Chinese and the Japanese. Research has shown that there are cultural values, behaviors, identity issues and attitudes that exist among the native countrymen and persist among first, second, and third generation Asians in America (Arkoff, 1959; Arkoff, Meredith, & Dong, 1963; Berrien, Arkoff, & Iwahara, 1967; Connors, 1977; Fenz & Arkoff, 1962; C. L. Johnson, 1972; Kitano, 1964; Masuda, Matsumoto & Meredith, 1970). Given the limitations in the research on Asian Americans, this paper will include relevant literature concerning Asians in their native countries which seems representative of the traditional Asian American.

When Asian Americans step foot on the campus of a major university they bring with them personal and

cultural experiences that have impacted on their personal, social, and academic/career development to this point. Personal and cultural characteristics that are specific to Asian Americans will be examined in the following areas: Personal and interpersonal development--heredity, maternal caretaking, sociocentricity, primacy of family/extended family, expression of problems, locus of control, aggression, role-status-hierarchy, communication, sexuality, alcohol; and academic and career development--importance of education, and academic performance.

Personal and Interpersonal Development

Heredity

First, focus turns to early childhood development and influences of heredity upon behavioral differences. That genetic factors have a role in behavioral differences has been suggested in studies of D. G. Freedman and N. C. Freedman (1969) and D. G. Freedman (1979). In a cross-cultural study of Chinese American and Euro American newborns, they found that Chinese American babies scored differently on certain factors of Brazelton's Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale. For example, when a cloth was placed over the faces of Euro American newborns, they either cried, turned, or attempted to swipe the cloth off. By contrast, Chinese American newborns lay passively, exhibiting few motor responses. Likewise when placed in the prone position, the Chinese-American babies frequently laid with their faces flat against the bedding without moving. The Euro American infants either turned their faces to one

side or lifted their heads.

Whereas there were no significant differences in the total amount of crying or when they were picked up and consoled, the Chinese-American infants ceased crying immmediately and dramatically when picked up and spoken to. D. G. Freedman and N. C. Freedman (1969) also found that Euro American infants had a greater tendency than did the Chinese-Americans to move back and forth between states of contentment and upset (lability of states). They concluded that the Euro Americans showed more facial and bodily reddening as a consequence.

Maternal caretaking

Infants--Japanese.

Patterns of behavior that were found to differ between infants in Japan and the United States have been related to variant styles in maternal caretaking. Caudill (1972) and Caudill and Weinstein (1969) found that American mothers did more looking, positioning the body of, and chatting to their infants than did Japanese mothers. The American babies presented a higher level of vocalization--including greater amounts of happy vocalization--were more active and exploratory of their bodies and of their physical environments. On the other hand, the Japanese mothers did more lulling and maintained a greater degree of bodily contact with their children: they did more carrying and rocking of their babies, soothing them toward physical quiescence and passivity. These behaviors appeared to result in Japanese babies being more physically passive.

Also, Japanese babies produced more unhappy vocalizations. It would appear from these findings that from early in the first year of life, infants tend to demonstrate behaviors that are in line with general expectations of their cultures: the American individual being physically and verbally assertive and the Japanese individual being physically and verbally restrained.

Caudill (1972) also presented additional findings that addressed the question of why Japanese infants had higher levels of unhappy vocalizations and lower levels of happy vocalizations than did the American infants. Despite the fact that the total time spent in caretaking for awake babies was about the same, the pace of caretaking was different. The Japanese mothers did more feeding, carrying, rocking, and other tasks (wiping face, adjusting bedding, etc.) in a leisurely manner and seemed to wait until their infants were asleep before shifting from presence to absence. The American mothers, in contrast, did her caretaking in more frequent and shorter periods: tended to place the awake babies in their cribs, talked briefly, and after waiting a few moments to make sure their babies were comfortable, left the room. The additional physical care by the Japanese mothers also acted as stimulation sufficient to cause the babies to wake up and to cry.

Other factors were also seen as influencing the differences in happy and unhappy vocalizations. Caudill (1972) observed that the Japanese mothers took longer to respond and did not discriminate between happy and unhappy

vocal sounds when the infants were awake and alone. The American mothers were discriminating insofar as they were responding more quickly to their infants' unhappy than to their happy vocalizations. Finally, the Japanese mothers had less vocal interaction with their babies, especially in providing less chatting when the infants were happily vocal.

In light of these observations, Caudill (1972) concluded that there are cultural differences in the ways mothers perceive their infants and in their relations to their infants. He stated that the American mother, "views her baby as a potentially separate and autonomous being who should learn to do and think for himself" (p. 43). Conversely, the Japanese mother, "views her baby much more as an extension of herself, and psychologically the boundaries between the two of them are blurred" (p. 43).

Infants--fourth generation American.

Caudill and Frost (1972) found similarities and differences between third generation Japanese American mothers and their fourth generation babies and between Euro American mothers/babies and Japanese mothers/babies. The Japanese American mothers were more similar to the Euro American mothers in the greater amount of chatting to their infants, more positioning, and less rocking of their babies. Their babies were more alike in the greater amount of happy vocalization and physical activity. Japanese American mothers were, however, more like Japanese mothers in the greater amount of time they spent in playing with their babies and in doing more carrying of and lulling of the

babies in their arms. The fourth generation babies were more like the Japanese babies in that they played less by themselves and did less nonnutritive sucking on their fingers or pacifiers. They also remained significantly more passive than their Euro American counterparts.

Children.

Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi (1980) compared Japanese and American mothers' strategies to gain compliance from their young children. They found that Japanese mothers were more likely to utilize internal, feeling-oriented, consequence-based appeals and demonstrated greater flexibility than did the American mothers. The American mothers tended to gain compliance by employing externally-oriented discipline, relying more on the assertion of maternal authority and power. Conroy et al. (1980) also presented data on a national (U.S.) survey of parents and of children which indicated that, "parents use physical punishment often in disciplinary situations and that children perceive parents as offering tangible rewards (money, food, presents, physical affection) for good behavior" (p. 155).

Sociocentricity

An impact of such patterns in Asian parenting may be seen in the robust finding that sociocentricity is a more prevalent charactersitic of personality than is egocentricity within the various groups of Asian Americans (Hsu, 1971; Hsu, Wartrous, & Lord, 1961; C. L. Johnson, 1977; McAlister, & Mus, cited in Brower, 1980). C. L.

Johnson (1977) interviewed Japanese American mothers and found that primary group interests took precedence over individualistic interests. Sixty-five percent of the mothers interviewed stressed that behaviors they desired of their children were concern for others, humility, and compassion. Only 15 percent of the mothers chose egocentric behaviors such as independence and personal freedom. C. L. Johnson (1977) found that in second generation (Nisei) and third generation (Sansei) families, a pervasive theme was the need for careful consideration in maneuvering in the primary group and the need for suppression of "selfish" interests. Family and group tradition, honor, and pride have been regarded as more important than have been interests of the individual (Caudill, 1972; Levine & Rhodes, 1981).

The Family

The family and the extended family are of major importance in the Asian culture in providing a supportive network, social cohesiveness, and a sense of affiliation (Chin, 1983). This is at variance with the tendencies in cultures to place greater emphasis on the nuclear family and to consider the separation from family to be a desired goal.

Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn (1984) discussed these differences in terms of the punishment of children. They stated that, in Japan, threats to the continuity of affiliation with home and family are used to teach the value of close alignment with family members: "We don't need this boy, so please take him with you." (Lebra, 1976, p.151). By

contrast, in America, forced alignment with home and family is considered punishment (grounding a child inside the house).

Independence, then, tends to be rejected as a goal of child-rearing in Asian cultures. It follows that dependency and interdependency are key concepts in Asian socialization (Doi, 1962; Hsu, 1971; Meredith, 1966).

Connors' (1976) study of three generations of Japanese Americans indicated that they felt a stronger attachment to the family and closer ties to the mother than did their Caucasian American counterparts (Vogel & Vogel, 1961). The strong family bonds and emotional closeness to the mother bring about strong feelings of dependency and have been found to be related to the generalized suppression of sexuality in Asian families (Caudill & Doi, 1963; Connors, 1976; De Vos, 1973).

Within the family, children assume a sense of duty or obligation to their parents: obligations to bring honor to the family, to avoid shame to the family, and to be obedient (Kaneshige, 1973; Maykovich, 1972). The individual then, becomes very aware of what one does in the presence of others. Behavior is motivated by a strong desire to "save face" or to avoid shaming the family, extended family, and even one's race. Whereas it is important to an individual to perform deeds that bring honor to the family, it is of greater importance that the individual not bring dishonor to the family. This dictate against bringing disgrace to the family has served an

integral function in societal control.

Expression of Problems

The problems of the individual are considered the family's problems and are not to be resolved outside of the family. Publicly admitting or revealing individual problems such as mental health problems is considered tantamount to showing that the family has a defect and is viewed as bringing shame to the family (Kitano, 1970; Mass, 1976; D. W. Sue, 1981; S. Sue, Wagner, Ja, Marguillis, & Lew, 1976). A more acceptable way of revealing emotional problems is through the physical complaint and permission in the culture is given for help-seeking via somatic complaints (e.g., an increase in symptoms of dizziness, nausea, and hypertension) (Tseng, 1975). In a study of depressive symptomatology, Marsella, Kinzie, & Gordon (1971) studying depressive reactions, found that Chinese American college students tended to somaticize their complaints to a greater extent than did Euro American students whose complaints tended to be more existential in nature. Similarly, Chinese and Japanese American college students were found to score higher on the MMPI scale for somatic complaints than did majority Euro American students (S. Sue & D. W. Sue, 1971b). Vietnamese have also been found to manifest their emotional disturbances in physical symptoms such as frequent stomach aches or unexplained aches and pains (Brower, 1980; Nguyen Duy San, cited in Brower, 1980).

Locus of Control/Locus of Responsibility

D. W. Sue (1978) discussed the differences in the world

views of Westerners and Easterners. World views are highly correlated with a person's cultural upbringing and life experience, and are developed from two psychological concepts, locus of control and locus of responsibility. D. W. Sue stated that the western world view consists of internal locus of control and internal locus of responsibility. This view maintains that the individual is unique and important, that people must take major responsibility for their own action, and that individuals can improve their lot in life through their own efforts.

D. W. Sue (1978) proposed that Asian American world view is different and could be one of the following: (a) the external locus of control/internal locus of responsibility; (b) external locus of control/external locus of responsibility; (c) internal locus of control/external locus of responsibility.

Differences in Asian American world view can be seen in that lack of resolve and deficient determination are more broadly considered as bases of human failure, personal problems, and shortcomings. Research findings suggest that Asians tend to attribute their distresses to personal weaknesses rather than to others. For example, 92% of 180 Japanese fifth graders strongly disagreed with a statement that attributed failure to a bad teacher (Ichikawa, 1986). In addition, Asian Americans tend to believe that mental health is maintained by avoidance of morbid thoughts and the exercise of will power (S. Sue, 1976; S. Sue & Morishima, 1982). The cause of failure as well as the cause of

emotional stress are ascribed to being internal.

On the other hand, it has been found that causes of success are more externally ascribed by the Japanese than is the case for South Africans, Yugoslavians, Americans, and Indians (Chandler, Shama, Wolf, & Planchard, 1981). Japanese children (Ichikawa, 1986) have also been found to report that their academic success was based on external factors (help from others, luck). Externality of causation for success was also found to exist for Chinese and for Chinese Americans more often than for Euro Americans (Hsieh, Shybut, & Lotsof, 1967). Hsieh et al. (1967) explained this difference by contrasting the individual-centered American culture and its placement of a high premium on self-reliance, individualism, and status achievement through personal efforts to the situation-centered Chinese culture which places high value on the group, tradition, social role expectations, and harmony with the universe.

The acceptance of one's fate with detachment and resignation is a strong belief in the Asian culture. Instead of attempting to understand, control or create one's own environment/opportunities, one becomes adept at making the most of existing situations (Brower, 1980; Watanabe, 1973). Nguyen Thanh Liem (cited in Brower, 1980) stated that a passive fatalism rather than active striving to shape the future is instilled in eighty percent of the Vietnamese who adhere to the Buddhist philosophy.

Aggression

Strict control is also placed on aggression and

hostility both within the family in its potential sibling rivalries and on expressions of hostility outside the family (Brower, 1980, Huang, 1981). Sollenberger (1962) found that 74% of Chinese parents in his study demanded their children show no aggression under any circumstances. In encountering attacks by other children, not one parent strongly urged their children to defend themselves or punished them for running home for help. Older children are encouraged to set an example for their siblings in gentleness, manners, and willingness to give up pleasure or comfort in favor of someone else. Whether in or outside the family, one would be encouraged to give in during a quarrel or to offer a polite refusal in favor of someone else. Kaneshige (1973) has pointed out that the individual is frequently looked upon with commendation when sacrificing one's justifiable position to avoid conflict. For example, in a verbal dispute where one may be convinced that one's position has more validity than that of the other person, the Asian person tends to disengage from argument.

Role, Status, and Hierarchy

Role, status, and hierarchy are also important in Asian culture as determinants of an individual's behavior. "Enryo" is a norm that has been important in shaping the behavior of Japanese Americans in regard to status. F. A. Johnson, Marsella, and C. Johnson (1974) described the concept of enryo: "Prescriptions connected with enryo direct each person, regardless of gender or station in life, to be modest, to defer to others, to play down one's

accomplishments and achievements, and to direct attention away from one's self". (p. 582).

Kitano and Kikumura (1976) stated that this "norm is related to power--how the 'inferior' was to behave to the 'superior' through deference and obsequiousness" (p. 53). Middle and lower class Japanese immigrants, aware of their power positions in the Japanese social structure, used enryo in America to deal with situations that included, "how to behave towards the white man, to what to do in ambiguous situations, to how to cover moments of confusion, embarassment, and anxiety" (Kitano, 1969b, p. 104).

Status considerations are supposed to be reciprocal and to not flow merely in an upward direction. The individual in the superior position has a duty to affirm and respect the person in the inferior position. This means that the inferior position person is not taken advantage of or does not give an opportunity for "oneupsmanship" (F. A. Johnson, Marsella, & C. Johnson, 1974).

Within the family, the wife may be quite instrumental in decision-making, having considerable control over how money is spent, in the planning of social activities, and in child rearing; in major decisions, the husband may be more dominant. Nevertheless, because of norms concerning gender roles, the wife places herself in a position of subordinance to the husband (Brower, 1980; Johnson, 1975).

Children are taught that they are not to question authority--especially the father's--and argumentation is largely unheard of in traditional families. The role of the

parent is to lay down the law; the duties of the child are to listen and to obey (Watanabe, 1973). Accordingly, for many Asian Americans it is not acceptable to express anger, resentment, or frustration toward a parent or toward authority figures outside of the family. Even when an injustice is done or a mistake is made, an Asian individual is likely to feel the he or she must refrain from complaining to an authority so as not to be disrespectful. By contrast, Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi (1980) stated that, "Childcare experts in the United States (Dodson, 1970; Ginott, 1965) appear to regard parent-child conflict as inevitable and instruct parents in techniques for dealing with it, cautioning them not to fight battles they cannot win" (pp. 155-156).

Communication

Verbal.

Asian Americans depending on their generation and immigration status may also be bilingual, may not speak adequate standard English, or one's parent/s may speak a native tongue. Many immigrants who came from Southeast Asia did not speak English and when they arrived in America, parents were helped by their young children as they were quicker to learn the language in school. The Asian language may be partly or exclusively spoken in the home and English spoken outside the home.

The cultural values of humility and modesty also impact upon various aspects of communication. The norms that encourage the disavowal of power and personal aggrandizement

engender difficulties in asking questions in class, in volunteering answers to questions, and in expressing opinions: the anxiety being that one would appear to be showing off (Brower, 1980). Kaneshige (1973) gave an example of a common admonition: "Don't be a show-off or engage in any behavior that smacks of being a braggart" (p. 408).

As discussed earlier, mother-infant interactions do not encourage verbal communication or differention between negative crying and positive gurgling sounds. In the Asian culture, it is not considered a positive attribute to speak up, to be articulate, or be self expressive. The cultural pattern is to be quiet and to listen to others who have the greater wisdom. Traditionally, talkativeness has been considered a sign of a person's shallow character (Morsbach, 1973). Kaneshige (1973) observed that Asian American teachers felt that: a) it is better for one to be quiet than to ramble on and say nothing or say something that is not well thought out, b) the talkative person does not think very much because he is too busy talking, and c) the talkative person is essentially an attention seeking, narcissistic individual.

It seems understandable then, that in communication, Asians tend to not commit themselves verbally. The use of "yes" in response to a question may not necessarily be implying agreement but may merely be used as a polite acknowledgement (Brower, 1980; Morshbach 1973).

F. A. Johnson et al. (1974) have described gender

differences in communication. Asian American males' behaviors can be seen as directed toward creating an aura of strength, decisiveness, and authority. The verbal role of women seems to reside in generating an atmosphere of pleasantness, cooperation, and the minimizing of overt conflict both within the home and outside. Women demonstrate deference to men, particularly in public situations.

The relatively high awareness of distinctions in status that may exist between conversational partners appears to manifest itself in conspicuous amounts of attention, politeness, and sensitivity demonstrated toward other people. F. A. Johnson et al. (1974) noted that common behaviors of Asian Americans associated with self-effacement are self-abasement, modesty, and apology.

Non-verbal.

Given the above-mentioned constraints on verbal communication, non-verbal communication has assumed greater importance in Asian than in the majority American culture. Aspects of nonverbal communication important in Asian culture include silence, gestures, facial mimetic behavior, body contact, levels of intonation, and volume of speech (Brower, 1980; F. A. Johnson et al., 1974; Morschbach, 1973). The way things are said are more important than the spoken word or even the deed itself (Motet, 1975). A smile of an Asian person may communicate happiness, it may also, however, be used to hide anger, embarassment, rejection, or sorrow (Duong, cited in Brower, 1980; Morschbach, 1973).

Direct eye contact is seen as a sign of arrogance, aggressiveness, disrespect, and rudeness, especially when speaking to one in authority or to an older person (Duong, cited in Brower, 1980; Morschbach, 1973). It is highly desirable for one to control facial expressions. It is a virtue for one not to show a negative emotion, grief, anger, or pain on one's face when encountered with great anxiety or when shocked or upset by sudden news.

External displays of affection are rare among most Asians (Brower, 1980; Huang, 1981; Morshbach, 1973). Many Asian children grow up never seeing their parents kiss or hug one another. In contrast, public displays of emotion are acceptable between small infants or children. With more traditional Asian adolescent girls or women, a handshake may be perceived as threatening or as insulting. Sitting with a non-family male creates discomfort. On the other hand, with some Asian groups, touching by holding hands or by walking arm in arm, between persons of the same sex and age is common.

Sexuality

Sexuality is likewise approached in Asian cultures with a mixture of openness and sensitivity. On the one hand, the Asian cultures' views of sexuality, historically have not been Victorian (e.g., the centuries old Chinese and Japanese erotica and the East Indian Kama Sutra) (Tsui, 1985). Social order, however, had to be maintained, therefore, asexuality or the control of individual sexual gratification and expression became important (Chun-Hoon, 1971; Tsui,

1985). Tsui (1985) stated that sexuality is not denied by Asians but, "taken as a very normal part of life and a very integral part of their existence...that is expected to 'stay healthy'...Any clinical dysfunction is often seen as the individual's personal responsibility and a source of great shame" (p. 357). Sexuality is a highly sensitive, delicate and personal subject and the open discussion of sex for Asians may be experienced as awkward, embarassing, or taboo (Tsui, 1985).

Alcohol

The impact of the emphasis upon familial reputation has also been manifested in Asian cultures' attitudes toward the use of alcohol. Whereas alcohol consumption is common, drunkenness is not approved of by the cultures (Chu, 1972; S. Sue, Zane, & Ito, 1979). In a study of low SES Chinese males who lived in San Francisco rooming houses, Chu (1972) found a low incidence of alcoholism. The survey indicated that 83% of the Chinese males were against overt drunkenness, 43 percent would lose respect for a person seen drunk, 24 percent felt people should never drink, and 67 percent disapproved of drunken behavior under any circumstances. Chu's (1972) observations suggested that if Chinese engaged in heavy social drinking, they did not do so in bars.

Academic and Career Development

Importance of Education

Focus will now turn to the influence of Asian culture on academic and career development for the Asian American

college student. The primacy of familial obligation and cohesion are also reflected in the importance that Asian American parents place upon their children's educations. Sollenberger (1962) reported that 100% of the Chinese American mothers interviewed thought that doing well in school was fairly important or very important. In addition, only one percent of the Chinese American mothers expected their children to only finish high school: 99 percent expected their children to go to college and possibly, to graduate school. Sollenberger (1962) also observed that the mothers were willing to make great personal sacrifices to further their children's educations.

Most Asian Americans consider education to be one of the most important symbols of success as well as a channel for upward social mobility. Most Asian American parents, especially first generation parents who may have experienced difficulties adjusting to and becoming successful in America, would like their children to go into fields that would guarantee them financial security and prosperity. Huang (1981) noted that there is a belief embraced by Chinese families in both the United States and Taiwan that one should not date while still in school as doing so would undermine one's efforts to concentrate on one's studies.

Academic Performance

Asian parents tend to believe that effort is the key factor behind their children's academic performance (Chandler et al., 1981; Ichikawa, 1986). In these studies, Taiwanese and Japanese mothers differed from American

mothers in that the American mothers considered ability to be the key factor in academic performance. It is a pervasive belief in Asian culture that the primary cause of achievement failure is insufficient will power (Chandler et al., 1981; Kaneshige, 1973; Watanabe 1973).

Research conducted on Asian American college students indicate that the above-mentioned cultural values have had an influence on the personal, interpersonal, and academic/career areas of their lives.

Personal and Interpersonal

Asian American college students living in Hawaii and on the West Coast demonstrated lower needs for independence than did European American college students (Arkoff, 1959; D. W. Sue & Kirk, 1973). Asian American students were found to be more conforming and obedient to authority than were Euro American students (D. W. Sue & Kirk, 1973). A sample of 145 Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) indicated that the Asian Americans were more group oriented, non assertive, involved, dependent, pessimistic; and felt a greater mastery over nature and had a greater sense of obligation than were a sample of 145 Euro Ameicans (Kawahara, Ima, Clark, Dennis, & Takahashi, 1986).

Asian American male and female college students have scored significantly lower than majority culture students on the need for heterosexuality (Connors, 1976). Concerning impulse expression, Asian American females appeared less ready than Euro American females to express impulses and to seek gratification either in conscious thought or by overt

action (D. W. Sue & Kirk, 1973). Asian American students were not repressed or inexperienced sexually and in comparison to their non-Asian peers, did not differ much in their sexual experiences (Sue, 1982).

Predispositions have also been found in personality adjustment by D. W. Sue and Kirk (1972, 1973) who studied the freshman class at the University of California, Berkeley. They found that Asian American males and females appear less oriented than other groups to theoretical, abstract ideas, and concepts. Asian American students of both sexes appeared to dislike uncertainty, ambiguity, and novel, experimental situations but prefered more structured ones. Based on the Rorschach test, Chinese Americans in Hawaii compared to Euro Americans in Chicago seemed to be more cautious, constricted and conventional when faced with a novel, threatening situation (Hsu, Watrous, & Lord, 1961). In addition, it has also been found that Asian American students tended to evaluate ideas on the basis of their immediate practical applications (D. W. Sue & Frank, 1973).

Academic and Career

Research findings in the area of academic abilities and career interests indicate differences with the majority American college students. D. W. Sue and Kirk (1973) found that Japanese American and Chinese American students scored lower on the verbal section of the School and College Ability Test (SCAT) than did the controls. Asian American students scored lower on tests of verbal abilities and facility (Marsella & Golden, 1980; D. W. Sue &

Kirk, 1973).

In regards to career interests, D. W. Sue and Kirk (1972, 1973) administered the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and their findings indicated that Chinese Americans had significantly stronger interests in the physical sciences, skilled technical trades, and business detail professions. Japanese American students did not differ from Euro American students in the physical or social sciences. Japanese American males expressed more interest than Euro Americans in all occupations comprising the skilled-technical trades and were less interested in sales and verbal-linguistic fields. Further, Chinese American females showed significantly greater interest in those fields traditionally associated with a domestic orientation than the control students. The investigators found that 68-75 percent of Chinese Americans surveyed went into either engineering or the physical sciences as majors and were underrepresented in majors such as sales, social science and the verbal linguistic areas.

It can be seen, therefore, that cultural values have an impact on the personal, interpersonal, academic/career development of Asian American college students and that they bring these differences with them to the university.

Minority Status

The Asian American, as a minority student, is confronted with stereotypes, prejudice, and racism, and the acculturation and assimilation process. Their minority status and bicultural experiences have had an impact before

admission to the university and will continue to have an impact on the personal, social, and academic/career development of Asian American college students.

Minority status creates perhaps one of the greatest stressors. Moritsugu and Sue (1983) stated, "Any difference among peoples may potentially be interpreted as a signal for discrimination" (p. 162). Among the severe social and psychological stressors that are believed to contribute to mental illness includes the notion that, "individuals who believe they are different from the majority of society were at a higher risk of displaying distress symptoms" (Moritsugu & Sue, 1983, p. 162). They further stated that, "Minority status could often lead to alienation and social isolation, heightened stress, and decrease social structure resources available to the stressed individual" (p. 163).

Stereotypes

Ogawa's (1971) study of the dimensions and functions of Asian American stereotypes revealed changes in the view of Euro Americans that was based on the change in relationship with United States and Japan, and the economic conditions of society (Ogawa, 1971; S. Sue and Kitano, 1973). When economic conditions were depressed, Asians were depicted as negative, and when economic conditions required cheap labor supply, Asian stereotypes were more positive.

Ogawa (1971) stated that the function of the more positive stereotype often results in the manipulation of the minority by the majority: The stereotype of being "highly Americanized" operates to make a condition that, "a

prerequisite for social acceptance of a minority is that it must be labeled as acting white" (p. 51)...alien attributes therefore, are inferior. The function of the "superior citizen," not only functions to verify that the American system operates without racism, but to be the criterion to be emulated by other minority groups aspiring to be accepted as equals into American society".

Hiura (1984) provided a present day stereotype of the Asian American male as, "the ultra-studious yet inarticulate "mama's boy" with the calculator on this belt and books in a Pan Am bag who, pale and frail of build, squinting through his thick, black rimmed glasses out of the library window as the handsome quarterback of the school's football team strolls past with the homecoming queen" (p. 12). The unacceptable Asian American male stereotype brings forth the image of the martial arts type, for example, the kung fu, karate, samurai, kamikaze pilot who, "although still inarticulate, nevertheless posed a threat to authority and could not be trusted at any cost (Hiura, 1984, p. 12).

Stereotypes of Asian American females have categorized Asian women into two sexist molds: (a) the self-sacrificing and subservient (the Madam Butterfly or Kokeshi/china doll) or (b) the hot and exotic (the Suzy Wong or courtesan) (Hiura, 1984).

Common Stereotypes on a College Campus

Stereotypes regarding Asian Americans that exist in larger society, also exist on the university campus and are, accordingly, sources of conflict or stress. Four common

stereotypes are: (a) Asian Americans are academically superior--do not experience educational difficulties; (b) Asian Americans are quiet, stick to themselves, and do not contribute to groups; (c) Asian Americans have no problems--they are a successful, not an oppressed minority; and (d) there is no difference between Asian nationals and Asian Americans.

Academic superiority.

The stereotype of academic superiority has some basis in fact: in the high technical fields, Asian American students have demonstrated high scores in math and science. The myth has, however, tended to blind people in the field of education to significant difficulties. Watanabe (1973) found that 53% of Asian Americans at the University of California, Berkeley failed to pass entrance exams in basic English (reading and composition) as compared to a substantially lower failure rate in the general population. Also, those Asian Americans who do not do well in their classes, experience shame from not only not living up to expectations of non-Asian Americans (faculty, staff and students) as well as their families and Asian American friends.

Asian American community leaders believe that the academic success stories of high test scores and high performance might only be representing superior performance by recent immigrants. Of frightening concern to these leaders is what they believe to be a hidden decline in achievement and performance of American born Asians

(Scott-Blair, 1986).

Quietness.

In support of this second stereotype, Connors (1974) found that third generation Japanese Americans had significantly higher needs for deference, abasement, affiliation, succorance and lower needs for dominance and aggression than Euro Americans. It may be quite stressful then, for Asian Americans to be in classrooms where they are expected to assert themselves and call attention to themselves, to ask for help, to talk about themselves or their families. Even where an Asian American student attempts to seek development in communication and interpersonal skills, doing so is rarely encouraged due to the expectation of being quiet and a model student (Thompson and Ferguson, 1982).

Absence of problems.

A third prevalent stereotype concerns the myth that Asian Americans do not have problems and do not experience significant mental health concerns. There is substantial evidence that Asian American use of mental health services is rare (Kimmich, 1960; Kitano, 1969a; Mochizuki, cited in Uba, 1982; D. W. Sue & Kirk, 1975; S. Sue & McKinney, 1975; S. Sue & D. W. Sue, 1974; Yamamoto, James, & Palley, 1968). Studies have indicated low rates of juvenile delinquency among Asian Americans (K. Abbott & E. Abbott, 1968; Kitano, 1970, 1969b); and low divorce rates (Kitano, 1969b; S. Sue & Kitano, 1973). The low utilization rates by Asian Americans of community mental health facilities and campus counseling

centers are misleading and give the impression that Asian Americans have unusually low rates of psychopathology.

Investigations indicate that the rates of psychopathology for Asian Americans have been underestimated (S. Sue & McKinney, 1975; S. Sue & D. W. Sue, 1974), and that the rate of mental illness has increased seven fold as compared with being doubled for the general population (Berk and Hirata, 1973). Males, the aged and the foreign born experienced substantial increase in risks of commitment.

Foreign vs. American.

The fourth stereotype, is the failure to distinguish Asian nationals from Asian Americans. Acknowledgement and credit for American heritage was not accorded second generation Japanese Americans who were placed in concentration camps in the aftermath of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. A similar failure to distinguish foreign Asians from Asian Americans is occurring in the Midwest and specifically, in Detroit, where the ills of the automobile industry are often attributed to the trade deficit with Japan.

The most recent tragic manifestation of this racism occurred when two automobile workers beat to death with a baseball bat, Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, who they thought was a hated Japanese who was taking their jobs away. On May 1, 1987, the jury acquitted the confessed killers of all civil rights violations. Vincent Chin's murderers have not spent one day in jail for killing him. The lives of Asian Americans do not appear to be supported, secured, or

valued as it is for other Euro Americans.

Prejudice and Racism

Jones (1972) defined cultural racism as "...the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of another race. Racism is appropriate to the extent that racial and cultural factors are highly correlated and are a systematic basis for inferior treatment" (p. 166). He further stated that when acculturation and assimilation are forced by a powerful group on a less powerful one, then it is no longer subject to the values of natural order. D. W. Sue and D. Sue (1973) stated that Asian Americans, "constantly bombarded by the mass media and the people around them upholding Western values as superior to theirs, develop a lowered sense of self-esteem and of pride in racial and cultural identity" (p. 389). D. W. Sue (1978) stated that cultural conflicts may be considered manifestations of cultural racism.

Bigotry, born of fear and fueled by ignorance, exists at many levels of the university. Unfortunately, it also exists at the top levels of administration and consequently there has been a failure to make or enforce non-discriminatory policies and a failure to implement services and programs. Ivey (cited in Lopez & Cheek, 1977) stated, "Institutional racism on the University campus is a tremendous mental health problem" (p. 66) and this may be especially so for Asian Americans.

A consequence of stereotypes, prejudice, and racism is the upper limit quota on Asian American admissions to

universities. There exists a rising tide of policies and practices that could effectively reduce the number of Asian and Asian American students enrolled in our nation's major colleges, including the country's most prestigious universities and ivy league schools (Gardener, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Tsuang, 1989). Some universities have decided to raise the standards for their English requirements or to raise the minimum English requirement of the SAT score.

The consequence of policy changes may have a negative impact on Asian American college students who have limited english proficiency. As Sue (1985) concluded, "obviously, if other ethnic groups such as Blacks and Hispanics (who also exhibit low English-verbal scores) are protected by affirmative action programs, the only group adversely affected will be Asian Americans" (p. 19).

Acculturation and Assimilation Process

Race Relations Paradigms

Hurh and Kim (1984) identified four dominant race relations paradigms in the United States that have, since the middle of the nineteenth century, reflected the beliefs and practices of the majority groups toward minority groups. Asian American students on campus encounter majority group students, faculty, and staff who adhere to any one of the following paradigms:

1. The Social Darwinism or the pathological model (1850-1920) claimed that whites were naturally selected to rule the less advanced nonwhites.

2. The Functionalism or assimilation model (1921-1967)

maintained that the function of minorities was to maintain the social system.

3. The Pluralism or conflict model (1968-1975) rejected the illusive goal of Anglo-conformity and emphasized the maintenance of ethnic diversity and co-existence within the American society as a realistic solution to race and ethnic problems.

4. The Political Economy model or labor market approach started in 1976 and exists to the present. Here, racial problems are considered to be class problems and the minority problem will disappear when the class situation of the majority and minority are equalized.

Majority Mental Health

Majority values determine what the definition of mental health is in America. Current concepts of positive mental health include independence and autonomy as goals (Jahoba, cited in Klineberg, 1981). These values are counter to the values in the Asian American culture and Asian American students will not be perceived as functioning adequately. The Asian American student not only experiences these conflicts but is also in contact with counselors, faculty, staff and students whose differing cultural values, attitudes, and behaviors further exacerbate the stress.

Educational System

The public educational system's curriculum in the preschool, elementary, secondary, or in higher education also contributes a source of stress by maintaining "forced assimilation" through the perpetuation of stereotypes,

prejudices, and racism. Asian American students become uncomfortable about their race and are forced to assimilate and internalize the dominant middle class patterns of life when (Kagiwada & Fujimoto, 1973): (a) existing curriculum does not give Asian Americans credit for their history and contributions in America (Yee, 1973); (b) the curriculum does not attempt to expose the racism in American society that has oppressed Asian Americans and continues to have an impact on their lives; (c) school textbooks continue to give inaccurate/offensive images and attitudes of Asian Americans (Yee, 1973), treat Asian Americans in a manner implying racial inferiority (Kane, cited in Kagiwada & Fujimoto, 1973), and give superficial and minimal attention to Asian Americans (Kane, cited in Kagiwada & Fujimoto, 1973, Mitchell, cited in Yee, 1973). If any attention is given, it is usually in the form of Asian people in their native countries. This results in a confusion between foreign born and native born Asian Americans, and the view that Asian Americans are foreign, un-American, and not legitimately Americans; (d) colleges and universities do not incorporate Asian American studies into the curriculum.

The pre-college and undergraduate curriculum that almost totally neglects the Asian American experience will impact on Asian American students for they will suffer emotional and intellectual isolation (Watanabe, 1973). Furthermore, the values and differences of Asian Americans will continue to be less appreciated, respected, and valued.

Effect on Asian American Personality

The bicultural experience, and the acculturation and assimilation process influences personality characteristics. S. Sue and D. W. Sue (1971a) identified three subgroups under which Asian Americans can be categorized:

The Traditionalist defines self worth as obedience to parents and behaviors which bring honor to the family.

The Marginal Person has limited contact with persons of the Asian race and tends to hinge self-worth upon the ability to acculturate and be accepted by majority society.

The Asian American struggles to attain an identity that integrates experiences of both Asian and American cultures. This individual has developed an awareness of political, social, and economic forces that have influenced persons of Asian descent in this country.

Consequences

The acculturation/assimilation process has been found to have an impact on the following areas for Asian Americans as compared with Euro Americans:

1. Identity--More confusion in regard to development of a sense of identity and of becoming at ease with itimacy (Minatoya, 1983); and self-identity very closely related to ethnic identity (Chin, 1983).

2. Mental health--Greater proportions of clinical elevations and more psychotic MMPI profiles, greater severity where pathology was evidenced, more social introversion (S. Sue & D. W. Sue, 1974); greater feelings of rejection and suspiciousness (Meredith, 1966); greater feelings of isolation, anxiety, self-blame, and guilt

(Arkoff, 1959; Fenz & Arkoff, 1962); considerable feelings
of inferiority (Arkoff & Weaver, 1966); body image
satisfaction or dissatisfaction (Arkoff & Weaver, 1966;
Fisher and Cleveland (cited in Marsella, Shizuru, Brennan, &
Kameoka, 1981); Marsella, Shizuru, Brennan, & Kameoka, 1981;
Weiss, 1970).

3. Physical health--Disease patterns and mortality rate
gradients (blood pressure and coronary heart disease (Syme,
Marmot, Kagun, Kato, & Rhoads, 1975); increase use of
alcohol (S. Sue, Zane, & Ito, 1979).

4. Family and marriage--Greater discord in excess of
typical generational differences (S. Sue & D. W. Sue, 1974);
and negative view of male counterparts (Weiss (1970).

Saul (1983) from his work with Asian American students
at the University of Oklahoma and at Ohio State University,
commented on the difficulties in integrating the bicultural
experience. He observed that those students who came from
predominantly white communities and who lacked interactions
with Asians outside of their families, had values and
attitudes in regard to the Asian American culture that were
like those of the majority culture (Saul, 1983):

> It can be seen in the avoidance behaviors often
> displayed toward fellow Asian American students.
> It can often be detected by their lack of and/or
> unwillingness to become aware of the subtle ways
> in which they can and are often really being
> discriminated against by institutions and other
> persons, and by being naive to there being often

a large gap between what people of the majority

culture believe and what they actually practice.

It is often displayed by a total lack of

knowledge to the historical perspectives of the

ways in which Asian Americans have been

discriminated against. (p. 20)

Saul (1983) further stated, "the tragedy for these Asian

American students is the inevitable cost to themselves;

the deep hurt that often times comes with the realization of

having been tricked or caught unprepared" (p. 20).

Minority status, stereotypes, prejudice, racism, and

the acculturation/assimilation process all serve as a source

of increased anxiety, frustration, conflict, and stress that

is unique for bicultural Asian American college

students--and not so for the Euro American college

students--in the Young Adult developmental stage. The impact

of these additional challenges on Asian American students

are numerous and affect their personal, social, and

academic/career development.

PURPOSES AND HYPOTHESES

Chickering's Young Adult Developmental stage created distinctly with the college student in mind has been used to identify key developmental tasks that are necessary to complete for one to be considered successful and happy, and also that one not suffer further arrest in adjustment or development at following stages. Given the research presented on Asian American culture, it is probable that developmental tasks for this Young Adult stage if determined by the Asian American community, would give priority to certain areas and/or would not include certain tasks that Chickering considered important for success or happiness. Asian American college students who are entering a public university bring with them a host of experiences that have been influenced by cultural values and have an impact on the developmental tasks. These differences in cultural values, perceptions and behaviors and minority status, stereotypes, prejudice, racism, and the acculturation/assimilation process can affect the completion of developmental tasks and increase stress for the Asian American college student.

In light of the cultural divergence, picture the anxiety, conflict, tension, and stress that can occur

for the Asian American student entering the university. The student has left the family upon whom he or she has been raised to be totally dependent and, perhaps, moves into a residence hall. The student may be the only person on the floor, in the hall, or in classes who is Asian. The student may not associate with any Asians or may not have any close friends who are Asian. A growing sense of isolation may set in as the divergent values tend to foster a social life that deviates from the norm of university freshmen. The Asian American college student is more likely to study during hours that are commonly used for social activities and this may undermine involvement in extracurricular activities.

Barriers to social involvement may also stem from a sense of stigma concerning the primacy placed upon one's studies and from a sense of awkwardness due to the sudden demands of expressiveness and assertion in making relationships. The Asian American student may never have been to a dance, many have never dated or may have dated only non-Asians. There may be an expectation that others will provide the support, advice, security, and dependency that had been received from the family.

The stressors engendered by divergent values are also evident in academic aspects of the university experience. The Asian American student will primarily work with professors, staff, and administrators who are from the majority or other minority groups. The Asian American student may see other students asserting themselves with peers and authority figures concerning their needs,

problems, desires, and abilities. The Asian American student may not recognize such assertion as sanctioned behaviors, perceiving such assertion as aggressive and disrespectful. For example, the Asian American may sit back quietly while other students offer a multitude of answers for the professor; consequences may include lowered grades for lack of participation and deficits in relationship-making with staff and peers. The Asian American student may apply for jobs on campus and during the interview, minimize one's positive qualities and not look directly at the interviewers. The student is likely to experience increased uncertainty and shame with resulting failures to attain the positions.

Asian American cultural values and their divergence from those of the mainstream culture also impact upon difficulties surrounding career choice. A student may have high math scores and may have been strongly directed by high school advisors and college academic advisors to enter high-tech fields but may feel uncertain or unenthusiastic about the direction. The Asian American student may feel constrained to the direction insofar as one feels that one should not disagree with the wisdom of the authority figure.

A student may not be doing well in a "family chosen" major but feels restrained from revealing this to the family, counselors, or advisors who expect the Asian American student to do well. The Asian American student believes that failure to perform well is due to one's

laziness and lack of effort. Failing a class brings shame to the Asian American student and to one's family. There is, accordingly, inordinate pressure on a number of Asian American students who have no more aptitude than anyone else in class, to fit the "successful, super intelligent myth". Pressure may also be felt to do well, graduate, and get a high paying job so that one can start paying the family bills or begin supporting the educational pursuits of younger siblings or relatives.

Feeling restricted from seeking support insofar as doing so is considered shameful, the Asian American student is not likely to share anxious, shameful, conflicted, frustrated, worthless, fearful feelings. No one knows, no one asks, and the student attempts to conceal distress. Lacking support and coping strategies, the level of stress increases for the Asian American college student.

Research previously presented, identified cultural values that could have an impact on their personal, interpersonal, academic/career development as described in the above scenario of the Asian American college student in college. These differences in cultural values, perceptions, and behaviors then can affect the completion of developmental tasks for Asian American college students in ways that are different for Euro American or other minority group college students. In addition, Asian American students minority status brings on other challenges because of the stereotypes, prejudice, and racism, and the acculturation/assimilation process that Euro American

students do not have to deal with. Consequently, because they differ from Euro American college students and other minority group members, these differences may increase stress regarding the developmental challenges that face all college students.

Further, it may also exacerbate stressful situations occurring between Asian American students and other students, faculty and university staff. Faculty, staff, and other students may use Chickering's Young Adult developmental stage and tasks as a criteria to ascertain the extent of personal, interpersonal, and academic/career development of the Asian American college student. Also, they may make judgements about the extent to which Asian American college students are/will be successful and happy or arrested in development at future stages even though this differs from the values and expectations of Asian Americans. Ultimately, they may be at a disadvantage when they graduate and are in their careers.

A survey of research revealed that developmental issues of majority Euro American college students have been studied by many researchers. Few studies have focused on minority populations. Heretofore, there has been no studies that have focused on developmental task issues of the Asian American college student.

Purposes

The purposes of this study were sixfold:

First, it attempted to determine whether culture has an impact on each of the three major developmental areas for

Asian American college students--(1) personal (autonomy),
(2) interpersonal, and (3) purpose (academic/career).

Second, it attempted to ascertain the key developmental
tasks and behaviors for Asian American college students from
the nine sub-developmental task areas under the three major
developmental task areas:

1. Personal--(a) emotional autonomy

   (b) instrumental autonomy

   (c) interdependence

2. Interpersonal--(a) intimate relationships with

   the opposite sex

   (b) mature relationships with

   peers

   (c) tolerance

3. Purpose--(a) appropriate educational plans

   (b) mature career plans

   (c) mature life-style plans

Third, it attempted to determine if Asian American
college students are cognizant of problems in areas that are
related to the developmental tasks that they have not yet
completed.

Fourth, it attempted to determine if Asian American
college students believe they need assistance or information
regarding the developmental tasks that they have not yet
completed.

Fifth, it attempted to discover whether Asian American
college students who have more "problems" (because they have
accomplished fewer tasks than Euro Americans) will identify

a high number of problems in related areas.

Sixth, it attempted to ascertain if Asian American college students who have more "problems" (because they have accomplished fewer tasks than Euro Americans) will have a high number of requests for assistance or information in related areas.

As discussed earlier, there are Asian American values and percepts that are particular to that group. The possible impact of these Asian American cultural values can be generally grouped under three major developmental areas: Personal (autonomy)--(a) emphasis upon internally-oriented discipline which relied upon feeling-oriented, consequence-based appeals; acceptance of one's fate with detachment and resignation; causes of success more externally ascribed, cause of distress attributed to personal weakness rather than others; (b) focus on and very strong attachment to family and the extended family and very close ties to mother; (c) dependency and interdependency are goals in childrearing; (d) parent-child conflict not expected, no questioning of authority; (e) strict control placed on aggression and hostility--especially not acceptable to express anger, resentment, or frustration toward a parent or toward authority figures; (f) assumption of a sense of duty or obligation to parents--obligations to bring honor to the family, to avoid shame to the family, and to be obedient; (g) physical complaints considered acceptable way of revealing emotional problems; Interpersonal--(h) sociocentricity; (i) discouragement of

dating while in school; (j) suppression of sexuality; (k) importance of role, status, and hierarchy; (l) importance of nonverbalizations, humility and modesty; (m) problems of individual considered family's problems, not to be discussed or resolved outside of family; Purpose (academic and career)--(n) education very important, very high expectations that children finish high school and go to college; (o) parental expectation that children go into careers that will guarantee financial security and prosperity; (p) effort is the key factor behind academic performance.

Hypotheses

In view of the fact that these cultural values differ from those of the Euro American majority upon which basic developmental task theory is developed, it is hypothesized that:

1. Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will have lower scores in the developmental task area of developing autonomy, developing purpose, and developing mature interpersonal relationships.

2. (a) Developing autonomy: Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will have a lower number of behaviors mastered in the subtasks of emotional autonomy, instrumental autonomy, and interdependence.

   (b) Developing purpose: Asian American college students compared to Euro American students will

have a higher number of behaviors mastered in the subtask of appropriate educational plans; and a lower number of behaviors mastered in the subtasks of mature career plans and mature lifestyle plans.

(c) Developing mature interpersonal relationships: Asian American college students compared with Euro American college students will have a lower number of behaviors mastered in the subtasks of intimate relationships with the opposite sex and mature relationships with peers; and a higher number of of behaviors mastered in the subtask of tolerance.

3. Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will identify fewer problems in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas of the MECCA survey.

4. Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will make fewer requests for assistance or information in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas of the MECCA survey.

5. (a) Asian American and Euro American college students' identification of problems in the personal area will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmmental task area of developing autonomy.

(b) Asian American and Euro American college students' identification of problems in the academic/career area development and placement will

be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task area of developing purpose.

(c) Asian American and Euro American college students' identification of problems in the interpersonal area will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task area of developing mature interpersonal relationships.

6. (a) Asian American and Euro American college students' requests for information and assistance in the personal area will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task area of developing autonomy.

(b) Asian American and Euro American college students' requests for information and assistance in the academic/career area will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task area of developing purpose.

(c) Asian American and Euro American college students' requests for information and assistance in the interpersonal area will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task area of developing mature interpersonal relationships.

METHOD

Subjects

Research was done on data that was collected at the Multi-Ethnic Counseling Center Alliance (MECCA) branch of the Michigan State University Counseling Center. This branch serves the Brody Complex comprised of approximately 4,000 students who are primarily freshmen and targets its outreach and services to minority students.

Letters were sent to all Asian American undergraduate students on campus indicating that those who desired help in career and personal development could contact the MECCA office and arrangements were made so that tests would be given in the residence halls or MECCA offices. In addition, the same announcement was given as a part of outreach to the Asian Pacific American Student Organization and the Asian Pacifc American support group. A class of minority students participating in a leadership training class taught by the MECCA staff also participated in personal, social, and career development.

Research was also done on data collected from Michigan State University Psychology Department's Human Subject Pool. Undergraduate students who had sought extra

credit were utilized in this study. Euro American undergraduate students were recruited from sign-up sheets that were posted in their classrooms. The sign-up sheets indicated number of credits, and time and place of the study.

The subjects for this study were 30 Asian American college students and 30 Euro American college students. Half of each cultural group were male and half were female; and within each cultural group, one-third were freshmen, one-third were sophomores, and one-third were juniors and seniors. The Asian American subjects ranged in age from 18 to 23 years of age with a mean age of 19. The Euro American subjects ranged in age from 17 to 24 years of age with a mean age of 20.

Seventy-three percent (22) of the Asian American students and 3% (1) of the Euro American students reported the subgroup to which they belonged. The Asian American group included five Chinese, four Japanese, four Korean, one Malay, two Pilipino, two Taiwanese, and four Vietnamese students. Ninety-three percent (28) of the Asian Americans and 30% (9) of the Euro Americans reported the number of generations since their family immigrated to the United States. In the Asian American group 15 were first generation, 10 were second generation, 2 were third generation and 1 was fourth generation. Immediate family members with college degrees included: Asian Americans--18 parents, 4 siblings, 2 grand parents, and Euro Americans--23 parents, 6 siblings, 6 grandparents. Nine Asian Americans

and 8 Euro Americans had no family members with degrees.

Instruments

The instruments used in the study were the Student Development Task Inventory (SDTI) and the MECCA Survey (see Appendices C and D, respectively).

SDTI

The SDTI is a 140 item inventory which was developed by Winston, Miller, and Prince (1979) specifically with the college student in mind. The SDTI was developed using Chickering's (1969) seven vectors of development as the overall conceptual model for viewing developmental tasks. The inventory assessed what behaviors the student has thus far acquired and provided data which can be integrated into a developmental plan for intentional growth. The items characterize three basic developmental tasks-- developing autonomy, developing purpose, and developing mature interpersonal relationships. There are three developmental subtasks which collectively reflect the task: (a) Autonomy: emotional (EA), instrumental (IA), and interdependence (ID); (b) Purpose: appropriate educational plans (EP), mature career plans (CP), mature lifestyle plans (LP); (c) Mature interpersonal relationships: intimate relationships with opposite sex (IRS), mature relationships with peers (MRP), tolerance (TOL).

To obtain evidence on the reliability of the instrument, Jackson (1975) administered the SDTI to a sample of 50 students randomly selected from a sample population of 850 college men and women from six different colleges on a

retest basis four weeks following the initial testing.
Correlation coefficients on the nine subtasks were EA, .91;
IA, .89; ID, .92; EP, .81; CP, .84; LP, .89; IRS, .88; MRP,
.71; and TOL, .79. Data from 401 college students from 10
colleges were analyzed to estimate internal consistency.
Cronbach Alpha reliability estimates were EA, .62; IA, .65;
ID, .62; EP, .69; CP, .76; LP, .57; IRS, .76; MRP, .49; and
TOL .65 (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1974). Content validity
results primarily on its formulation based upon the
constructs developed by Chickering (Prince, Miller, &
Winston, 1977).

MECCA Survey

The MECCA Survey, a two-page check list, consisted of
81 statements describing possible problem areas for the
college student that were organized under nine general
problem areas: 1) community environment; 2) living
conditions; 3) finances; 4) health; 5) academic concerns; 6)
career development and placement; 7) family relationships;
8) personal concerns; 9) interpersonal relationships. The
survey was a consolidation of a needs survey used by the
University Counseling and Placement Services, University of
Pittsburgh (1978), a list of problems that minority students
in college reported as being their most common (Nieves,
1978), and a previously constructed MECCA Survey (June,
1976).

    1. Community environment: Six items dealing
       with sexual or racial discrimination,
       harassment, University's interest/commitment

to minority issues.

2. Living conditions: Five items dealing
   with their environment and including roommate
   conflict.

3. Finances: Two questions regarding problems
   with funds.

4. Health: Seven items dealing with specific
   medical problems, sleep or appetite
   disturbance, drug or alcohol dependency

5. Academic: Eleven items indicating areas of
   need for specific skills related to dealing
   with test preparation/anxiety, improving
   reading and study habits/skills, relating with
   professors, advisors.

6. Career development and placement: Ten items
   dealing with selection of a major, job
   availability, job search, and placement skills,

7. Family relationship: Three items indicating
   difficulties with parents and siblings and
   homesickness.

8. Personal concerns: Twenty-seven items were
   included to cover concerns about the self
   which might limit academic progress or
   interfere with social success or personal
   satisfaction.

9. Interpersonal relationships: Seven questions
   dealing with making friends, dating, social
   activities, racism.

In addition the following questions were asked regarding demographic information and need for courses or groups:

1. Demographic information: Sex, class (freshman, sophomore, junior/senior), age, ethnic/racial group (Asian American, Euro American), ethnic/racial subgroup (for example, Polish, Vietnamese), number of generations since their family immigrated to America, and immediate family members with college degrees (parent, sibling, grandparent).

2. Courses: Three additional questions were asked regarding the need for the following types of outreach: a) a long-term structured group or course to help new students adjust to campus b) a one- quarter structured group or course to help students in career development; c) a one-credit course to help graduating students better prepare for the job market or graduate school. Questions one and three were identical to those asked in the 1978 University of Pittsburgh study by Gallagher and Scheuring. Students were asked to respond in the affirmative or negative to each of these questions.

Three raters (two graduate students in clinical psychology and one licensed counseling psychologist) independently categorized the 81 MECCA items into one of the

three major developmental areas--personal, academic/career, and interpersonal--which corresponded with the three major developmental tasks in the SDTI-- developing autonomy, developing purpose, and developing mature interpersonal relationships--respectively. The raters were given copies of the MECCA Survey; and to help them with the categorization, the SDTI questions and the descriptions of the tasks. The average percentage agreement among the raters was 89% for the personal area.

Raters had a 92% agreement in categorizing items in the academic/career area. In the interpersonal area, raters had an 84% agreement when categorizing items into this developmental area.

In the initial contact, each student was asked to complete the Student Development Task Inventory and the MECCA Survey. A standardized set of directions was used across Asian American and Euro American subjects. Students were instructed to read the directions on page 1 of the SDTI and to respond to each of the statements with either a T = true or usually true or a F = false or usually not true. The MECCA Survey is a self-report questionnaire which asked students to place a check before those areas that were a problem, to place a circle before those items in which assistance was needed and an "x" before areas in which only information was needed. More than one symbol for any area was allowed.

Euro American students turned in their completed forms and received credit hours. Results were discussed at a

later date for the Asian American students. The original copies of the SDTI and the MECCA Survey were collected by the MECCA staff member. Each basic task and its subtasks were delineated on the student's carbon copied answer sheet. Students, tallied and recorded the number of marks outside the circles for each subtask. The higher the number of marks inside circles the more behaviors the student had acquired. After reviewing all statements which represented behavioral areas yet to be accomplished, the student identified the subtask of greatest concern at the moment. In addition, the counselor worked with the students to set personal goals, to establish specific objectives toward these goals and to develop plans for accomplishing the specific objectives.

RESULTS

Total possible scores for the Student Development Task Inventory (SDTI) basic developmental tasks were 48 for autonomy, 48 for purpose, and 44 for mature interpersonal relationships. Scores for this sample of Asian American and Euro American subjects ranged from 11 to 43 for autonomy, 11 to 43 for purpose, and 11 to 39 for mature interpersonal relationships. Total scores possible for the SDTI subtasks were 16 for emotional autonomy (sample range--2 to 16), instrumental autonomy (sample range--2 to 15), interdependence (sample range--2 to 15), appropriate educational plans (sample range--3 to 15), mature career plans (sample range--2 to 15), mature lifestyle plans (sample range--2 to 14), intimate relationship (sample range--2 to 16), mature relationships (sample range--1 to 16), and 12 for tolerance (sample range--4 to 12).

Scores on the SDTI for Euro Americans were somewhat consistent with norms reported by Winston, Miller, and Prince (1979). See Table 1 for the mean basic developmental tasks and subtasks completed by 19 year olds in their sample of college students.

Total possible scores for the MECCA Survey areas

were 34 for Personal (sample range--0 to 4.58 for problems, 0 to 5.48 for assistance and information), 19 for Academic/career (sample range--0 to 3.61 for problems, 0 to 4.24 for assistance and information), and 21 for Interpersonal (sample range--0 to 3.46 for problems, 0 to 4.47). The distribution of MECCA Survey scores was positively skewed. A square root transformation was performed to eliminate skewness. Scores for the transformed variable were used in subsequent analyses. The mean number of problems identified and requests for information and assistance are presented in Table 3.

Hypothesis 1

Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will have lower scores in the basic developmental task areas of developing autonomy, purpose, and mature interpersonal relationships.

Basic Developmental Tasks

Hotelling's Trace, a multivariate analysis of variance was performed to determine if there were significant differences in the scores of the Asian Americans and Euro Americans (independent variables x 2) in the basic developmental task areas of the SDTI. The use of Hotelling's T squared, instead of separate t-tests, is recommended when the IV consists of only two groups because it has the advantage of reducing experiment-wise error (it would avoid multiple testing) (Tabachnik & Fidell, 1983). Barcikowski (1983) stated that when only one or two groups are being investigated, the Hotelling's Trace yields the

same results as the Hotelling's T-squared.

Significant differences among the individual means were assessed by the use of univariate tests. Barcikowski (1983) suggested the use of univariate tests as a step in multivariate research, stating that Hummel and Sligo's (1971) results makes this process reasonable and logical. Hummel and Sligo (cited in Barcikowski, 1983) indicated that a hierarchical testing pattern (overall multivariate followed by univariate) controls the Type I experiment-wise error rate.

Means are presented in Table 1; and multivariate and univariate test results are presented in Table 2. With the use of Hotelling's Trace, the combined dependent variables were significantly affected by race, $F(3, 56) = 10.54$, $p<.000$. Asian Americans completed significantly fewer tasks in Autonomy, $p<.001$; Purpose, $p<.004$; and Mature interpersonal relationships, $p<.000$. This was in the direction predicted by Hypothesis 1 for each of the basic developmental tasks.

Hypothesis 2

Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will have a lower number of behaviors mastered in the subtasks of emotional autonomy, instrumental autonomy, interdependence, mature career plans, mature lifestyle plans, intimate relationships with the opposite sex mature relationships with peers; and a higher number of behaviors mastered in the subtasks of appropriate educational plans and tolerance.

TABLE 1

Developmental Tasks and Subtasks
Means and Standard Deviations

	Winston Miller Prince (N=234) Age 19	Asian American (N=30) Mean age 19	Euro American (N=30) Mean age 19
Autonomy	29.27 (7.32)	24.13 (7.47)	29.80 (5.49)
EA	10.00 (2.88)	7.90 (3.03)	11.30 (2.10)
IA	9.54 (3.04)	8.57 (2.89)	9.4 (2.76)
ID	9.73 (3.50)	7.67 (3.53)	9.10 (2.73)
Purpose	28.88 (7.95)	23.20 (7.87)	29.13 (7.36)
EP	9.73 (3.01)	9.40 (2.25)	9.70 (2.89)
CP	9.67 (3.36)	6.73 (3.34)	9.60 (3.51)
LP	9.49 (2.99)	7.07 (3.40)	9.89 (2.67)
Inter personal	30.62 (5.99)	24.70 (6.18)	32.27 (4.51)
IRS	10.58 (3.39)	6.33 (2.87)	11.47 (3.20)
MRP	11.72 (2.50)	10.10 (3.04)	12.00 (2.33)
TOL	8.32 (1.71)	8.26 (2.05)	8.80 (1.69)

Note: Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

TABLE 2

Effects of Race on Tasks and Subtasks

Tasks

Multivariate tests of Significance (S=1, M=1/2, N=27)

Hotellings Trace	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. F
	.57	10.54	3.00	56.00	.000

Univariate F-tests with (1,58) D.F.

Variable	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig F
Autonomy	2494.27	481.67	43.00	11.20	.001
Purpose	3368.27	528.07	58.07	9.09	.004
Interpersonal	1698.17	858.82	29.28	29.33	.000

Subtasks

Multivariate tests of Significance (S=1, M=3 1/2, N=24)

Hotellings Trace	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. F
	1.60	8.91	9.00	50.00	.000

Univariate F-tests with (1,58) D. F.

Variable	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig F
EA	395.00	173.40	6.81	25.46	.000
IA	462.57	10.42	7.96	1.31	.258
ID	577.37	30.82	9.96	3.10	.084
EP	387.87	1.07	6.69	.16	.691
CP	681.07	123.17	11.74	10.50	.002
LP	541.33	117.60	9.33	12.60	.001
IRS	536.13	395.27	9.24	42.76	.000
MRP	426.70	54.15	7.36	7.36	.009
TOL	204.667	4.267	3.529	1.209	.276

Subtasks

Similarly, Hotelling's Trace was performed to determine if there were significant differences in the Asian American and Euro American scores for the three subscales under each basic developmental task in the SDTI:

2a. Autonomy--emotional (EA), instrumental (IA), and interdependence (ID).

2b. Purpose--appropriate educational plans (EP), mature career plans (CP), and mature lifestyle plans (LP).

2c. Mature interpersonal relationships--intimate relationships with opposite sex (IRS), mature relationships with peers (MRP), and tolerance (TOL).

Significant differences among the individual means were assessed by the univariate tests.

Means are presented in Table 1; and multivariate and univariate test results are presented in Table 2. The combined dependent variables--SDTI subtasks--were significant for race, $F(9, 50) = 1.6$, $p<.000$. Asian American college students completed fewer tasks than Euro American college students in the following subtasks:

2a. Autonomy--(EA) Emotional autonomy, $p<.000$.

2b. Purpose--(CP) Mature career plans, $p<.002$; and (LP) Mature lifestyle plans, $p<.001$.

2c. Mature interpersonal relationships--(IRS) Intimate relations with opposite sex, $p<.000$; and (MRP) Mature relationships with peers, $p<.009$.

Hypothesis 3

Asian American college students compared to Euro

American college students will identify fewer problems in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas.

Identification of Problems

Hotelling's Trace was performed to determine whether Asian Americans and Euro Americans differed in their identification of problems in the MECCA Survey in the personal, academic/career, and the interpersonal areas. Significant differences among the individual means were assessed by the use of univariate tests.

Means are presented in Table 3; and multivariate and univariate test results are presented in Table 4. Hotelling's tests revealed that the combined problem areas were significantly affected by race, $F(3, 56) = 4.38$, $p<.008$. Asian Americans identified significantly more problems than Euro Americans in the interpersonal area, $F(1, 58) = 10.30$, $p<.002$.

Hypothesis 4

Asian American college students compared to Euro American college students will have fewer requests for information and assistance in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas.

Requests for Information and Assistance

Hotelling's Trace was performed to determine whether Asian Americans and Euro Americans differed in their requests for information and assistance in the personal, academic/career, and the interpersonal areas of the MECCA Survey. Univariate tests were performed in order to assess significant differences among the means.

TABLE 3

MECCA Survey

Means and Standard Deviations

	Asian American (N=30)	Euro American (N=30)
Identification of problems		
Autonomy	5.13 1.90* (1.25)	3.53 1.57* (1.05)
Purpose	3.63 1.62* (1.02)	3.17 1.43* (1.07)
Interpersonal	3.63 1.62* (1.02)	1.30 0.89* (0.72)
Request for assistance and information		
Autonomy	3.57 1.31* (1.38)	2.97 1.33* (1.11)
Purpose	5.07 1.86* (1.29)	5.80 2.22* (0.96)
Interpersonal	2.87 1.24* (1.17)	1.77 0.78* (1.10)

Note: Transformed means are followed by an asterik. Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

TABLE 4

<u>Effects of Race on</u>
<u>Identification of Problems and</u>
<u>Request for Assistance and Information</u>

<u>Identification of problems</u>

Multivariate tests of Significance (S=1, M=1/2, N=27)

Hotellings Trace	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. F
	.24	4.38	3.00	56.00	.008

Univariate F-tests with (1,58) D. F.

Variable	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig F
Personal	77.43	1.68	1.33	1.26	.266
Academic/Career	63.40	.55	1.09	.50	.481
Interpersonal	45.10	8.01	.78	10.30	.002

<u>Request for assistance and information</u>

Multivariate tests of Significance (S=1, M=1/2, N=27)

Hotellings Trace	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. F
	.155	2.901	3.00	56.00	.043

Univariate F-tests with (1,58) D. F.

Variable	Error SS	Hypoth SS	Error MS	F	Sig F
Personal	91.57	.00	1.58	.00	.959
Academic/Career	75.18	1.94	1.30	1.50	.226
Interpersonal	74.87	3.20	1.29	2.48	.121

Multivariate and univariate test results are presented in Table 4; and means are presented in Table 3. Hotelling's multivariate tests revealed that the combined MECCA Survey areas were significantly affected by race, $F(3, 56) = 2.90$, $p<.04$). There were no significant differences between Asian Americans and Euro Americans in the mean number of requests for information and assistance in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas. There were non-significant trends in that requests for information and assistance were about equal for Euro Americans and Asian Americans in the autonomy area; higher for Euro Americans in the academic/career area; and higher for Asian Americans in the interpersonal area.

Hypothesis 5

Asian American and Euro American college students' identification of problems in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task areas of autonomy, purpose, and mature interpersonal relationships.

Identification of Problems
and Developmental Tasks

Six separate Pearson product-moment correlations for Asian Americans (3) and Euro Americans (3) were carried out with:

5a. the SDTI autonomy score and the number of problems identified in the personal area of the MECCA Survey.

5b. the SDTI purpose score and the number of problems identified in the academic/career area of the MECCA Survey.

5c. the SDTI mature interpersonal relationships score and the number of problems identified in the interpersonal area of the MECCA Survey.

Correlations between the measures are presented in Table 5. Correlations for the autonomy task and the personal problem area, and mature interpersonal relationships task and interpersonal problem area were in the negative direction for Asian Americans, the relationship of the purpose task and problems in the academic/career area was in the positive direction. All correlations were in the negative direction for Euro Americans. A significant negative correlation was found between the SDTI mature interpersonal relationships score and the MECCA interpersonal score for Asian Americans, $r = -.36$, $p<.025$, $N = 30$, and for Euro Americans, $r = -.38$, $p<.020$, $N = 30$.

Hypothesis 6

Asian American and Euro American college students' requests for information and assistance in the personal, academic/career, and interpersonal areas will be negatively associated to the behaviors mastered in the developmental task areas of autonomy, purpose, and mature interpersonal relationships tasks.

Request for Information and Assistance
and Developmental Tasks

Six separate Pearson product-moment correlations for Asian Americans (3) and Euro Americans (3) were carried out with:

6a. the SDTI autonomy score and the number of requests

TABLE 5

Correlations Between Task and Problem Areas

Asian Americans

	Personal Area	Academic Career Area	Interpersonal Area
Identification of problems Task			
Autonomy	-.29		
Purpose		.19	
Interpersonal			-.35**
Request for assistance and information Task			
Autonomy	.18		
Purpose		-.27	
Interpersonal			-.17

**: p<.03, one-tailed

Euro Americans

	Personal Area	Academic Career Area	Intepersonal Area
Identification of problems Task			
Autonomy	-.19		
Purpose		-.05	
Interpersonal			-.38*
Request for assistance and information Task			
Autonomy	-.00		
Purpose		-.46**	
Interpersonal			-.23

*: p<.02
**: p<.006

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for information and assistance in the personal area of the MECCA Survey.

6b. the SDTI purpose score and the number of requests for information and assistance in the academic/career area of the MECCA Survey.

6c. the SDTI mature interpersonal relationships score and the number of requests for information and assistance in the interpersonal area of the MECCA Survey.

Correlations between the measures are presented in Table 5. Correlations were in a negative direction for the purpose task and academic/purpose area and the mature relationships task and interpersonal area, and in a positive direction for the autonomy task and personal area for Asian Americans. No significant negative correlations were found with any of the SDTI scores and the MECCA Survey scores for Asian Americans.

All of the correlations--autonomy task and personal area, purpose task and academic/career area, and mature interpersonal relationships task and interpersonal area--were in the negative direction for Euro Americans. A significant negative correlation was found with the Euro American SDTI purpose task and the MECCA Survey academic/career area, r = -.46, p<.006, N = 30.

Courses

The responses to the questions regarding the need for the following types of group or courses were as follows: (a) a long term group or course to help new students adjust to campus--80% of Asian Americans and 47% of Euro Americans;

(b) a one quarter structured group or course to help students in career development--97% of Asian Americans and 90% of Euro Americans; (c) a one-credit course prior to graduation aimed at helping students prepare better for entry into the job market or graduate school--97% of Asian Americans and 93% of Euro Americans.

Racial Issues

In response to questions regarding racial issues-- University's commitment to affirmative action, University's interest in minority's concern, feeling uncomfortable with groups of nonminority persons, and not knowing how to respond to subtle or blatant racism --57% of Asian Americans and 13% of Euro Americans reported they had problems. In asking for information or assistance about these issues, 61% of Asian Americans and 27% of Euro Americans responded in the affirmative.

DISCUSSION

In this section, the writer will interpret the results of this study on developmental tasks in view of Asian American culture and Asian American minority status and from a developmental task theory point of view. A consideration of the limitations of this study and discussion of the practical implications of the significant results will follow.

Developmental Tasks and Culture

The findings of the present investigation support the contention that culture has an impact on the completion of tasks in each of the three major basic developmental areas for Asian American college students: (a) Personal (autonomy), (b) Purpose (academic/career), and (c) Interpersonal (developing mature interpersonal relationships). Asian American college students completed significantly fewer developmental tasks in all three areas. These findings are consistent with the literature on Asian American cultural values that indicate differences from those of the Euro American majority.

Asian American students differed significantly from Euro American students in the completion of subtasks under

the major areas that are considered to be necessary developmental tasks for the college student (Chickering, 1969; Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977). Asian American students completed fewer tasks than Euro American students in the following sub-tasks: (a) Personal--Emotional autonomy and Interdependence, (b) Purpose--Mature career plans and Mature lifestyle plans, (c)Interpersonal--Intimate relationships with opposite sex and Mature relationships with peers.

The impact of cultural values upon development are clearly manifested in the finding that Asian American students completed fewer tasks than Euro American students in the personal and interpersonal developmental areas. In the personal area, Asian American culture does not encourage the development of autonomy as does the Euro American culture. For Asian Americans, there is a strong focus on and very strong attachment to family and the extended family and very close ties to mother. From birth, the fostering of dependency and interdependency is valued in childrearing. Consequently, there is a strong assumption of a sense of duty or obligation to one's parents. The conscious experience of conflicts between Asian American parents and their children should not be expected as the questioning of authority, for example is not permitted. It is especially not acceptable to express anger, resentment, or frustration toward a parent or toward authority figures.

In the interpersonal area, the completion of fewer developmental tasks by Asian American college students can

likewise be tied to aspects of the the Asian American culture. The Asian American culture discourages the development of intimate relationships with the opposite sex. Typically, Asian American parents discourage their children from dating and suppress sexuality, so as to maintain the focus upon educational achievement and responsibility taking. In addition, Asian American culture places a very important value on putting another's feelings over one's own, on not verbalizing one's feelings and thoughts, and on being humble and modest. The importance of role, status, and hierarchy in the Asian American culture can also limit the Asian American student from effectively interacting and dealing with parents, advisors, faculty, and staff.

It is interesting to note, that with all the previously discussed stereotypes regarding problem-free/academic prowess of Asian Americans, the Asian American students and Euro American student did not differ significantly in accomplishing the behaviors in the subtask of appropriate educational plans. This includes: (a) making well-defined educational goals, (b) seeing a relationship between study and other aspects of life, (c) developing awareness of the educational setting, and (d) developing good study habits (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977). One would not believe these results given the highlighting of the more affluent and successful Asian American students by mainstream American media. For example, the April 1986 issue of <u>People Magazine</u> reported that the top five Westinghouse Science Talent Search scholarship awards went to students born in

Asia or of Asian heritage. Their subtitle stated: "Students of Asian American families with rare genetic gifts and a reverence for learning sweep science contest for the nation's high schoolers." Such sensationalized stories ignore the experiences of the majority of Asian American students and add to the myth of the successful minority.

The results of this study dispel the myth that Asian American students have a higher level of academic adjustment than Euro Americans. Asian American college students completed significantly less tasks in the basic developmental tasks of purpose.

In addition, Asian American students completed significantly fewer subtasks than Euro American students in Mature career plans--to develop an awareness of the world of work, an understanding of abilities interests, values applicable to occupations; to synthesize facts and knowledge of self and the world of work; to make a commitment to a chosen career field; and to begin to implement a vocational decision (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977)--and Mature lifestyle plans--to develop a future orientation that balances vocational aspirations, avocational interests, and future family plans; to develop a sense of direction with sufficient clarity to identify next steps; and to develop an attitude of tentative commitment to future plans (Prince, Miller, & Winston, 1977). Unfortunately, the myth of success engenders further neglect of the needs and problems of Asian American students.

In the Asian American family, the completion of college

and the parent's expectation that children go into careers which will guarantee financial security and prosperity, "force" Asian American college students into certain fields. It has also been observed by this writer in counseling Asian American college students that very few have adequate career planning before coming to college and while they are in college. There appears to be negligence by high school and college academic counselors and advisors who automatically steer Asian American students with high math and science scores into related majors without encouraging or giving adequate career development and planning. The challenge for counselors, then, becomes one of helping Asian American students in their struggle with themselves and their families by opening doors to alternative when changing from, for example, business, engineering, and medical majors to majors such as teaching, art, interior design, and psychology.

The impact of the Asian American cultural values of (a) obligations to bring honor to the family, to avoid shame to the family; (b) importance of nonverbalizations; (c) the closeness of the individual's problems, within boundaries of the family, not to be discussed or resolved outside of family, are clearly manifested in the generally low identification of problems and the low requests for information and assistance. Despite the fact that Euro American and Asian Americans identified very few problems and made very few requests for information and assistance, the impact of Asian American cultural values is evident,

given the fact that Asian American college students had a significantly higher number of uncompleted tasks compared to Euro Americans in all three basic developmental task areas. Although Asian American students had not completed as many developmental tasks in the personal and interpersonal areas and, therefore, actually had more "problems" than did Euro American students, they did not identify themselves as having similar amounts of problems in the personal or interpersonal areas of the MECCA survey. On the other hand, Euro American students who completed a higher number of basic developmental tasks and, therefore, had fewer "problems" than Asian American students in the interpersonal area, identified relatively few problems in the personal and the interpersonal area. Asian Americans identified significantly more problems than Euro Americans only in the interpersonal area, they did not request more assistance and information in this area.

The relationship of the number of mature interpersonal relationship tasks completed correlated negatively with the number of problems identified in the interpersonal area. Asian American students had completed a low number of tasks and identified a high number of problems in this area. Asian American males and females are facing strong conflicts between, on the one hand, the values and proscriptions of the culture and on the other hand, the physical energy, sex drive and their being powerfully drawn toward wanting close relationships with others (Madison, 1969). This is the only task/problem relationship in which Asian American students

identified a high number of problems, they did not, however request information and assistance in this area. Again, this follows the cultural values that inhibit the Asian American student from discussing this interpersonal issue with their parents and that inhibit them from seeking help outside the family.

For Euro American students, the relationship of the number of interpersonal tasks completed correlated negatively with the number of problems identified in the interpersonal area. Euro American students completed a high number of tasks in the interpersonal area and they identified a low number of problems in the interpersonal area. Also, the relationship of the number of purpose tasks completed correlated negatively with the number of requests for information and assistance. Euro American students completed a high number of tasks in the purpose area and made a low number of requests for information and assistance in the academic/career area.

Asian American students--80%--compared to Euro American students--47%--felt that there should be an adjustment course for new students. Given the disparate cultural values, one can see how such a course would provide Asian American students with an acceptable way of getting help with their problems. The high rate of Asian Americans requesting help supports the present finding that a great percentage of Asian American students in this study are having difficulties adjusting to a university campus. Asian Americans and Euro Americans were similiar in their need for

a career development course and a job market or graduate school course.

The effects of stereotypes, racism, and prejudice is evident as 57% of Asian Americans reported that they had problems as opposed to 13% of Euro Americans. That coping with prejudice and racism is a salient concern is suggested by the finding that 61% of Asian Americans as opposed to 27% of Euro Americans asked for information or assistance about these racial issues. Perhaps, another factor that contributed to these percentages was the fact that the sample of Asian Americans included students who had been involved in classes, groups, and organizations where the topics of stereotypes, prejudice, and racism had been discussed.

Developmental Task Theory

Developmental task theory is based on the values of the Euro American majority and has been used to ascertain the extent of personal, interpersonal, and academic/career development of the Asian American college student. Using Prince, Miller, and Winston's (1977) outline of behaviors that need to be accomplished, it can be seen that, when compared with Euro American college students, Asian American college students are "deficient" in task completion in the following areas:

1. (a) To be free from continual needs for reassurance/approval, (b) to reduce dependence upon parents, (c) to develop relationships of reciprocal respect with parents/peers - Emotional autonomy.

2. (a) To be aware of the relationship between one's behavior and community welfare, (b) to develop skills contributing to working with others, (c) to recognize that one cannot dispense with one's parents, accept support without working for it - Interdependence.

3. (a) To develop an awareness of the world of work, (b) to develop and understanding of abilities, interests, values applicable to occupations, (c) to synthesize facts and knowledge of self and the world of work, (d) to make a commitment to a chosen career field, (e) to begin to implement a vocational decision - Mature career plans.

4. (a) To develop a future orientation that balances vocational aspirations, avocational interests, and future family plans, (b) to develop a sense of direction with sufficient clarity to identify next steps, (c) to develop an attitude of tentative commitment to future plans - Mature lifestyle plans.

5. (a) To develop sensitivity to and awareness of other's feelings, (b) to shift intimate relationships from serving self-discovery to mutually supportive commitment, (c) to develop ability to love as well as be loved, (d) to test ability to make a long-range commitment - Intimate relations with the opposite sex.

6. (a) To develop relationships of trust, independence, and individuality, (b) to develop friendships which survive differences and separation, (c) to respond with warm, open respectful friendliness, not anxiety, defensiveness or artificiality - Mature interpersonal relationships with

peers.

The extent to which tasks are completed has been used to make predictions about the extent to which Asian American college students will be successful and happy or if they will be arrested in development at future stages. If the theory is applied in this manner to the results of this study, one might construe that Asian American college students are less developed than Euro American college students. A judgement could then be made that Asian American college students will not be successful, or happy and that their development will be arrested at future stages.

Students, faculty, staff, and administrators on college campuses have tended to base decisions as to level of personal, purpose, and interpersonal development upon such criteria as number of developmental tasks completed and/or the number of behaviors exhibited. Havighurst (1953) recognized that developmental tasks are culture-bound and are, therefore, value-laden. In other words, the question of who is more "developed" and/or "normal" depends upon the cultural perspective within which this question is being asked. If Euro Americans were judged according to developmental task theory that was based on values of an Asian American majority, then the Euro American college students would be considered less developed and less "normal". Given literature on Asian American cultural values and given the results of this study, it can be assumed that Asian American college students in this study

have not mastered tasks that are counter to what is valued in the Asian American culture.

It is, however, a fact that Asian Americans are a minority in America and that their success is not wholly dependent on whether they are as "developed" as Euro Americans. The stereotypes, prejudice, and racism that were discussed earlier also has an impact on their being successful because majority Euro Americans hold the power in this country.

Whereas Asian Americans have been noted for educational achievement, their wage and position levels have not been commensurate with their education. The director of the research division of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights, Jeff Jenks (1984, 1986), presented data analyses relevant to the state's various cultural groups from the 1980 census and selected State documents. One of the most revealing findings was that, the average white male in Michigan with a high school degree earned ($15, 786) only $150 less than an Asian male with a four year college degree ($15,949), and earned $5,000 more than the Asian female with four years of college ($10,352). Professor Ron Takaki (cited in Jenks, 1986) of the University of California, Berkeley, Ethnic Studies Department reported that Asian Americans with more education than Euro Americans average less per capita income. Compared to Euro Americans and other minority groups, the median income for Asian males with 4 years of college was lower than that of White, Black, Hispanic, and Native American males. Jenks (1984) concluded

that these statistics do not support the assumption that
advanced education will yield a dollar reward, at least not
for Asian Americans.

One might speculate as to reasons for the discrepancy
between the high levels of education and incommensurate wage
and position levels. There is some evidence that Asian
Americans with good educational backgrounds and considerable
work experience have been passed over for promotion and
advancement because they are considered unsuitable for
upper-echelon positions. Aside from prejudices of majority
culture, the passing over of Asian Americans may have been
engendered, in part, by deficits in communication skills.
Asian Americans' decreased cultural valuing of
self-expression has been complemented and reinforced through
years of prejudice and discrimination. The result of this
interaction seems to have reinforced the values of silence
and inconspicuosness (Watanabe, 1973). Resultant deficits
in communication skills of the majority culture may be a
detriment to moving up in the majority business world.

Other reasons for the resulting discrepancy seem likely
to be prejudice, racism, and the failure to distinguish
Asian from Asian Americans. Niebanck (cited in Kagiwada &
Fujimoto, 1973), the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Field
Management, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare sent a memo to all Regional Directors on March 27,
1972. Niebanck cited a study of decision-making personnel
executives in 50 top corporations in three California
metropolitan areas which indicated that strong racist

feelings were preventing Asian Americans from entering executive levels. Only four percent of these corporations had ever employed Asians at these levels and the remaining ninety-six percent had either not considered or expressed reservations about the hiring of Asian Americans for such high-level positions.

Two factors appeared to contribute to this exclusion:

1. The admitted prejudice of personnel officers, which in many instances was reinforced by combat experiences in wars against Asians.

2. The assumption that customers shared these prejudicial attitudes. Seventy nine percent of the respondents had served either in the Pacific in World War II, in Korea, or in Vietnam. (p. 402)

This is but one example of the ways in which Asian Americans suffer detrimental consequences to the extent that Euro Americans and other minority Americans transfer their antagonism, prejudices, and hate for foreign Asians to Asian Americans.

The Asian Americans who are foreign-born may experience further challenges and difficulties compared to native-born Asian Americans in regards to their post-immigration variables and adjustment to immigration in America. For example, the refugees from Southeast Asia who were in active war zones, those who had terrifying escapes and/or those who spent periods of time in refugee camps both in Asia and the United States may be filled with despair and frustration or may be preoccupied with blood, guns and fears of death and

dying (Deming, Copeland, Buckley, & Coppola, cited in Brower, 1980; Sullivan, cited in Brower, 1980).

It is clear from this study that culture and minority status has an impact on the development of Asian American college students. There is much more to be understood as to how the interaction of these predisposing cultural factors and stressors can effect consequences in the personal, social, academic, career, political and economic aspects of experiences of Asian Americans while they are college students and when they graduate.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations of the study that need to be considered in future investigations and these include demographics, source of subjects, geographical considerations, grade level of subjects, generation of subjects, Asian American subgroups. Grade point averages were not elicited in this study. Exploration of grade point averages in future studies, may further help to clear up stereotypes regarding Asian American college students excellent academic records and the absence of problems.

The Euro American sample was gathered from the Psychology Department subject pool. These students may not be a representative sample of majority students given their interests in psychology. Also, this sample was collected at the end of the school term. The type of student who is attempting to gain extra points at the end of the quarter may be different from one who needs no extra points or who has signed up for extra points earlier in the term.

Certainly a sample of Asian American college students in the Midwest may indeed be a reflection of values of the Midwest or of living in the Midwest and not readily generalizable to Asian Americans living in Hawaii, on the east coast, and on the west coast. Direct comparisons of Asian Americans living in these areas would help to clear up this matter.

Asian American and Euro American samples included one-third freshmen, one-third sophomores, and one-third juniors and seniors. Future studies may be able to gather normative Asian American data for all grade levels.

This sample of Asian Americans was predominantly first and second generation, therefore, the generalizability of these findings to third and fourth generations may not be prudent. The results of this sample shall nevertheless, be regarded as important and useful given that (a) Asian immigration skyrocketed in 1965 after the immigration policy was liberalized, (b) since 1975, the U.S. admitted Indochinese refugees in the aftermath of defeat in the Vietnam War, (c) 28% of the Japanese American population is foreign born, five of the other major Asian American subgroups are made up of more than 50% foreign born--Chinese 63%, Pilipino 66%, Asian Indian 70%, Korean 81%, and Vietnamese 90% (Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985). These Asian immigrants and their children, who are first and second generation, are and will be attending colleges and universities across the nation. Additional research is needed to compare first, second, third, fourth, and fifth

generations to investigate the completion of developmental tasks and generation.

The Asian American college students represented five of the six major groups--Chinese/Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean, Pilipino, Vietnamese--and did not include Asian Indian. Future studies may attempt to include that group and also conduct comparisons between these subgroups.

In addition, more cross-cultural research needs to be accomplished in the area of developmental tasks. Winston, Miller, & Prince (1979) compared Euro Americans and African Americans and found no statistically significant differences on any of the SDTI subtasks and tasks. Research is needed to also compare Asian Americans with African Americans, Hispanic Americans and Native Americans.

Future Implications

The strength of these findings and the paucity of research in this area, demonstrate a clear need for the continual empirical examination of the effects of culture on the development of Asian American college students. Such research is also demanded by the potential increase in the numbers of Asian Americans who will be attending colleges and universities. These increases in the Asian American student population are likely to be the result of: (a) the proposed closing of refugee camps in Thailand, (b) besides refugees, immigration from Indochina is likely to continue at substantial levels, (c) once U.S. citizenship is obtained, immediate relatives and other close relatives may be brought in, (d) significant number of women, especially

in the Southeast Asian subgroups are in the child bearing age and are bearing children (Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985; Jenks, 1986).

A second consideration regarding the Asian American population involves a shift in demographics. Unlike the U.S. population as a whole, the proportion of Asian Americans is falling in the West and rising in the three other regions (Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985). This will surely increase the number of Asian Americans attending midwest public and private universities.

The lack of work in the area of developmental issues of Asian Americans reflects a disturbing bias. It is suggested that developmental research on Asian Americans and other minorities needs to be derived from a more objective attitude, undisturbed by stereotypes, prejudice, and racism. It is only through such an approach that programs and services which are essential to these special populations can be established.

The Asian American college student must become culturally effective individuals. The Asian American student should not be taught to devalue the Asian American culture, rather, to learn to integrate and appropriately use behaviors and world views (of Euro Americans, etc.) that would maximize his or her effectiveness and psychological well-being (D. W. Sue, 1978).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Department of Psychology

DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

1. I have freely consented to take part in a scientific study being conducted by Sandy Tsuneyoshi under the supervision of Robert A. Caldwell, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology.

2. I agree to take part in the study entitled Developmental Tasks of College Students. I understand that the study deals with the personal, interpersonal, and academic/career developmental task achievement of college students.

3. I understand that I am free to discontinue my participation in the study at any time without penalty.

4. I understand that the results of the study will be treated with strict confidence and that I will remain anonymous. Within these restrictions, results of the study will remain available to me at my request.

5. I understand that my participation in the study does not guarantee any beneficial results to me.

6. I understand that, at my request, I can receive additional explanation of the study after my participation is completed.

Completion and return of the protocol will indicate your consent to participate.

MECCA SURVEY

Sex: Male____ Female____ AGE:_____ MAJOR:_____

CLASS: Freshman   Sophomore   Junior   Senior
       Graduate/Professional

RESIDENCE: On-Campus (specify)_____
           University Housing_____   Off-Campus_____

ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUP: Afro American (Black)   _____
                       Asian Pacific American   _____
                       Chicano/Hispanic American   _____
                       Euro American (Caucasian)   _____
                       Native American   _____
                       Other (specify)_____

       Subgroup (i.e., Puerto Rican, Vietnamese)_____

       Generation: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS WITH COLLEGE DEGREES (i.e.,
       grandparents, parent, sister, brother, other_____
       _____

1. Would it be helpful for all new students at the
   University to have a long-term structured group or
   course to help them adjust to campus?
                                        Yes_____ No_____

2. Would it be helpful for all students at the
   University to have a one-quarter structured group or
   course to help them in career development?
                                        Yes_____ No_____

3. Would you like to see a one-credit course prior to
   graduation aimed at helping students prepare better
   for entry into the job market or graduate school?
                                        Yes_____ No_____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please check any problem areas that may apply
to you. Circle those areas in which you have a need
for assistance. Place an "X" before areas that you need
information only. More than one symbol for any are is
allowed.

✔=problem areas   ⬤=assistance   ✘=information only

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A. COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT
____Racial discrimination
____Sexual harassment
____University's commitment
     to affirmative action
____Lack of activities of
     interest to minorities
____University's interest
     in minority's concerns
____Other (specify)

B. LIVING CONDITIONS
____Roommate conflict
____Noise
____Space (overcrowding)
____Distance to classes
____Other (specify)

C. FINANCES
____Insufficient funds
____Inability to budget funds
____Other (specify)

D. HEALTH
____Colds, flu, asthma,
     respiratory problems
____Drug/alcohol dependency
____Sleep disturbance
____Eating problems (specify)

____Physical handicaps
____Stomach ailments
____Headaches
____Other (specify)

E. ACADEMIC CONCERNS
____Inadequate H.S. preparation
____Study habits/skills
____Use of library
____Organizing time
____Reading skills, vocabulary,
     comprehension
____Increasing reading speed
____Test preparation
____Dealing with test anxiety
____Relationship with professors
____Relationship with advisors
____Grades
____Other (specify)

F. CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND PLACEMENT
____Selection of major
____Career Information
____Understanding personal values
     interests, and abilities and
     relating them to career goals
____Graduate school information
____Job search strategies
____Interviewing skills
____Future job availability in
     field
____Finding career related
     volunteer or internship
     opportunities

G. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS
____Trouble with parents
____Trouble with siblings or
     other family members   ·
____Homesickness
____Other (specify)

H. PERSONAL CONCERNS
____Low self confidence
____General anxiety
____Feeling sad/low
____Feeling bad about self
____Fear of failure
____Loneliness/isolation
____Feelings of not fitting
     in with people
____Sexual concerns
____Thoughts of not belonging
     in college
____Suicidal feelings
____Shy, inhibited
____Expressing appropriate
     emotions
____Difficulty standing up
     for rights
____Conflict over values,
     morals, religious beliefs
____Communication problems
____Anxiety in small groups
     or one-to-one encounters
____Public speaking anxiety
____Fearful of change
____Wanting greater sense of
     purpose in life
____Inferiority feelings
____Feeling unrespected and
     unvalued
____Negative feelings of being
     different
____Feeling unintelligent
____Too much need for such
     recreational activities
     as partying
____Fear of appearing stupid
     and making mistakes
____Feeling unable to control
     what happens to self

I. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
____Making friends
____Dating
____Establishing meaningful
     relationships
____Overly dependent on another
     person
____Feeling uncomfortable with
     groups of nonminority persons
____Not knowing how to respond to
     subtle or blatant racism
____Participating in social
     activities

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