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ADAPTATION AND HEALTH AMONG FIRST-GENERATION
TAIWANESE AMERICANS

By

Yu-Hsi Lin

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

ADAPTATION AND HEALTH AMONG FIRST-GENERATION TAIWANESE AMERICANS

By

Yu-Hsi Lin

This study examines the adaptation of first-generation Taiwanese Americans to American society, which focuses on respondents who live in the Midwest. The analysis highlights the effects of acculturation on the respondents' mental and physical health. Immigration involves a great deal of stress. Their mental health may be impacted by the stress immigrants experience in the workplace, family, and social encounters. For work stress, I examine the stress experienced by paid employees and the self-employed because their work stressors are not exactly the same. Social encounters refer to social relationships or interaction with people outside one's family and the workplace. The effective coping strategies the respondents utilize to reduce stress are similar to those found in other studies. I also examine the respondents' physical symptoms and health behaviors. Perceived support has been found to predict better physical health for them.

Family and work stress have been found to predict the respondents' mental distress. Yet, social stress is not a significant predictor. I also study the impact of involvement with traditional and American culture on the respondents' mental distress and their family, work and social stress. Due to their educational homogeneity and other factors, cultural involvement does not predict their mental distress. However, involvement with American

culture reduces social stress because of the Midwest context, and involvement with traditional culture increases social stress.

In this study, stress induced by spousal relationships contributes more to family stress than parenting stress, concern about family finance and worries about the elderly family members. Work overload, skill underutilization and unpleasant work environment predict work stress for employed respondents. Working long hours and unpleasant work environment are significant predictors of work stress for the self-employed. Additionally, self-employed respondents experience more mental distress than employed respondents. The more often respondents socialize with neighbors and American friends and participate in religious activities, the less social stress they experience.

Generally speaking, the respondents adapt well mainly due to their high educational level and the location of their residence. More research needs to be conducted to understand the adaptational outcome of the Taiwanese Americans who live in other parts of the U.S.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

International migration has been one of the major social trends in the era of globalization. Migration involves a tremendous amount of psychological distress, even for those best prepared and most motivated (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), which is likely to affect immigrants' health. Asian Americans account for about three percent of the entire U.S. population. They have achieved parity with Whites in socioeconomic status due to emphasis on investment in education and a strong work ethic (Tang 1997). They are considered a Model Minority because of the academic and economic success in quite a number of subgroups, such as Indian, Korean, Taiwanese, Filipino and Japanese Americans.

The continuous influx of professional immigrants from Asia to the United States since 1965 has inflated the overall educational and skill levels of the Asian American population (O'Hare & Felt 1991). This mistakenly leads lay people to think that all groups adapt well and are able to take care of their problems. For example, the obstacles well-educated Asian Americans face in career mobility have been overlooked (Daniels 1988; Min 1995; Takaki 1990). Among those in high-status occupations, most hold the lower-level jobs of these professions (Aguirre & Turner 2001, p. 172). Between 1980 and 1998, the poverty rate for White Americans increased by 4 percent, while the poverty rate of Asian Americans increased by 60 percent because recent immigrants from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos tend to be poor (ibid p. 170). For the more successful groups, we may wonder whether they achieved success at the cost of their physical health and mental well-being. In other words, we may be curious about whether they are happy with their lives in a foreign land and how their acculturation stress is related to their mental distress and health. I chose Taiwanese

Americans, one of the recent immigrant groups, as the subjects of my study because there has been little research on them and because they have been lumped together with Chinese and Hongkongese Americans by researchers.

Due to the restriction of previous immigration policies of the U.S., most Asian immigrants arrived after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was signed by President Lyndon Johnson. This law abolished national origins quotas and accepted immigrants under a system of preference in which immediate relatives, skilled and unskilled workers, refugees, scientists and technical personnel were listed under different categories of preference (Wong 1998). Asian immigrants were excluded or restricted before 1965 due to the prevalence of nativism in the U.S.(Ancheta 1998, p. 25). Due to the Civil Rights Movements and other historical factors (e.g., alliance between the U.S. and China during WWII), American society has become more receptive to minorities. There has been a large increase in Asian immigrants since 1965. However, they account for only about 3% of the total population of the U.S.

Early research on Asian Americans estimated their mental health problems based on the utilization of mental health services. Due to the stigma attached to mental health problems among Asian Americans, they were under-represented in clinical populations. Hence, it was generally assumed that Asian Americans experience lower levels of mental health problems (Sue et al. 1995). However, several community studies on Chinese Americans or Asian groups indicate that Chinese Americans have more mental health problems than previously thought. For example, Kuo (1984) found that Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Korean Americans reported higher levels of depression than White Americans. The Chinese American Psychiatric Epidemiological Study (CAPES), which represents the largest mental

health study of any Asian group, collected data from a probability sample of 1700 native-born and foreign-born Taiwanese, Chinese, and Hongkongese living in the Los Angeles area (Sue et al. 1995). In this study, the rates of major depression are higher than the rates of other psychiatric symptoms, such as anxiety and panic disorder (p. 303). Other research suggests that the Chinese and Japanese elderly have higher rates of suicide than their non-Asian peers (Lui & Yu 1985). While there is little research on the mental health of Asian Americans, even less research has been conducted on their physical health.

When using the term Chinese Americans, researchers usually refer to individuals who were born in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong and those whose ancestors are from these three places. Since recent Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants are from countries with extremely different political, educational and economic systems, they may experience different adjustment problems. Taiwanese immigrants are more familiar with the American economic and political system, while recent Chinese immigrants are from a Communist regime and "tend to overestimate the affluence and opportunities available in the U.S."(Wong 1998). Findings on previous studies of Chinese Americans as a large group may not accurately reflect on each subgroup, such as Taiwanese Americans. In the U.S., the term Taiwanese Americans refers to U.S. citizens and permanent residents who were born in Taiwan or who have ancestors from Taiwan. There has been little study on the mental health of Taiwanese Americans alone, and there has not been any on their physical health.

Taiwanese Americans include those whose parents were born and grew up in Taiwan, those who were born in Mainland China but moved to Taiwan around 1949 (first-generation Mainlanders), and the children of first-generation Mainlanders. Most of them are urban

dwellers and tend to live in the suburbs of large metropolitan cities in the U.S. There are large populations of them on the Eastern and Western coasts, such as Los Angeles, and New York. While some of them migrated to the U.S. to seek better employment after the Immigration Act of 1965 was effective, many of them migrated to the U.S. in the 1980s and 1990s for different reasons. They came to the U.S. to reunify with their family, to provide their children with better educational opportunities, to escape the political unrest at home, to start their own businesses or to work for their relatives, and so on. While many of them came here as poor students or skilled workers, some of them brought a large amount of financial capital to start businesses.

Those living in cities with a large population of fellow Taiwanese may experience different adaptation problems than those living in cities with a small proportion of coethnics. There are many large firms owned by Taiwanese Americans in large cities, such as New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Los Angeles and San Francisco are the nation's largest and second largest Chinese business centers (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992a). While there is less pressure in interacting with the dominant culture for Taiwanese Americans living in large metropolitan cities with a large number of coethnics, the higher crime rate, faster life pace and higher expectation to achieve may take a toll on their mental health. A large proportion of the residents in the Midwest are middle-class. The nationwide self-employment rate for Taiwanese Americans born in the U.S. and abroad was 19.8% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000, 1% PUMS). So, there are more professionals and wage-earners than entrepreneurs in this group. I chose Taiwanese American residents in the Midwest for my study because it provides a setting which requires a high level of involvement with the dominant culture on a daily basis. This allows me to study the

bicultural involvement of this immigrant subgroup. There are advantages and disadvantages of living in the Midwest. Involvement with the dominant culture may cause a great amount of stress for those who are less Westernized. However, there are lower crime rates and better public schools in the suburbs of the Midwest than in the large cities on the Eastern and Western coasts and in the Southern states.

In the process of adaptation or acculturation, the lowered mental health status can be manifested by identity confusion, anxiety, depression, feelings of marginality and alienation, and heightened psychosomatic symptoms (Berry & Kim 1988). A few published studies on immigrants' mental health examined the direct effect of age, length of residence, income, employment status and acculturation on their depression (Ying 1988; Rumbaut 1985). In contrast, Berry et al. (1987) claimed that mental health problems which arise during acculturation are not inevitable. They found that the mode of acculturation as well as social, psychological and demographic characteristics govern the relationship between acculturation and mental health. Other research shows the direct effect of age, language, length of residence, income, employment status and acculturation on mental health (Noh & Avison 1996; Miranda & Matheny 2001).

To survive in a new culture, immigrants have to endure the hardship of adjustments in work, family, and social relations outside the family due to cultural differences and racial discrimination. In addition, undesirable or unexpected life events, such as illness and financial problems, are also sources of stress. Other stressors which may persist for a long time and may be hard to overcome include language difficulty, climatic differences, diet differences and so on. While some adapt to the host society well, others do not. I have seen entrepreneurs who have worked under very stressful conditions for many years but are in

high spirits and physically healthy. There are individuals who maintain their ethnic culture with little contact with the larger society but are not depressed. I believe that mental distress is impacted by acculturation stress and coping strategies. Coping resources and personality factors (e.g., locus of control, hardiness, optimism, and resourcefulness) also impact on adaptational outcomes. Coping resources refer to social network and social support, which are conducive to coping with stress (Sloan et al. 1996; Lin et al. 1999). Coping strategies refer to the methods used to reduce stress, such as seeking advice and negotiation. In my study, locus of control is the only personality factor to be examined.

Most Taiwanese Americans are foreign-born and came to the U.S. after 1965. Therefore, both their culture of origin and the host culture are likely to have varied degrees of impact on their adaptation in family relations and work and on their health behaviors and health care utilization. For example, a traditional individual may emphasize the importance of family and group interest rather than individual interest. In contrast, a more acculturated individual may emphasize open communication with his/her children. In addition, the change in social network after migration may affect their adaptation outcomes. Traditionally, when Taiwanese, especially those of lower socioeconomic status, are faced with non-medical problems (such as family problems), family and friends are their primary sources of support. Their support network may diminish if most of their family and relatives still live in Taiwan. Therefore, their social network and help-seeking behaviors are worth studying.

Family stress mainly comes from parenting, spousal relationship, concern about the elderly family members at home or in Taiwan and concern about the financial situation of the family. Parenting stress is largely caused by parent-child conflict due to differences in acculturation pace. Parents maintain stronger ties to their culture of origin, while children

seem to have stronger ties to the White-dominant culture (Matsuoka 1990). The rules Taiwanese American parents use for disciplining children derive from traditional values, such as modesty, respect for the elders and teachers, diligence, emphasis on school education and assistance for family members. Like other Asian American parents, Taiwanese American parents generally allow their children to experience behavioral autonomy at a later time than non-Asian parents. It does not matter if the parents are traditional or Westernized; they all try to protect their children from the bad influence of the peers. This may create parent-child conflict if parents do not have good communication skills to make the children accept their supervision.

As for work stress, I examine the stress experienced by paid employees and the self-employed because their work stressors are not exactly the same. As of this date, research on the work stress of the self-employed is limited. Work stressors include work-setting variables and individual variables. The former are associated with work content (e.g., work overload and physical conditions of the workplace), leadership (e.g., supervisor feedback) and work climate (e.g., job security and relationships with co-workers and supervisors). The work stressors selected for this study have also been identified as stressors in other studies.

In my study, social stress refers to stress induced by interaction with people outside the family and the workplace, social isolation and a sense of marginality. Immigrants may feel distressed if they are treated unfairly in the workplace due to their minority status. Similarly, they will feel distressed if they are treated negatively by their neighbors, police, agency employees or even salespeople due to their race or their insufficient language ability, social skills and cultural knowledge. Social isolation and sense of marginality refer to the feeling of being an outsider in the larger society or in any social group that an individual is

associated with.

The mental health of Taiwanese Americans can not be indicated by their depression level alone, though depression is commonly experienced by many immigrant groups. Their global psychological status should be taken into account, (e.g., whether they feel lonely and unhappy). As for physical health, symptoms induced by stress or negative health behaviors, such as high blood pressure, hypertension and diabetes, will be explored . Health behaviors (such as diet and exercise) were also studied.

My study was primarily conducted through self-administered survey with closed-ended and open-ended questions. To better understand the difficulties the respondents have encountered during the acculturation process, I conducted in-depth interviews as well as attended the activities held by the Taiwanese American Association, language schools, and religious groups. These methods were used to answer my research questions stated below. Questions 10c to 16 were answered through interviews and open-ended responses.

Research Questions

1. Does involvement with traditional culture or American culture lead to more mental distress?

2. Does a higher level of family, work and social stress predict more mental distress?

3. Does involvement with traditional culture predict more or less acculturation stress? Does involvement with American culture predict more or less acculturation stress?

4a. How does cultural involvement moderate the relationship between family stress and mental distress?

4b. How does cultural involvement moderate the relationship between work stress and

mental distress?

4c. How does cultural involvement moderate the relationship between <u>social stress</u> and mental distress?

5a. Which family issue (e.g., parenting, spousal relationships, worries about elderly parents) contributes most to family stress?

5b. What are the major causes of parenting stress?

5c. Do female respondents experience more parenting stress than male respondents?

6a. Does self-employment predict better or worse mental distress?

6b. Does gender predict work stress?

6c. What are the major causes of work stress for the employed and the self-employed respondents?

7. What are the factors that increase or decrease social stress?

8a. Are action-focused coping and cognitive coping associated with less mental distress?

8b. Is emotion-focused coping associated with more mental distress?

9a. Does perceived support predict better physical health?

10a. What are the respondents' common physical symptoms?

10b. Do they engage in healthful behaviors?

10c. Are they satisfied with the health care in the U.S.?

11. What transnational behaviors do the respondents engage in?

12. What aspects of American life do the respondents like and dislike?

13. What traditional values have the respondents modified in order to fit in?

14. What charitable and voluntary activities in the community have the respondents engaged in?

15a. Do the respondents' children experience fewer obstacles in their adaptation process than the respondents themselves?

15b. What are the major obstacles that their children have encountered?

16. What are the respondents' attitudes towards their children's participation in the U.S. politics?

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Alcantara (1981) argues that adaptation is immigrants' adjustment or accommodation to the constraints and demands of the larger society and that such adjustment involves changing life goals and strategies. The adjustment process is a popular topic in the study of immigrants because it affects them and their children. Adaptation refers to both the process of handling acculturation and the outcome of acculturation. Acculturation means changes in cultural attitudes, values and behaviors resulting from continuous contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry 1997). Ying (1995) uses the term "cultural orientation" (the extent of maintenance of original culture and adoption of American culture) instead of acculturation. Many types of changes may occur due to acculturation, such as economic changes (moving away from traditional pursuits towards new forms of employment) and psychological changes appearing at the individual level (Berry 1990). Acculturation is found to be associated with mental and physical health outcomes though the findings are inconsistent. Before the discussion of Taiwanese immigrants' stress and health, I will present various perspectives on acculturation.

Concept of Acculturation

Berry (1990) proposes four types of acculturation: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Assimilation is defined as the nondominant group's relinquishing its cultural identity and being absorbed into an established dominant group. Integration implies maintenance of a group's cultural integrity as well as participation in the host society. It is also termed "biculturalism." Separation occurs when the minority group maintains its ethnic identity and traditions but chooses not to have substantial relations with the larger society.

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This is also termed "traditionalism." If separation is imposed by the dominant group, the pattern is termed segregation. Marginalization refers to a group's loss of cultural and psychological contact with its traditional culture and the larger society (pp.93-94). The last type seems to be very uncommon.

We may wonder what impacts on the choice of a certain type of acculturation. Ecological variables, such as education, degree of societal discrimination, employment opportunities, and opportunities to participate in the native culture, all contribute to variations in the rate and direction of acculturation across generations (Buriel & de Ment 1997). The level of expectation an individual sets also influences his or her cultural orientation. If an immigrant wants to achieve a high social status, active involvement with American culture is important. An immigrant may become a traditionalist when s/he has little exposure to American culture after migration (e.g., when s/he lives in a dense ethnic community where contact with the larger society is only an option), when s/he is intimidated by the traumatic experience of discrimination, or simply because of low expectations of mobility. When a cohesive ethnic community exists, an immigrant who does not have sufficient skills or does not speak good English may choose to stay in that community. Berry (1970) says, "One can remain happy and contented inside a ghetto." However, it is not clear why an immigrant abandons both the culture of origin and the host culture.

Most research on immigrants' and minorities' acculturation takes two perspectives-- biculturalism and assimilation. The assimilation theory posits that as minorities acquire the host societies' values and behavior, their ethnicity will disappear eventually (Laroche et al. 1996). In contrast, integration theory or biculturalism posits that "ethnic groups maintain varying degrees of sociocultural distinctions and their adaptation to mainstream society

occurs selectively and disparately across different sociocultural spheres" (p. 115). Gans (1990) argues that owing to discrimination and other reasons, ethnic groups cannot assimilate unless they are permitted to enter the American group or institution. In other words, their acculturation is selective. They may become American culturally but not necessarily socially and structurally. Even when the second and third generations have become acculturated almost entirely, they still preserve a number of ethnic traits and can not be said to have assimilated (ibid).

In contrast to the assimilation or the unidimensional perspective, the more recent integration model or the bidimensional model (Berry 1995) posits that high involvement with one culture does not require low involvement with the other culture. It is likely that involvement with American culture is not as natural, intuitive and effortless as involvement with their native culture for recent immigrants (Tsai et al. 2000) due to cultural difference. Certain cultural values in a collective society also go against the values of an individualistic society. However, involvement with both cultures is **not always** mutually exclusive. A biculturalist may have as many American friends as ethnic friends and speak both English and the mother language fluently. Biculturalism is especially important when there is a need to participate in American culture in order to survive or to achieve. It is also important to note that biculturalism is not contingent upon a bicultural self-identity (Rotherham-Borus 1993).

Acculturation and Psychological Functioning

Findings on the relationship between acculturation and adaptation outcomes are inconsistent. Ying (1995) finds that there is a positive connection between biculturalism and psychological well-being among Chinese Americans. Thirteen studies reviewed by Rogler et al. (1991) showed a positive relationship between acculturation and mental health. In

other words, more integration into the new society leads to greater psychological well-being. However, the twelve studies they reviewed showed the negative effects of Americanization on the mental health of immigrants. They found that individuals who are high in acculturation are more likely to suffer from low self-esteem and psychological distress. Other researchers found that low acculturation has been associated with depression, withdrawal, and alcohol/drug abuse (Escobar et al. 1983; Szapocznik et al. 1980).

Some researchers found curvilinear relationships between acculturation and psychological functioning--increasing distress for those who are extremely acculturated and extremely under-acculturated (Rogler, Cortes & Malgady 1991). According to these researchers, psychological functioning is at its best at an optimal balance point, i.e. biculturalism. Such balance is achieved when the supportive and ego-reinforcing elements of the ethnic culture and the instrumental skills of the host society are integrated (ibid). Other research has shown the advantage of becoming a biculturalist in an increasingly multicultural world. In Ying's (1995) study of Chinese Americans living in San Francisco, biculturalism predicts the highest level of psychological well-being, followed by traditionalism. In a study of Indochinese adults (Rumbaut 1991; Portes & Rumbaut 1990), biculturalism was found to be conducive to mental health. Rumbaut states that

> it appears that the most successful psychological adjustment is made not by those
> who remain unacculturated and alienated from the American milieu, nor by those
> who pursue a monocultural assimilative strategy, but by those who are oriented
> toward an additive style of acculturation, adapting to American ways
> while retaining their ethnic identity and attachments (p. 81)

To function adequately in a host culture, knowledge of and involvement with the host culture is necessary, especially when an immigrant lives in a community with a small number of residents from the same ethnicity. However, claiming membership in the ethnic

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community also enables biculturalists to tap into ethnic resources and networks (Kibria 1997). Many aspects of their traditional cultural values are conducive to disciplining their children and motivating them to achieve. They will obtain support readily from the ethnic community should they need it. Even for those who are well-educated and know American main-stream culture very well, maintaining ties with the ethnic community is beneficial to them.

Some clarification needs to be made in the interpretation of biculturalism. Berry (1980) did not specify the extent to which a bicultural person maintains the culture of origin and participates in the host culture. Does s/he need to be actively involved with both cultures? It may be easier for an old-timer to actively participate in the host culture than for a new immigrant. In addition, immigrants from Europe may find it easier to be actively involved with American culture than immigrants from Asia because of fewer differences between European and American cultures.

Hurh and Kim's (1984) study of first-generation Korean Americans may help us better understand biculturalism. They proposed an "adhesive adaptation" theory in which "certain aspects of the host culture and social relations with the host society are added to the immigrants' traditional culture and social networks without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old" (p. 162). They consider adhesive adaptation a survival strategy for non-white immigrants, and its consequence is "limited pluralism" (pp. 162-63), which is a modified form of biculturalism. They contend that immigrants' integration into the host society's primary social structure is restricted regardless of the immigrants' length of residence in the new society, socioeconomic status, and desire for assimilation. The social segregation of ethnic minorities tends to intensify their ethnic attachment and to lower the

levels of their frustration. In their study, even the old-timers, whose length of residence is eleven years or more, show strong sense of family priority, ethnic pride, exposure to Korean mass media and the desire to teach their children the Korean language (p. 163).

Hurh and Kim (1984) made two significant points based on their study. First, socioeconomic status and exposure to the host culture do not accompany a decrease in ethnic attachment. Secondly, the social interaction with White friends and participation in American voluntary associations, which vary with the length of residence and levels of education, do not accompany their disassociation from Korean friends or kin or other Korean ties (p. 163). Their study suggests that bicultural strategy works best for non-White immigrants and that length of residence and high level of education are not commensurate with assimilation. It also warns us to interpret biculturalism carefully. For the first-generation immigrants, involvement with the traditional culture is usually higher than involvement with the host culture. Biculturalism does not necessarily mean that the involvement with the host culture has to be at the same level as the involvement with the culture of origin.

Interaction with the Host Society and the Ethnic Community

Buriel and De Ment (1997) held that Chinese immigrants retained a commitment to their culture of origin across generations. They may not consider their ethnic culture superior to that of American culture in every aspect. Instead, they are influenced by the Confucian teaching that a person should not forget his or her roots. In the case of first-generation Taiwanese adult immigrants, they may have formed a Taiwanese identity during their adolescence in the home land. Though they are exposed to and experience Western culture to varied degrees after arriving in the U.S., they basically identify themselves as

"Taiwanese." Some may isolate themselves from the ethnic community because they have become Americanized, but the majority of them retain their culture of origin. The extent of their involvement with American culture varies. If they work for American companies or if their customers are mostly Americans, their involvement level is higher. Therefore, it is appropriate to say that there are moderate and active biculturalists. Education is negatively associated with traditionalism. The less education an individual has, the more likely s/he will be a traditionalist.

Yet, one intriguing thing is the occasions when biculturalists display their "Americaness" and the way in which they solve the dilemma of handling two cultures. Buriel and DeMent (1997) argue that family members often develop cultural competencies necessary for interacting with Euro-Americans in public while interacting with family members and members of their ethnic group based on ethnic culture. Indeed, I observe that first-generation Taiwanese Americans may largely maintain their ethnic cultural values and cultural practice when they are with family or with Taiwanese friends. For example, they will not hold a completely American-style wedding for their children. They eat mainly ethnic foods, watch Taiwanese videos at home, speak their mother language to children most of the time and observe ethnic holidays. They also socialize mostly with Taiwanese Americans. Even if they need to adopt the mainstream American norms in disciplining children, they do not want their children to be assimilated. In other words, they want their children to be bicultural like themselves. Booth et al. (1997) argue that in educating their children immigrant parents build a learning environment that help the children meet the expectations of the school, while still maintaining their own ethnicity.

Immigrants may relinquish certain aspects of their native culture and become more

"American" in certain contexts in order to fit in; for instance, they may be more "American" when they are at work or when they socialize with American friends (Interview). Taiwanese Americans living in a predominantly White community and working for White employers, such as the professionals in the Midwest, may find it beneficial to be involved with American culture. First, their work requires them to interact with the mainstream society frequently. To stay sound in their position and feel comfortable with their coworkers, they have to know the work culture very well and be equipped with good language skills and American ways of communication in addition to their professional expertise. If they want to be promoted to a high position, good communication skills are especially essential in order to supervise their subordinates. Even for a non-professional working for a White employer, familiarity with the American work culture will reduce work-related stress.

Measurement of Cultural Orientation

First-generation immigrants live in two cultures. I have briefly discussed the advantage of being involved with traditional and American culture. Some aspects of cultural involvement are not as concrete as other aspects. We may be interested in how researchers measure the concept of acculturation or cultural orientation. It usually takes one or a combination of the following dimensions: 1) feelings of attachment to and a sense of security in one's group, 2) ethnic core values (such as individualism or collectivism), 3) ethnic practices and behaviors (such as language, media use and celebration of holidays). The last dimension is readily observable but may change over time (Kwan 2000). I believe the three dimensions best capture the gist of acculturation rather than one or two dimensions. Many researchers use similar dimensions to measure ethnic identity. This leads us to ponder the conceptual difference between ethnic identity and acculturation as well as the relationship

between them. While acculturation emphasizes the relationship between ethnic individuals and the dominant society, ethnic identity focuses primarily on how individuals feel about their own ethnic group.

A person may strongly identify with his or her culture of origin (the second dimension) but have a low level of practice in ethnic tradition (the third dimension) because of the unavailability of an ethnic community. In contrast, a second-generation Korean American may adopt traditional cultural practices, such as speaking Korean, eating ethnic foods and observing ethnic holidays, but may not understand his or her parents' culture very well. Therefore, I assume that ethnic identity (the first dimension) is more associated with adherence to ethnic core values and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group than with cultural activities.

The inconsistent findings on the relationship between acculturation and mental health have been mentioned earlier. They may result from the measurement of acculturation. Researchers did not measure the same constructs. Some used existing scales, and others created their own. There are few existing scales which measure biculturalism. The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-identity Acculturation scale (1987) was primarily designed for Asian college students.

Ying (1995) measures acculturation using three dimensions: language proficiency (English versus ethnic language), ethnicity of friends (American friends versus Chinese friends), and enjoyment of cultural activities (American versus Chinese activities). So there are six five-point Likert scales, and the cut-off point is three for each. For each dimension, those who score above the midpoint on both the Chinese and American scales are classified as biculturalists. Those who score below the midpoint on the scale measuring Chinese

language proficiency, Chinese friends or Chinese cultural activities but above the midpoint on the scale measuring English language proficiency, American friends or American cultural activities are assimilationists. Those who score above the midpoint on the scale measuring Chinese language proficiency, Chinese friends or Chinese cultural activities but below the midpoint on the scale measuring English language proficiency, American friends or American cultural activities are traditionalists. Those who score below the midpoint on both scales are marginalists. The advantage of this scale is that it measures three dimensions of cultural involvement rather than the overall involvement. The flaw of such a measurement is that the variables for the three dimensions are continuous variables. It will be problematic to use continuous variables for categorization. For example, a respondent with a score of 2.98 and 3.0 on both Chinese and English scales is a marginalist, while another respondent with a score of 3.1 and 3.2 on both scales is a biculturalist. Though the scores of these two respondents are very close, they are put in different categories.

Acculturative Stress and Mental distress

One of the focuses of my research is to examine the effect of acculturative stress on mental distress. In my study, acculturative stress refers to stress experienced by immigrants in the family, workplace and social encounters. Stress is defined as an internal state or reaction to anything we consciously or subconsciously perceive as a threat, real or imagined (Clarke 1988), or as the imbalance between perceived demand and perceived ability to meet that demand (Sutherland & Cooper 1990). While stress is generally perceived to evoke negative feelings, such as frustration, fear, pressure, anger, sadness, and confusion (Cavanagh 1988), individuals under too little stress may not make adequate efforts to perform at their best levels (Crampton et al. 1995). The negative effects of stress can be

physical and psychological. Physical disorders include heart disease, high blood pressure, strokes, migraine headaches, cancer, gastrointestinal diseases (Murray & Schoenborn 1987), in addition to asthma, diabetes, multiple sclerosis (Fleming & Baum 1986), higher cholesterol levels, sleep disorder and respiratory diseases (French and Caplan.1973). Psychological symptoms include anxiety, depression, job dissatisfaction, and so on. Depression refers to feelings of sadness or hopelessness, and anxiety refers to being tense or worried (Mirowsky & Ross 1989).

It needs to be clarified that psychological or mental distress is not the same as diagnostic psychiatric disorder or mental illness. According to Downey and Coyne (1991), few persons from the community sample who have high self-reported depression scores meet the diagnostic criteria for clinical depression. Psychological distress refers to demoralization, which is common among women, minorities and low-income persons. Moreover, some ethnic groups somatize mental distress through the medium of the body (Kleinman 1986).

Causes of mental distress are not limited to stress from an individual's roles in the family and the workplace and stress from social encounters. Mental distress can also be triggered by unexpected life events (e.g., unemployment, divorce), chronic health problems, and status loss. An individual's race, class and gender may be sources of distress. However, their impact is manifested through one's family, work and social stress. In addition, based on the definition of stress, whether stress leads to distress depends on an individual's subjective evaluation of the stressors. Only when the demand of a certain stressor exceeds his or her material and psychological resources will the stress cause mental distress.

The underutilization of mental health services by Asian Americans can be attributed to stigma, shame, unfamiliarity with, or unwillingness to accept Western treatment, such as

psychotherapy, and knowledge of facilities (Chin 1999). Disclosing their emotions to a stranger makes them uncomfortable. The cost of treatment is not a major concern (Sue, lecture, 2000). Therefore, the use of alternative resources (family, herbalists, general practitioners, medical clinics) is common. Interdependence among family members is one of the most important characteristics of Asian culture. When experiencing problems with their mental health, Asians tend to rely on family members.

In spite of the defects in measurement, research has indicated the advantage of being bicultural in a multicultural society. The respondents in my study live in the Midwest where the majority of the population is White. Like Korean Americans, most of them largely maintain their culture of origin and moderately adopt the host culture. Hence, they may be categorized as biculturalists. I believe that involvement in each culture has a separate effect on their psychological functioning. Involvement with traditional culture is hypothesized to increase mental distress, and involvement with American culture is hypothesized to decrease mental distress (Hypothesis 1a and 1b). Based on research on the positive relationship between stress and distress, I also hypothesize that a high level of family, work and social stress predict a high level of mental distress (Hypothesis 2).

In addition, I examine the impact of the different dimensions of cultural involvement on family, work and social stress rather than the combined effect of these dimensions. These dimensions include cultural activities, cultural attachment (attachment to American or ethnic culture) and core values in the host and ethnic cultures. It is necessary to examine the effect of different dimensions, because an individual may have different levels of involvement in these dimensions (e.g., high involvement in traditional activities but low in traditional values). Before the review of family, work and social stress, I will briefly present the

background of Taiwanese Americans in general, their traditional values, cultural behaviors, and transnational behaviors.

Demographic Background of Taiwanese Americans

Taiwanese Americans come to the U.S. for different reasons. They may obtain a visa on the basis of family reunification if they have a family connection in the U.S. Their spouses and children under the age of twenty-one may come with them (Wong 1998). They may also be hired by Taiwanese American employers who are short of unskilled laborers, such as cooks and kitchen aids, but are not able to find them in the local market. Jobs are advertised in newspapers and workers from Taiwan are hired if no Americans are interested in the jobs after one month of recruitment (interview). Highly-skilled professionals trained in science, technology, the arts and other professions also apply for visas under the Third Preference(Wong 1998). Many parents dislike the entrance exam system used in academia in Taiwan. The entrance exams for senior high school and college were adopted from Japan after World War II and have undergone some changes. However, complaints regarding the reformed system and the burden of preparing for the exam are endless. Parents who want to protect their children from such pressures and wish to see them excel in a balanced and more flexible educational system tend to migrate to Western countries. The feeling of insecurity caused by the military threat from the Communist regime in Mainland China also motivates many Taiwanese to migrate. They sometimes send their children overseas and stay in Taiwan themselves because they can earn a better living at home.

There is a large concentration of Taiwanese Americans on the East and West coasts. Bernard Wong wrote a book on the entrepreneurship of the new immigrants from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong in the San Francisco Bay Area. New York is also a city which

attracts Taiwanese immigrants because of the investment opportunities. A book called *The New Chinatown* (Kwong 1996) described the development of the New York Chinatown and the problems faced by the residents.

There were about 118,048 Taiwanese Americans in the U..S in the year 2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). California is the state where there is the largest number of Taiwanese Americans (N = 62,317), followed by New York (N = 7095), Texas (N = 6931), New Jersey (N = 5879), Washington (N = 4019), Illinois (N = 3427), Maryland (N = 2408), Massachusetts (N = 2364), and Michigan (N = 2103). There are less than 2000 Taiwanese Americans in each of the other states. In Hawaii, there are only 777 Taiwanese Americans. There has been a rapid increase of Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants in Monterey Park near Los Angeles from 40.9% in 1980 to 63% in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991). John Horton wrote a book on their struggle over language control and ethnic tensions due to the rapid population growth. As the author mentions, "In Monterey Park, almost all issues have something to do with race"(Horton 1995, p.157). In recent years, Texas has attracted more and more immigrants from Taiwan. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000, there are more Taiwanese Americans in Chicago than in any other city in the Midwest.

The following demographic figures were calculated based on the Census 2000 Summary File 4 data for the Whites/Taiwanese alone or in combination with other races (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Among the Taiwanese American population 18 years old and over, 11.9 % were high school graduates, 28.9 % were college graduates and 30 % were postgraduates or had professional degrees, compared with 28.37 %, 15.5 % and 8.38 % for White Americans. These figures show that there were more Taiwanese Americans in higher education than White Americans in the year 2000. However, there has been an increase in

college graduates among White Americans in recent years. The median household income

of Taiwanese Americans was $52,792 in 2000, compared with $44,494 for Whites. The

percentage of Taiwanese American families below the poverty level was 15.1 % in 2000,

compared with 9.35 % for Whites. Based on the I % Public Use Microdata Sample, the self-

employment rate for employed Taiwanese Americans 16 years old and over was 19.8 in

2000, while the rate was 12.8 for Whites.

To further understand the respondents' feelings towards their homeland, I will present

the physical layout, demography and history of Taiwan. The demographic factors and

political situations of Taiwan may partially explain why Taiwanese migrate to the U.S. and

other countries.

Demography and History of Taiwan

Taiwan is an island-country located in the south-east of Mainland China and is separated

from China by the Taiwan Strait. The official name of Taiwan is the Republic of China. It

is 36,000 square kilometers in size, and there are several outlying islands outside of the main

island, such as Kim-Men, Machu, Penghu, Magong, and the Orchid Island. The four largest

cities are Taipei, Kaohsung, Taichung, and Tainan. The entire population is about twenty-

three million people, and about 1.7 % of them are aboriginals (less than 4 million) of Malayo-

Polynesian origin. The majority of them are Taiwanese whose ancestors migrated from China

in the Ming and Ching dynasty. The population of Taiwan makes it the second most

populated nation in the world, after Bangladesh (Copper 2000).

Most Taiwanese speak Fujienese because their ancestors migrated from the Fujien

province of China. Some of them speak Hakka because their ancestors migrated from the

Kuantung Province of China. At the end of 1949, the total population in Taiwan was

7,397,000 (Walker 1973). Chinese mainlanders who escaped to Taiwan with the national government in 1949 accounted for one million. The weather type is sub-tropical, and the average temperature is 70 degrees Farenheit (Copper 2000). Seventy percent of the island is covered by mountains. That is why the cities are concentrated on the Western coast of the island and are crowded with people, although the average number of children per family is about two. Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, has a population of over two million.

Taiwan was originally called Formosa, meaning beautiful island, by Dutch sailors around 1590. The most comprehensive historical records on Taiwan go back 350 years to the period of the Dutch occupation, 1624-1662. When the Dutch East Indies Company arrived, they found only the aboriginal population on the island; there were no signs of any administrative structure of the Chinese Imperial Government. On a narrow peninsula on the Southwestern coast of the island, the Dutch established a fortress named *"Zeelandia."* The peninsula was called **Tayouan**, which means *terrace bay*. This name later evolved into **Taiwan** and became the name for the whole island. The Dutch brought in Chinese migrants to work on the sugar plantations and rice fields. In 1662 the Dutch were defeated by a Chinese general, Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga), a loyalist of the Ming dynasty, who intended to overthrow the Ching dynasty but did not succeed. He also brought many people living in the Fujian Province to Taiwan.

In the 19th Century, China did not intend to include Taiwan as its territory and hardly had any influence in the coastal waters around Taiwan. The French sent a fleet to the island, and for nine months in 1884-85, the northern part of Taiwan was occupied by the French. In 1895 the Japanese defeated the Manchus in the Sino-Japanese War, and in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China ceded Taiwan to Japan. The Taiwanese didn't like the idea of

incorporation into Japan, and on May 25, 1895, the Taiwan Republic (the first independent republic in Asia) was established. However, Japanese imperial troops entered Tainan (the southern capital of the Taiwan Republic) on October 21, 1895 and ended the Republic's short life (Lamley 1973).

The Japanese occupation was harsh and resulted in continuous rebellion during the first few years. The Taiwanese felt that they were discriminated against by the Japanese. For example, the Taiwanese were forced to learn the Japanese language, and only a small number of them were allowed to go to the schools designed for the Japanese (Sih 1973). Yet, the Japanese developed the infrastructure, trains, roads, and industry extensively so that Taiwan could act as a supply station for Japan during World War II. As a result, Taiwan had already modernized when it became independent in 1945. In 1943, the Allied Powers held the Cairo Conference and they decided to return Taiwan to China at the request of General Chiang Kai-shek, the commander of the Chinese troops.

When the War actually ended in 1945, Taiwan was occupied by General Chiang's troops. Initially, the Taiwanese were glad to get rid of the Japanese, but soon many people were disappointed at the national government. The tension between Taiwanese civilians and the Mainland soldiers and officers led to the February 28th Incident in 1947. In this incident, numerous Taiwanese leaders, students, lawyers, and doctors were killed (between 18,000 and 28,000) (www.gergo.com/webconnections/taiwan/history.htm)

In 1949, General Chiang Kai-shek lost the war against the Communist Chinese on the mainland and set up his regime in Taiwan. For the next four decades, the people of Taiwan lived under Martial Law because the KMT (Kuo-Min Tang, the ruling party of Taiwan from 1949 till 2000) treated the Chinese Communists as rebels and planned to recover the

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mainland some day. The Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan were not allowed to have any contact with the Chinese in Mainland China. In the meantime, Chinese communists set up a so-called "iron gate" which blocked Mainland China from contact with the outside world. If a Taiwanese resident was suspected of any contact with a Communist Chinese, s/he would be charged as a criminal by the KMT. In 1958, Chinese communists attacked Kim-Men Island, which was an outlying island governed by the KMT, but were defeated by the navy of Taiwan.

In 1951-52 the Allied Powers and Japan formally ended World War II by concluding the San Francisco Peace Treaty (Kublin 1973). That treaty was important for Taiwan because it stated that the people of Taiwan should determine the future status of the island based on the principle of self-determination. In 1971 they realized that their wish of recovering China could not be fulfilled when Nixon and Kissinger visited China. In the same year, KMT withdrew its membership in the UN. In 1972, the Shanghai Communiqué between the U.S. and the Chinese authorities in Beijing was signed (Copper 2000). This communiqué is the basis for the present so-called "One China" policy of the Clinton administration. According to experts on international relations, the communiqué merely states that these nations took note of the Chinese position, but did not necessarily "agree with" the position. Since this communiqué was made without any representation of the people of Taiwan, it cannot have any validity in determining the future of Taiwan (http://www.gergo.com/taiwan/history.htm).

Due to the tremendous increase in population after 1949, the KMT put much effort into developing the economy of Taiwan to overcome poverty. There are not many heavy industries in Taiwan due to lack of natural resources. Except for state-run corporations, most businesses are small or medium sized and do not require a large amount of capital; thus

they are able to adjust quickly in difficult times. The diligence of the Taiwanese made the export trade, which is an integral part of the economic development, a success for many years. However, the high percentage of national defense budget and the low percentage of educational budget have deprived Taiwan from being able to compete with Japan in terms of infrastructure and the quality of living.

During the martial law period, people did not have freedom of speech or the right to assemble, and the Taiwanese independence movement was depressed. During this period, the crime rate was low. The Kaohsiung Incident led by those unsatisfied with the ruling of KMT occurred in December 1979. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), an opposition party, was formed in September 1986. The Martial Law was finally lifted in 1989 but replaced by a less-stringent National Security Law, and the political prisoners have been released since then. In 1996, the mainland communist government launched a missile attack on Taiwan right before the presidential election. The first Taiwanese was elected president by the people of Taiwan, but the KMT was still in power. In March 2000, the KMT candidate lost the presidential election. Thus, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the ruling party. DPP won the presidential election again in March 2004. However, the threat from Communist China has not diminished and this has helped strengthen Taiwanese' nationalism. From the history of Taiwan, we learn that the mainland communist regime has never ruled Taiwan.

The political situation in Taiwan may be one of the contributors to the Taiwanese intention to migrate overseas. This is especially true in the case of mainlanders who had a traumatic experience in fleeing to Taiwan around 1949 and can now afford to migrate to a country that they believe is safer. Tension between native-born Taiwanese and Mainlanders

in Taiwan has diminished nowadays, especially among the younger generation. After migrating to the U.S., many of them identify themselves as Taiwanese Americans rather than Chinese Americans in order to distinguish themselves from those who migrate from the communist China. In the U.S. Census 2000, the statistical data for the Taiwanese and the Chinese are separate. Therefore, researchers do not need to lump them together any more.

In the next sections, I will present the traditional culture of Taiwanese Americans and their cultural behaviors. Since they have lived in Taiwan for at least twenty years, they have been profoundly impacted by the traditional culture. Then I will present their transnational behaviors. Immigrants' social networks can extend beyond national boundaries, especially for the first-generation. The social ties or any form of connection with their homeland has impact on their adaptation outcomes.

Confucianism and Traditional Values

Taiwanese Americans' traditional values have been deeply influenced by Confucianism. Confucianism has been the predominant ideology that governs the lives of the Taiwanese. In addition to Confucianism, which has been viewed as a philosophy rather than a religion, Chinese culture includes philosophy of other schools in ancient China (Fung 1948). The influence of Confucianism on China, Taiwan and some Asian countries, such as Vietnam, Japan and Korea (Min 1998), is so profound that people in these countries tend to equate their culture with Confucian culture. It is inevitable that some aspects of traditional Chinese culture that are not Confucius' teachings are mistaken as Confucianism, such as the gender role socialization for women.

Confucius lived in the times of chaos (551-479BC). In order to establish social stability, Confucius emphasized the social roles designated to an individual. Confucius stressed the

importance of five ethical relations–relationship between emperors and subjects, relationship between parents and children, relationship between husband and wife, relationship between the siblings, and relationship between friends (Tu 1998, pp. 121-136). These five types of relationships are reciprocal relationships. In other words, the two parties in each relationship have not only the right entitled to them but also the responsibility and obligation that come with the roles they play. Here are some examples. An emperor has many more privileges than ordinary people, but he must also fulfill his obligations as an emperor. The responsibility of a ruler is to ensure the subsistence, livelihood and education of the people (De Bary 1998). The ruler should provide care and guidance for the subjects, and the subjects should obey and be loyal to the ruler (Oldstone-Moore 2002, p.56). Parents have the right to supervise and discipline their children, but they are also responsible for the children's well-being. Children owe parents respect, obedience and care in old age (ibid). Similarly, husbands and wives have their own rights and obligations. For example, husbands were responsible for family income in ancient China, and wives were responsible for maintaining the household and disciplining children (ibid). Older siblings are to be respected by younger siblings, but at the same time they should be the role model of younger ones and take good care of them. Friends should remain trustful of each other (ibid).

Confucius did not discriminate against women though some modern scholars thought he did. Mencius was a scholar and philosopher in the early Warring States period (403-222 BC). Mencius' mother played an important role in his education and was well-known for her intelligence and wisdom. This disproves that women did not have any social status in ancient China.

In *The Analects,* Confucius did not say wives must obey their husbands when they are

alive and obey the eldest son after their husbands die. The three bonds were stated in the book *Li Ji* (The Ode of Rites), which was written in the West Han Dynasty (206 BC till 9AD). However, in the Han dynasty a brilliant woman Ban Chao, author of Women's Precepts, advocated equality of education for men and women and opposed spousal abuse (women's verbal abuse towards husbands and men's physical abuse towards wives). She became the only woman serving as Historian of the Imperial Court (Wawrytko 2000, 178).

Tang dynasty is considered a very prosperous period in Chinese history. Emperors were quite liberal. They treated their subjects and ordinary people well. At that time, many emperors promoted Buddhism, and women enjoyed egalitarian relationships with men. Empress Wu Zhao was the only woman in Chinese history to become an empress. She was in power for fifty years. Though she was a controversial figure, the dynasty accomplished its widest geographical expansion during her reign (Wawrytko 2000). Unfortunately, the dynasty was overthrown and replaced by the Sung dynasty. Since Guifei Yang (a beautiful woman loved by a Tang emperor) was held accountable for the fall of the Tang dynasty, rigorous constraints were placed on women after the Tang dynasty (ibid p. 181).

The officials of the Sung dynasty promoted Confucianism vigorously as a counterattack to Buddhism, which they regarded as offering little solution to political and other mundane problems. Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi), the most influential philosopher of Neo-Confucianism, synthesized Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and ideas from other schools. However, when his philosophy was incorporated into the examination system, it evolved into a rigid official creed. It emphasized the one-sided obligations of obedience of subject to ruler, child to father, wife to husband, and younger brother to older brother (www.crystalinks.com/ chinesedynasties.html). Perhaps this is why Confucianism is considered authoritarian by

Western scholars. In addition, since women's status started to deteriorate sharply in the Sung Dynasty, Confucianism has been tainted by theories of suppression and domination in gender roles. However, based on the five relations mentioned by Confucius, husband and wife have different responsibilities towards the family and mutual obligation towards each other. As such, women's roles are as important as men's.

It is true that patriarchy as a form of social control was promoted by the officials in ancient China and continues to exist even in modern times. However, Confucius should not be blamed for women's inferior status or for promoting patriarchy. Confucius did not say that women are inferior to men. Many western scholars have mistaken Confucius to be sexist just because of a comment he made on certain women and the petty men. Once Confucius said," Only the petty men (hsiao ren) and girls/women (nu zi) are hard to deal with/nourish"(Goldin 2000). The context in which this comment was made was not stated in the Analects, and this is the source of the above misunderstanding. Petty men are men without character. Nu zi may not refer to women in general, but certain types of women, such as concubines. Some scholars interpret nu zi as girls, who have not grown up and are therefore difficult to nourish. It is not that they can not grow intellectually as they mature (ibid). In fact, Confucius commented that the wisdom of Kuang-fu Wen Po's mother is like that of a man (Raphals 2000).

Confucius believed that all people should have equal opportunity for education (Analects 15:38). Historical narratives from the Warring States and Han depict women's intellectual and moral influence as critical to the success and failure of states and dynasties (Raphals 2000, p. 226). The Leinu Zhuan (biography of exemplary women) stories written in the Han Dynasty emphasize the actual abilities of women (ibid).

Benevolence and mannerism were profoundly emphasized by Confucius. Once he said, "Don't do to others what you do not want others do to you"(Lau 1992, *The Analects*: 15). He also said, "Do not look unless it is in accordance with the rites; do not listen unless it is in accordance with the rites; do not speak unless it is in accordance with the rites; do not act unless it is in accordance with the rites"(*The Analects*: 12:1). Confucius also promoted education, filial piety, modesty, diligence, harmonious relationship with others, and frugality. Confucius said, " When three people walk together, one of them can be a teacher for me." This is a way to express his modesty. He also said that "It is not the failure of others to appreciate your abilities that should trouble you, but rather your own lack of them" (The Analects 14:30). He promoted harmonious relationship with others and discouraged litigation by saying that litigation eventually leads to poverty. Instead, he advised people to be self-restrained so that great plans will not be ruined. Confucius devalued idleness by saying, "The man whose belly is full all day and who does not put his mind to some use is sure to meet with difficulties" (The Analects 17:22).

In Confucius' times, Confucianism was a threat to those who were in power. His ideas were not accepted by the aristocrat. His follower Mencius glorified his teachings, but not all his teachings were implemented or institutionalized by the rulers in later times. Democracy was practiced by the first two emperors in Chinese history. They became the rulers because the general public wanted them to rule (Roberts 2003). Mencius promoted democracy by proclaiming that ordinary people's opinions are more valuable than the emperor's. The emperor should care for the well-being of his subjects rather than suppress them. Unfortunately, his idea of democracy was not practiced by many Chinese emperors in later times.

Filial piety has been regarded as the most important virtue in Chinese history. It is best described as showing respect to one's parents, providing them with material and non-material care, and bringing honor to them. Children should also support parents financially and take care of them when they get old. What is most important is to show respect to parents. If an individual shows no respect to his/her parent in providing material care, the parent is not different from a hound or a horse (*The Analects* 2:7). Filial piety is also manifested through ancestor worshiping and continuity of the family name. However, not carrying the family name by a male offspring is acceptable in modern times. In Confucius' teachings, filial piety did not imply absolute obedience. He said, "In serving your father and mother you ought to dissuade them from doing wrong in the gentlest way. If you see your advice being ignored, you should not become disobedient but should remain reverent. You should not complain even if you are distressed" (*The Analects* 4:18). We see that Confucianism does not entitle parents to absolute authority.

Did teachers and scholars enjoy a privileged position in Chinese history? Teachers have enjoyed a prestigious position for thousands of years. According to a famous scholar in the Tang dynasty, Han Yu, teachers should be the doctrine propagators, knowledge transmitters and counselors of students' problems. Teachers have been viewed as the role model for the students. People set a high standard for their character and integrity. Though the social status of teachers in Taiwan has declined in recent decades due to the influence of capitalism, most students still respect their teachers.

Confucius' moral and political thought is communitarian (De Bery 1998). His teachings still influence the mainstream ideology in Taiwan, although certain aspects have been modified in response to industrialization. Obviously Taiwanese Americans have been deeply

influenced by Confucius' teachings.

Cultural Behaviors

One dimension of immigrants' cultural orientation is their cultural behaviors or involvement in ethnic and American cultural activities. The term cultural behaviors refers to celebrating ethnic and American holidays, speaking ethnic languages and English, preferring to ethnic foods or American foods, attending activities held by Taiwanese and American organizations, and using American and ethnic media and recreation, such as television, videos, newspapers, music and other forms of art. The ethnic holidays most Taiwanese Americans observe include the New Year's day, the Dragon Boat Festival (on May 5th on the lunar calendar), and the Mid-Autumn Festival (on August 15th on the lunar calendar), which is also called the Moon Festival. They will celebrate these holidays with Taiwanese friends or attend the celebration organized by the local Taiwanese Association. The larger the city where they reside, the more serious the celebration is because more people are involved in holding the activities. They also observe American holidays, but they may not attend certain holiday activities enthusiastically if their children have grown up. The traditional New Year's Day usually falls at the end of January or February, which makes family reunion difficult. For those whose children work or study in other states and live away from home, Christmas time is the time for family reunion.

Speaking an ethnic language and eating ethnic foods seem to be the most common cultural behaviors for immigrants. First-generation Taiwanese Americans, especially the old timers, do not change their diet easily. Therefore, they shop very often in the oriental stores or supermarkets for foods imported from Asian countries. Though ethnic foods are also sold in American supermarkets, there is less variety. Taiwanese Americans prefer a balanced

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diet and do not eat desserts right after meals except at a wedding banquet. Soybean

products (e.g., soybean milk and tofu), various kinds of beans and vegetables are consumed

more than meat. Many Taiwanese Americans, especially the younger generation, have

adopted American foods for breakfast for the sake of convenience. On ethnic holidays

certain traditional foods are available in the oriental market, such as moon cakes (for the

mid-autumn festival), steamed rice cakes (for the new year holiday), and sweet rice wrapped

in bamboo leaves (for the dragon-boat festival). Some old timers still make them at home.

Because Mandarin has been the only official language in Taiwan since 1949 and has been

diligently promoted by the government, many Taiwanese born after 1949 use it most of the

time. They speak Taiwanese at home if their parents cannot or do not want to speak

Mandarin. The Taiwanese language is the same language spoken in Fujian Province.

Around fifteen years ago, the dominance of Mandarin started to be challenged. Many far-

sighted people were worried that the Taiwanese language would disappear some day if fewer

and fewer people understood and used it. People who speak Hakka (a dialect spoken by

those who migrated from Kuantung Province long time ago) also wanted to preserve their

mother tongue. So, today some TV stations in Taiwan broadcast in Taiwanese or Hakka

only. Having a unified language can facilitate communication among people who speak

different languages, but other languages should be allowed to be spoken in the workplace

and at school.

First-generation Taiwanese Americans also have the fear of losing their mother tongue.

Old timers may speak only Taiwanese at home because they have a strong feeling for this

language and feel proud of being able to speak it. Some of them not only want their children

to speak Taiwanese but also promote speaking Taiwanese in activities held by Taiwanese

Americans. For the purpose of promoting Taiwanese and publishing magazines, they adopt Romanization for the written form if there are no Chinese characters for certain Taiwanese words. They think that this is a good way to preserve the language. Many younger Taiwanese Americans still prefer speaking Mandarin at home because they are not fluent in Taiwanese. They speak Mandarin to their children for convenience, for the sake of authority because they usually do not speak English as well as their children, or simply because they want to pass the language to their children so that the children do not forget their roots and can interact with their grandparents and other Taiwanese in the community easily. First-generation Taiwanese Americans, young and old, usually do not speak English when they are with other Taiwanese. They feel related to one another when speaking their mother tongue. They may speak some English for the sake of convenience when there are no Taiwanese or Mandarin counterparts for certain English words and idioms. A speech will be given in Mandarin if some participants do not understand Taiwanese.

New recreational videos produced in Taiwan may not be easily accessible in the Midwest because of the small demand. In addition, most movie theaters in the Midwest do not feature Asian movies. However, it may be easier to access Taiwanese videos and movies in New York and Los Angeles. Watching news broadcast in English and other American television programs is very common for Midwest Taiwanese Americans. News programs made in Taiwan are also accessible on cable television every day.

Transnationalism

Contemporary immigrants are able to build multiple linkages to their homeland due to technological advances in communication, transportation, and the mass media (Min 1999). The process by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link

their societies of origin and settlement together is called transnationalism (Portes 1995). Thus Taiwanese Americans are able to obtain frequent support from family and friends in Taiwan, using long-distance telephone calls, fax messages and electronic mail. Ethnic newspapers, TV programs, movies and video tapes also strengthen their ties with the ethnic community and the home country. On the one hand, this helps them maintain their ethnic subculture and identity (pp. 80-81) and provides them with emotional well-being. On the other hand, they may send money home to support family members or donate money to charity organizations back home, which makes them feel good about themselves.

Taiwanese American business people also use their connection with their home country to set up branch offices or have the merchandise produced by the workers there. For example, the transnational ties among Taiwanese immigrants in Silicon Valley's transnational community enables them to participate in a global economy. The engineers in Silicon Valley use pre-existing alumni relationships with graduates of Taiwan's universities to facilitate business cooperation, investment and technology transfer between them and Taiwanese engineers. Taiwan provides a large amount of capital and manufacturing for Silicon Valley companies started by immigrant entrepreneurs. It also help them establish opportunities and relationships with customers. In Monterey Park, many Taiwanese entrepreneurs have also established business relationships with business people in Taiwan. An informant of my study opened a branch technology company in Taiwan in 2001. He travels to Taiwan at least once a year. Some university professors I know also work with universities in Taiwan for their projects.

Like the Taiwanese in Taiwan, Taiwanese Americans are divided in their attitudes towards the future status of Taiwan. Some of them propose independence, some prefer

reunification, and others prefer maintaining the status quo. Regardless of their standpoint, many Taiwanese Americans have been concerned about the marginalized status of Taiwan in the international community. They have been supportive of its participation in many international organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO). After the missile attack incident in 1996, more and more Taiwanese people have awakened to the vulnerability of Taiwan. In the meantime, Taiwanese Americans have become more progressive in expressing their support for the democratization of Taiwan. They watch the political situation in Taiwan very closely. Taiwan has been going through dramatic democratization since 1989 when the Martial Law was lifted. It was not uncommon for Taiwanese American oppositionists to set up associations to have their voice heard and even went back to Taiwan to support political dissidents.

In 2003 many Taiwanese American associations petitioned for the change of TECRO (Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office) into "Taiwan Representative Office." TECRO is similar to a consulate in its function. However, it is not officially a consulate because Taiwan and the U.S. do not have official governmental relationships. The current name is considered demeaning by many Taiwanese because Taipei is a city, not a country. In fact, Taiwan has been a country for more than fifty years, though PRC still considers her a province of China. The rationale for such a petition is that the Taiwan Relations Act, the main document governing the relationship between the United States and Taiwan, accords Taiwan the status of a country. The Act states, "Whenever the laws of the United States refer or relate to foreign countries, nations, states, governments, or similar entities, such terms shall include and such laws shall apply with such respect to Taiwan" (Taiwanese Collegian 2003, p. 33).

At least sixteen Taiwanese American organizations support the petition of changing TECO to Taiwan Representatives. Some of them are: FAPA (Formosan Association of Public Affairs), TAA (Taiwanese Association of America), FAHR (Formosan Association of Human Rights), NATWA (North America Taiwanese Women's Association), and the Professor Chen Wen-Cheng Memorial Foundation. FAPA was established in 1982. Its major goals are: to seek support, in particular in the US Congress, for the right of the people on Taiwan to determine the future status of the island, in accordance with the United Nation's principle of self-determination; to promote human rights, freedom and democracy for the people of Taiwan, and to protect and enhance the rights, interests and welfare of Taiwanese communities throughout the world. In the first ten years, FAPA was devoted to the democratization of Taiwan, such as the liberation of newspaper census, release of political prisoners and abolishment of overseas blacklist. In recent years, its goal has switched to the improvement of Taiwan's status in the international community. FAPA challenges the U.S. One-China policy and promotes the "One Taiwan, One China" policy (http://www.taiwandc.org/fapa/).

There are Taiwanese Associations in the large cities in the Mid West, and the Midwest Taiwanese Association holds annual meetings in Ohio. One of the major goals of these associations is to support Taiwan in times of need. They have asked its members to sign petition letters regarding Taiwan's membership in the WTO (World Trade Organization) and WHO (interview). They also sent money to Taiwan for earthquake and typhoon relief. In May 2003, the members purchased masks for the medical workers fighting against SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) in Taiwan (interview).

Family Stress

<u>Parenting Stress</u>

Taiwanese American parents generally adopt many aspects of traditional Asian child-rearing practices (Wong 1988,1995). However, children of immigrant families are attracted to the American core value of individualism introduced through schools, the media and cross-cultural friendship (Buriel & De Ment 1997, p. 186). Due to different degrees of acculturation in the immigrant family, the intergenerational conflict that parents encounter varies. For example, the pressure of parenting may include how much autonomy their teen-aged children should have, how to protect their children from the bad influence of their peers, and even how to help their children form a healthy ethnic identity. Studies show that Chinese American mothers were less restrictive and controlling than Chinese mothers in child rearing but more so than Euro-American parents (Chiu1987; Lin & Fu 1990). At the same time, both groups of Chinese parents encouraged independence in their children (ibid). Although interdependence is emphasized within the family, independence is viewed as a prerequisite for achievement in society and a basis for fulfilling filial obligations. These findings suggest that both acculturation and culture of origin have an important impact on child-rearing practices of immigrant parents.

Buriel & De Ment (1997) contend that the controlling style used by Chinese parents do not reflect authoritarian concepts but rather deep concern and involvement in the lives of their children (p. 186). Parents seem to be more lenient on superficial cultural changes such as clothing style and eating habits but hold on to core values with regard to dating practices and family obligations (p. 194). Lin & Fu's (1990) finding that Chinese and Chinese American parents were not less expressive than Euro-American parents indicates that the

child-rearing practices of Chinese and Chinese-American parents no longer follow all the traditional practices, which are characterized by unquestioned parental authority. Child-rearing practices of Taiwanese Americans are basically the same as those of Chinese Americans. Most Taiwanese parents nowadays are more democratic in treating their children than parents in the past. This means that there is open communication between them and children's opinions are heard.

Difficulties in parenting have been mentioned by most people I interviewed, male or female. They mentioned that the schedules for family activities and their own activities depend on their children's schedules and needs. They sacrifice their own hobbies and social activities before their children go to college. While some of them rely on day care centers, baby sitters and their parents to take care of their children, it is also common for mothers to stay home until their children go to high school.

I asked an interviewee whether children tend not to respect their parents because of their parents' poor English skills. She said if parents always seize the opportunity to learn new things, such as learning to be good parents and reading regularly, they will be respected by children despite their language deficiency. Another parent said being able to speak good English is less crucial than having a close relationship with children in establishing parental authority. Some parents said their children started to correct their spoken and written English after attending high school. Even though none of the parents have to rely on their children as interpreters, many of them sometimes feel that they do not know enough to be a good mentor to their children.

While it is true that parents want their children to be well adapted in American society (interview), they also want them to maintain their ethnic culture for fear that they will lose

their ethnic identity and become too Americanized (interview). For instance, in an effort to kindle an awareness of their Taiwanese identity, parents let children participate in the activities held by the Taiwanese community, speak Mandarin or Taiwanese to the children at home, and send children to Chinese schools and back to Taiwan to visit other family members and to learn Taiwanese culture. Again, to ensure that their children can compete with classmates, they try hard to monitor their children's leisure-time activity and watch their school performance closely so that they will not become delinquent. They also arrange after-school activities for their children, such as learning musical instruments and playing baseball or basketball at school. A parent even coached baseball at his children's school on the weekend.

Parents are often upset about the lack of enthusiasm in learning Mandarin on the part of their children. However, one parent mentioned that children will be angry with their parents if the parents allowed them to quit the language school when they were too young to know better. The reason is that their White American friends at high school will laugh at them for not being able to speak, read and write Mandarin (interview). A survey of immigrant children by Rumbaut (1994) shows that children's preference for English and poor command of their parents' mother language were positively associated with high levels of parent-child conflict. A study by Portes and Hao (1998) shows that immigrant children fluent in their native language and English reported fewer cultural clashes and stronger relationships with their families. Students who spoke only English reported more family conflict, lower educational goals and self-esteem than their bilingual peers. Based on my interview, bilingual children usually have more confidence in themselves and have better relationships with their parents. Some of the parents attended English class so that they were able to

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communicate with their children who understand little Mandarin or Taiwanese.

In sum, I assume that parent-child conflict will be greatly reduced if parents are objective and also sympathetic towards their children aware of the pressures they have to endure. However, I do not mean that parents should not pass traditional virtues on to the children, such as diligence, frugality, and taking care of parents and other family members. In the meantime, if children are able to speak the language of their parents, their parents can communicate with them better. There are many words in another language that do not have counterparts in English. No matter how long parents stay in the U.S., their English will never be as good as their children's. Indeed, I observed that parents who are strict with children in taking Mandarin and other classes in the language school complain less about their children's behaviors. Having the opportunity to interact with peers at the language school and the peers' parents helps children establish ethnic identity. This in turn reduces parent-child conflict.

Another source of parenting stress is children's marriage. Since there is not a large population of Taiwanese Americans in the Midwest, finding a suitable match with Taiwanese ancestry is not easy. Intercultural marriage is more acceptable in the U.S. nowadays than decades ago. However, many parents are still not open-minded towards their children's marrying someone from another race. They are opposed to interracial marriage for different reasons. The common reasons include a high divorce rate, communication problems between the daughter/son-in-law and parents-in-law, the racial identity of the mixed-race children, and parents' prejudice against other racial groups. Although couples of intercultural marriage may encounter more adjustment problems, their marriage also benefits them in many ways. For example, they are exposed to different ways of approaching life and

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resolving problems, have the opportunity to increase self-knowledge by "being forced to examine and define their own values, ideas and prejudices," experience greater variation and vitality in their lifestyle, develop an international identity, and have children who have a wider worldview (Romano 2001).

We may wonder whether biracial children adjust well psychologically and socially. Hall's (1992) and Cauce et al.'s (1992) studies on biracial persons found that biracial high school students did not differ significantly from monoracial students in self-esteem. However, Gibb's (1987) case studies reveal that biracial teenagers one of whose parents is black experienced conflict about their racial heritage, social marginality, and conflict about their autonomy and dependence. Many of these teenagers were ambivalent toward their parents' racial backgrounds. If they overidentified with one parent's culture, they would reject the other parent's culture. Biracial teenagers started to experience anxiety about social acceptance after they entered junior or senior high school. They were often rejected by their peers and could become "loners" (p. 273). Some biracial teens may become overly dependent on their parents resulting from their parents' overprotection. These teenagers are more obedient and passive in relating to adults and peers and appear to be more depressed. In contrast, other biracial teens may become more assertive and confrontational and thus engage in more delinquent behaviors and have more problems in school (p.271). However, I found little research has been done on biracial children whose parents are Asian and Caucasian.

According to the Pacific Rim Study in August 1999, Asian American women are 2.35 times more likely to outmarry than Asian American men. Among first-generation Asian women, outmarriage rates stood at 31.8 percent for Chinese, 46.9 percent for Filipinos, 41

percent for Japanese, 13.3 percent for Koreans, and 25.5 percent for Vietnamese. The outmarriage rates for second generation Asian American females increased to 64.7 percent for Chinese, 65.8 percent for Filipinos, and 50 percent for Japanese.

Stress in Elderly Care

Taking care of the elderly is another issue for Taiwanese immigrants. Traditionally, elderly parents live with their adult children and grandchildren. Nowadays, some parents prefer to live in their own apartments because they can take care of themselves or because their children live nearby. When elderly parents are not in good health, children will live with them and take care of them. Only when parents are very ill and need medical care around the clock will they be sent to nursing homes. Those who live far away from their parents because of their jobs resent the fact that they cannot visit their parents as much as they would like to. If their elderly parents live in Taiwan, many of them visit their parents once a year (interview).

Stress Induced by Spousal Relationship

Due to limited exposure to the larger society, first-generation housewives may experience more adaptational hardships than their husbands during the first few years. However, if the wives initiated the migration, they will overcome the distress faster than those women who migrated involuntarily. It is understandable that the former tend to be more adventurous or hardy. However, both are willing to sacrifice at any cost (e.g., starting a business or being a full-time housewife) to improve family well-being.

In contrast, a husband may feel the huge burden of supporting the family if his wife is not employed. In other words, he will be very concerned about losing his job. In addition, influenced by American values, wives may demand equal gender relationship, such as sharing

of housework and child care and participation in decision making. Husbands who hold on to patriarchal values in spousal relationship may be pressured by this demand and feel distressed. Some female interviewees are unhappy with their marriage not because of gender inequality or domestic violence but because of personality clash. However, female interviewees who are 65 years in age or older seem to be resigned to their subordination and get along well with their husbands. Marital tension may result in domestic abuse due to the lack of a supportive network, but it is in a mild form (interview). A person who used to be the president of the Taiwanese American Association told me that a female Taiwanese American who married a White military person reported being emotionally abused by her husband and asked him for help. Some husbands have become socially withdrawn because they lost their social status after migration, and the wives have to deal with it. For example, the husbands seldom attend the activities held by the Taiwanese group. However, I have not been informed of any physical violence.

In conclusion, family stress arises from conflicting relationships with the spouse and the children and sometimes with parents and siblings as well as from an individual's sense of responsibility towards the family. Traditional Taiwanese culture emphasizes the importance of family interest and interdependence among family members. Those who are more traditional oriented care about family interest more than those who are less traditional. They will very likely make efforts in socializing their children to emphasize family interest and have ethnic pride. Therefore, the influence of the ethnic culture on children will counterbalance the influence of the individual-oriented culture spread through formal education and the media. Less parent-child conflict will occur in such families. Of course, parents must practice what they preach and cannot put too much pressure on children. Any

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relationship with one's spouse is not a simple matter. If a couple are both traditional, the spousal relationship may not be an issue. However, a traditional individual with an Americanized wife may experience much friction.

Neugen's (1999) study shows that more involvement with traditional culture predicts better family relationship for Vietnamese youth living in the Midwest. The interviewees in my study generally value family interest more than personal interest because of the impact of the traditional culture. Holding on to traditional values and maintaining close contact with the ethnic community will benefit their family relationships. They will work out family problems if they are willing to sacrifice personal interests. However, due to the complexity of family issues, it is difficult to predict whether traditional individuals will encounter more (or less) family stress. I would propose this as a question to be answered.

Economic Adaptation and Work Stress

Becoming entrepreneurs, becoming wage laborers in the second sector of economy or in the ethnic enclave, and engaging in the informal economy are three forms of economic adaptation strategies for disadvantaged immigrants and minorities. Compared with White Americans, Taiwanese Americans are disadvantaged because of their language skills and physical appearance. However, because two thirds of my respondents are well-educated, most of those who are not self-employed are able to find jobs in the primary sector of the labor market. Among the self-employed, some are housewives who engage in the informal economy. Some are entrepreneurs who have many employees, and others may have less than ten employees or rely on family labor only.

The relationship between work stress and mental as well as physical health is well-documented (Manning et al. 1996; Celantano 1991). Causes of work stress for self-

employed people may differ from those for paid employees. While there are stressors universal to workers all over the world, many work stressors for immigrants may be related to their minority status, such as inadequate language skills and certain aspects of collective culture which are incompatible with the dominant individualist culture. Both types of stressors will be investigated. Universal work stressors can derive from work content and workplace leadership. Work-content stressors refer to stressors caused by the nature of work. In this study, only work autonomy, work overload, skill underutilization and physical work conditions are examined. Workplace leadership mainly refers to interaction between supervisors and subordinates. A supervisor is expected to give timely and sufficient consultation and feedbacks to subordinates and avoid ambiguity in a subordinate's role. Role ambiguity can be avoided if a supervisor is clear about the objective of a job and the scope of responsibility a subordinate should assume (Ivancevich & Matteson 1980). Work climate refers to intergroup or intragroup relationships among workers and whether workers feel secure about their jobs. The work stressors for the employed persons to be examined in this study are as follows:

Lack of Work Autonomy

Hackman and Oldhan (1976) define autonomy as "the amount of freedom a worker has to schedule their work and to determine the procedures to be used in carrying it out." Three dimensions of autonomy--control over work pace, schedules or procedures/methods, have been identified by Breaugh (1985). Control over work pace means a worker can work at his or her own pace and is not restricted by a machine. Control over schedules means a worker can decide when s/he will perform a task so that time conflict between two tasks will not arise. Control over procedure/method means a worker can decide on the procedures

with which s/he will perform a task. Lack of autonomy over work has been related to job dissatisfaction, absenteeism, and coronary artery disease (Bosma et al. 1997).

Making decisions with regard to work is a way of exercising control and can reduce or avoid occupational stress. Workers who were able to control their work pace and decide on their own tasks had fewer stress symptoms than workers having no control of their work environment (Benner 1984, p. 21). Greater work autonomy has been found to be related to smaller size of the workplace (Kalleberg & Van Buren 1996; Marsh & Mannari 1989). According to literature, many workers seem to find repetitive work stressful. For example, sawmill workers have very dull repetitive jobs and have no control over the pace of their work (Frankenhaeuser 1975). However, workers may respond differently to lack of autonomy on how work is done because their need or desire for autonomy varies.

Does culture influence workers' need for autonomy? Though there is greater social distance between the supervisor and the employee in Asian societies than in Western societies, it does not imply that employees from Asian culture are willing to follow every decision made by their supervisors or be treated like machines. Work autonomy is especially important for people who value creativity. Therefore, I would argue that personal factors rather than culture itself will impact workers' need for autonomy.

Work Overload

There are two types of work overload--quantitative (working too long and too hard at too many tasks) and qualitative (working on a job that is too difficult). If a person is not capable of doing a given task (qualitative overload), s/he may not be able to complete even after spending many hours on it. A person who has been promoted or transferred to a job which s/he has not done before, such as a supervisory job, may feel distressed due to his/her

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lack of such experience. If a boss asks an employee to accomplish a job within an unrealistic deadline, the employee is overloaded with work even though the job is not difficult. Meeting deadlines is a source of stress. People working as computer consultants, interpreters, translators, engineers and big chefs experience a tremendous amount of time pressure (interview). Working long hours every day is very common for the self-employed, especially the owner of a restaurant or a grocery store. They usually stay at the store all day and check on their school-aged children on the phone. Two interviewees said that they do much more work than their employees because they seldom ask employees to continue working after five p.m. or on the weekend. Another who has opened a medical clinic with a friend said he has to stay on-call during weekends even though he is not on duty. Therefore, it is hard for him to participate in family activities during weekends.

Skill Underutilization

Skill underutilization refers to a person not being able to use his/her acquired skills or develop his/her full potential abilities. This causes stress because the work lacks stimulation. If one's work is characterized by repetitiveness, lack of variety, low skill demands and low decision latitude--e.g., the work of electronic assemblers (Sutherland 1990)--s/he may experience a high level of stress. Research also indicates that low skill demands are linked to dissatisfaction, depression, irritation and psychosomatic complaints (Udris 1981, cited by ILO 1986). Many workers on a packing-line system feel bored because the work does not provide a sense of achievement. Objective discrepancy between job requirements and skills of employees is not the only determinant of skill utilization. Employees may not be able to use their skills if there is a sudden increase or decrease in work loads. The appointment of an incompetent supervisor, the restrictive formal rules of procedures, and other

environmental factors, such as noise or temperature may decrease the employees' ability to use their skills. Not being promoted to the position an individual is qualified for also makes full utilization of one's skill impossible.

In the case of Taiwanese Americans, some of them may not be able to find jobs in the field of their expertise and thus feel distressed. For example, an individual who obtained a college degree in Taiwan may be employed as a blue-collar worker because s/he cannot speak English well. Two Taiwanese Americans I know had a college degree and were white-collar workers before migration. One worked at a restaurant for two years and was very depressed before he obtained a white-collar job. The other was self-employed for a few years. Being unhappy with the long hours of work and marginal benefits, he closed his business and found a blue-collar job at a retail store.

Unpleasant Physical Environment and Conditions

Adverse working environments and conditions include noise, extremely high or low temperature, poor lighting, bad equipment designs, exposure to chemical hazards, intense vibration from hand tools, jobs which require intense or sustained physical effort, such as lifting, reaching, bending, and interacting with computer-based visual display units (VDUs) (Warr 1987 pp.170-75), crowdedness (Suedfeld 1979), lack of privacy (Cohen 1980) and other conditions. We can see that these conditions are to be found in both blue collar and professional jobs. Many Taiwanese immigrants work in automobile and computer industries. Unpleasant working environments affect their health and job satisfaction. An informant of my research mentioned that the hardship of working at an automobile manufacturing plant prevents many workers from staying in the job until retirement.

Job Security and Role Ambiguity

Supervisors' leadership style determines whether a worker will suffer from role ambiguity and whether a worker receives effective consultation and sufficient feedback on job performance. Lack of consultation and sufficient feedback is a common stressor for many employees (Kelly & Cooper 1981). However, it is not included in my study. Role ambiguity is related to lack of consultation and feedback. The employees are not certain how the supervisors expect them to play their role or do not know how well they perform their work. Organizational policies on diversity also have a great impact on how secure minority workers feel about their jobs. In the earlier years of a career, workers have strong needs for gaining recognition and for being safe (Hall 1976). Because of their minority status, immigrant workers often fear being laid off when the economy is in recession or when the company is downsizing. A retired interviewee said that for fifteen years he did not feel secure about his job even though he worked for a large company.

Role ambiguity occurs when an individual's role lacks clarity about the objective of a job or the scope of his or her responsibilities (Ivancevich & Matteson 1980), or when an individual has inadequate or incomplete information or knowledge with which to perform the job (Dubinsky et al. 1992). Role ambiguity is more likely to occur when the assignment requires team work or when the supervisor is new. Culture has an impact on the extent to which workers tolerate ambiguity or avoid uncertainty (Mo 1996). People in Britain, Ireland, Sweden and Denmark are comfortable accommodating ambiguity (p. 29). In contrast, Americans have a low level of tolerance. Workers in some Asian countries, such as Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, are also comfortable accommodating ambiguity (p. 29). Yet, once they become immigrants, they may find role ambiguity stressful because of the pressure of wanting to obtain a good evaluation of their job performance from the

supervisor.

Lack of Promotion

Though professionals are well represented in science and engineering, Asian Americans are less likely to hold management positions than their white counterparts (Tang 1997). Organizational policies determine whether minority workers are paid and promoted based on merit and whether they obtain job training opportunities. A minority worker's chances of promotion may also be affected by his or her communication skills, language skills, knowledge of the host culture, and social network. Hung (1995) found that Asian Americans have lower returns on investment for their education. This may be partially explained by discrimination. The immigrant can experience discrimination in various forms, such as lack of promotion and work training, being excluded from the information network and being underpaid.

Organizational policies may be affected by stereotypes about Asian Americans and discrimination against them. Being more noticeable to their co-workers, minority employees may be evaluated more critically in job performance and may be perceived in terms of racial stereotypes (Gutierres et al. 1994). Stereotypes may contribute to the glass ceiling, which prevents qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization (The U.S. Department of Labor 1991). These stereotypes include speaking English poorly or with an accent, an inability to communicate, taking what is offered and being too passive to complain (Cheng 1997). Moreover, minority employees may be ascribed with the stigma of "token" status, which leads to assumptions that they were hired to reach affirmative action quotas (ibid) and that they are likely to be incompetent at their jobs (Morland 1965). These assumptions may influence minority employees' self-concept and job performance (Gutierres

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et al. 1994).

Bass and Turner (1973) found that interpersonal attraction based on cultural similarity can affect performance ratings. The greater social distance between managers and minority subordinates may result in fewer recommendations for pay increases. In addition to merit, connections can lead to promotions. Minority workers are more likely to see interpersonal relations as "obstacles" to their upward mobility (Fine et al. 1990). Moreover, such collectivist norms as humility and modesty prevent them from "selling themselves" and "getting ahead organizationally" (Khoo 1988, p. 134-37).

Relationships with Co-workers

The quality of relationships that employees have at work--relationships with supervisors, managers and co-workers--has consistently been associated with job stress (Payne 1980). Workers reporting the greatest amount of group cohesion are best able to cope with job stress (Ketz de Vries 1984). Conversely, poor relationships between co-workers lead to low trust, low supportiveness and low interest or willingness to listen and be empathic (French & Caplan 1973). Albrecht and Adelman (1987) posit that employees lacking supportive relationships with coworkers tend to feel they have little control over their work environment, which in turn increases stress. For instance, when people are supposed to work together, the noncooperative behavior of one's colleagues is a major source of stress.

Cultural biases, the mildest form of prejudice and discrimination, comprise expressed insensitivity to the values, language, dress, food, and personal styles of different ethnocultural groups (Marsella 1994). These biases may lead to misunderstanding or even conflict. In some cases, physical violence was the most blatant form of prejudice and discrimination. A 1989 national survey showed that African Americans and Asian Pacific

Islanders were significantly more likely to report being discriminated against in their work settings than their White and Hispanic counterparts (Brown et al. 1991).

Work Stressors for the Self-employed.

Entrepreneurship, work autonomy, freedom from restrictions imposed by formal organizations (escape from bureaucracy), avoidance of lay-offs, and the potential of becoming wealthy are common features of self-employment (Peterson, Schmidman & Elifson 1982). The self-employed generally enjoy greater job satisfaction than most employed workers (Yuchtman 1985). However, Chay's (1993) and Jamal's (1997) studies do not find any difference between the self-employed and the salaried employees in mental health or psychological well-being.

Before exploring the work stressors for the self-employed, I will discuss why immigrants become self-employed. Becoming an entrepreneur may be voluntary or involuntary (reactive). Immigrants may enter small businesses due to personal characteristics, cultural influence or macrosocial factors. Those who have experience in business or are business-oriented are more likely to enter business, especially when the opportunity is available in the ethnic community. Such personality traits as internal locus of control, diligence and thrift are also conducive to business success (Dana 1998). Empirical evidence suggests that, regardless of the individual personality characteristics, individuals from entrepreneurial cultures--Armenians (Reeves & Ward 1984), Greeks, Jews, Indians, Pakistanis, Persians, Lebanese (Dana 1998) have higher rates of self-employment than those from non-entrepreneurial cultures--Caribbeans (Reeves & Ward 1984), Norwegians (Peterson 1988), Egyptians (Brockhaus 1991), etc. Haitians tend to view entrepreneurship as an occupation of low self-status (Dana 1993).

Macrosocial factors refer to circumstances in the host society and circumstances in the ethnic community. As mentioned above, many immigrants turn to self-employment in small businesses because they can not find employment in the mainstream labor market or because they resent being discriminated against by their white employers. Fawcett & Gardner (1994) contend that the better-educated are more sensitive to discrimination in the workplace. This may explain why many highly-educated Korean immigrants enter small businesses. Entrepreneurial achievement also compensates their diminished social status. According to the "ethnic enclave theory, the ethnic enclave opens job opportunities for its members that are not easily accessible in the larger society (Zhou & Logan 1989). The presence of entrepreneurial elites and the cheap and loyal ethnic laborers give enclave employers and employees superior benefits over those in general markets through vertical and horizontal integration (Wilson and Portes 1980). In addition, successful entrepreneurs serve as potential role models, encouraging self-employment. New immigrants may be hired by their co-ethnics. If they have capital, they start businesses with partners or on their own.

Some scholars argue that immigrant entrepreneurship is the "interplay between the structure of the labor market in the host country, and the skills and other qualifications of the immigrants" (Fawcett & Gardner 1994). One single factor is not sufficient to explain entrepreneurship. Establishing a business requires capital, skills and supply of inexpensive labor. Lack of human capital and social capital may deter an immigrant who intends to enter business for survival or social mobility. Compared with Chinese immigrants who migrated to the U.S. before 1965, Taiwanese immigrants are recent immigrants, who are more affluent and have more education. The self-employment rate for Taiwanese Americans in 2000 was 19.8%, following that of Korean Americans (24.1%) (www.Asian-nation.org). Korean

Americans' self-employment rate was the highest among Asian Americans in the same year.

There is limited research on the causes of stress for entrepreneurs. These stressors include uncertainty, market fluctuation, responsibility for decision making, physical demands of operating the enterprise, pressure of countering entropy, demands by clients and customers, and sometimes isolation (Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-Yaar 1991). Some interviewees mentioned that instead of enjoying flexible schedules, they devote most of their time to the business and have little time left for themselves and their family. A few business owners point out that they are concerned about legal issues, such as insurance and regulations.

Acculturation and Work Stress

Does acculturation impact on work stress? The collective culture emphasizes group interest. This work ethic may alter an individual's perception of work-induced stress and thus reduce the stress level. However, the respondents who are more traditional may not be familiar with the work culture of the Whites, such as interpersonal relationships and communication styles. This may contribute a great deal to their work stress. Those who are more Americanized may have a better relationship with their White co-workers and supervisors because of their good English skills and cultural knowledge. Therefore, I would present this as a question to be answered.

Social Stress

Perceived discrimination refers to a minority group member's subjective perception of unfair treatment of ethnic groups, or members of the group, based on racial prejudice or ethnocentrism. The unfair acts may be subtle, elusive and difficult to detect but have adverse effects on mental and physical health. Studies show that exposure to discrimination is

associated with elevated levels of depressive symptoms (Noh et al. 2003; Taylor & Turner 2002). Research also shows that racial discrimination at work and an internalized response to racial discrimination and unfair treatment are associated with elevated blood pressure (Krieger & Sidney 1996). Though discrimination is not the only cause of the great prevalence of hypertension among the U.S. black population, it suggests that suppressed anger may be a risk factor for hypertension. Qualitative studies describe psychological consequences of discrimination as feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, powerlessness, debasement, sadness and fearfulness (Essed 1991; Feagin 1991; Barnes & Ephross 1994).

Historically, Asian Americans have encountered numerous incidents of racial discrimination, such as the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, Gentlemen's agreement of 1907, the 1930 anti-Filipino riots in Watsonville California and the internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War. However, little is known about the psychological impact of racism on Asian American individuals (Kuo 1995; Young & Takeuchi 1998). Helms and Cook (1999) also observed that studies on Asian Americans typically neglect issues of race and racism. In a study of over 5,000 adolescents in Florida and California, Rumbaut (1994) found a positive relationship between levels of depressive symptoms and discrimination experienced by immigrant youth. A study of Southeast Asian refugees and Pacific Island immigrants in New Zealand shows that the experience of discrimination is associated with high levels of anxiety and depression (Pernice & Brook 1996). A report from the University of Toronto revealed that a large number of Chinese, Laotian and Vietnamese refugees chose to ignore or avoid it when they encountered racial discrimination (Noh et al. 1999). So far I have not found any studies on how racial discrimination against Taiwanese Americans affects their mental health.

An individual who adopts more American ways of thinking and values may not feel s/he is an outsider and may have more American friends. A less acculturated individual may have difficulty in making American friends and fitting in the American culture. Therefore, I hypothesize that more involvement with American culture predicts less social stress and that more involvement with ethnic culture predicts more social stress.

Coping Strategies

Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) stress and coping model illustrates the process through which a coping method is determined when individuals encounter stress. The coping process encompasses two stages--primary and secondary coping. During the first stage, individuals make an appraisal of the situation as harm, loss, threat or challenge. The same experience may be threatening to some people but harmless to others. After the primary appraisal, an individual attempts to look for available coping options for dealing with the harm, threat or challenge. These options may be resources (e.g., a helpful neighbor) or responses (e.g., asking parents for advice).

Coping strategies include direct versus indirect coping or problem-focused versus emotional-focused coping. Some researchers use the terms "active coping"versus "passive coping" (Kim 1987). According to Kim (1987), direct coping involves active confrontation, a realistic search for a resolution, and active help-seeking while indirect coping involves appraisal, suppression, escape, fantasy formation and so on. Indirect coping is aimed at changing the meaning of stress. However, only when opportunities to actually control stressful situations are perceived can such control-directed coping efforts be effective (Latack 1996). Otherwise, direct coping is counterproductive and may lead to "learned helplessness" (Abramson et al. 1978). In other words, direct coping is considered adaptive

in the face of controllable stressors; passive coping is adaptive when stressors are uncontrollable (Noh et al. 1999). Avoidance coping increased distress (Billings & Moos 1981). However, avoiding coping strategies are more adaptive in dealing with stressors when unfavorable outcomes are expected (pp. 202-03).

One coping strategy which has been studied most is seeking social support. Turning to religion is also common for immigrants. Religious coping has been found to be effective for mental and physical health. For example, religiousness was negatively related to mortality for the elderly in poor health (Ostfeld 1984), and religious support was negatively related to depression for highly depressed parents (Maton 1989). Quite a few Taiwanese Americans I know feel strongly that religion is an important tool for coping with stress after they came to the U.S. In my study the term "action-focused" coping refers to negotiation and seeking advice/support only, and "emotion-focused" coping refers to smoking, drinking alcohol, punishment, and letting out emotions. Other coping strategies include selective ignoring, comparison, and cognitive coping (looking on the bright side and thinking over one's behaviors). Billings & Moos (1981) found that cognitive coping reduced distress, while selective ignoring (avoidance) increased distress. Based on previous studies, I hypothesize the following: 1) action-focused coping (seeking social support and negotiating a compromise) and cognitive coping predict less mental distress and 2) emotion-focused coping has no effect in reducing mental distress. Emotion coping is not effective because it can temporarily suppress distress but the feeling of distress will come back.

In the following sections we will discuss the factors that have been found to be related to mental health, such as locus of control and perceived support.

Locus of Control

Rotter (1966) used locus of control to explain how certain cognitions about control influence behavior change. Individuals with external LOC believe that they have no or little control over their environment and that "events occurred largely because of chance, fate, luck and other external forces (ibid). Conversely, individuals with internal LOC believe that they can control their environment and they should be responsible for their actions.

Due to the influence of Western cultural ideology, which has emphasized personal autonomy, there has been a popular assumption among researchers and practitioners that internal locus of control is more desirable than external locus of control (Evans, Shapiro & Lewis 1993). This bias leads to viewing belief in external control as a critical problem among the lower socioeconomic and minority groups. In fact, "their sense of low personal control reflected a correct perception of a harsh environment over which they had little control" (Gurin et al. 1978). Gurin et al. (1978) proposed a differentiation between personal control and ideological control. Personal control refers to individuals' beliefs about their ability to control events in their lives, and ideological control refers to individuals' beliefs about the potential for control in their society at large. This distinction was especially salient in individuals of lower socioeconomic status and in African Americans. The high external scores of these groups were a function of personal control beliefs as a result of their experience with discrimination.

In addition to individuals of lower socioeconomic status and minority groups, highly motivated and competent students in Lefcourt's study were classified as externals (Lefcourt 1976). Not being able to control certain situations is viewed as a reality in society by them. This leads us to regard the highly internal individuals as too idealistic to underestimate the

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extent of external constraints (Wong & Sproule 1984). Can we control our ability, intelligence and outer looks? Despite the arguments above, Internal LOC was found to predict greater life satisfaction than external LOC among Korean immigrants (Seipel 1988). Internals are also shown to engage in health-promoting behaviors more often than externals (AbuSabha & Achterberg 1997).

Another flaw in the conceptualization of locus of control is that many researchers did not differentiate generalized locus of control and perceptions of control over specific domains (e.g., in mental health, marriage, and physical health). Schulz et al. (1991) suggested that the former remains relatively stable over one's life course, but the latter may change (Gatz & Karel 1993). In this study, I examine generalized locus of control only.

In reaction to the unrealistic unidimensional view of control, Wong and Sproule (1984) proposed a dual dimensional view as Dual Control. They emphasize the importance of both internal and external aspects of control instead of only the benefits of being internal or the dysfunction of being external. They labeled those who are both internal and external in different aspects of control as bilocals. These bilocals cope more effectively because they manage to mix personal responsibility and faith in appropriate outside resources.

Perceived Support

The perception of being cared for can promote health (Cobb 1976; Lynch 1977) whether or not this perception is accurate. Perceived support does not primarily depend on the environmental support resources actually available from one's social network (Lie & Lie 1978). The perception of having access to support might protect against distress by changing one's appraisal of the situation--seeing the situation as less threatening (Cohen and McKay 1984). This suggests that the perception of support availability is sufficient to help

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one deal with a stressful situation or could provide a safety net that motivates self-reliant coping efforts (Kessler 1992). Similarly, Brown (1978) contends that people with the best social and personal resources are the least likely to report seeking support under stress. One possible explanation is that those with the best personal resources are those who have better coping skills. They will mobilize support only if personal coping efforts fail. The other explanation is that they are the people who have a supportive network and that "the perception of support availability allows them to take more risks, to pursue the practical resolution of their problems more single-mindedly, than they would have otherwise" (Wethington & Kessler 1986).

Wethington and Kessler's (1986) study also shows that the stress-buffering effect of social support is more strongly due to the perception that support is available than to the influence of actual supportive behaviors. They explained that received support intervenes between the perception of support availability and distress. It is possible that supportive behaviors indirectly alleviate distress by influencing perceptions of future support availability. In other words, the effect of received support on distress is mediated by perceived support. So, perceived support is generally more important than received support in predicting adjustment to stressful life events (p. 78). Perceived support also impacts whether people will mobilize support resources, which may in turn impact mortality.

Perceived support is closely related to the amount of support received in the past. An individual usually receives support from his/her spouse, friends, and relatives. However, perceived co-worker support cannot be neglected because employment has become a part of life for most adults. Co-worker support is especially important before or after a stressful incident. A worker with support can verbalize a lot of his or her internal fears and concerns,

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and this makes them less threatening. Friendships with co-workers can also extend to activities after work, such as shared sporting and social activities, which indirectly alleviate work stress. Co-workers can also become allies when they fight for the rights they have been deprived of by the organization or when their supervisors are not supportive.

Social support may influence physical health by influencing health behaviors directly or indirectly (Cohen 1988; Dean 1986), by the provision of information occurring in supportive exchanges (Cohen 1988) and by the provision of tangible resources, such as economic aid, housing and transportation (Berkman 1984; Cohen 1988). Umberson (1987) also holds that social support seems to influence health habits directly. Social network plays an important role in both determining whether an alcoholic will seek help and predicting treatment outcomes and possibility of relapse. A study on social networks of alcoholics indicates that most of the alcoholics who seek help from formal rehabilitation agencies do so out of pressure from network members and confidants who discourage them from drinking (Strug & Hyman 1981). Close network ties (ibid) and supportive family relationships (Caddy & Block 1985) are also strongly associated with rehabilitation success. People with high levels of social support are more compliant to their medication regimens (Christen et al. 1992; Kulik & Mahaler 1993) and are more likely to use health services. In this research, I study perceived support from family, friends, spouses, supervisors and co-workers and actual help seeking behaviors. I hypothesize that perceived support predicts better physical health.

Physical Health

Most research on Asian Americans' adaptation outcomes focuses on their mental health. Very little is known about their physical health. Hyman and Dussault's (2000) study on Vietnamese pregnant women in Canada shows that less acculturation is associated with more

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healthful diet, less smoking and fewer rates of low birth weight among the less educated women receiving public assistance. Their study also mentions that less stressful work and more social support during pregnancy contributed to higher birthweight (p. 359). In short, their research finds that acculturation, health behaviors (e.g., diet, exercise) and coping strategies (e.g., social support) have a direct effect on physical health. In this research I study the respondents' healthful behaviors

A report by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services shows that 29.99 % of Chinese Americans who died in 1997 died of cancer, followed by heart disease (26.92 %). Cerebovascular disease accounted for 9.95 %, and diabetes accounted for 3.06 %. It is not clear whether Chinese Americans include Taiwanese Americans or Hongkongese. The cancer rate was higher for Chinese Americans (29.99 %) than for the whites (24.07 %), but the Whites had a higher rate in heart disease (33.01 %) than the Chinese (26.93 %). From my interview, I learned that back pain, hypertension and stomach illness are common for middle-aged Taiwanese Americans (interview). Though most of them still prefer Taiwanese foods, which contain less fat than many American foods, consumption of American snacks and fast foods is increasing gradually. I speculate that stress, diet and lack of exercise are the major causes of the diseases I mentioned. However, I noticed that playing tennis and golfing are very popular sports for middle-aged Taiwanese Americans in Michigan. Those who do not exercise regularly are more likely to have high blood pressure. As for health care service use, most Taiwanese Americans use both Western and herbal medicine. Since their insurance does not cover herbal medicine, they are forced to visit Western physicians most of the time, especially for acute diseases. However, if they do not trust Western treatment for certain diseases, they will use home remedies, acupuncture and ethnic

medicine. They also go back to Taiwan for the treatment of dental problems and other diseases which their health insurance does not cover, because medical costs are much more expensive in the U.S.

Help seeking

Though studies show that perceived social support is more important than received support in adapting to stressful life events, it does not mean that received support is not important. An individual my have limited personal resources for dealing with extremely stressful events. If this person does not actually seek help for something s/he is not able to handle, perceived support may help him or her feel less stressed, but the problem may still exist without others' help. Whether social support is available when needed depends on many factors, such as whether an individual has a positive relationship with the members of his or her social network. Whether the respondents have positive or negative relationships with members of their social network will not be examined in my research. However, I will examine the sources of help (e.g., parents, spouses, and friends) that the respondents turn to for various problems.

Social Network

Earlier studies show that most people seek help from people close to them rather than from mental health professionals (Rook 1985). Studies also documented that individuals who can provide effective counseling with little or no professional training exist in one's social network (Kelley et al. 1977). These studies suggest that people use resources in their informal networks more frequently than resources in their formal network. Perhaps it is more convenient to seek help from informal networks, and people of lower socioeconomic status may not be knowledgeable about how to access professional assistance. Moreover,

immigrants may hesitate to seek help from professionals due to language problems or lack of empathy on the part of professionals and other help providers. House (1983) holds that the informal source of support is the most truly preventive form of social support though the need for professional services remains (p. 24).

Early Asian Americans, such as the Chinese and the Japanese, are known for their self-sufficiency. They mainly relied on family, kin and co-ethnic friends for support. Even today, they are not as likely as African Americans to turn to political organizations for support (Glenn & Yep 1994; Nishi 1995). Since many Taiwanese Americans are recent immigrants, they may not have extended family to support them. Moreover, the strength of the family network is thought to be reduced by geographical mobility. Therefore, friends and sometimes professionals may become important sources of help when family help is not available. Even when we are not in need of any help, members in our social network can provide companionship and make us feel less lonely. When we are under stress, they may offer to help us without being asked. It is usually considered an obligation for family members to help one another. However, the amount of help we receive depends on whether we have harmonious relationships with them. In this study, I will study how the respondents' social network is related to their social stress.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

Research Design and Sampling

My research method is a cross-sectional self-administered survey. First, I conducted face-to-face or telephone interviews with eleven first-generation Taiwanese Americans in order to generate additional good-quality questions for the questionnaire. Before the interviews, I had written many questions based on both previous studies on Chinese Americans and my personal knowledge of Taiwanese Americans' adaptation problems through observation and conversation with them in the past years. However, the interview provided me with better insight on certain aspects of their lives and thus improved the quality of the questionnaire. Most questions were closed-ended. After the questionnaire was revised, it was translated into Mandarin. Then the Mandarin version was reviewed by a Mandarin-speaking person from Taiwan, who did not see the English version beforehand. Due to the length of the questionnaire, not all the questions were translated back into English.

The reason I did not conduct the survey by telephone or face to face is that people are more likely to provide honest answers when asked to fill out questionnaires themselves (American Statistical Association series, p.3). In addition, since there are questions on their health status, asking respondents these questions face to face or on the phone is likely to arouse their anxiety. I also conducted in-depth interviews when the quantitative data were being collected.

I surveyed 162 first-generation Taiwanese Americans who live in the following states: Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota and Missouri. The major sites of my research

are Ann Arbor, the Detroit area, Lansing and Chicago. I surveyed the first generation because most of their children are in their twenties and many do not have much work experience in the real world and may not be married.

This research has been approved by the UCRIHS (University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects) of MSU. I promised to protect the confidentiality of the respondents and asked them to fill out a consent form. I did not use a random sampling method, but I tried to have variety in my sample in terms of age and occupation. I recruited respondents by attending their meetings, social activities and religious gatherings. The response rate was higher if I talked to them before giving them a questionnaire in person or mailing it to them. I did follow-ups with twenty people or so by calling or writing to them. The completion rate is about 70%.

Measures

I created scales or used existing ones to measure the constructs in my study. The central constructs include involvement with traditional and American culture, family stress, work stress, social stress, mental distress, coping strategies, and perceived support. Other constructs include locus of control, health status, social network and help-seeking choices. After the pilot study, I revised and deleted unsatisfactory items and added some new items to these scales. The scales for measurement are as follows (see Appendix B).

Involvement with Traditional Culture and American Culture

Thirteen items were created to assess the respondents' involvement with Taiwanese culture (the Chronbach's alpha =.71). The other twelve (question 23 was not included after data collection) assess their involvement with American culture (Chronbach's alpha =.69). The mean score for each respondent's involvement with Taiwanese and American culture

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is calculated first. So each respondent has two scores. Since all the respondents had lived in Taiwan for at least twenty years before they migrated, the influence of their traditional culture is very profound. The mean score of their involvement with their traditional culture is 3.76 on a one to five Likert scale (1 = do not agree at all, 2 = slightly agree, 3 = moderately agree, 4 = largely agree, and 5 = completely agree). In contrast, the mean score of their involvement with American culture is 3.0.

The items for involvement with traditional culture and American culture are categorized into three dimensions: cultural activity, cultural values and attachment to American or traditional culture. Cultural activities include celebrating ethnic or American holidays, attending activities sponsored by Taiwanese or American organizations, eating American or ethnic foods, and enjoying Taiwanese or American videos, movies and TV programs. The language spoken at home is also included in the scale given the dominant White culture in the Midwest.

Cultural values include the respondents' attitudes toward the elderly, children's marriage and dating: whether they think it is the responsibility of children or the government to take care of elderly parents; whether children should not date before going to college; and whether they accept interracial marriage. Attachment to American or traditional culture refers to 1) having a positive evaluation of American or traditional culture, 2) adopting American ways of thinking 3) expecting one's children to learn the ethnic language, 4) reading books published in Taiwan and using the websites created by the Taiwanese versus learning American history and customs, 6) expecting one's children to preserve the traditional culture or expecting them to be more like American kids. The mean of the items in each category constitutes the score for each category. Each respondent has three scores

for involvement with traditional culture (cultural activities, traditional values & attachment to traditional culture) and three scores for involvement with American culture (cultural activities, American values & attachment to American culture).

Work Stress, Family Stress & Social Stress

To assess **work stress**, I created six items on how the respondents feel about their jobs (e.g., feeling a sense of achievement, feeling exhausted at the end of the day). The scores of the six items for both the employed and the self-employed will be used to determine the level of their work stress. These items are on a five- point Likert scale with "1" indicating "never" and "5" indicating "always." The higher score indicates more work stress. The reliability of this scale is .75. I also created ten items on causes of work stress for the paid employees and seven items for the self-employed. These items are on a five-point scale with "1" indicating that a certain situation does not bother the respondents and "5" indicating that a certain situation bothers the respondent a lot. The reliability level for the scale is .75.

Causes of work stress for the employed include work overload, time pressure, lack of autonomy, job security, skill underutilization, role ambiguity, lack of promotion, unpleasant work environment, unfriendliness or discrimination on the part of co-workers, and harsh supervisors. Causes of work stress for the self-employed include long hours of work, worries about the failure or success of one's career, skill underutilization, feeling of isolation, demanding customers or employees, numerous regulations from the government and unpleasant work environment. These items will be used for discussion only. The scale for the paid employee has a reliability level of .83. The scale for the self-employed has a reliability level of .80.

For **family stress** I asked questions on spousal relationships, parental responsibility,

parent-child conflict, elderly care and financial concern. Scores of the first eleven items will be added up to determine the level of family stress. The items are on a five-point Likert scale with "1" indicating no stress and "5" indicating a very high level of stress. The situations in these items can be universal sources of family stress. The reliability level of the scale is .85. Items on causes of parenting stress include children's lack of interest in learning the traditional language, children's school performance, children being discriminated against, children hanging out with bad kids and communication gap caused by language barrier.

For **social stress**, I ask respondents 1) if they have experienced discrimination in stores, bars and other public places and 2) whether they feel socially isolated and marginalized (e.g., you often feel that you are not part of the crowd). Scores of seven items on a five-point scale were added up to determine the level of social stress. A higher score indicates a higher level of social stress. The reliability level of the social stress scale is .77.

Coping Strategies

There are sixteen items about the use of coping strategies on a five-point scale. Respondents were asked how often they adopt each strategy when they are bothered by problems with their spouse or children's problems and when they are bothered by social stress. The options are: never, sometimes, half of the time, often, and always. Higher scores indicate more frequent use of strategies. The strategies include negotiation, selective ignoring, comparison, emotion discharge, seeking support from others, seeking comfort from religion, and so on. Some researchers categorize coping strategies into two types: problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping refers to solving problems through taking actions. The coping strategies in this study are categorized into five types in order to be more specific. These five categories are: cognitive coping,

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emotion-focused coping, religious coping, action-focused coping, and selective ignoring. Cognitive coping includes such items as "looking at the bright side of things," "examining yourself," and "comparing with other parents." Emotion-focused coping in this study includes "getting angry and letting it out," "smoking and drinking alcohol," and "punishing kids." Action-focused coping refers to negotiating with one's spouse, telling others how you feel and seeking advice. Selective ignoring includes switching one's attention to other activities (e.g., sports and music) or telling oneself not to worry about kids too much. Religious coping refers to an individual seeking consolation or empowerment from his/her religion.

Locus of Control

There are six items on locus of control on a five-point Likert scale. After running factor analysis, two of them were not included in calculating the mean of an individual's locus of control. Each of these two variables has a weak bivariate correlation with mental distress. One of them is the attribution of personal problems to luck, and the other is the feeling that it is fruitless to change certain human situations. The four variables are coded in such a way that a higher score indicates stronger **internal** locus of control. The items are from the existing LOC scale, such as "My future completely depends on my effort," "My problems are partially due to bad luck," "I do not blame others when I fail." The reliability level of the scale is .58. _

Mental Health and Physical Health

To measure mental health status, I used nine questions in the CES-D (Center for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression) scale (Radloff 1977), and four questions from the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI). The CES-D and BSI scales are five-point scales with higher

scores indicating more mental distress. Respondents were asked how often they experienced the feelings described in the items in the past month. The following are some of the CES-D items I used: I feel lonely; I can not get going; I have difficulty sleeping; I felt restless. The four BSI items are also on a five-point scale: I got angry easily; I felt agitated; I had headaches; I felt nervous. The reliability level of the combined scale is **.91.** The five options for the scale include 1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = half of the time, 4 = often and 5 = always. They were recoded into 1 = never, 3 = sometimes, 4 = half of the time, 5 = often and 7 = always. The mean of mental distress is 2.65, and standard deviation is .97. The minimum is 1, and the maximum is 6.23.

Information on physical health status relies on the respondents' self-evaluation. They were asked whether their health is poor, fair, good, very good or excellent. Specific illnesses relied on respondents' report of a physician's diagnosis. Respondents were asked whether a physician has ever told them that they have high blood pressure, hypertension, diabetes, back pain or arthritis, digestion problems, liver problems, respiration problems, and cancer. The options for health behaviors were recoded in such a way that a higher point indicates a more healthful behavior. They include 1) how often they smoke 2) whether they eat more vegetables than meat 3) the amount of Western desserts and fast foods they eat 3) how much liquor they drink in a week 4) how many hours of exercise they take in a week 5) how often they have physical check-ups.

Perceived Social Support and Social Network

Social Relations Questionnaire (Turner 1994) were modified to assess perceived social support from family, friends, co-workers and supervisors. There are five items on a five-point scale with a higher score indicating more perceived support. For example, "No matter

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what happens, I know that my husband/wife/partner will always be there for me should I need him/her;" " I feel that my friends really care about me." The reliability level of the scale is .73.

Items on social network include socialization with neighbors, American friends, and Taiwanese friends, involvement with religious group and ethnic organizations, and transnational ties, such as contact with family and friends in Taiwan. These questions are on a five-point Likert scale with a higher score indicating more social contact.

Help-seeking Behaviors

Respondents were asked who they will turn to when they are faced with various problems in their lives. They may choose as many options as apply to them. These options are parents, spouses, siblings, children, neighbors, co-workers, Taiwanese friends, American friends, supervisors, professionals, relatives and no one. The options are coded as 0 (no help seeking) and 1 (seeking help from a person). The more options they choose, the more active they are in seeking help. The mean of each option for all respondents is also obtained to find out who they are more likely to turn to.

In-depth Interviews

In addition to the survey, I interviewed 15 individuals face-to-face or by telephone. Most interviews lasted for at least an hour. I asked them general and specific questions, such as their interaction with neighbors, their attitudes towards biracial marriage, difficulties in living in the U.S., their relationship with children, coworkers and supervisors, and their volunteer work. I used part of the data for literature review and part of it for discussion. The interviews have enabled me to understand the respondents' feelings towards the host society and the difficulties they have to face.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter consists of two parts: results from quantitative data (part one) and results from qualitative data based on observation, open-ended responses and interviews (part two).

PART I: REPORT ON QUANTITATIVE DATA

Demography

Ann Arbor has the largest population of Taiwanese Americans (N = 523) living in Michigan (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). About 533 Taiwanese Americans live in Chicago City (this figure does not include those living in the suburbs). Only a small number live in Chinatown (interview), which is on the south side of Chicago. The respondents in my sample belong mostly to the middle-class. Many of them came to the U.S. as graduate students and found employment after obtaining degrees. Most of them are married and have children. There are also people who migrated directly from Taiwan to seek better opportunities for themselves and their children.

Half of the respondents were male and half of the respondents were female. A high percentage (74.7 %) of them have U. S. citizenship. Only 15 % of them do not have a college degree, and 32.5 % of them have school education for more than 20 years. Surprisingly, 65 % of the respondents obtained a diploma in the U.S., but some of them have a diploma for a college degree, not a graduate degree. Those between thirty-six and fifty-five years of age account for 72.6 %. Only 6.8 % are over 65 years of age. The average length of residence is 19.8 years. Almost half of them (46.8 %) have lived in the U.S. for 11 to 20 years, and 15 % have lived here for more than 30 years. The majority of them (95 %) are married, and only 2 % of them are divorced. Only 25 of the respondents

are unemployed housewives. Forty percent of the respondents do not have a religion.
Buddhists account for 37 %, and 17.6 % are Protestants and Catholics. Twenty-seven
percent of the respondents feel much less pressure in living in the U.S than in Taiwan; 22 %
feel a little less pressure; 15.7 % feel a little greater pressure; 20.8 % feel much greater
pressure;14.5 % feel that the pressure is the same.

About 13 % of them still speak Taiwanese to their children at home most of the time,
and about 5 % do so al the time. In contrast, 35.5 % speak Mandarin to their children most
of the time, and 19.1 % do so all the time. About one-fifth of them speak English to their
children most of the time, but only 7.2 % do so all the time. Obviously, Mandarin is most
commonly used at home. As for the respondents' English skills, they have more difficulty
in writing (41.8 %) and speaking (31.5 %) than in understanding (21.3 %) and reading
(13. 9 %).

Table 1 shows that science and technology is the most popular occupation among the
respondents (about 20 %) followed by engineering (13 %), medicine/nursing and education.
Some of them teach part time at the language school (interview). The average number of
kin in the U.S. is 4.18, and the average number of kin in Taiwan is 4.4. This indicates that
they do not have many relatives to rely on in times of need.

Table 1: Demography

Gender	Female 52.2 %		Male 47.8 %	
Education	without a college degree	11.9 %	a bachelor's degree	14.4 %
	a master's degree	41.3 %		
	more than 20 years of education	32.5 %		
Length of stay	Mean: 19.8 years			
	1-10 years: 13.8%	11-20 years: 46.8 %	21-30years: 23.8 %	
	31-40 years: 15%	over 40 years: 0.6%		
Legal status	Citizen: 74.7 %	Permanent resident: 25.3 %		

Table 1 Continued

Marital status   Married: 95%   Single: 2.5%   Divorced: 1.9%   other 0.6%

Age   25-35: 5.6%   36-45: 36%   46-55: 36.6%
             56-65: 14.9%   66 or older: 6.8%

Religion: Buddhist: 37.1%   Christian:17.6%   Other:5%   None:40.3%

Occupation   science & technology: 20.5%   engineering 13%   business: 9.3%
             education: 12.4%   government: 3.1%   law: 0%
             medicine/ nursing: 12.4%   architecture: 0%
             housewives: 15.5%   other   13.7%

Self-employment   28.4%

Race of spouse   Taiwanese: 91.1%   Asian: 4.5%   White: 3.2%   Other: 1.3%
             Average number of kin in the U.S.:   4.18
             Average number of family members in Taiwan: 4.4
             Previous employment in Taiwan: 79.5%

Language spoken at home

	Taiwanese	Mandarin	English
Never	45.4 %	23%	18.3%
Sometimes	34.9%	22.4%	52.9 %
Most of the time	13.2%	35.5%	21.6%
Always	6.6%	19.1%	7.2%

English language ability

(having much difficulty in understanding, speaking, reading and writing)

understanding 21.3%   speaking 31.5%   reading 13.9%   writing 41.8%

Involvement with traditional and American cultures

The scales on involvement with traditional and American culture include items which

measure participation in cultural activities, feelings towards one's cultural background and

attitudes towards the elderly, family interest, children's marriage and so on. Since all the respondents had lived in Taiwan for at least twenty years before they migrated, the influence of their traditional culture on them is very profound. The mean score of their involvement with their traditional culture (ITC) is **3.72** on a one-to-five Likert scale (1 = do not agree at all, 2 = slightly agree, 3 = moderately agree, 4 = largely agree, and 5 = completely agree). In contrast, the mean score of their involvement with American culture (IAC) is **3.0**. When their educational level is taken into consideration, this group is not highly assimilated to American culture because education is usually positively correlated with acculturation.

The findings show that the longer the respondents live in the U.S. the more they enjoy learning American history and culture, and enjoy American foods, TV programs and other types of recreation. Most of them prefer traditional foods (82 %) over American foods (30.4 %). About two-thirds of the respondents want their children to preserve the traditional Taiwanese culture, and 62 % of them strongly expect their children to be able to read, speak and write Mandarin. However, the older the respondents, the less likely it is that they will think in this way (r= -.26**) because the older respondents feel more comfortable speaking Taiwanese themselves. Mandarin did not become the official language until 1949. About 34 % of the respondents think that it is very important to adopt American ways of thinking, but only 15.5 % want their children to be more like American children.

About one-third (34 %) of them consider it inappropriate for their children to date before going to college, and 46 % of them want their children to marry another Taiwanese American. In the meantime, about half of them (49.6 %) strongly agree that they will not feel disappointed if their children marry an American. This indicates that many respondents are not conservative. This also suggests that these respondents are more accepting of the

idea that their children might marry someone of Taiwanese ancestry or an American. However, the more educated they are (but not necessarily the older), the more likely it is that they will not disapprove of interracial marriages.

Only 10 % quite agree that individual interest is more important than group interest, and about 70 % of them strongly agree that family interest comes before individual interest. About 66 % of them said that most of their friends are Taiwanese. Only 14 % said that they have many American friends, and 12.3 % of them do not have American friends. Sixty-one percent of them strongly approve that children should support and take care of elderly parents, and only 12 % of them consider it to be the government's responsibility. About 56 % of the respondents enjoy American TV programs and other types of recreation. About 57 % of them often read Taiwanese newspapers and use the websites created by the Taiwanese. They are more likely to attend activities organized by the Taiwanese organizations than celebrate Taiwanese holidays or festivals (59.6 % versus 46.6 %).

Taiwanese Americans do not celebrate American holidays and participate in activities held by American organizations very often. Only about 23 % of them are actively involved, and 55.6 % are moderately involved (choosing 3 as an answer on a five-point Likert scale). The longer their residency, the more likelihood there is of their involvement. Yet, the impact is minimal. About 21.2 % of them join American associations or American clubs. Joining a club is negatively associated with the age of a respondent (r = -.23**). The younger the respondent, the more likely it is that s/he will join an American association or an American club. The following are the statistics for active cultural involvement. The percentage for active involvement is the sum of the percentage for choosing 4 and the percentage for choosing 5 as answers.

Table 2: Involvement with traditional and American culture

1. familiarity with traditional cultural background	89.5%
positive view of American culture	74.7%
2. enjoying traditional foods	82%
enjoying American foods	30.4%
3. watching videos produced in Taiwan very often	34.6%
enjoying American TV programs and other types of recreation	55.6%
4. active participation in activities held by Taiwanese organizations	59.6%
participation in activities held by American organizations	23%
5. frequent celebration of traditional holidays	46.6%
frequent celebration of American holidays	20.5%
6. often reading books published in Taiwan or using websites	56.5%
highly expecting children to be able to read, write and speak Mandarin	69.1%
7. very interested in learning American history and customs	63%
adopting Americans' way of thinking	34.2%
8. disapprove children's dating before going to college	34%
9. highly expect children to marry another Taiwanese	46%
happy about children's marrying outside the group	49.6%
10. family interest before personal interest	70.4%
personal interest before group interest	10%
11. support and take care of elderly parents	
a) children's responsibility	61%
b) government's responsibility	12%
12. Strongly expect children to preserve traditional culture	73.6%
Strongly expect children to be more like American kids	15.5%

Table 2 Continued

13. <u>Means of each dimension of cultural involvement</u>

traditional values	3.55
American values	2.75
traditional cultural activities	3.54
American cultural activities	3.15
attachment to traditional culture	4.0
attachment to American culture	3.21

14. <u>Percentage of respondents who want the following traditional values to be preserved by children</u>

frugality	**81**
modesty	**67.9**
respecting parents	77.9
taking care of elderly parents	46.4
financially supporting elderly parents	19.3
respecting teachers and elders	73.9
taking care of other family members	50.4

The following sections are the results of hypothesis testing and the answers to my research questions. The hypotheses and research questions revolve around 1) how cultural involvement impacts on mental distress and acculturation stress, 2) how acculturation stress impacts on mental distress, 3) which coping strategies are effective in reducing mental distress, and 4) respondents' health behaviors. Acculturation stress in this study refers to family, work and social stress.

Cultural Involvement and Psychological Functioning

My first research question is whether cultural involvement impacts mental or psychological functioning. Due to the predominant White American culture in the Mid-west,

I predict that involvement with traditional culture and American culture will yield different psychological consequences.

Hypothesis 1: An individual who is more involved with traditional culture experiences more mental distress; an individual who is more involved with American culture experiences less mental distress.

To test hypothesis1, a regression analysis was conducted to test the effect of involvement with traditional culture (ITC) and involvement with American culture (IAC) on mental distress. Perceived support, locus of control and physical health are controlled. Age, gender, and education are not used as controlled variables because they are not highly correlated with mental distress (see Table 3.1). The mean of mental distress is 2.65 with 6.23 being the maximum on a seven-point scale. This indicates that the average distress level of the respondents is lower than the midpoint 3.5. The results in Table 3.2 show that ITC and IAC do not predict mental distress significantly (Beta = .02 and -.07 separately). Though IAC is negatively related to mental distress and ITC is positively related to mental distress, the standardized coefficients are quite small and not statistically significant. In other words, cultural involvement has a small impact on mental distress or psychological functioning. Hypothesis one is not supported.

Table 3.1: Correlation between mental distress and six variables

	Mental distress
Age	-.10
Gender	-.06
Education	-.11
Physical health	-.37 ***
Locus of control	-.40 ***
Perceived support	-.20 **

Table 3.2: Regressions of involvement with traditional culture (ITC) and involvement with American culture (IAC)predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
perceived support	-.17 **
locus of control	-.34 **
physical health	-.24 *
ITC	.02
IAC	-.07

*(p<.05) ** (p<.01)

The Effect of Family, Work and Social Stress on Mental Distress

The second research question concerns the effect that family, work and social stress have on mental distress. Given the literature on the positive relationship between stress and distress, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: An individual with a lower level of family, work and social stress experiences less mental distress.

To test hypothesis 2, perceived support, locus of control and physical health are controlled variables. Age, gender, and education are not used as controlled variables because they are not highly correlated with mental distress. The result shows that family stress predicts mental distress significantly (Beta = .17, p = .023), and so does work stress (Beta = .25, p = .002). A higher level of family stress or work stress predicts more mental distress. However, social stress does not significantly predict mental distress (Beta = .12, p = .13). Hypothesis 2 is partially supported.

Table 4: Regressions of family, work and social stress predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient	
	Model 1	Model 2
perceived support	-.16	-.07
locus of control	-.34	-.18 *
physical health	-.25	-.21 **
family stress		.17 *
work stress		.25 **
Social stress		.12
R square		.37

*(p<.05) **(p<.01)

Relationship between Cultural Involvement and Acculturation Stress

In the third research question, I explore whether cultural involvement predicts family, work and social stress. The relationship between the three types of stress and mental distress has been confirmed. We may wonder what causes family, work and social stress by asking whether traditional and American culture are related to these three types of acculturation stress.

1a) Does involvement with American culture predict more or less family stress, work stress and social stress?

1b) Does involvement with traditional culture predict more or less family stress, work stress and social stress?

To test the effect of traditional culture and American culture on family, work and social stress, each type of stress is regressed on ITC (involvement with traditional culture) and IAC (involvement with American culture). Education, age, gender and years of residence are not controlled for, because they are not significantly associated with mental health. Instead, locus of control and perceived support are controlled for.

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IAC consists of three dimensions (cultural activities, American values, and attachment to American culture). Because each respondent's degree of involvement with these dimensions is different (e.g., high in cultural activities but low in attachment to American culture), the total score of IAC is not used. In other words, the three dimensions are used as predictors of family, work and social stress.

The results in Table 5.1 show that controlling for perceived support and locus of control, cultural attachment (Beta = -.23, p = .002) and cultural activity (Beta= -.15, p= .047) significantly predict less social stress (Beta refers to a standardized coefficient). That means when an individual has a stronger attachment to American culture and participates in American cultural activities more often, s/he experiences less social stress. American cultural values are also negatively related to social stress, but the correlation is not significant at .05. In other words, American values do not significantly reduce social stress.

Table 5.1 also shows that the three dimensions of IAC are all associated with less work stress, but the relationships are not significant. The three standardized coefficients are small (-.01, -.03 and -.08). In addition, American cultural activities (Beta= -.14), attachment to American culture (Beta = -.05), and American values (Beta = .02) do not significantly reduce family stress. In summary, overall IAC has a slight effect on family and work stress, while attachment to American culture and American values significantly reduce social stress.

Table 5.1: Regressions of three dimensions of American culture predicting family, work and social stress

Dependent variables:	Family stress	Work stress	Social stress
Predictor	Beta	Beta	Beta
American activity	-.14 +	-.01	-.15*
American values	.02	-.03	-.10+
Attachment to American culture	-.05	-.08	-.23**

**(p<.01) *(p<0.5) +(p<1.0)   Beta (standardized coefficient)

ITC is also made up of three dimensions (cultural activities, values, and attachment to American culture). Table 5.2 shows that controlling for locus of control and perceived support, traditional cultural activities (Beta = .14, p = .075) do not significantly increase social stress. Yet, attachment to traditional culture (Beta= .21, p=.005) and traditional values (Beta = .17, p= .02) do. An individual with strong traditional values and strong attachment to traditional culture experiences more social stress. The results also show that the three dimensions of ITC do not significantly increase or decrease family stress and work stress. In summary, two dimensions of IAC decrease social stress, and two dimensions of ITC increase social distress. IAC and ITC do not have a significant effect on family and work stress.

Table 5.2: Regressions of three dimensions of traditional culture predicting family, work and social stress

Dependent Variables:	Family stress	Work stress	Social stress
Predictor	Beta	Beta	Beta
traditional activity	-.01	-.10	.14
traditional value	.03	.13+	.17*
attachment to traditional culture	-.03	.02	.21**

** (p< .01)   *(p<.05) +(p<.10)   Beta (standardized coefficient)

The Moderating Effect of Cultural Involvement

Cultural involvement has been found to impact social stress. The fourth research question is whether cultural involvement moderates the relationship between acculturation stress (family, work and social stress) and mental distress. Question 2 focuses on the effect of cultural involvement on the relationship between family stress and mental distress

2a. Does Involvement with American culture yield more or less impact of family stress on mental distress?

2b. Does involvement with traditional culture yield more or less impact of family stress on mental distress?

To answer question 2a, the following predictors are entered into the regressions: 1) controlled variables-- locus of control, perceived support and physical health; 2) family stress; 3) the interaction term of family stress and the three dimensions of American culture (American values, activities and attachment to American culture). To reduce collinearity, the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected (the value of each variable minus its mean). Age and education are not highly correlated with mental distress, but gender is. However, when gender is in the regression equation, its p value is not significant. Therefore, none of these three variables is controlled for. In contrast, locus of control, physical health and perceived support are highly correlated with mental distress and are controlled for.

Table 6.1 shows that American values have a positive and significant effect on the relationship between family stress and mental distress. We know that more family stress predicts more mental distress. The stronger American values a respondent holds, the larger the impact of family stress on his or her mental distress. The interactions of family stress with both cultural activities and attachment to American culture are weak and not significant.

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Table 6.1 : Regressions of interaction between family stress and American culture predicting mental distress.

Predictor	Standardized coefficient
locus of control	-.32**
physical health	-.23**
perceived support	-.12
family stress	.27**
family stress* American values	.15*

**(p<.01)   * (p< .05)

Predictor	Standardized coefficient
locus of control	-.30**
physical health	-.24**
perceived support	-.10
family stress	.28**
family stress* American cultural activities	.08

**(p<.01)   * (p< .05)

Predictor	Standardized coefficient
locus of control	-.30**
physical health	-.23**
perceived support	-.10
family stress	.26**
family stress*attachment to American culture	.05

**(p<.01)   * (p< .05)

To answer question 2b, the following variables are entered into the regression: 1) controlled variables-- locus of control, perceived support and physical health; 2) family stress; 3) the interaction term of family stress and the three dimensions of traditional culture (traditional values, activities and attachment to traditional culture). To reduce collinearity, the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected.

Table 6.2 also shows that all the three dimensions of ITC do not significantly decrease the impact of family stress on mental distress (p = .24, .57 and .82 separately). Among them, participating in traditional cultural activities almost has no effect on the relationship between family stress and mental distress.

Table 6.2 : Regressions of interaction between family stress and traditional culture predicting mental distress.

Predictors	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.32**
physical health	-.24**
perceived support	-.12
family stress	.27*
family stress* traditional values	-.08

* (p< .05)   **(p<.001)

locus of control	-.30**
physical health	-.24**
perceived support	-.10
family stress	.26*
family stress*traditional activities	-.02

* (p< .05)   **(p<.001)

locus of control	-.31**
physical health	-.24**
perceived support	-.10
family stress	.26*
family stress*attachment to traditional culture	-.04

* (p< .05)   **(p<.001)

Questions 3a and 3b focus on the moderating effect of cultural involvement on the relationship between work stress and mental distress .

3a Does involvement with American culture yield more or less impact of work stress on mental distress?

3b Does involvement with traditional culture yield more or less impact of work stress on mental distress?

To answer question 3a, the following variables are entered into the regression: 1) controlled variables-- locus of control, perceived support and physical health; 2) work stress; 3) the interaction term of work stress and the three dimensions of American culture (American values, activities and attachment to American culture). To reduce collinearity,

the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected.

Table 6.3 shows that American values have a positive effect on the relationship between work stress and mental distress (Beta = .15, p = .042). The stronger the American values an individual holds, the larger the impact of work stress on mental distress, and the impact is significant. Participating in American cultural activities also has a positive effect, but the impact is not significant (p = .82). Attachment to American culture has a positive impact, but the impact is not statistically significant (p = .46).

Table 6.3 : Regressions of interaction between work stress and American culture predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.20*
physical health	-.24**
perceived support	-.12
work stress	.34**
work stress* American values	.15*
** (p<.01) *(p<.05) +(<.10)	
locus of control	-.20*
physical health	-15*
perceived support	-.20
work stress	.35**
work stress*American cultural activities	-.02
** (p<.01) *(p<.05)	
locus of control	-.21**
physical health	-.21**
perceived support	-.13**
work stress	.33**
work stress*attachment to American culture	.04

To answer question 3b , the following variables are entered into each regression: 1) controlled variables-- locus of control, perceived support and health; 2) work stress; 3) the interaction term of work stress and the three dimensions of traditional culture (traditional

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values, activities and attachment to traditional culture). To reduce collinearity, the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected.

Table 6.4 shows that traditional values have a positive effect on the relationship between work stress and mental distress (Beta = .10), but the effect is not statistically significant (p = .15). Traditional cultural activities and attachment to traditional culture both have a positive effect on the relationship between work stress and mental distress, but the impact is quite slightl (p = .58 and .82). In short, ITC does not significantly increase the impact of work stress on mental distress.

Table 6.4 : Regressions of interaction between work stress and traditional culture predicting mental distress.

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.10*
physical health	-.22*
perceived support	-.12*
work stress	.34**
work stress* traditional values	.10
** (p<.01) *(p<.05)	
locus of control	-.28**
physical health	-.22**
perceived support	-.14*
work stress	.32**
work stress*traditional activities	.06
**(p<.01) *(p<.05)	
locus of control	-.19*
physical health	-.21*
perceived support	-.12*
work stress	.30**
work stress* attachment to traditional culture	.09
** (p<.01) *(p< .05)	

Given the significant relationship between cultural involvement and social stress, I

hypothesize that cultural involvement has a moderating effect on the relationship between social stress and mental distress.

Hypothesis 3a: Involvement with American culture yields less impact of social stress on mental distress.

Hypothesis 3b: Involvement with traditional culture yields more impact of social stress on mental distress.

To test hypothesis 3a, the following variables are entered into each of the three regressions: 1) controlling variables-- locus of control, perceived support and physical health; 2) social stress; 3) the interaction term of social stress and the three dimensions of American culture (American values, activities and attachment to American culture). To reduce collinearity, the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected.

Table 6.5 shows that American values, cultural activities and group attachment do not have a significant effect on the relationship between social stress and mental distress. The standardized coefficient for the interaction between American values and social stress is .10. The standardized coefficients for the other two interactions are quite small (-.02 and .04)

Table 6.5: Regressions of interaction between social stress
and American culture predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.29
physical health	-.26**
perceived support	-.13
social stress	.22**
social stress* American value	.10

**(p<.01) *(p<.05)

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Table 6.5 Continued

locus of control	.28**
physical health	-.26**
perceived support	.10
social stress	.22**
social stress* American cultural activities	-.02

**(p<.01)*(p<.05)

physical health	-.28**
perceived support	-.22**
social stress	-.12**
social stress*	.22**
attachment to American culture	.04

**(p<.01)*(p<.05)

To test hypothesis 3b, the following variables are entered into each of the three regressions: 1) controlled variables-- locus of control, perceived support and physical health; 2) social stress; 3) the interaction term of social stress and the three dimensions of traditional culture (traditional values, traditional cultural activities and attachment to traditional culture). To reduce collinearity, the variables in the interaction terms are mean corrected.

Table 6.6 shows that traditional values, traditional cultural activities and attachment to traditional culture do not have a significant effect on the relationship between social stress and mental distress. The p values for these three dimensions are .57, .39 and .50 respectively.

Table 6.6 : Regressions of interaction between social stress and
traditional culture predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.28**
physical health	-.22**
perceived support	-.12**
social stress	.22**
social stress*traditional values	.04

**(p<.01)*(p<.05)

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.29**
physical health	-.25**
perceived support	-.10**
social stress	.23**
social stress*traditional cultural activities	.06

**(p<.01)*(p<.05)

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.28**
physical health	-.25**
perceived support	-.10**
social stress	.23**
social stress*attachment to traditional culture	.05

**(p<.01)*(p<.05)

Among the eighteen interaction effects, only the interaction of American values with family stress as well as the interaction of American values with work stress have a significant positive impact on mental distress. In other words, American values increase the impact of family stress and work stress on mental distress. Since so many similar tests were conducted, it is appropriate to use the Bonferroni adjustment. Two out of 18 (or one out of nine) tests result in significant p values. Therefore, the alpha level is divided by 9 (.05/9 =.006). After the adjustment, the interaction effect of American values with family stress is not significant (P>.006). In addition, the interaction effect of work stress with mental distress is not significant (p>.006), either. Therefore, the findings that American values

increase the impact of family stress and work stress on mental distress can be chance results.

Coping Strategies

In this section, the five types of coping strategies will be examined to find out whether the following hypotheses are supported.

Hypothesis 4.1: Action coping and cognitive coping are associated with less mental distress.

Hypothesis 4.2: Emotion-focused coping is associated with more mental distress.

The strategies for coping with family and social stress were classified into five categories. These five categories are cognitive coping, emotion coping, religious coping, action coping, and selective ignoring. Cognitive coping is a constructive way of coping in contrast to letting out emotion. Cognitive coping includes such items as "looking at the bright side of things," "examining yourself," and "emphasizing the merits of kids." Emotion coping in this study includes only "getting angry and letting it out," "smoking and drinking alcohol," and "punishing kids." Action-coping refers to negotiating a compromise and seeking advice and support. Selective ignoring includes switching one's attention to other activities (e.g., sports and music) and telling oneself not to worry about kids too much. Religious coping refers to seeking consolation or empowerment from religion.

To test which coping strategies predict mental health, the five categories were put into a regression model as independent variables. The controlled variables are perceived support and locus of control. The results show that taking action and cognitive coping are significant predictors. Both are associated with less mental distress (Beta = -.18 and -.19 separately). Letting out emotions is associated with more mental distress (Beta = .09, p = .19). Selective ignoring is also related to more mental distress, but the Beta is small (.09), which suggests that it does not have much effect in reducing mental distress. Religious

coping has almost no effect in predicting mental adjustment (Beta = .02, p = .79). In summary, action-focused coping and cognitive coping are effective in reducing mental distress. However, emotion coping does not predict more mental distress. Only Hypothesis 4.1 is supported.

Table 7.1: Regression of coping strategies predicting mental distress

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.29**
physical health	-.24**
action coping	-.18*
cognitive coping	-.19*
emotion coping	.09
selective ignoring	.09
religious coping	.02

**(p<.01)   * (P< .05)

Perceived Support and Physical Health

Since only 2.5 percent of the respondents reported poor health and a high percentage of them do not engage in risky health behaviors (e.g., smoking and drinking), I conducted a regression test on whether the respondents' healthful behaviors (e.g., exercising) predict good health. The results are not significant. I also conducted regressions to test whether family, work and social stress affect physical health. The results are not significant, either. This led me to believe that some other factors predict good physical health. Perceived support has been found to be conducive to mental health. It has also been found to benefit physical health. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 5: Perceived support predicts better physical health of the respondents.

To test the effect of perceived support on physical health, gender and locus of control

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were used as controlled variables. Table 7.2 shows that perceived support is a significant predictor (Beta = .23, p = .002) of good physical health. Hypothesis 5 is supported.

Table 7.2: Regression of perceived support predicting physical health

Predictor	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	.25**
gender	.18*
perceived support	.23**

**(p<.01)   * (P< .05)

Supplementary Analysis

The statistical results in the previous section provide us with a big picture of the relationship between cultural involvement and stress, stress and mental distress as well as cultural involvement and mental distress. In addition, several coping strategies have been found to be effective in reducing mental distress. In general, the respondents do not engage in risky health behaviors.

The purpose of conducting such an analysis is to supplement the primary analysis, which tends to be more general. The supplementary analyses are more detailed and tell us what is not revealed in the primary analysis.

Since the three dimensions of cultural involvement do not have a significant effect on mental distress, this led me to look for other aspects of cultural involvement as predictors. Joining an American club is not a good predictor, either. There are only three variables in the ITC scale which indicate traditional values. Therefore, I was curious about the relationship between mental distress and the variable which contains seven items of traditional values that respondents were asked to choose. The question is: Which traditional

values do you wish that your children will preserve? The options include "respecting and obeying parents, supporting parents financially, taking care of elderly parents, taking care of siblings, respecting teachers and elders, frugality, modesty." I combined language barriers and this particular variable to see their impact on mental distress.

In this section, I also look for the factors which are related to family, work and social stress so that we understand better which variables increase or decrease these three types of stress. The first analysis is related to Hypothesis one.

Acculturation and Mental Distress

The findings for hypothesis one show that involvement with traditional culture (ITC) and involvement with American culture (IAC) do not significantly predict mental distress. Considering that the ITC and IAC scales are not comprehensive, I combined two variables that are not in the acculturation scales. One indicates the respondents' inadequate English skills: Do you find it very difficult to 1) understand 2) speak, 3) read and 4) write English? The more options they chose, the more language barriers they have and the more likely they will use the traditional language and have a higher involvement with the traditional culture. The other question concerns what traditional values they expect their children to preserve. There are seven options, such as modesty, frugality, respecting teachers, taking care of elderly parents. The more options they chose, the more traditional they are. This question slightly overlaps a few questions in the ITC scale but is more detailed. So it can better reflect the respondents' traditional values. The high score of this variable indicates that the respondent has a high sense of involvement with his/her traditional culture. The regression result shows that a respondent who has a high score for the combined variable experiences more mental distress (Beta = .17, p = .023). However, neither the language barrier nor the

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traditional values alone predict mental distress. Next, I will present the details of family, work and social stress.

Family Stress

Family stress variables consist of parenting and spouse relationship variables which cause distress. The purpose of this analysis is to find out 1) whether parenting is more stressful than getting along with one's spouse, worrying about family finance and elderly parents 2) which aspects of parenting are stressful 3) whether female respondents experience more parenting stress.

Table 8.1 shows that among family stress variables, the variables for parenting issues (worrying about children, giving up one's hobbies, children's neglecting parents' guidance, and parent-child conflict) have the highest means (ranging from 2.44 to 2.82). The means for spousal relationship variables range from 2.02 to 2.47. The mean for worries about elderly parents is 2.2, and the mean for family finance is 2.13.

Table 8.1 : Mean of all family stress variables

Spousal relationship		Parenting		Other	
share	2.03	worry	2.82	finance	2.13
decide	2.02	guide	2.44	parent	2.2
care	2.1	hobby	2.61		
friction	2.47	conflict	2.63		

share---share housework *decide*---make important decisions together
care---care about kids *friction*---have frictions with one's spouse
worry---worry about kids *guide*---disobey parent's guidance
hobby---give up one's hobby *conflict*---parent-child conflict
finance---financial situation *parent*---being worried about elderly parents

To find out whether parenting contributes to more family stress than other variables, a regression was conducted. The parenting stress score is the mean of the four parenting

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variables in Table 8.1. The stepwise method was used for the regression. Perceived support, locus of control, spousal relationship, parenting issues, financial concern and worries about elderly parents are independent variables, and family stress is the dependent variable. The results are as follows. The standardized coefficient (Beta) for spousal relationship is .57***. The Beta for parenting issues is .48***. The Beta for worries about elderly parents is .19***. Spousal relationship predicts a little more mental distress than parenting issues and much more mental distress than worries about elderly parents. Additionally, we may wonder whether female respondents experienced more parenting stress. The regression result shows that controlling for perceived support and locus of control, gender does not significantly predict parenting stress (Beta = -.03, p = .66).

The variables for the causes of parenting stress include: school(worrying about children's school performance), peer (worrying about children hanging out with bad kids), discrimination (worrying about children being discriminated against), communication (communication gap caused by language barriers), Mandarin (children's lack of interest in learning Mandarin), and college (children's failure to major in the program parents expect them to). Table 8.2 shows the bivariate correlation between parenting stress and its causes.

Table 8.2: Correlation between parenting stress and its causes

	Bivariate Correlation with parenting stress
peer	.66***
school	.62***
discrimination	.54***
Mandarin	.53***
communication	.46***
college	.42***

***(p<.001)

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I used a multiple regression analysis to examine the causes of parenting stress. Controlled variables are perceived support and locus of control, which explain 5.3 % of the variance. The findings are as follows: Parenting stress is significantly predicted by worries about children's hanging out with misbehaved kids (Beta = .35, p = .00), worries about children's school performance (Beta = .20, p = .03), communication gap caused by language difference (Beta =.16, p = .02), and children's lack of interest in learning the traditional language (Beta =.21, p = .005). The four variables explain 58% of the variance. We can see that all these four variables increase family stress.

Worries about children's hanging out with bad kids is the most noticeable cause of family stress. Worries about children being discriminated against is significantly correlated with parenting stress. However, it does not significantly predict parenting stress. This may be caused by collineality with other predictors. The results are not surprising, because parenting is a task full of challenges especially when children and parents are not of the same level of acculturation. It is interesting to note that the communication gap between parents and children caused by language differences is a major parenting stressor. The analysis on parenting stress helps us understand the common stressors experienced by the respondents.

Work Stress

In this section, the causes of work stress are chosen based on the findings of previous studies. The purpose of this analysis is to find out 1) whether gender predicts work stress 2) which variables cause more stress for the employed and the self-employed persons.

The mean of work stress for this sample is 2.29, which indicates a medium level. About 31% of the respondents do not like their current jobs, but only 11% want to change their jobs. About 39% of them do not feel a sense of achievement in their jobs. Table 8.3 shows

the mean of each work stressor-- lack of promotion, skill underutilization, time pressure, work overload, unpleasant work environment (noise), lack of autonomy, unfriendly coworkers, demanding supervisors (performance), role ambiguity, and fear of job loss. The correlation between each stressor and work stress is also shown.

Table 8.3 : Mean of work climate and conditions for the employed

	Mean	Bivariate Correlation with work stress
work overload	2.24	.39**
fear of job loss	1.98	.34**
lack of autonomy	1.90	.34**
skill underutilization	2.2	.50**
time pressure	2.27	.32**
role ambiguity	2.16	.26**
promotion	2.31	.26**
noise	1.76	.52**
demanding supervisors	1.70	.29**
unfriendly coworker	1.91	.38**

First, I conducted a regression to find out whether female respondents experienced more work stress than male respondents because most females are married and work outside the home. The result showed that being female does not significantly predict more work stress (Beta = .016, p = .84). Because female was coded as 1 and male as 2, there is a weak positive relationship between males and work stress.

In exploring the causes of work stress for the employed persons, a regression was conducted. Only locus of control is controlled for because perceived support is not a significant predictor. Table 8.4 shows that work overload, skill underutilization, and unpleasant work environment are significant predictors. They are positively related to work stress. In the bivariate correlation matrix, role ambiguity and lack of promotion are

positively associated with work stress. However, in the regression model they are negatively associated with work stress. This likely results from collineality. Role ambiguity is highly correlated with all other work stressors, and lack of promotion is highly correlated with other work stressors except fear of job loss and work overload. It is surprising that time pressure does not significantly predict work stress. Time pressure is correlated with work overload (r = .38**), which may explain why it is not a significant predictor. Locus of control accounts for about 17 % of the variance, and the causes of work stress account for 49 % of the variance.

Table 8.4: Regression of causes of work stress predicting work stress

Predictors	Standardized Coefficient
locus of control	-.27**
work overload	.19*
skill underutilization	.38*
unpleasant environment	.29**
lack of autonomy	.15
lack of promotion	-.16
time pressure	.08
role ambiguity	-.15

Self-employment and causes of work stress

Respondents were asked why they chose to be self-employed. The respondents who have been self-employed are most likely to choose flexibility of time as their motive for entrepreneurship, followed by "to improve family income," and "personal interest." They are least likely to choose "to escape the bureaucracy in the agencies " or "to escape discrimination in the workplace" as the motive.

The results in Table 8.5 show that self-employment significantly predicts more mental distress (Beta = .17, p= .014) after controlling for locus of control, health and perceived

support. The results were within my expectations, given the tremendous pressure of keeping

the business running.

Table 8.5: Regression of self-employment predicting mental distress

Predictors	Standardized Coefficient
Lcus of control	-.36**
Perceived support	-.16 *
Health	-.27 **
Self-employment	.17 *

The causes of work stress for the self-employed include difficult customers, worries

about career success or failure, too many government regulations, working in isolation,

working too long, skill underutilization and an unpleasant work environment. After

controlling for locus of control, working long hours (Beta = .38, p = .002) and an unpleasant

work environment (Beta = .25, p = .047) are significant predictors.

In summary, self-employed persons experience more mental distress than employed

persons. Female respondents do not experience more work stress than males. Work

overload, skill underutilization, and unpleasant work environment are significant predictors

of work stress for employed persons. Working long hours and an unpleasant work

environment predict work stress for self-employed persons.

Social Stress

This section explores how the respondents' social networking is related to their social

stress. The size of the respondents' social network has decreased after migration, and the

members with whom they socialize with have also changed. Do the respondents' social

activities have any impact on their social stress?

In this study, involvement with American culture predicts less social stress, and involvement with Taiwanese culture predicts more social stress. Social stress is indicated by the average of the means in Table 8.6. Table 8.6 shows that the respondents have fewer experiences in being treated unfairly by salespeople and agency clerks and on other occasions (e.g., while looking for jobs) than experiences of social isolation (the feeling of being an outsider in American society, being unable to share their feelings with American friends, being left out in a group setting, and having difficulty in making close American friends).

Table 8.6 : Mean of social stress variables

	Mean	Correlation with social stress
shopping	1.91	.63**
agency	1.8	.70**
other occasions	1.84	.62**
feeling	3.09	.50**
outsider	3.14	.69**
left out	2.66	.72**
close American friends	3.27	.69**

Next, let us look at the respondents' social activities. About 18% of the respondents never socialize with their neighbors, and 39.6 % of them seldom socialize with their neighbors. Fifteen percent of them do so once a month, and another 15 % do so once a week. An even larger percentage of them (62 %) seldom socialize with American friends; 14.3 % of them never do so; 15.5 % of them socialize with American friends once a month. About 24 % of the respondents never attend activities by a religious group; 13.6 % attend activities once a month and 15.5 % attend activities once a week. They socialize with Taiwanese friends more often: never (2 %), seldom (27.8%), once a month (24.7 %), two

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or three times a month (28 %), once a week (17 %). These statistics show that 1) the respondents do not socialize with neighbors and American friends often, 2) they attend religious activities more often than socializing with neighbors and American friends, 3) socializing with Taiwanese friends is the most frequent social activity.

A regression was conducted to find out which social activities predict social stress. After controlling for locus of control and perceived support, which account for about 1 % of the variance, social stress is predicted by socializing with neighbors (Beta = -.16, p = .04), socializing with American friends (Beta = -.17, p = .023) and attending activities held by religious groups (Beta = -.18, p = .012). These three variables account for 9 % of the variance. The more often an individual socializes with neighbors and American friends and participates in religious activities, the less social stress s/he experiences. Socializing with Taiwanese friends does not decrease social stress.

The results suggest that social networking does impact social stress. Socializing with neighbors and American friends is a manifestation of involvement with American culture (IAC), and IAC was found to reduce social stress. Therefore, the findings are within my expectations. In addition, networking by attending religious activities is also effective in reducing social stress.

Connection to the Home Country

The extent of the respondents' connection to the home country can be detected through the frequency of the respondents' contact with family and friends in the old country, their response to whether their families back home need their financial support and the number of times the respondents returned to Taiwan in the past ten years. About 31 % of them talk to their family once a week; 24 % do so several times a month and 25 % do so once a

month. On an average, the respondents talk to their relatives in Taiwan at least once a month. However, they do not chat with friends back home as frequently. Only 7.2 % chat with friends once a week; 6.5 % do so several times a week, and 17.6 % do so once a month. About 65 % do not need to support their family in Taiwan; 14.5 % need to support them; 20 % have supported them in the past. Visiting family in the home country was a problem more than ten years ago because of the high cost and inconvenience of traveling. About 36 % returned home one to three times in the past ten years. About 28 % did so four to six times. About 14 % did so seven to nine times. About 3 % returned home seven to ten times, and about 6 % returned home more than ten times. On an average, respondents returned home 4 to 6 times in the past ten years. Given that most of them are either U.S. citizens or permanent residents, their connection with family in Taiwan and the home country is stronger than I expected.

Perceived Support and Help-Seeking Behaviors

The value of perceived spouse support is quite high (4.05 out of a maximum of 5) in this sample because most of them are married,; this is followed by friend support (3.85) and co-worker support (3.10). The values of perceived sibling support (2.94) and supervisor support are less high (3.05). The mean of perceived support for the entire sample is 3.4 (std.= .79), which indicates a medium level of support.

Perceived support does not have a significant bivariate correlation with age, education, and length of stay. It has a positive and significant correlation with physical health but a negative and significant correlation with mental distress. This indicates that respondents who have a high level of perceived support tend to be more healthy physically and less mentally distressed.

Respondents were asked to choose whom they will turn to when they need to borrow money, feel depressed, have legal problems, have friction with their spouse, do not know how to deal with their children and experience a family emergency. The top four candidates they chose were other Taiwanese Americans in the community followed by their spouse, their siblings and parents. The other choices are ranked from high to low as follows: American friends, professionals, coworkers, children, neighbors and relatives, boss. Because of the small number of family members in the U.S., the respondents need to rely on Taiwanese friends living in the same city or nearby for help. A Chinese/Taiwanese proverb emphasizes the fact that distant relatives are not as helpful as neighbors.

Locus of Control

There are six items in the locus of control scale. After running a factor analysis, two of them were not included in calculating the mean of an individual's locus of control. Each of these two items has a weak bivariate correlation with mental distress. One of them is the attribution of personal problems to luck, and the other is the feeling that it is fruitless to change certain human situations. The four items are coded in such a way that a higher score indicates more internal locus of control. Though the reliability of the four items left is about .60, this variable has a highly negative correlation with mental distress but is positively correlated with physical health. The mean of internal locus of control for the entire sample is 3.71 with 5 being the maximum of this variable, and the standard deviation is .64. About 52 % of the sample has a score equal to or larger than 3.71, and 80 % of it has a score larger than 3. Some research found that Asian Americans are more likely to be external. However, the respondents in this study seem to be more internal than we thought.

Internal locus of control has a weak bivariate correlation with gender, ITC and IAC, but

it has a positive and significant bivariate correlation with education. More educated respondents are more internal in terms of locus of control.

Health Behaviors

The respondents were asked to evaluate their physical health themselves. Only 2.5 % considered their health to be poor. About 41.6 % reported their health to be average; 50.3 % reported enjoying good health; 5.6 % reported experiencing very good health. Only 5 % of them smoke cigarettes. Eighteen percent of them drink. Only 6.9 % of them eat desserts often; 44.4 % of them rarely eat desserts; 48.8 % of them eat desserts moderately.

Regarding their healthful behaviors, about 48 % of them eat more vegetables than meat, and only 6.2 % of them eat more meat than vegetables. Forty percent of them exercise for one to two hours every week; 39% of them exercise for three to four hours a week; 8.6 % of them exercise for five to six hours a week. Only 13 % of them exercise for more than six hours a week. The mean hours of exercise a week are less than four. As regards the frequency of physical checkups, more than half of them (53.7 %) undergo a physical checkup every year, 23.5 % of them do it every two years. About 11 % of them have a physical checkup every three years, and 11.7 % of them have never had a physical checkup.

The statistics suggest that many respondents (40 %) should exercise more, and I found that the percentage of them eating more vegetables than meat (48.1 %) is not as high as I expected. The results also indicate that they generally do not engage in unhealthful behaviors and that a little more than half of them have physical checkups every year.

Physical Symptoms

Table 8.7 shows the percentage of respondents who have certain physical symptoms of ill health. Hypertension is the most common symptom followed by back pain, diabetes, and

stomach problems. The results are consistent with those of my interview. Heart disease is the second important cause of mortality among Chinese Americans (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1997). This study has a similar finding. However, the rate of diabetes is higher than that for Chinese Americans.

Table 8.7 : Percentage of respondents who have the following physical symptoms

Symptom	Percentage
hyper-tension	16
back pain, arthritis	12.6
stomach problem	8.5
diabetes	8.6
respiration	3.7
heart disease	2.1
liver problem	2.1

Conclusion

The present study has contributed to our understanding of the adaptation outcomes of first-generation Taiwanese Americans living in the Midwest. The respondents have a lower level of mental distress than was expected, which may be related to their high level of education and the location of their residence. They are not highly acculturated to the host society due to the profound impact of their traditional culture, and they maintain transnational ties to their home country. They live in two cultures; biculturalism is conducive to their adaptation. In addition, since their migration is voluntary, they generally have internal locus of control.

The impact of cultural involvement on acculturation stress (family, work and social stress) and mental distress are the focuses of this study. Cultural involvement is broken down into three dimension to understand their separate effect. In interpreting the results of

the study, we must keep the Midwest context and their general success as a group in mind. A summary of the findings is as follows:

First, involvement with traditional or American culture alone does not have a significant impact on the respondents' mental distress. Yet, language barriers together with traditional values predict more mental distress. Second, family and work stress predict mental distress, but social stress does not. Third, involvement with traditional culture increases social stress, while involvement with American culture decreases social stress. Fourth, American values moderate the relationship between family stress and mental distress. They also moderate the relationship between work stress and mental distress. Given that this study is exploratory, the findings should not be ignored. However, from the statistical perspective, the moderating effect can be a chance result. The same tests should be replicated in a larger sample.

Similar to previous studies, cognitive coping and action coping were found to be effective in reducing mental distress. Only a small percentage of the respondents reported poor health, and most of them do not smoke or drink. A higher level of perceived support predicts better physical health. Hypertension is the most common symptom.

The results of the supplementary analysis indicate that stress induced by spousal relationship is the most important contributor of family stress, and language difference between parents and children is one of the sources of parenting stress. This confirms the previous study that bilingual children have a better relationship with their parents. However, female respondents do not significantly experience more parenting stress than male respondents. The respondents working at wage and salary employment generally have better mental health than the self-employed. For the employed persons, work overload, skill

underutilization and an unpleasant work environment significantly lead to work stress. For the self-employed , working long hours and an unpleasant work environment are significant contributors to work stress. These results are quite similar to those of previous studies. Though the respondents do not socialize with neighbors (mostly White Americans) and American friends often, socializing with them significantly reduces social stress. This is consistent with the finding that involvement with American culture reduces social stress. Attending religious activities also significantly reduces social stress.

As for their help-seeking behaviors, they turn to Taiwanese friends first, followed by spouses, siblings and American friends. In a collective culture, family members are the most important source of help. Since the respondents have a small number of family members in the U.S., Taiwanese friends become a very important source of support.

In general, the respondents adapt well. However, due to the Mid-west context and the respondents' high educational level, the low level of their mental distress does not necessarily represent the mental status of the rest of Taiwanese Americans.

PART II: REPORT ON QUALITATIVE DATA

Religion

In this study, there are almost twice as many Buddhists as Christians. The practitioners meet once a week for Buddhism study either at a permanent gathering place where ceremonies and retreats are held or at someone's house. Many of them practice Pureland Buddhism because it is the easiest way. Chan Buddhism and Tantian Buddhism (e.g., Buddhism practiced in Tibet) are harder to practice. I noticed that female Buddhists outnumber male Buddhists. During the monthly retreat, they practice chanting or meditation

with or without the supervision of a Buddhist priest. Buddhist practitioners who are really religious would worship the Buddha and chant Buddhist scripts or sutras every day. The Taiwanese Christian respondents usually go to a church where sermons are given in Mandarin or Taiwanese. Some of them go to a church where most followers are Americans. To my surprise, almost forty percent of the respondents do not have a religion, although quite a few interviewees said that religion has helped them face very difficult times. Some of the interviewees found a religion after they attended activities held by some religious groups.

Since quite a large number of the respondents are Buddhists, I will briefly present the essentials of this religion. In Buddhism, greed, anger and delusion are called the three poisons for the mind (Fung 1948). Many wrong doings are caused by these three. Among the human misbehaviors, killing, stealing, and sexual misconducts are considered the worst, followed by lying (false speech and deceit of any kind) and substance abuse. Ordinary people become greedy, angry and deluded because they do not know the laws of the universe. As a result, they suffer from the bad karmas they have created. The basic laws of the universe are the transience of all phenomena and dependent origination (the interdependence of phenomena or occurrences). Bad karmas can be created through actions, thoughts and the verbal language. To understand Buddhist teachings further, I will present the four noble truths.

The four noble truths in Buddhist teachings refer to *dukkha* (unsatisfactoriness), *samudaya* (cause), *nirodha* (cessation) and *magga* (the Eightfold Path) (Santina, pp. 29-41). *Dukkha* means feeling frustrated, unsatisfactory, unfulfilled and miserable. I believe many people feel that human life is full of frustration and unsatisfactoriness. *Samudaya* refers to

the cause of occurrences and existence. There are many conditions for an occurrence, and this theory of cause and effect is explained by the Buddhist concept of dependent origination. For example, a large portion of human unsatisfactoriness and suffering is caused by craving-- clinging to things that are impermanent (craving for sensual pleasures and objects, craving to become something other than what one is and craving not to be what one is. *Nirodha* means end of *dukkha*, which can be realized by following the Eightfold Path. This comprises right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration (Khemasanto 2000). Concentration (*samadhi*) is defined as singleness of mind, characterized by the absence of mental wandering and agitation. The mind is clear and tranquil when it is without wandering thoughts and agitation (ibid).

If someone practices Buddhism for his/her own benefits, s/he is not truly practicing the *paramita*. *Paramita* refers to practices aimed at transcendence of suffering (freedom from mental afflictions, self-attachment and self-cherishing) and becoming enlightened. Becoming enlightened is the ultimate goal for a Buddhist so that s/he can escape reincarnation (rebirth). Here are six practices promoted by the Buddha. The first one is generosity (instrumental, emotional, and informational support), such as donating money, making other living beings feel safe and less worried, and sharing information with others. The others are practices of morality (e.g., the Eightfold Path), patience, diligence, meditation and wisdom.

Many activities have been held by the Tzu-Chi Foundation (TCF, a well-known Buddhist association established more than thirty-five years ago) and the Dharma Drum Mountain (DDM) Buddhist Association which has its headquarters in Taipei and New York and was established about ten years ago. The founder of DDM is the world-famous Chan (or Zen)

expert--Master Sheng-yen. He has attracted numerous followers from all over the world, especially from the Western countries. He promotes transforming the earth on which we live into a human pure land where physical pollution and pollution of the mind are eradicated. The purpose of chanting and Chan meditation is to train our minds to be mindful and calm so that an individual's hidden wisdom and physical power can be uncovered and developed (lecture by Rev. Sheng-yen).

The founder of the TCF is Master Cheng-yen, who is also well-known for her selfless contributions. In Taiwan, the TCF has set up several hospitals, medical schools, nursing schools, and local chapters. The local chapters are dedicated to the relief of the needy, such as the extremely poor people, the abandoned people, and those who have suffered from severe accidents or natural disasters. After the violent earthquake of 1999 in Taiwan, the TCF built earthquake-resistant buildings for more than fifty schools in central Taiwan. The TCF also delivered a huge amount of food, clothing and medical materials to countries overseas, such as Turkey, Afghanistan, and many African countries.

Not all the TCF members are Buddhists, and the members are respected by the public because of their contribution. There are TCF chapters all over the world, which serve the local community, and there are two in Michigan. There are also Chinese language schools founded by the TCF in Chicago. The DDM Buddhist Association in the U.S. focuses more on religious activities, such as Chan meditation and lectures. The Lansing Buddhist Association holds weekly gatherings and monthly activities which are also open to people outside the Taiwanese community. Some Americans attend these activities regularly. In both East Lansing and Ann Arbor, there are churches which serve the Chinese and Taiwanese Christian communities.

Ethnic Relations

Taiwanese Americans generally get along with other ethnic groups, except those living in the Monterey Park California, which was predominantly a middle-class White community before the 1970s. Now, immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong form the majority (56 %) of the city population, followed by Latinos (31 %) and Whites (12 %) (Kwong 1997). Though they are better educated than the old White residents, their "invasion" has upset the Whites. In order to "take back the community," the White residents have instituted a series of anti-Asian legislation, such as restrictions against future housing developments and the "English Only" ordinance. Though the ethnic struggle continues, the residents have realized the necessity of working together across racial divisions (ibid).

Compared with Taiwanese Americans in Monterey Park, the respondents in the Midwest have better relations with other ethnic groups though Michigan is one of the most racially segregated states in the U.S. Most of the respondents living in Michigan, Chicago and the other states of the Midwest live in White middle-class or upper-middle class neighborhoods. Because of the respondents' socioeconomic status and the small number of the population, they have not caused any threat to the Whites or encountered blatant rejection.

As mentioned previously, many respondents are satisfied with their social relationship with other ethnic groups, though they usually do not have a "buddy" relationship with them. Their children generally have many more American friends than they. A respondent said her niece migrated here two years ago. One high school teacher of hers visits her from time to time to make sure she makes progress in school. Another respondent said her son's high-school classmates gave him rides on school days because he did not have a car. When he transferred to a high school in California, he seldom got rides and help from his classmates.

Because his grades dropped in that semester, he transferred back to the Midwest. Another respondent who lived in New York for three years does not like the fast pace of life there. He feels that the residents in the Midwest are warmer and that life is much more relaxing. However, a respondent who used to live in the northern part of Michigan complained about the racial tension there.

A respondent was happy that his ten-year-old daughter's school holds international festivals every year and flags of different countries can be seen on campus. He donated the national flag of Taiwan to the school. I feel that due to the small number of the minority population in the Midwest and the existence of college towns (Michigan State University and the University of Michigan), the atmosphere is conducive to racial relations. The residents are exposed to diverse cultures through activities on campus and the visible presence of minority students.

Cultural Activities

In Ann Arbor, Detroit and Chicago, activities have been frequently held in the Taiwanese community because of the enthusiasm of the leaders. The activities are intellectual-oriented or recreation-oriented, such as speeches, art exhibitions, concerts, picnics and camping. The Taiwanese Association in Lansing mainly holds celebration activities on ethnic holidays and social gatherings every three months. The Chinese language schools in the three cities also hold activities from time to time, such as inviting high school students from Taiwan to sing at a concert. The language schools I mentioned are only for young Taiwanese Americans. The Chinese Americans from Mainland China have their own language schools. A respondent living in southern Ohio said that the Taiwanese Association in the city where she lives organizes a celebration for the new year only. The frequency of cultural activities may

be positively related to the population of the Taiwanese Americans in a certain location. I believe celebrating ethnic holidays is still a big event in the cities where there are large populations of Taiwanese Americans, such as New York, Houston and Los Angeles

As predicted, watching videos made in Taiwan is not very common in this Midwest sample because of the shortage of stores run by Taiwanese Americans. If the survey had been conducted in Los Angeles, the outcome would have been very different. Newspapers published by Taiwanese Americans in Michigan are scarce. Michigan News is the only one I am aware of. The World Daily News, which is available nationwide, has become the most well-known newspaper in the Midwest. It covers events in the U.S. and the Taiwanese community. However, using the Internet to read news from Taiwan is more common than reading newspapers because the Internet is more convenient to access. Few bookstores sell books printed in traditional Chinese characters except those in the Chinatown of Chicago. Eating ethnic foods is still preferred. The delicacies made for holidays are especially appreciated, because the foods remind the immigrants of the days when they lived in the old country. Many respondents said that they do not know how to make most American foods. In the meantime, many respondents under the age of fifty do not know how to make special ethnic foods for holidays, such as moon cakes and sweet-rice cakes. Because most respondents are under the age of fifty-five, worshiping ancestors at home is not common among them even on major holidays. In Taiwan, many people still worship ancestors on a daily basis. This custom may be practiced by old-generation Taiwanese Americans only.

Modified Attitudes towards Traditional Values

When asked what traditional values they should modify in order to survive in American society, the responses are as follows: avoid being too humble and closed-minded, give up

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the idea that we are superior to others, do not be too concerned about saving or losing face in society, relax the parent-child relationship, avoid being overprotective, communicate with children more, be more adventurous (do not stick to old rules), do not expect children to take care of you, do not be too conservative, learn how to respect the disadvantaged, fight for one's rights, and participate in social and community activities more often.

We see that "do not expect children to take care of you" was mentioned by the respondents. Because filiality is considered an important virtue in many Asian countries, whether or not the respondents have changed their attitudes towards filiality will be discussed in the next chapter.

Second Generation

Regarding the obstacles to success that second-generation Taiwanese Americans encounter, the responses include cultural conflict, skin color, pressure of living up to parents' expectation, being less diligent than the first generation, being unable to compete with Americans due to race, difficulty in obtaining managerial positions (glass ceiling), no sense of roots, fewer job opportunities, being labeled as foreigners, cultural identity problem, value conflict between two cultures, lack of self-confidence and physical features (e.g., skin color, small stature). Skin color is considered the greatest obstacle by the respondents.

Some respondents think that their children have fewer obstacles than they in adapting to the host society. They think the second generation should adapt better because of better language skills, less pressure from school, and less emphasis on credentials These parents may have children who adapt well, but it does not imply that other parents think in the same way. Other parents feel that the second generation receives no less pressure than the first generation because their children have to handle the pressure from American peers and also

live up to the expectation of their parents. For example, the second generation have to face educational discrimination in applying to prestigious universities. According to Aguirre et al. (2001), the GPA of Asian American applicants has increased more than White American applicants, but the admission rate of Asian American freshmen has decreased.

In addition, problems with ethnic identity are most evident during the teen-age years. A respondent said,

> They have to be Taiwanese at home and American outside the home. Before they go to college, they feel that they are Americans because the majority of their classmates were Americans and the classmates were nice to them. After they mingle with other Asian students in college, they do not feel they are Americans any more because they have expanded the horizon of looking at things.

Another two respondents feel that their daughters stopped going to ethnic gatherings after entering high school. Both speak Mandarin well but are quite Americanized (having a lot of American friends). They become rebellious if the parents ask them to learn something about Taiwanese or Chinese culture. One of the respondents said that her daughter does not go to the language school any more. The other said, "I like traditional painting and I am taking class. Every time I tell my daughter how wonderful the painting is, she says that I am bragging."

The parents feel that perhaps they did not work hard enough to strengthen their daughters' Taiwanese identity when they were in elementary school. Perhaps the parents blame themselves unnecessarily. The college campus is the best place for molding a minority student's ethnic identity because s/he will meet students from different ethnic groups and experience how people from various groups treat him/her. According to a Korean college student, the first thing that strikes an American student when s/he sees her is her Asian features. She was adopted by a White couple in her childhood and has an American

surname. She told her American classmates,"I am as white as you are inside, but I am still an Asian in your eyes" (personal observation). We cannot deny that many White college students will feel threatened if there is a large number of minority students on campus. MIT stands for "Made in Taiwan" and UCLA stands for "Undergraduate Caucasians Living with Asians" because of the existence of a large number of Taiwanese and Asian students.

Being less diligent than the first generation is considered the second largest obstacle to one's success in society. A respondent feels that he has been working very hard for thirty years and did not seem to have time to enjoy life until a few years ago. He was employed during the day and self-employed in the night. A few years ago he closed his business, and now he has time for himself. Sometimes he compared his career accomplishments with that of his friends in Taiwan. He said that he may have obtained a higher social status if he had chosen to have a career in Taiwan thirty years ago. In the 1970s, a master's degree from an American university was greatly valued and would have promised a bright future. More and more Taiwanese students pursue a doctoral degree in the U.S. today. Although a doctoral degree is still valued in Taiwan, it does not necessarily guarantee promising job opportunities.

Though most Taiwanese Americans pay tuition for their children's college education, quite a few of them do not expect their children to pursue a doctoral degree but will not discourage them, either. They are worried that it takes too long and believe that a master's degree from a prestigious university is good enough. Having experienced the obstacle of the glass ceiling, they do not feel optimistic about their children trying to advance their careers through a doctoral degree. Indeed, I observed that many respondents' children entered the job market soon after they obtained a bachelor's or master's degree from famous

universities, such as the University of Michigan, UC Berkeley, and Stanford University. Since a high percentage of the second generation is still in their twenties, it is hard to say that they will not pursue a doctoral degree after they gain some work experience in the real world.

Other Open-ended Responses

To understand how the respondents interact with the community where they live and the larger society, I asked whether they will encourage their children to participate in American politics and whether they have done any voluntary work for the community. About 72 % of the respondents have done voluntary work. They volunteered in the museum, children's schools, hospitals, soup kitchens, and so on. Some of them raised money for charity agencies. By doing this, they feel that they are contributing to the community where they live and the larger society. Some respondents simply donate money to nonprofit organizations.

Aquirre and Turner (2001) state that Asian Americans have been absent in political offices and activities. The few Asian Americans currently in high-rank governmental positions are Gary Locke (the governor of the State of Washington) and Elaine Chao (the Secretary of the Department of Labor). No Asian Americans have been elected to the city council in New York City though the city has over one million Asian Americans. Only one Asian American was elected to the city council of Los Angeles during recent years. The political under-representation may result from gerrymandering policies that dilute the political power of Asian Americans by splitting the population into several districts (ibid, p. 191). Because many Asian Americans live in the White neighborhoods, scarcity of large Asian American communities also make it difficult for them to be major political players.

Additionally, the small population size makes it necessary for them to form a coalition with other ethnic groups (Lien 2001). S.B. Woo is very active in promoting the well-being of Asian Americans through a world-wide web called "80-20initiative.net."

More than half of the respondents said they will encourage their children to be actively involved in politics. Twenty-nine percent said they will not encourage them, and 18% will let the children decide for themselves. Political participation has aroused more and more attention among Taiwanese Americans in recent years. As society in the U.S. has become more connected among ethnic groups, political representation is crucial for the mobility of each group. Though political discrimination is difficult to overcome, Taiwanese Americans should be more active in political participation. Since they are active in supporting their homeland, they can do the same for themselves and the future generation.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Demographic Background

Age, education and occupation

That only one-fifth of the sample are over fifty-five years old indicates that this group is relatively young. The educational level of this group is higher than that of the entire Taiwanese American or American population. Men are more educated than women because about half of the males have more than twenty years of education. Many females came here to help their husbands rather than to obtain a degree. Computer science and technology is the most popular occupation, followed by engineering, education and medicine/nursing. Surprisingly, none of them is a lawyer. However, this does not mean that there are no Taiwanese American lawyers in the U.S. Because occupations in hard science does not require a high level of English language skills as a means of communication, it is easier for non-English speakers to find a job in hard science than in other fields.

Language skills and language spoken at home

About one fifth of the respondents reported having difficulty speaking English. This does not mean that they cannot speak any English but that they cannot speak it fluently. If they do not have much opportunity to speak English on a daily basis, they cannot make much progress even after ten or twenty years of stay. Writing is the most difficult skill to obtain, and reading is the easiest. All language skills require constant practice, but not many respondents would practice writing English unless they are really interested in it or their jobs have such a requirement.

Statistics on language use at home suggest that speaking Mandarin at home is much

more common than speaking English. If parents do not speak Mandarin at home, their children will not be able to speak Mandarin well just by learning it at the language school. Since about one-fifth of the respondents do not speak English fluently, speaking Mandarin to their children is more convenient and effective in communication. Most importantly, if their children know Mandarin, they can relate better to other family members, such as grandparents and relatives, and people in the Taiwanese community. The mother tongue is an important factor in emphasizing the norms of the immigrants' home country (Cropley 1983). In ethnic gatherings I often find that teenagers who are fluent in Mandarin are more likely to come because they can communicate with adults easily.

About one-fifth of the respondents never speak Mandarin to children at home. These people are mostly older and have strong feelings for their homeland. They understand Mandarin, but they prefer to speak Taiwanese when they are with other Taiwanese. Those who speak English to their children all the time are more Americanized and probably have children who are not interested in learning Mandarin. Being Americanized is positively associated with longer years of stay. Here the word Americanized is neutral, meaning that they have been acculturated into the mainstream culture, and does not have a negative connotation.

Research shows that balanced bilingualism can enhance cognitive development or cognitive flexibility (Padilla & Lindholm 1984). Balanced bilingualism means that both English and any foreign language are emphasized. In a study on bilingual French-English children in Canada, Lambert (1977) found that the children scored significantly higher than monolingual children on verbal and nonverbal measures and that they had a more diversified structure of intelligence and flexibility in thinking. Unfortunately, bilingual education in the

U.S. focuses on English at the expense of the native language of the student. A survey of immigrant children by Rumbaut (1994) shows that children's preference for English and poor command of their parents' mother language were positively associated with high levels of parent-child conflict.

A mother told me that her daughter came to the U.S. when she was eleven. She speaks Mandarin well and was able to communicate with Taiwanese children when she visited Taiwan and taught English there. The daughter is very close to the mother. Her son was much younger when he came here, and he is not as close to her as the daughter. His Mandarin skills are not as good as his English skills although his mother speaks only Mandarin to him. Moreover, he thinks and acts like an American youth. There are certain things that she cannot communicate to him in Mandarin. Although many children study Mandarin at the language school, they go there only once a week on school days and classes are not offered in summer. If parents do not insist that they speak Mandarin at home, children tend to answer parents' questions in English and talk to their siblings in English because it is much easier for them. Even though children speak Mandarin well, it does not mean that they can read or write Mandarin well. Whether children will become true bilinguals relies on the parents' efforts in training them to read and write Mandarin at home. Some parents even encourage their children to take advanced level Mandarin and classes in Chinese studies after they attend college so that they can improve their reading and writing. For instance, one of the respondents was very happy that her son is able to discuss Chinese literature with her.

Attitudes towards Children's Marriage and Dating

In my study, about one-third of the respondents consider pre-college dating appropriate,

and half of them approve of interracial marriage. Since the majority of respondents are well-educated, they hold liberal attitudes towards biracial marriage. However, four of the respondents I talked to are not optimistic about interracial marriage. They all think that same-nationality marriage is easier for their children. One of them said she will be disappointed if her children outmarry. Another said she and her husband always want their children to marry someone with Taiwanese ancestry, because it makes communication between them and the children's spouses easier. Some of the respondents worried that their children may have to marry late or outmarry if they stay in the Midwest because of the scarcity of Asian Americans here. In fact, many respondents' children have moved to other states after graduating from college.

Modified Attitudes towards Filiality

About two-thirds of the respondents consider it an individual's responsibility to take care of elderly parents and support them financially. However, when they were asked what traditional values they want their children to preserve, less than half of them chose "taking care of elderly parents," and less than twenty percent of them chose "providing financial support to elderly parents." They seemed to harbor separate expectations with regard to their responsibility to their parents and their children's responsibility towards them. Because the respondents were socialized to value the concept of filiality as they were growing up, a high percentage of them still hold on to this value even though their parents do not need their support. If their elderly parents live in the U.S., they will definitely take care of them. Taiwan was still poor in the mid-60s, but only one-fifth of the respondents supported their parents in the past. It is possible that earlier Taiwanese immigrants were more likely to come from affluent families. Only 14.5% of the respondents need to support their parents in

Taiwan currently because Taiwan is better off economically nowadays. In Taiwan, it is still common for children to support their parents after they start to work as a way of showing their gratitude to their parents even though their parents may be doing well financially. The financial support for parents is symbolic rather than instrumental for many people. At the same time, their parents will help them when they need money for special purposes, such as getting married, buying a house or starting a business.

Based on the respondents' expectations of their children, I noticed that respondents have modified the traditional definition of filiality. They still firmly value respecting one's parents, moderately emphasize the importance of "taking care of elderly parents," and marginally uphold financial support from children. I believe these are situational adaptive strategies. Many respondents realize that their children may live far away from them when they become elderly. So, they think it is not realistic to expect their children to take care of them when the time comes. One respondent said, " I will let my children take care of me only if they are able to." Over one-third of them plan to return to Taiwan when they become elderly. They want to go home because they still have siblings or relatives in Taiwan and because they will be less lonely there. One of the respondents' uncle has already returned.

In addition, almost two-thirds of them realize that they should not burden their children with financial support. They may not need support from their children in the first place, if they do well financially. A respondent said, "They will be very lucky if they are financially independent. I never dream of depending on them" ("they" refers to his children). He paid a large portion of his children's college tuition as other parents did. His son has worked for five years but does not send money home unless his mother asks him to help in times of need. Another respondent has been working part time after getting married. She has a son who

has graduated from college. She said, "It is hard for me to ask my son for help. I just cannot say it." I guess she has never let her son know about the actual financial situation the family is in, and the son may not be aware of his obligation to help his parents financially. It is easier for those who are not doing well financially to ask their children for help because the children know their financial situation very well.

Traditionally, repaying parents through academic success and bringing honor to the family are also manifestation of filiality. A high percentage of respondents care about their children's school performance so that they can compete with their peers and make a decent living in the future. However, such an expectation is not so much for the benefit of themselves as for the well-being of the children. The parents are less likely to be worried when the children choose a college program they disapprove of than when their children associate with misbehaved peers.

Family Interest and Group Interest

As regards personal interest versus family or group interest, two-thirds of the respondents value family interest more than personal interest. Only one out of ten think that personal interest is more important than group interest. These statistics indicate that traditional cultural values have a strong impact on the respondents even though they live in an individualistic society. For example, a lady who came to the U.S. when her daughter was twelve years old said that her daughter did a lot of housework when she worked in the hotel during the first five years and after they opened a restaurant. Though the daughter ended up graduating from college at the age of twenty-five, she was happy about helping her parents. Many parents also want their children to take care of their siblings. Because of the lack of kin in the U.S., sibling support becomes important for the children.

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Cultural Attachment

The mean score of the respondents' attachment to traditional culture is 4 out of a maximum of 5, which indicates a high level of attachment. Two-thirds of the respondents strongly expect their children to preserve the ethnic culture instead of becoming Americanized. In addition, many of them want their children to be able to speak, read, understand and write Mandarin or be able to understand and speak Taiwanese (it does not have an official written form). A high percentage of them want their children to respect their teachers. Talking back to teachers and criticizing teachers in public are considered very disrespectful. Modesty is still viewed as a virtue by more than two-thirds of the respondents, and they want their children to preserve this tradition. Individuals who are not modest will not improve themselves. However, they also feel that it is not necessary to be too modest in certain situations, such as job interviews.

A high percentage of them feel that American culture has had a positive impact on them, and they like to learn American customs and history. However, only about one-thirds of them feel that it is important to adopt American ways of thinking. When I asked which aspects of American life appeal to them, their responses include freedom, being respectful of others' rights and privacy, consumer rights, low air pollution, good living conditions (low level of air pollution, quiet neighborhoods, more space for each household), simple life, innovation in technology, advanced medical techniques and equipment, children's education in public schools, parks and recreational facilities, less pressure in social life, emphasis on children's creativity and independent thinking, good public facilities, flexibility, orderliness, receptiveness to different opinions, tolerance of diversity, emphasis on research, environmental consciousness, and outdoor activities.

Good living conditions and less pressure in social life were emphasized by the respondents. The average number of kin the respondents have in the U.S. is about four, and it is true that many of them feel lonely. Social isolation also causes mental distress as indicated by the survey result. However, simple social relations have some advantages (e.g., saving much time, energy and money spent on social activities). In addition, a simple social life reduces the temptations for married couples, which may disrupt marriage. In terms of the merits of Americans, they specifically mentioned honesty, friendliness, self-confidence, respecting others' rights, optimism, diligence, cheerfulness, sense of humor, being law-abiding, adventurous and enterprising. Respondents generally feel that Americans are friendly, but some mentioned that there are also rude people. A respondent commented that he likes the way Americans do business. In contrast, some were angry about being deceived by the salespeople or about the indifference of salespeople. Inadequate English speaking ability seems to play a role in not being able to get compensated in a wrong business transaction. A respondent was very upset that she was simply transferred to several other persons when she called a company. At the end, her problem remained unresolved.

The respondents' responses to the aspects of health care system they dislike include high medical cost for the insured and the uninsured, taking a long time to get an appointment with physicians, too many unnecessary medical tests, doctors not spending time to understand the patient's background, waiting too long for doctors in the emergency room, few bilingual doctors, and so on. However, some feel that doctors and nurses are friendly.

Other aspects of American life that they dislike include wastefulness, commuting long distances to go to work, living too far away from family or relatives (which makes visits difficult), and winter weather. Wastefulness was mentioned more often than other things.

An interviewee said that she hates seeing people throw away useable things that they do not need, such as furniture, television sets and computers. According to a report by Hodges & Laherrere (1998), the U.S. with five percent of the world's population consumes 26% of the world's oil (http://mwhodges.home.att.net/energy/energy.htm).

Cultural Involvement and Mental Distress

After discussing the respondents' backgrounds and their cultural involvement, the relationship between their cultural involvement and mental distress will be presented. In this study the three dimensions of traditional culture combined were not found to be significantly related to mental distress. More involvement with traditional or American culture does not predict better mental health, either. This suggests that the respondents' better mental health is predicted by other factors, such as family, work and social stress. However, the high mean score of their involvement with traditional culture (ITC) indicates that their Taiwanese identity is still intact. The high percentage of the respondents participating in Taiwanese American organizations, having Taiwanese friends, emphasizing family interest, and speaking Mandarin at home suggests the profound influence and instrumental function of the traditional culture. Sometimes they get involved with their traditional culture for its symbolic meaning. For example, though many respondents are professionals who rarely need to rely on the ethnic community for solving their problems, they still prefer to have Taiwanese friends. Many of them still celebrate ethnic holidays because it makes them feel good.

Even though Taiwanese Americans have been economically successful, the glass ceiling and social segregation still exist. This may hinder their participation in the large society the way they want to. Though the mean score of IAC is much lower than that of ITC, the

standardized coefficient for IAC in predicting mental distress is negative. This suggests that IAC still has some effect in reducing mental distress, though the effect is not significant.

Min (1998) found that Korean Americans in smaller Korean communities are less traditional than those living in large cities, because they have access to fewer ethnic networks and ethnic media. This finding can apply to Taiwanese Americans living in the Midwest. In addition to maintaining their ethnic culture, they have to adopt American ways in many aspects of their lives. Biculturalism is the adaptive way of life in this Midwest context rather than traditionalism (holding on to most aspects of traditional culture) and assimilation. In addition, the variance of IAC and ITC are low (.21 and .26). Low variance is associated with weak correlation with mental distress. This may explain why ITC or IAC alone does not predict mental distress. ITC can be adaptive in certain aspects of life, and IAC can be adaptive in other aspects. They can go hand in hand. Moreover, the longer Taiwanese Americans stay in the U.S., the more involved with American culture they are (but not likely to be assimilated).

In the supplementary analysis, language difficulty or traditional values alone does not predict more mental distress. This indicates that even in the Midwest context traditional values do not hinder adaptation. An individual with strong traditional values may not have any difficulty in speaking, reading, understanding or writing English. Only when an individual has English language difficulty and holds strong traditional values will s/he be maladjusted. Traditional culture in itself is not problematic. It is the incongruence between traditional culture and American culture that interferes with adaptation. The reasons why the combined variable for traditional values and language difficulty has a salient effect on adaptation is that the questions asked are very specific and that there are eleven options in

this single variable. In contrast, many items in the ITC and IAC scales are questions on their attitudes, which may not precisely measure the respondents' actual cultural involvement. Respondents tend to choose "3" on a one-to-five Likert scale if they do not want to think hard or if they have not actually experienced the things asked. This may reduce variation in their responses. Furthermore, educational homogeneity may also lead to less variation in their cultural involvement.

Lastly, many respondents choose to live in the Mid-West because they do not like the fast pace of life, the housing cost and the public schools in big cities like New York and because there is less racial tension here than in California. People who prefer an exciting life style and monetary success will not choose the Mid-West. So, the respondents share two things in common--being contented with the living quality here and not being extremely ambitious compared to those living in LA or New York. These common features also lead to less variation in IAC. All these factors may explain why ITC and IAC do not significantly predict mental distress.

Cultural Involvement and Stress

The previous discussion reminds us that there is not a significant relationship between cultural involvement and mental distress. What is the relationship between cultural involvement and stress? Statistical analysis does not reveal a significant relationship between the three dimensions of cultural involvement and family stress. It does not confirm a significant relationship between cultural involvement and work stress, either. In other words, cultural involvement does not have a direct effect on family and work stress. One plausible explanation is that there is little variation in the responses on cultural involvement because of the homogeneity of the sample.

However, the analysis confirms that both stronger attachment to American culture and more involvement with American cultural activities lead to less social stress. Vega et al. (1987) contend that immigrants tend to adjust more favorably in ethnic communities where social isolation and cultural marginality are minimized. In less ethnically dense neighborhoods, immigrants are seen as "outsiders." Given the predominance of White culture in the Midwest, the respondents are seen as outsiders. Participating in American cultural activities makes them feel less socially isolated and marginalized. Attachment to American culture also leads to the feeling that they fit in. However, the result shows that being individualistic does not significantly reduce social stress.

In contrast, the result shows that strong attachment to traditional culture and holding collective values increase social stress. Social stress can be related to the feeling of being an outsider to American society because of cultural conflict, discrimination, insufficient language skills or lack of cultural knowledge. However, though those who are more involved with traditional cultural activities experience more social stress, the association is not significant. This seems to suggests that engaging in traditional cultural activities does not generate as strong a feeling of social exclusion as attachment to traditional culture and holding traditional values. A highly acculturated immigrant can engage in traditional activities while at the same time being perfectly adjusted to American culture.

Family, Work and Social Stress

A. Their impact on mental distress

The statistical analysis shows that a higher level of family or work stress has been found to predict more mental distress among Taiwanese Americans. Yet, social stress does not significantly predict mental distress. Compared with family stress, work stress is more likely

to predict mental distress. It is understandable that work is important for the respondents because unemployment is negatively related to mental well-being. Moreover, many of the respondents chose to work in the U.S. because it provides them with an opportunity for self-fulfillment. Therefore, they have high expectations in their careers. Even if they do not have high expectations in their careers, they may be under the pressure of losing their jobs. Family problems are complicated and difficult to handle, but apparently the respondents seem to have more resources in dealing with family stress than with work stress. As a result, family stress does not lead to as much mental distress as work stress. Work stress can be caused by corporation policies and is hard to resolve through personal efforts or other coping strategies. Thus, policy change may be the best solution to reducing work stress. In addition, though Taiwanese Americans share work ethics similar to those of White Americans, they are exposed to a work culture which may differ from their traditional work culture in certain aspects. This also increases mental distress. For example, Asians do not feel comfortable "selling" themselves and seldom socialize with supervisors. Work stress can be caused by poor language skills, too. I was told that a financial consultant was asked by her company to undergo language therapy in order to please the customers because her accent was considered unpleasant.

Though social stress is also detrimental to psychological well-being, it does not necessarily lead to mental distress. One plausible explanation is that the respondents manage to reduce social stress by avoiding conflict with other ethnic groups or using effective coping strategies. For example, they do not internalize the host society's negative evaluations (Coll 1997). Another explanation is that most respondents are more likely to experience work stress because they go to work five or six days a week. However, they are less likely to run

into unpleasant social encounters five or six days a week.

B. Factors related to family, work and social stress

In the supplementary analysis, factors related to family, work and social stress were explored. In this sample, family stress is strongly related to stress from parenting, such as parent-child conflict, giving up one's hobby and social activities, and worries about children. Parent-child conflict is inevitable since they have different levels of acculturation. If both share a common language, the communication gap will be reduced. I observe that if parents insist on speaking Mandarin or Taiwanese at home, the parent-child relationship is closer. In addition, if parents promote children's Taiwanese identity from childhood on, their children tend to feel more comfortable with their ethnic background. One respondent who is particularly attached to his homeland constantly told his children to be proud of being Taiwanese. This not only strengthens the bonding between parents and children but also enhances children's self-confidence. They will not be easily hurt by discrimination. A second-generation Taiwanese American living in California published a report in Taiwan Communique in 1995 on how his parents socialized his ethnic identity. His parents kept him updated on their relatives and on current events in Taiwan. Although he speaks fluent English and has many American friends, he always feels that he is Taiwanese, not American. Children's ethnic identity is a topic of conversation among parents, but I did not emphasize this in the interviews. It is not included as a cause of parenting stress in the survey, but some parents mentioned it in response to an open-ended question on the obstacles the second generation have encountered. Some parents sent their children to cultural camps sponsored by the Taiwanese American community to develop their Taiwanese identity.

Parents worry about children for many reasons, and among them associating with

misbehaved peers is what worries them most, followed by worries about children's school performance. A respondent discouraged her daughter from going to parties on the weekend because she was afraid that the daughter's peers may use drugs. A parent said that she has no control over the children when they are at school. She often asks her children what they do at school and how their friends behave. Many parents put the computer in the living room so that they can monitor the use of the computer by their teen-aged children. They also do not allow them to use the chatroom on the internet or the cell phone so that they have more control over the children's social activities. Many of them are also worried that their children will face the glass ceiling because of their ethnic background.

A large percentage of parents tutor their children, and about half of them rewarded children for good grades. A parent was very upset about her son because he was not serious about school and his grades were poor. Asian parents usually attribute children's school performance to effort, not ability. They believe that a child with average abilities can do well in school if s/he spends twice as much time as a smart child. This sometimes puts too much pressure on the children.

Children's lack of interest in learning Mandarin is also a source of stress. A parent encouraged his daughter to learn Mandarin by telling her that she will be promoted by the company if she is bilingual. Parents usually spend more time teaching their first-born the reading and writing skills of Mandarin than teaching the second and third child, not because they do not want to but because they have less time for each child when they have more children. Because most of them do not have parents living with them, they either send children to the day care center or exchange child care with friends living nearby. When their children are of school age, they have to drive their children to their tutor's home and pick

them up later. It is a lot of work for parents to raise their children the way they want to. A parent said that children living in Taiwan ride their bikes to school and to their tutor's home. In the U.S. the respondents do not let children ride bikes to school, either because it is too far or because it is not safe for children to do so. In addition, they need to be actively involved with their children's school projects, which is not the case in Taiwan, and have little time for their own hobbies.

The respondents feel lonely raising children here because they have few family members to turn to. Sending children to the language school gives them an opportunity to learn from other parents about parenting and gain some emotional support. Once the children are grown up, they move to other states, and it takes hours or days to drive to visit them. Indeed, it requires lots of sacrifices on the parents' part to raise children in the U.S., but they are willing to do so as long as their children can escape the difficulties of the entrance exam in Taiwan. The current family reunion law restricts the number of U.S. residents who can reunite with a family member (Fix et al. 1997). A respondent said that he petitioned to bring his brother to the U.S. ten years ago and that he must wait for three more years. His brother may not come, because his children will graduate from high school in three years. The incentive of migrating to the U.S. no longer exists.

Compared to parenting stress, spousal relationship incurs a little more stress. That spousal relationships cause more stress can be explained by the respondents' reduced support network in the U.S. More than half of them (53.3 %) have only one or two family members (parents, siblings and close relatives) in the U.S., and these people may not live in the same city. Thus, the married couple, especially the new comers, must assume all kinds of family responsibilities and deal with stress from work almost by themselves if both are employed.

Such a tremendous burden is likely to affect their relationship, if they do not utilize effective coping strategies. If there is a personality clash, the friction will be more severe. Additionally, as mentioned before, many men feel pressured by the demands of equal gender relationships from their spouses after migration. If a traditional husband has an Americanized wife, both will experience a high level of stress. While the respondents' parenting stress may decrease at varied degrees as their children grow up, stress due to not having a supportive spouse or not getting along with their spouse may not decrease automatically as time goes by unless the couple manage to resolve their problems. The respondents are also concerned about elderly parents. However, it is not as stressful as handling spousal relationships because many of them do not live with parents. .

Among the work stress variables, work overload, skill underutilization and unpleasant work environments are significant predictors. About one-fifth of the respondents are in technology and computer science. Pleasant work environments are especially important for those in the automobile industry. Given that almost one-third of the respondents have a graduate degree (master or doctoral), being able to fully use their skills is very important for them. Otherwise, they will feel that they have wasted their talent and time. Almost thirty percent of the respondents who are employed work forty to fifty hours a week, and about 18% of them work more than fifty hours a week. Therefore, work overload is a common work stressor. That promotion is not a significant work stressor does not mean that they are happy about not being promoted. It can be that the respondents are not satisfied with their current positions but are not bothered by this issue. A respondent said that his current boss did not give him any promotion though the previous bosses did. Since he is going to retire in six years, being promoted or not is not important any more.

In the work place where most workers are White or from various ethnic backgrounds, the amount of support a Taiwanese American receives may be partially influenced by an individual's social skills, language competency, and the racial attitudes of other workers. Culture has an impact on how people communicate verbally and nonverbally and how they behave in the work setting. In the U.S. such work values as open communication, initiative, assertiveness, decisiveness and competition are expected norms (Hofstede 1994). In contrast, Asians emphasize group harmony and group decision, being indirect, modest and sensitive in social situations (Mo 1996), polite, soft-spoken and nonconfrontational (Hung 1995).

Cultural differences may sometimes result in mistrust, misunderstanding and difficulty in forming friendships with co-workers from different cultures. Most interviewees said that they have good work relationships with co-workers from other ethnic backgrounds. However, they socialize with co-workers only in the activities held by the company and seldom go to bars with them. The survey result also shows that "unfriendly co-workers" do not significantly lead to work stress.

Self-employment has been found to predict more mental distress. Self-employed persons usually work very long hours a day. The Taiwanese entrepreneurs I know do not have many family members working for them. This may contribute to work stress, because the turnover rate of employees is high for some businesses which require low job skills, such as bakeries and restaurants. Some respondents may start a business to increase family income. If the work place is too crowded, too hot or too noisy, it will increase their work stress level.

In general, respondents do not often socialize with neighbors and American friends. However, a few respondents I know have formed close friendships with their neighbors.

They chat and have dinner together very often. Attending religious activities is conducive to creating social networks, through which attendees are able to obtain instrumental, informational and emotional support. Socializing with neighbors, American friends and attending religious activities have been found to reduce social stress in the present study. The respondents' neighbors are mostly White. Having white neighbors who like to chat with them or do things with them make them feel that they are welcome in the neighborhood. They may not turn to neighbors for help, but the feeling of not being rejected by them makes them feel less isolated. A respondent whose husband is a surgeon has lived in an upper-middle class neighborhood for ten years; her only interaction with neighbors is to greet them. Spending time with American friends also makes respondents feel less "foreign."

In a study regarding the cultural influence on responses to pain, Italians and Jews are viewed as "exaggerating their pain, while the Irish and Americans tend to not complain about their pain" (Zborowski 1967). In order to interact with the larger society effectively, immigrants must be equipped with adequate knowledge of the host culture. Lack of such knowledge may deter them from socializing with their American neighbors and co-workers or initiating friendship with them. According to Sue (1998), cultural competence refers to the belief that "people should not only appreciate and recognize other cultural groups but also be able to effectively work with them." Though he uses this term in the context of the ethnic match between psychologists and their clients, cultural competence is important in other contexts, such as interacting with one's co-workers and neighbors. Of course, an individual's personality and similarity between people who interact with each other (e.g., age, hobby) also determine whether the interaction is comfortable. An individual may choose not to socialize with his or her neighbors often because of lack of similarity between

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them. The lack of interaction may not have anything to do with discrimination or lack of cultural knowledge in either party.

Socializing with Taiwanese friends does not significantly reduce social stress because spending time with ethnic friends does not make the respondents feel less marginalized. Chatting with family in Taiwan has become more affordable with the advance of technology. Eight years ago, making phone calls to Taiwan still cost much money. Yet, sending e-mail home is almost as common as talking on the phone nowadays.

The interviewees for my study all live in White neighborhoods with decent housing and quiet streets. Two interviewees said that they have never experienced discrimination. However, another respondent said that her supervisor usually ignores her when she is with other co-workers and has never chatted with her. She also experienced discrimination while interacting with an officer in the immigration services when she applied for citizenship. While some of the other interviewees feel that their neighbors are very nice, others feel that they have little interaction with them and thus know little about them. However, none of them think that their neighbors discriminate against them. One of them said that she misses the fun of doing things with neighbors that she experienced when she lived in the old country. In contrast, some respondents have frequent contact with neighbors and become their good friends. They shovel snow or mow the lawn for each other. One of them was invited to stay in her neighbor's summer house for a few days. Some interviewees mentioned that they have been helped by strangers, either White Americans or African Americans, when their cars broke down on the freeway. Others said that they have been yelled at by strangers when they were driving even though they were not in the way. Some respondents feel lonely because there are not many social activities around. Very few

respondents play mahjong nowadays because it is not considered a healthy recreation. Some of them may go to a casino once in a while for excitement.

Perceived Support and Physical Health

As predicted, perceived support significantly leads to better physical health. When respondents perceive that they will receive help from spouses, friends, coworkers, siblings or supervisors, they are more likely to seek medical help when they have health problems. They are more likely to engage in healthful behaviors because they live with their spouses. Having good friends, helpful coworkers, siblings and supervisors benefits mental health, which in turn benefits physical health. It is well known that mental health and physical health affect each other.

Perceived Support and Help Seeking Behaviors

Among the sources of perceived support, one's spouse is the most important (Mean= 4.05), followed by friend (mean =3.85). Co-workers and parents are the second most important. Siblings and supervisors are the least important. One's spouse is more important than parents because the respondents' parents may not live with them, and there are certain things they do not want to discuss with parents. Parents are more important than siblings even though none of them live in the U.S. Co-workers are more important than supervisors because of the social distance between workers and supervisors and because supervisors may not be able to empathize with the difficulties workers face.

When asked who they will turn to when they need to borrow money, feel depressed, have legal problems, have friction with their spouse, do not know how to deal with their children, and have a family emergency, the respondents chose Taiwanese friends, spouses, siblings and American friends as the most important sources of help.

We see that the most important sources of perceived support and actual help are similar (spouses, friends and parents) except for co-worker support. Respondents may perceive that coworkers will help them if they want to talk about work problems and personal problems, because they feel that their coworkers are helpful. However, they tend not to actually ask coworkers to help with family emergencies and money. Relatives are not a very important source of help probably because they do not live in the same cities. Coworkers are more important than relatives because the respondents see their coworkers very often.

Coping Strategies

Respondents were asked how often they use certain coping strategies when they experience family distress and when they feel discriminated against. As mentioned before, indirect coping strategies are adaptive in certain situations. The results show that cognitive coping is as adaptive as taking action. By just looking at the bright side of things, the perception of stress will be altered and thus reduces mental distress. Seeking advice and emotional support also reduce mental distress. This confirms other researchers' findings on the benefits of social support. Surprisingly, seeking comfort in religion is not an effective coping strategy in this sample. Disengagement and letting out emotions are not effective, either. One explanation for religious coping to be ineffective is that religious coping is more useful for chronic problems or serious events. Respondents would not use this strategy for ordinary family matters.

Health Behaviors

Generally speaking, the respondents have few unhealthful behaviors. The percentages of smoking and drinking (18%) are low. These may be attributed to their high level of education. Well-educated people are generally more health conscious. However, they need

to exercise more, since the average hours of exercise per week is less than three hours. Almost half of them eat more vegetables than meat, and more than half of them have physical checkup every year.

Among the physical symptoms, hypertension is the most common followed by back pain, diabetes and stomach problems. If they exercise more, the rates of hypertension and back pain may be reduced because exercise can relieve stress and reduce weight. Back pain is caused by a high level of stress for some of the respondents (interview).

CHAPTER 6

LIMITATION AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

This study focuses on the adaptation of first-generation Taiwanese Americans only. This is one of the limitations of this study because the outcomes of their adaptation do not represent those of the second generation. Compared to the second generation, they have to endure more disadvantages. For example, language barriers, insufficient knowledge of American culture and social isolation. In addition, many of them have parents and other family members living in the old country. Worrying about the political and economic situations there is a constant source of stress for them.

As for their advantage over the second generation, they came here to provide their children with better opportunities for life. The pressure of performing well at the workplace and the expectations placed upon the children provide them with the motivation to do their best. As indicated by the survey data, their mental distress level is not as high as I expected. This has much to do with their motivation, high educational level and effective coping strategies. I believe that this particular group has a much higher educational level than their counterparts in the other parts of the U.S.

The other limitation of this study is that the results do not apply to the Taiwanese Americans living in the West coast, East coast and the southern states. The reasons are as follows. First, the educational level of the respondents is quite high. Second, there are not as many entrepreneurs in the sample as in some other parts of the country. Entrepreneurs generally experience more mental distress. Third, the life pace is slower in the Midwest than in some other parts of the West coast and the East coast where there are large populations

of Taiwanese Americans. Slower life pace is conducive to mental health. Lastly, the respondents live in the predominant White culture because there are few large Taiwanese communities in the Midwest. Therefore, we need to keep the Midwest context and the respondents' high educational level in mind in interpreting the findings of this study.

Despite the limitations, this study has contributed to our understanding of a specific group of Asian Americans because it is an exploratory study on both their mental and physical health. The majority of previous studies do not differentiate Chinese Americans from Taiwanese Americans. Since they are from very different political and economic systems, their adaptation outcomes may be different. This study also confirms the strong positive relationship between stress and mental distress. We also see that bicultural orientation is adaptive for the respondents. This can apply to other minority groups. More research is required on the adaptation outcomes of the Taiwanese Americans living in the West coast, East coast and Southern states.

IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study suggest that skilled immigrants adjust more easily and are more successful than unskilled immigrants. However, culturally appropriate mental health programs and physical health care service, such as those using bilingual physicians and bilingual interpreters, will benefit both skilled and unskilled immigrants. Programs which promote physical health are also beneficial, especially for those of lower socioeconomic status. Immigrants also need acculturation services, such as classes that provide information on American culture and classes which teach American-style social interaction. Through these, immigrants will learn how to interact with their supervisors and coworkers and how

to interact in social activities.

CONCLUSION

Connectivity has been the main characteristic of globalization. Connectivity is made possible by the advances of technology, especially information technology. In the age of advanced technology, we may be overwhelmed by the rapid change and feel a sense of uncertainty. Under these circumstances, culture provides us with a sense of homeness and identity (Friedman 2000). It is especially true of immigrants, who reside in a foreign land. On the one hand, they feel the necessity of being integrated into the host society. On the other hand, they need to hold on to their roots (ethnic culture), on which their identity is based. Though the respondents in my study live in predominantly White communities, and a high percentage of them received education in the U.S., they are not highly acculturated. Though their social network diminishes after migration, they do not experience a high level of mental distress. This can be attributed to the human capital they possess, the influence of traditional culture, the location of their residence, the transnational connection they make with the homeland, the determination of providing their children with opportunities to succeed, and the effective coping strategies they utilize.

Work-related stress induces more mental distress than family stress and social stress. While I believe most respondents have strong work ethics, they do need to learn more about the American work culture. At the same time, organization policies need to offer employees promotion opportunities based on merit rather than on ethnicity. Language plays an important role not only in the work setting but also in the respondents' family relations and social relations. Parents should be informed of the importance of speaking their ethnic language to their children. The respondents' English abilities are also conducive to

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socializing with other ethnic groups. From this research we also learn that co-ethnics are the most important source of help, followed by the spouse.

Many Taiwanese Americans are contributing to the host society without being rewarded with commensurate social status and self-fulfillment. If there were fewer obstacles to their adaptation, they would make more contribution to the host society. Their transnational connection also indicates that they are contributing to the homeland to repay what they have benefitted from it in the past. However, due to the high educational level of the respondents, their adaptation outcome is not representative of that of other Taiwanese Americans. We learn from them that an ethnic enclave is not a necessary condition for desirable adaptation in current American society.
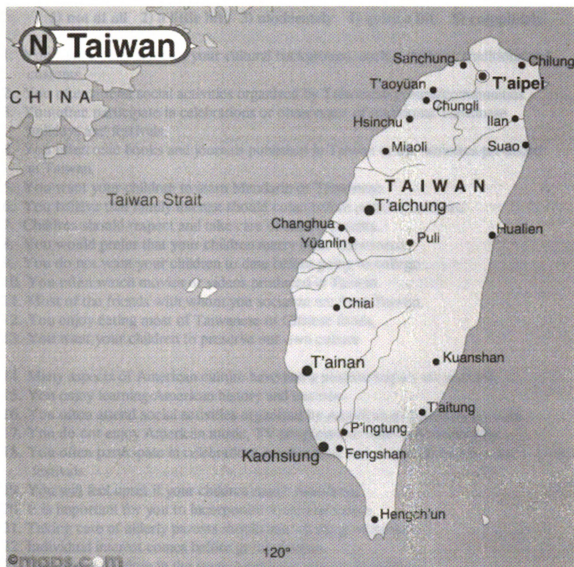
APPENDIX B: SCALES FOR MEASUREMENT

Acculturation Scale
      1) not at all 2) a little bit 3) moderately 4) quite a bit 5) completely

1. You have a clear sense of your cultural background, such as history, traditions and customs.
2. You often attend social activities organized by Taiwanese groups/communities.
3. You often participate in celebrations or observance of traditional Taiwanese holidays and festivals.
4. You often read books and journals published in Taiwan or use websites produced in Taiwan.
5. You want your children to learn Mandarin or Taiwanese.
6. You believe that family interest should come before personal interest.
7. Children should respect and take care of elderly parents.
8. You would prefer that your children marry other Taiwanese..
9. You do not want your children to date before going to college .
10. You often watch movies or videos produced in Taiwan.
11. Most of the friends with whom you socialize are from Taiwan.
12. You enjoy eating most of Taiwanese or Chinese foods.
13. You want your children to preserve our own culture.

14. Many aspects of American culture have had a positive impact on your life.
15. You enjoy learning American history and customs.
16. You often attend social activities organized by American groups/communities.
17. You do not enjoy American music, TV programs, or other entertainments .
18. You often participate in celebrations or observance of American holidays and festivals.
19. You will feel upset if your children marry Americans.
20. It is important for you to incorporate American values.
21. Taking care of elderly parents should rest on the government.
22. Individual interest comes before group interest.
23. You raised children in the ways Americans raise their children.
24. You enjoy eating many American foods.
25. Schools should help our children learn American ways of behaving and become more like the American children in the neighborhood.
26. Many of the friends with whom you socialize are Americans.

Family Stress Scale

      1. This is not true 2. A little .... 5. To a large extent

27. Your spouse does not care about children as much as you do.
28. Your husband/wife does little housework.
29. You can not make decisions on important family issues.

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30. You and your husband/wife cannot get along.
31. You often worry about your children.
32. You often give up your hobby or social activities for the sake of your children.
33. Your children feel that you do not understand them or are too controlling.
34. Your children ignore your advice and guidance.
35. You worry about the financial situation of your household.
36. You worry about elderly parents or you have responsibility for elderly care here and in Taiwan.

Work Stress Scale

1. Never   2. Sometimes   3. Half of the time   4. Often   5. Always

44. How often do you feel burned out from work at the end of the work day?
45. How often do you feel fatigued when you get up in the morning and have to face anther day of work?
46. How often do you feel frustrated by your job?
47. How often do you wish to switch to another job as soon as possible?
48. How often do you feel a sense of achievement through your job?
49. How often do you enjoy your job?

Social Stress Scale

69. How many times have you felt discriminated against or ignored when you shopped at a store?   1) never   2) 1-3 times   3) 4-6 times   4) 7-10 times
70. How many times have you felt discriminated against or ignored by agency staff?
                    1) never   2) 1-3 times   3) 4-6 times   4) 7-10 times
71. How many times have you felt discriminated against or ignored on other occasions?
                    1) never   2) 1-3 times   3) 4-6 times   4) 7-10 times
72. Though I make efforts to fit into American society, I often feel I am not part of the crowd.
        1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

73. Most Americans I personally know seem to understand how I feel about things.
        1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

74. When I am with Americans, I often feel "left out" or isolated.
        1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

75. You feel that it is not easy to have close American friends.
        1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

Mental Distress Scale

        **1) never   2) hardly ever   3) some of the time   4) most of the time
        5) always**

76. I felt lonely
77. I felt sad.
78. I was happy
79. I felt easily irritated.
80. I didn'.t feel like eating.
81. My sleep was restless.
82. I felt depressed.
83. I enjoy life.
84. I could not get going.
85. I felt that people disliked me.
86. I felt agitated.
87. I had headaches.
88. I felt tense.

Perceived Support

1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

105. No matter what happens, I know that my husband/wife/partner will always be there for me should I need him/her.
106. I feel that my friends really care about me .
107. I know that I can count on my siblings for most difficulties I run into.
108. I feel that my supervisor will discuss my problems with me should I want to.
109. I have people at work who will always take the time to talk over my problems, should I want to.

Coping Strategy Scale

When you are bothered by a problem with your spouse or a problem caused by your children, how often do you engage in the following coping strategies?
1) never   2) sometimes   3) half of the time   4) often.   4) always

110. I look at the bright side of it.
111. I think over what I have said or done to my wife or children.
112. I try to find a fair compromise in marriage problems.
113. I remind myself of the merits of my children.
114. I compare myself with other parents and feel better.
115. I accept my children as they are and try not to worry about them too much.
116. I punish them a little (e.g., blaming them, grounding them at night).
117. I get upset and let my emotions out.
118. I share my feelings with others or get advice from someone about what to do.
119. I try to find comfort or empowerment in my religion.
120. I turn to work or other substitute activities to take my mind off things.
When you feel discriminated against because of your race, how often do you engage in the following coping strategies?
1) never   2) sometimes   3) half of the time   3) often   4) always

121. I get upset and let my emotions out.
122. I share my feelings with others or get advice from someone about what to do.
123. I turn to work or other substitute activities to take my mind off things.
124. I try to find comfort or empowerment in my religion.

125. I smoke or drink alcohol to get rid of the distress.

Locus of Control Scale

1) not at all   2) a little bit   3) moderately   4) quite a bit   5) completely

126. I often feel incapable when dealing with the problems in my life.
127. I feel that I have many good qualities.
128. I attribute my failure to my own fault rather than to chance or powerful others.
129. My problems are partially due to bad luck. Man proposes; God disposes.
130. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.
131. Some human situations cannot be changed. It is fruitless trying to change them.

Help-Seeking Behaviors

When you need help, whom would you turn to? For each question, please check as many answers as apply to you.

1) parents   2) spouse   3) children   4) siblings   5) Taiwanese friends
6) American friends   7) co-workers   8) relatives 9) neighbors
10) Supervisors   11) professionals (doctors, lawyers, psychological
counselors)   12) no one

Whom would you turn to if you need to borrow over $200 for a few weeks?
Whom would you turn to if you are feeling depressed?
Whom would you turn to if you are confused about what to do with your children?
Whom would you turn to if you have difficulty with your husband/wife?
Whom would you turn to if you have a legal problem?
Whom would you turn to if there is a family emergency?

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