Coping Strategy and Resource Use: An Analysis of the Japanese Canadian Internment During the Second World War

by

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ABSTRACT

During the Second World War, more than 22,000 Japanese Canadians were interned to various locations throughout Canada. While more than 60 years have passed since these events, there remains limited research on the impact that this event had on this group of people. Using McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) Double ABCX model of family stress and adaptation as a framework, this study used historical narratives of 69 Japanese Canadians to gain insight into a) how Japanese Canadians coped with the challenges associated with their internment, and b) what resources they used during this same time period. The analysis of the coping strategies was done using a modified version of existing measures of coping strategies (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986; Suedfeld, Krell, Wiebe, & Steel, 1997), and the analysis of resources was done using an adjusted version of Rettig’s (1995) and Tucker and Rice’s (1985) resource classification list.

There were no statistically significant differences between Japanese Canadian men and women in their coping strategy use, but that there were differences between the Issei (first generation) and Nisei (second generation). The Issei used Self Control, Positive Reappraisal, and Denial more than the Nisei, while the Nisei used Seeking Social Support more than the Issei. A strong relationship between coping and resources was found; a relationship that has often been assumed, but never tested. The findings from this study also provided additional support for the usefulness of using both narratives and the Double ABCX model in research.
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DEDICATION

To Moana and Naomi
I think the value – I agree that there is a need to flesh out our story, that there is a need to tell this so people should be aware of it, but also the greater relevance of the story to me is that nothing has really changed. The particular racial group may be different but the factors that contributed to our incarceration could just be as quickly turned against the Pakistanis or the Chinese, or the native Indians. The bigots are still here, so the story must be told and retold and retold because we have to inform people that it is very easy to give in to this kind of latent racism and fear and panic and this sort of thing (Broadfoot, 1977, p.368-369).

1 INTRODUCTION

The internment of more than 22,000 Japanese* during the Second World War remains one of this country's darkest moments. Although more than 60 years have passed since the Japanese were forced to leave their homes and most of their possessions behind them, there remains limited research on the impact that this event had on this group of people. Previous research on Japanese Canadians has looked at identity formation (Makabe, 1980, 1998), language choice (Nishimura, 1992), and cultural values and support (Kobayashi, 1999, 2000; Smith & Kobayashi, 2002). Although this research has provided significant information and insight into Japanese Canadian culture, the focus was not specifically on the internment or the events surrounding it. Rather the focus was on aspects of the Japanese Canadian experience that may or may not have been influenced in some way by the internment.

McAllister (2001) analyzed the debris from one of the internment camps to help bring to life the experiences of those who once lived there. Other researchers, such as Sugiman (2004) and Ayukawa and Imada (1990), have looked at the internment using the narratives of those who experienced it, but their primary focus was on substantiating the accuracy and

* Throughout this thesis, the terms Japanese and Japanese Canadians will be used interchangeably. For the most part, when discussing the internment, the term Japanese refers to not only Japanese immigrants, but also Japanese Canadians. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between the two groups at times as all individuals with Japanese ancestry, regardless of citizenship, were treated the same during the internment. Of the 22,000 Japanese who were interned during World War II, 25 percent were Japanese nationals, 15 percent were naturalized Canadians, and 60 percent were Canadian born (Adachi 1976).
usefulness of these historical narratives. Research on the Japanese American internment has yielded considerably more attention (e.g., Nagata, 1990, 1993; Nagata & Cheng, 2003; Nakagawa, 1990) but their experience was significantly different from that of the Japanese in Canada.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

Using McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) Double ABCX model of family stress and adaptation as a framework, and through the use of historical narratives, the purpose of this study was to gain insight and understanding of a) how Japanese Canadians coped with the challenges associated with their internment, and b) what resources they used during this same time period. An analysis of the coping strategies used by these individuals was done using a modified version of existing measures of coping strategies (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986; Suedfeld, Krell, Wiebe, & Steel, 1997). The analysis of resources was done using an adjusted version of Rettig’s (1995) and Tucker and Rice’s (1985) resource classification list.

The importance of this research lies in its attempt to 1) provide additional support for McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) Double ABCX model by studying a specific minority group during a stressful situation, 2) build upon existing measures to make them more relevant for Japanese Canadians, 3) provide support for using historical biographies as a means of data collection, 4) gain further knowledge about the Japanese Canadian internment experience, identifying differences in coping strategies by sex and generation, and 5) explore the relation between coping strategies and resources.
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical Background

2.1.1 Pre World War II

The first recorded Japanese immigrant to Canada was Manzo Nagano in 1877 (Adachi, 1976; Nakayama, 1984). Nagano, like most of the initial immigrants was a member of the lower class in Japan; they were poor farmers and fisherman, or struggling merchants from the southern end of Honshu (the main island in Japan). At this time the political and economic climate in Japan had recently gone through a substantial transformation (Adachi, 1976). Japan, after being almost completely closed to the outside world for more than 200 years, had opened up its borders and new diplomatic and trade relations began to flourish. Although many began to prosper as a result of these new relations, many of the lower class population did not share the same success. A number of factors led to this set of unfortunate circumstances. Local landlords taxed their serfs heavily to help compensate for the heavy losses they incurred as a result of earlier wars. Although Western medicine and industry helped reduce deaths due to famine and plague, small villages and towns were not yet prepared for the subsequent drastic increases in population. There was not enough space in the larger cities for this increase in population and there were not enough jobs available to meet the needs of the general population. Consequently, many young ambitious men, such as Nagano, began to seek new fortunes across the ocean (Broadfoot, 1977).

By the beginning of the 20th century there were nearly 5,000 Japanese immigrants residing in Canada (about 97% in British Columbia) (Adachi, 1976). This number increased rapidly over the next few years, reaching as high as 18,000 by 1907. However, seeing and
perhaps fearing the consequences of this influx of Japanese immigrants, in 1908 the Canadian government struck an agreement with the Japanese government limiting the number of male immigrants to 400 per year. This agreement was amended in 1924 and again in 1928, ultimately limiting the number of immigrants to 150 per year.

Life for the early Japanese settlers was not easy. Most of them were single men looking to make some quick money to send back to their families in Japan to help pay off their debts. Their work was temporary and seasonal (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977). They found themselves bouncing from job to job trying to make as much money as they could. Most found employment as lumberyard workers, fishermen, miners, and/or railroaders. They were paid on average about $1.00 per day for their labour (the normal rate being about $1.50-$2.00 a day). Because they were trying to save their money, they usually shared extremely cramped accommodations with other Japanese wherever they could find lodging. Very few ever learned English. Some did not intend to stay in Canada long, so they saw no need to learn the language, while others who did have the desire, after a long day of work simply did not have the time to do so.

As time progressed, many of the Japanese living in Canada realized that their stay was not going to be as temporary as they initially intended. The practice of picture brides began to emerge (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Makabe, 1995). Men and women would exchange pictures through mail, setting up a type of arranged marriage. By the early 1910’s, family units began to emerge and small Japanese communities began to sprout up around the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Japanese shops and newspapers were established. Japanese language schools were built so that adults and children could learn English.
Additionally, many Japanese began to venture further up the coast and into the interior, opening up small businesses or farms of their own.

Despite these successes, the first wave of Japanese immigrants to Canada also faced a great deal of tribulations. In 1895, the government of British Columbia passed legislation that denied any Japanese (regardless of place of birth) the right to vote (Adachi, 1976). Numerous court cases followed, with different judges ruling for and against the Japanese. In fact, it was not until 1949 that all Japanese Canadians were finally granted the same right to vote as all other Canadians. In 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, a number of Japanese Canadians sought the opportunity to serve their country (Ito, 1984). However, although Japan was allies with Great Britain and Canada, the Canadian government was uneasy about the thought of Japanese fighting for them. The government initially denied their request, but as the war wore on and casualties began to mount, they eventually enlisted the service of 196 Japanese Canadian soldiers (54 of whom were killed, with an additional 92 being injured) (Adachi, 1976; Sunahara, 1981).

Following the war, Japanese in British Columbia continued to struggle in their relationship with the Provincial government. By the 1920’s the Japanese had developed quite a reputation as fishermen and in fact, at one point controlled almost half of all the fishing licenses given out by the Department of Fisheries (3,267) (Adachi, 1976). This did not sit well with the other fishermen, who raised their concerns with Provincial leaders. The government decided to step in, and ultimately ended up placing a limit on the number of licenses that could be issued to non-white residents. Over a five year span, close to 1,000 licenses were stripped from Japanese fishermen, leaving many of them in very precarious situations.
The challenges that the Japanese faced in their early years in Canada were not limited to their relations with the government. They also found themselves facing racism from within the communities in which they lived (Adachi, 1976, Broadfoot, 1977). As immigrants from not only Japan, but China and India as well, continued to increase, there grew a fear amongst part of the population that Asians were beginning to gain too much power in B.C. Although some tried to ease their fears by taking their concerns to local authorities, others began to form Anti-Oriental groups. These groups held rallies, used intimidation tactics, and even led riots in an attempt to scare off immigrant workers (Adachi, 1976).

2.1.2 World War II and the Internment

Although the years leading up to the Second World War may have been trying for the Japanese in Canada, very few could have imagined what lay in store for them. Although the bombing of Pearl Harbor sparked the sequence of events that led to the internment of the Japanese in Canada, the government had already been taking certain precautions to guard against an attack. A year before Canada entered the war, the RCMP, under the direction of the government, began a surveillance operation of the Japanese community (Adachi, 1976; Sunahara, 1981). From 1938-1940, RCMP officers secretly kept close watch of suspicious activity, compiling a list of individuals they thought might be threats to national security. Despite their efforts, the investigation did not unearth anything of worth for the government other than a few names of individuals that the RCMP considered possible menaces (Adachi, 1976).

As Japan became more and more aggressive in its actions throughout the Pacific, the government decided to take additional precautionary measures to help keep tabs on the Japanese in Canada. They commissioned the RCMP to force all Japanese over the age of 16
to register with their local authorities (Adachi, 1976; Makabe 1998; Sunahara, 1981). The Japanese were given registration cards that included their photograph and thumbprint, and were required to carry these cards with them at all times (not until 1949 were they finally permitted to go without). Tensions in the Japanese community were beginning to mount. Many rationalized that the actions the government was taking were justified under the circumstances, but they were still faced with a great deal of uncertainty and were experiencing more racial attacks than before (Broadfoot, 1977). With the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the lives of the Japanese in Canada (and the U.S.) took a drastic turn for the worse.

The Canadian government took immediate measures to counter a similar attack against them. On the same day of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, according to the War Measures Act, all Japanese nationals and those naturalized after 1922 were required to register on a National level with the Registrar of Enemy Aliens (by the 18th, all Japanese, regardless of citizenship, were required to do so) (Adachi, 1976; Makabe, 1998; Sunahara, 1981). The next day, 1,200 Japanese fishing boats were impounded, 59 Japanese schools and all Japanese newspapers were shut down, insurance policies were terminated, and 39 individuals who posed a possible threat were arrested and sent to work camps in the interior of B.C.

On January 16, 1942, the Canadian government continued with its efforts to eliminate the threat of the Japanese in Canada. All immigrant Japanese men were removed from a 100-mile-wide protected area along the coast of British Columbia (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Makabe, 1998; Sunahara, 1981). Less than a month later, on February 7, the government expanded their evacuation orders to include all Japanese men (regardless of
nationality) between the ages of 18 and 45. These men were told to leave the protected area by no later than April 1. Not only were these men forced to quit their jobs and work in road construction camps, they were also told they could not take their families with them.

On February 26, the situation grew worse for those who still remained in their homes along the coast of B.C. The government now ordered all individuals of Japanese origin to leave the protected area and head towards Hastings Park in Vancouver (some were given only 24 hours notice) (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Sunahara, 1981). In addition, their mail was now censored, a curfew was imposed and for protective measures all cars, cameras, and radios were confiscated. By March 16, individuals living outside Vancouver started arriving in great number as they made their way to Hastings Park.

Life in Hastings Park was humiliating for the Japanese. They were rounded up and herded like the cattle that usually resided there (Broadfoot, 1977). Women and children were separated from the men and forced to sleep in horse and cattle stalls. Nights were cold, the air reeked of animal excrement, and they enjoyed none of the few luxuries they had back home. Sheets were hung around stalls to act as doors, leaving no one with very much privacy. They had a communal eating hall and bathrooms. They constantly lived in fear as groups of angry citizens would threaten them and insult them from the outside. To make things worse, they were told next to nothing about what exactly was to happen to them. By late March, however, the B.C. Security Commission began to reveal their hand as to what they had in mind for the Japanese. The plan was to send as many men as possible (about 2,000) to work in road camps in B.C. and Ontario, and to send those that remained to internment camps throughout the interior of British Columbia or to work on sugar beet fields in Southern Alberta (Adachi, 1976; Makabe, 1998; Sunahara, 1981).
Life in the road camps lasted only a few months for most, but was extremely difficult for many of the married men (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Nakano, 1980; Shimizu, 1993). The living conditions varied throughout the camps, but for the most part were suitable. Nevertheless, for many, going to the road camps, meant leaving their families behind. They received news sparingly from their families and often wondered what was happening to them. As they received news that their families were being sent to abandoned ghost towns throughout the interior of B.C., many longed for the opportunity to be reunited with their families. By October 1942, many of them got their wish as they were permitted to leave the work camps and return to their families (Adachi, 1976; Sunahara, 1981).

The majority of the Japanese were sent to internment camps. Most of the internment camps were ghost towns isolated in the mountains. Initially, some of the internees were forced to sleep in tents or makeshift shelters until they were able to finish building shacks or buildings to sleep in (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Sunahara, 1981). Others fixed up abandoned hotels to house themselves. The shelters and buildings that they were able to put together were elementary at best, not due to the lack of skilled labour, but due to the lack of available supplies and resources. On top of the housing difficulties they faced, issues about food and income also became major areas of concern. They no longer had the luxury of getting food from their own gardens or farms. All food had to be bought from neighbouring communities until they were able to produce food of their own (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977). Some found jobs nearby, but were paid a pittance of what they had earned before and were often barely able to scrape together enough money to make ends meet. With all their energy being spent scrambling to make sure they had places to live and food to eat, other aspects of their community (e.g., school, entertainment, and recreation) began to fall by the
wayside. As winter approached, life got even more difficult. Their shelters and houses had little to no insulation. They would wake in the morning to find their mattresses and pillows frozen. The logs they hoped to burn in their stoves were frozen too and consequently produced mostly smoke when burnt. Despite the poor conditions they found themselves in, many Japanese took pride in the fact that they were able to build a fully functioning and sustainable community in which they could live (Broadfoot, 1977).

Although the majority of the Japanese were sent to internment camps, another large group of nearly 4,000 chose to work in the beet fields in the Prairies (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977). Life for these individuals and families was not much better than those who found themselves in the internment camps. Most families were provided some sort of housing by the farmers who employed them; however, the housing they lived in had been primarily constructed to house seasonal summer workers (Adachi, 1976). Consequently, the cold Prairie winters were a daunting challenge for many. Not only did they have to deal with the elements of the Prairies, they also had to learn to deal with feelings of loneliness and racism. The farms that they worked on were spread extremely far apart, and as a result did not allow much visiting amongst friends and family. They were not paid by the hour, but rather by the tonnage, so as a result, during sugar beet season, they started work before sunrise and ended work well after sunset, not allowing them time for much else (Broadfoot, 1977). In the off-seasons, they would venture into the cities that would allow them entrance and would find odd jobs wherever they could to help provide for their families (Adachi, 1976). They were mocked and scorned almost everywhere they went. They faced hostility whenever they went to certain cities (e.g., Lethbridge) and were completely banned from others (e.g., Calgary and Edmonton) (Broadfoot, 1977). Notwithstanding these
circumstances however, the Japanese did their best to remain diligent in their labours, and eventually began to garner the respect of those in the communities in which they resided. In fact, most reached the point where they chose to remain in the Prairies after the war when they were permitted to return to B.C.

Although the uprooting and evacuation of the Japanese by the Canadian government was appalling enough, perhaps even more outrageous was the fact that the Japanese ultimately paid for their own internment. When they had their boats, cars, cameras, and radios confiscated by the government as a protective measure, they were left with the understanding that they would have all these possessions returned to them once the war with Japan had ended (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Sunahara, 1981). However, the confiscation of these possessions was simply the beginning. On March 4, 1942, the government ordered that all property belonging to the Japanese be turned over to the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property (Adachi, 1976). Some Japanese, perhaps naively, never questioned this government order and assumed that all their possessions would be waiting for them when they returned. Other more sceptical individuals however, buried or hid many of their most prized possessions, fearing what might become of them if they turned them over to the government (Broadfoot, 1977). Unfortunately for many of those who did this, upon returning to their homes after the war, they found that their belongings were either no longer there or damaged beyond recognition.

For those who did turn over their property to the government, the fate of their belongings was similar to those that had buried them in the ground. On June 29, 1942, the Director of Soldier Settlement was granted the authority to purchase or lease the farms owned by the Japanese without the owner’s consent (Adachi, 1976; Miki, 2004; Sunahara,
1981). Almost immediately after he was given this authority, he sold 572 farms (at well below their estimated value) and the Japanese who owned them did not receive a penny from the sales. By January the next year, legislation was passed whereby the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property was given the right to dispose of the Japanese Canadians’ property however he wished, again without the consent of the owners (Adachi, 1976; Miki, 2004). The rationale behind this action was that the proceeds from the sales would be used to offset the costs the government had incurred in transporting the Japanese to the internment camps, to help pay for the supplies they had provided them to construct the communities they lived in, and to take care of any additional administrative costs that went along with all of this. Ultimately, by no choice of their own, the Japanese had paid for their own internment.

On September 2, 1945, Japan officially surrendered, marking the end of World War II. Although the end of the war brought a sense of relief throughout most of Canada, and to some extent even the Japanese community, the conflict between the Japanese and the Canadian government was far from over. Even before the war had ended the government started an intimidation campaign that included applications for “voluntary repatriation” to Japan (Adachi, 1976; Sunahara, 1981). In accordance with Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s wishes, the Japanese that had been interned to the interior of British Columbia were told that they must move east of the Rocky Mountains to prove their loyalty to Canada or be sent to Japan (regardless of citizenship). Applications for repatriation began to be issued before the end of the war, but even after the war, the government continued to encourage as many Japanese as would listen to return to Japan. Nearly 10,000 Japanese signed up for repatriation; many of those out of fear (Adachi, 1976; Sunahara, 1981). On May 31, 1946, and over the next seven months, ships began taking hundreds of Japanese at a time to Japan.
By January 1947, 3,964 Japanese (half of whom were Canadian citizens) had left Canada to go to a country that had not only been ravaged by war, but one that they barely knew. However, despite the government’s best efforts, public opposition by churches, academics, journalists, and politicians brought into question the legality of the government’s actions and ultimately brought an end to the repatriation campaign (Adachi, 1976).

The rescinding of the repatriation movement was a minor victory for the Japanese, but most of the restrictions that were placed on them during the war still stood despite Japan’s official declaration of surrender. Over the next few years, the Japanese began to form their own national organization (The National Japanese Canadian Citizens’ Association – later renamed The National Association of Japanese Canadians) and began to take their concerns to the government. The efforts of many individuals involved in these movements eventually paid off, as on April 1, 1949, after more than 7 years for most, the Japanese had not only gained the right to Federal franchise, but they were also now permitted to return to their homes (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Miki, 2004; Sunahara, 1981).

2.2 Theoretical Perspective: The Double ABCX Model

One of the purposes of this study was to assess the possible relationship between coping and resources; however research connecting these two concepts has been minimal. However, there have been several theoretical models that have proposed a relationship between coping and resources. This study will use one of these models, McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) Double ABCX model of family stress and adaptation, as the basis upon which to build this study.

One of the advantages of the Double ABCX model is its versatility in being applicable to a variety of different areas of study. The model has been used in studies about
adolescent health risk behaviours (e.g., smoking, drinking, drugs, etc.) (Marotz-Baden & Colvin, 1986); children with developmental disabilities and behaviour problems (Jones & Passey, 2005); well-being of mothers of children with mental retardation (Shin & Crittenden, 2003); adult adjustment after divorce (Tschann, Johnston, & Wallerstein, 1989); and chronically ill children (McCubbin, Nevin, Cauble, Larsen, Comeau, & Patterson, 1982; Patterson & McCubbin, 1983).

The Double ABCX model (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982, 1983) is an extension of Hill’s (1949, 1958) ABCX model of family stress and crisis. Hill’s (1949) model was originally used as a framework in a study of families dealing with the separation and reunion of fathers during the Second World War. The model holds that a stressor or a stressful event in and of itself does not create a crisis within a family, but rather a (A) stressor interacting with (B) the family’s resources for meeting the demand and (C) the family’s definition of the stressor will produce the (X) crisis. The model proved to be useful in assessing the effects of pre-crisis factors on family adaptation after the crisis, but was not able to adequately account for the element of time (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; Tschann et al., 1989). Therefore, McCubbin and Patterson (1982, 1983) proposed that family adaptation to stress or crisis occurs over a period of time and that families are rarely dealing with only one stressor at any given moment. Rather, families are dealing with multiple stressors, especially in the aftermath of a major event, and that this (aA) “pile-up” of stressors then interacts with both the (bB) family’s existing and new resources and their (cC) perceptions of the crisis, the pile-up of stressors, and their available resources to produce (xX) adaptation (see Figure 1).
Figure 1 - The double ABCX Model of Family Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983, p. 12)
Although a general description and application of each component of the Double ABCX model is presented, the discussion of these components will be done in the context of the current study. For example, the stressor (a Factor) is the internment of the Japanese Canadians during World War II.

2.2.1 Stressor (a Factor)

A stressor can be seen as an event or a transition in a family’s life that produces or has the potential to produce a change in the family system (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). The changes that occur in the family system may relate to their boundaries, structure, goals, processes, roles, or values (Burr, 1973). Stressors place demands on the family that must be managed. These demands may produce a large amount of crisis in the family system or very little crisis. The key characteristic of the stressor then is that it causes some degree of irritation to the system that puts the system in a state of imbalance.

2.2.2 Existing Resources (b Factor)

In Hill’s (1949, 1958) original conception of the ABCX model, the “b factor” was understood to be the family’s crisis meeting resources or the adequacy-inadequacy of family organization; however, the concept was never fully defined. Burr (1973) added to the definition, explaining that these resources are the family’s ability to prevent an event of change in the family system from becoming a crisis or from causing disruption in the system. Put another way, resources are whatever the family has available to use in helping them deal with the stressor entering their system. Some of these family resources may include family integration, economic interdependence and collective goals toward which the family is working (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).
2.2.3 Perception of “a” (c Factor)

Much like the previous factor, Hill’s original conception of this factor was not completely defined (Burr, 1973). McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) description of the model, however, simply explains that the c factor is how the family perceives the seriousness of the stressor they have encountered. The difficulty with this concept is that each family will have its own subjective definitions of the stressors. These definitions are formed based on the family’s previous experiences dealing with change and crises. There are objective cultural definitions of stressors that represent the social conscience, but while the family may be influenced by the larger social system, this factor is strictly the family’s definition and understanding of the stressor event. If a family perceives a stressor to be real, regardless of how the rest of society may view it, then it is real and has real consequences (Burr, 1973).

2.2.4 Crisis (x Factor)

Whether or not a stressor ultimately leads to a crisis is determined by the interaction of the three previous factors (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Burr (1973) explains that crisis is a variable representing the amount of disruptiveness or disorganization in the family system. A clear distinction between stress and crisis should be established. Stress is a demand-capability imbalance, whereas crisis is the family’s inability to restore stability and is characterized by continuous pressure to make changes in the family structure and patterns of interaction (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Conceivably then, stress may not result in a crisis if the family is able to define the stressor and draw upon the necessary resources to avoid an imbalance in the system.
2.2.5 Pile-up (aA Factor)

Research has consistently found that in the event of a crisis, families are often dealing with multiple stressors at any given time (e.g., Jones & Passey, 2005; Lavee, McCubbin, & Patterson, 1985; McCubbin, Nevin, Cauble, et al. 1982; Patterson & McCubbin, 1983; Tschann, et al., 1989). The cumulative effect of these pre and post-crisis stressors and strains is conceptualized as pile-up. The pile-up of stressors varies depending upon the severity of the stressor introduced into the family system. For example, an individual dealing with the loss of a spouse or child is most likely experiencing more additional stressors than a person who has been in a minor traffic accident. McCubbin and Patterson (1983, 1982) explain that these demands on the family system may materialize as a result of an individual family member, the family system, and/or the community within which the family resides.

McCubbin and Patterson (1983) also identify five types of stressors and strains that contribute to pile-up in the family system during a crisis: a) the initial stressor and its hardships, b) normative transitions, c) prior strains, d) the consequences of family efforts to cope, and e) ambiguity, both intra-family and social.

The initial stressor and its hardships. Often associated with the concept of stressors are hardships. Hardships are the demands placed on the family unit as a result of the introduction of the stressor to the system (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Hardships occur as a result of the initial stressor in the family system not being resolved or persisting over a period of time. An example of this is the Japanese Canadian wives and children who had to take on additional roles and responsibilities when their husbands and fathers were forced to leave them and work in road camps during the Second World War.
Normative transitions refer to the constant change in demands placed on individuals within the family system over time (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). The family system is constantly changing, with all members of the system learning to take on or even relinquish certain roles and responsibilities. These changes occur concurrently, but completely independently of the stressor. Relating this back to this research on Japanese Canadians, the stressor could be the fact of being interned and the normative transitions could include a 13 year old boy learning to become more independent or a couple becoming parents for the first time.

Prior strains. Often when families experience a new crisis, residue from previous hardships or crises rear their ugly heads again. McCubbin and Patterson (1983) explain that these prior strains are not usually discrete events that can be pinpointed to a certain point in time, but rather, they are stressors that linger within the family and are exacerbated by the introduction of a new crisis. In the case of Japanese Canadians, a prior strain that adds to the pile-up of stressors could be their relationship with the government. Although their relationship had always been acrimonious at best, during the years leading up to the war, they seemed to have reached some level of mutual understanding. However, the events that occurred during the war would change all that.

Consequences of family efforts to cope. This source of pile-up occurs through the behaviour(s) that families or individuals employ in order to cope with the crisis situation. For example, within the Japanese Canadian community there were significantly different opinions about the government’s right to do what it was doing to them during the Second World War. In particular, many second and third generation Japanese Canadians grew increasingly frustrated with many of the older generation, who seemed to simply accept the
government’s actions without putting up much of a fuss. There was a prevailing thought in the community that the older generation simply resigned themselves to the fact that whatever was happening was out of their control and it could not be helped, while the younger generations were furious that their own country was turning against them (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977).

**Intra-family and social ambiguity.** Whenever change occurs or a stressor enters the family system, there is ambiguity and uncertainty about the future (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Families generally try to follow a script or a blueprint as to how to deal with a crisis, however when they find that following the script has undesirable consequences, the family finds themselves in a state of flux. There is an understanding that in a situation where the family is perhaps unable to successfully deal with the crisis that the larger society will be able to provide the necessary guidelines to cope. However, there are not always socially prescribed resolutions for every crisis. For the Japanese Canadians interned during World War II, there were no manuals or how-to-books on how to deal with the events that transpired. Their own and their community’s lack of experience and knowledge of how to deal with this crisis likely created additional strain.

### 2.2.6 Existing and New Resources (bB Factor)

The concept of resources will be discussed in more detail later, but for now a simple definition and discussion about the bB factor will suffice. As described earlier, resources refer to whatever the family has available to use to help them deal with a stressor that has disrupted their system (Burr, 1973). In the context of the Double ABCX model however, the resources that are available to the family must be looked at in the context of time (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). From this perspective, while the definition of what a resource is does not
change, a clear distinction between two types of resources emerges: existing resources (b of the bB factor) and expanded family resources (B of the bB factor).

**Existing resources** are those resources that are already a part of the family’s repertoire (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982, 1983). These resources are those that the family has access to in minimizing the impact of the initial stressor and reducing the possibility that the family will enter into crisis as a result. **Expanded family resources**, on the other hand, are the resources that are developed or strengthened in response to the additional demands arising from a crisis. These resources help the family deal with a crisis once it has occurred, and are integral to how the family will adapt to the event.

### 2.2.7 Perception of x + aA + bB (cC Factor)

The cC factor (or family definition and meaning) is the meaning that the family gives to the *total* crisis situation (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). This definition takes into account the initial stressor (a Factor) believed to have caused the crisis, as well as the additional stressors (A factor), old and new resources (bB factor), and the estimates about what the family needs to do to bring balance back to their system. Ultimately, what the family is trying to do is to redefine the crisis situation and give a new meaning to it.

McCubbin and Patterson (1983) explain that in order for a family to successfully redefine a crisis situation they need to a) clarify the issues, hardships, and tasks to render them more manageable and responsive to problem solving efforts, b) decrease the emotional load connected to the crisis, and c) persuade the family to continue with the fundamental tasks of promoting member’s social and emotional development. The family’s ability to accomplish this redefinition is crucial in their ability to cope with the crisis.
2.2.8 Coping

Like the concept of resources, coping will be discussed in further detail later. This section explains the role of coping in relation to the Double ABCX model. Coping is defined as the family’s and/or individual’s cognitive and behavioural response to the demands of a situation (McCubbin, Needle, & Wilson, 1985). In the Double ABCX model, coping acts as a bridging concept that incorporates the interaction between the resources (bB Factor) and the definitions families create of their situation (cC Factor) in relation to the pile-up of demands (aA factor). Resources could be described as what one has (to deal with a crisis/stressor), while coping is what one does. The definitions one makes also play a major role in the coping process, as the act of creating a definition of the situation can often be considered a coping strategy itself. Some individuals may focus on the positives in a crisis situation to help them cope, while others in the same predicament may dwell on the negatives.

The ultimate goal of coping is to achieve or restore a sense of balance to the family system through minimizing the negative effects of the crisis/stressor (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). In order to achieve this goal, the focus of coping efforts may include a) eliminating and/or avoiding stressors and strains, b) managing the hardships of the situation, c) maintaining the family system’s integrity and morale, d) acquiring and developing resources to meet demands, and e) implementing structural changes in the family system to accommodate the new demands (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982, p. 16).

2.2.9 Adaptation (xX Factor)

Adaptation in the Double ABCX model is the outcome of the family’s processes in response to the crisis and the pile-up of demands (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). Adaptation
takes place when the family system is able to resume its routine level of functioning after having coped with a disturbance in the system.

When discussing family adaptation, there are three units of analysis to consider: individual family members, the family unit, and the community (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983; McCubbin et al., 1985). Each of these three units is characterized by both demands and capabilities. Adaptation is achieved when the demands of one of these units is met by the capabilities of the unit itself or by one of the other units, thus creating a balance. Families aim to achieve balance between a) individual family members and the family unit (e.g., family supporting an adolescent’s need for independence), b) the family unit and the community (e.g., family supporting parent’s work/employment endeavours), and c) individual family members and the community (e.g., schooling systems that meet the educational needs of children).

McCubbin and Patterson (1983) explain that adaptation is a continuous variable, ranging from bonadaptation to maladaptation, with family outcomes landing somewhere along the dimension. Bonadaptation, at one end of the continuum, is minimal discrepancy between the pile-up of demands and the family’s capabilities (McCubbin et al., 1985). It is characterized by a) the maintenance or strengthening of family integrity, b) the continued promotion of both member’s development and family unit development, and/or c) the maintenance of family independence and its sense of control over environmental influences (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983, p. 20). At the other end of the continuum, maladaptation is a continued imbalance between the pile-up of demands and the family’s capabilities (McCubbin et al., 1985). It is characterized by a) the deterioration of family integrity, b) a curtailment or deterioration in the personal health and development of member or the well-
being of the family unit, or c) a loss or decline in family independence and autonomy (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983, p. 20).

2.3 Components of the Double ABCX Model Assessed

Like most theoretical models it is unrealistic to look at all aspects of the Double ABCX model as it relates to the internment of the Japanese during World War II. Even from autobiographical research, it is difficult to gain a complete picture of an individual’s assessment of a situation and motivations. Consequently looking at the c factor (perception of “a”) and the cC factor (perception of X + aA + bB) proves to be extremely difficult. Compounding matters, regardless of methodology, is the lack of appropriate measures available to score how an individual perceives something. As a result of these challenges and limitations, the focus of this study is primarily on two components of the model: coping strategies and resources.

Coping was selected as a variable because previous studies have successfully measured different coping strategies through the use of narratives (e.g., Folkman et al., 1997; Suedfeld et al., 1997). Resources, on the other hand, were selected because identifying them does not require researchers to make assumptions about the perceptions of individuals. The resources are either mentioned in the narratives or they are not. In addition, these two components of the Double ABCX model play a critical part in the role of each other. A distinction between coping and resources was made earlier, but would be beneficial to be stressed again. Resources are what one has available to use when dealing with a crisis, while coping is what one does in order to deal with the crisis.

Several studies have used a similar approach in using the Double ABCX model for research. Jones and Passey (2005), looking at parents of children with developmental
disabilities and behavioural problems, used the model as a framework, but focused primarily on family stressors, resources, and coping strategies. Similarly, McCubbin et al. (1985), while researching adolescent health risk behaviours, used the model, but only measured family stressors and strains, family coping, and adolescent coping behaviours. Finally, Shin and Crittenden (2003) used the model in their study of mothers of children with mental disabilities, but only included measures of social support, maternal attitudes, and traditional values in their analysis.

2.4 Coping Strategies

A basic definition of coping is the family’s and/or individual’s cognitive and behavioural response to the demands of a situation (McCubbin, Needle, & Wilson, 1985). However, for the purpose of this study, a slightly more expanded and detailed definition was explored. Before delving into this definition however, the different approaches that have been taken in research on coping are identified.

Lazarus (1993) identified two main approaches that have been used in the study of coping: coping as a hierarchical style and coping as a process. In the hierarchical styles approach, researchers have treated coping as a personality characteristic. This approach views coping from the perspective that inner psychodynamics, rather than external environmental forces, determine an individual’s ability to cope with a crisis/stressful situation. As such, researchers believed that certain responses to crisis were healthier and less regressive than others and signified a superior ability to adapt. Lazarus uses the example of Haan’s (1969, as cited in Lazarus, 1993) tripartite hierarchy as a prime example of the styles approach. In this hierarchy, Haan proposes that coping is the most healthy and developmentally advanced process of adaptation, defence is a neutral process, and ego-
failure is the most severely regressed and psychotic adaptive process. Although it is not always the case, research based on hierarchical, developmental approaches quite often uses trait measures of coping (Lazarus, 1993).

The second approach, and the one that was used in this research, is the coping as a process approach. Lazarus (1993) explains that this approach emphasizes efforts made to manage stress that change over time and are shaped by the adaptation context out of which they are generated. Lazarus identifies five principles associated with this approach.

1. “Coping thoughts and actions must be measured separately from their outcomes in order to examine their adaptiveness or maladaptiveness independently” (Lazarus, 1993, p. 235). This follows the assumption that there are no specific good or bad coping processes, even though some may often be more effective than others.

2. “What a person does to cope is contingent upon the context in which the crisis occurs, and this will change over time” (Lazarus, 1993, p. 236). As time passes, certain stressors will be addressed, and the crises themselves may evolve too. Consequently, when researchers analyze how individuals cope in a crisis, it is important to identify the stressors that are immediately affecting them, as opposed to trying to analyze the entire crisis situation.

3. “The key to looking at coping from the process approach is to describe what a person is thinking and doing in order to cope with the stressful situation” (Lazarus, 1993, p. 236). This allows outsiders to see whether the individual’s actions are consistent with their thoughts.

4. “Coping is an ongoing cognitive and behavioural effort to manage demands that are taxing or exceeding the resources of an individual” (Lazarus, 1993, p. 237).
5. "There are two major functions of coping, problem focused and emotion focused" (Lazarus, 1993, p. 238). Problem focused coping refers to efforts made to change the troubled person-environment relationship by either dealing with the environment or oneself (Lazarus, 1993; Folkman, Lazarus, Pimley, & Novacek, 1987; Folkman et al., 1986). Emotion focused coping on the other hand refers to regulating distressing emotions through either changing the way the stressful relationship is attended to or by changing the relational meaning of what is happening. Put slightly differently, problem focused coping is used to master or manage a stressor, whereas emotion focused coping is used when there is very little an individual can do to change the stressor (Boss, 2000).

With a distinction made between styles and process coping, and with an understanding of the assumptions associated with process coping approaches, a definition of coping can be generated. Based on these understandings, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) describe coping as an individual’s constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are judged to be taxing or exceeding that individual’s resources. It is important to note at this point however, that while this research takes a coping as a process point of view, it is not accurate to say that coping is dichotomous. Like most concepts, coping too is not strictly a process or a style, emotion focused or problem focused, and so on, but rather it is more like a synthesis of all these components.

2.5 Resources

Although this study does not directly focus on resource management theories per se, several authors (e.g.; Boss, 1988, 2002; Dollahite, 1991) have noted that there is a lack of
integration of resource management theories with other socially relevant issues, such as stress/crisis management. One of the key aspects of this research is to explore the role that resources play in helping individuals cope with a crisis and/or stress.

At a rudimentary level, resources can simply be described as what is available to be used by an individual or family. They are considered assets and have a real value to individuals and families who have access to them. In addition, resources are not stagnant; they are constantly changing over time and depend heavily upon the context that the individual or family is currently in (Dollahite, 1991).

The Double ABCX model then, is useful in providing a theoretical perspective as to the role of resources in a crisis situation (Lavee et al., 1985; McCubbin et al., 1985; McCubbin & Patterson, 1982, 1983). According to the model, resources are the tools that individuals use to help them cope with their challenges. The metaphor of resources being tools is useful, as it helps to emphasize the fact that they are available for use, but lack any real function unless they are actually used. How and in what context these tools are used is determined by how the individual or family interprets the demands that they are facing.

2.5.1 Types of Resources

General definitions of resources are so vague and broad that classifying or assigning resources into different categories can be extremely complicated. Resources can be either tangible or intangible. Tangible resources are real, touchable, or appraisable (e.g., money, homes, cars, etc.) while intangible resources are those that cannot be touched (time, literacy, trust, etc.). Consequently, researchers usually find measuring and observing tangible resources a little easier than intangible ones. Another way to distinguish resources is by classifying them as human or material. Human resources are the skills, abilities, talents, and
knowledge that a person has, while material resources are things such as buildings, natural phenomena, and human-made items. One of the key differences between these two is that material resources decrease through time and use, while human resources generally can increase through time and use (an exception being changes due to injury, age, and illness) (Goldsmith, 2000). For this study, however, encompassing the ideas of tangible-intangible and human-material, resources were classified into three types: human, economic, and environmental.

In the context of this research, human resources are the capabilities that the individual and/or family have. These capabilities encompass all their talents, skills, knowledge, and abilities (Rettig, 1995). These resources can be found within the individual, within a dyad (e.g., husband-wife, or parent-child), or within the family as a whole.

With regard to Japanese Canadians, human resources, more than the other two types of resources, were the primary tools that they had to choose from when dealing with their internment. Being separated from their possessions and sometimes their families, the Japanese were forced to look inwards at their intangible resources to help cope with the challenges associated with the internment. The skills and knowledge they gained as tradesmen, the personal attributes they learned while dealing with racism and exclusion, and the values that they were taught growing up, became their most useful tools.

In contrast, economic resources refer to the financial or monetary assets that an individual or family has. These resources can be income related, credit related, or wealth related. Primarily, these are all material resources and as such, are limited and generally diminish over time (Goldsmith, 2000). In addition, the value that resources in this category carry is directly related to supply and demand. In general, if a resource is considered by the
individual or family to be scarce or limited (e.g., money, homes), then they will place a
greater value on it. If however, the resource is readily available (e.g., staples, paper clips),
then the family will most likely value it less. A challenge associated with research dealing
with economic resources is that it is not always easy to establish what meaning an individual
or a family places on an item (Boss, 2002; Dollahite, 1991). Based on experience and values,
individuals will form their own opinions about the worth they ascribe to certain items. A
child’s scribbles on a paper will most likely carry more value for that child’s parent than for a
stranger who finds it lying in the road. Fortunately, for this study, analysis and coding were
not focused on the value individuals place on their material resources, but rather what
resources were mentioned (used or not) in the narratives.

The obvious connection between economic resources and this study is that the
Japanese were stripped of many of their possessions during the process of internment. When
the internment orders were issued, few Japanese had any idea as to what exactly was going to
happen to them, so they left many of their most valued possessions behind (Adachi, 1976;
Broadfoot, 1977). Many left their homes with only what they could carry in their hands,
which in most instances were one or two suitcases of clothes. Some took sewing machines
and material, but for the most part, all their valuables were left behind. Homes, farms,
cameras, boats, cars, and other more expensive possessions were also confiscated from the
Japanese during the war. None of these items was ever returned; in fact, most were sold for
far below market value and the Japanese who had previously owned them never saw a penny

The third type of resource is environmental resources. These resources pertain not
only to the physical environment that an individual or family resides in, but also their social
and political environments (Rettig, 1995; Rice & Tucker, 1985). One’s physical environment includes their tangible surroundings (e.g., soil, rain, and plants), intangible surroundings (e.g., air, sound, and light), and immediate surroundings (e.g., work and living spaces). One’s social environment consists of both social networks (e.g., family, friends, and neighbours) and economic institutions (e.g., stores, hospitals, and banks). Of particular importance with regard to social environments is the distinction that should be made between individual and family resources (human resources) and social organizations; and between economic resources and economic institutions. Social organizational resources refer to people or groups that individuals or families can look to as a resource; however, individual and family resources refer to the relationships that individuals or families have to these people or groups. Similarly, economic institutional resources refer to the actual institutions that individuals and families have access to, whereas economic resources are the actual material resources that they can use. For example, a family can place $1,000, an economic resource, in a bank, an economic institutional resource. Finally, political institutions simply refer to the government and community facilities and services that an individual or family has access to.

Environmental resources played a very significant role in the ability of many interned Japanese Canadians to cope with their challenges. The Japanese were moved from familiar physical environments to live in environments to which they were not accustomed. Similarly, their social environment was put into flux. Families were separated from each other, friends and neighbours were interned in different camps, and the economic institutions they used to have access to did not exist in their new surroundings. Last, political institutions
had the power and authority to carry out the internment plans. Laws were passed, policies were implemented, and rights were stripped from the Japanese (Adachi, 1976).

2.6 Autobiographical Research/Methodology

A key aspect of this study was the analysis of autobiographical narratives. The use of this method has some intrinsic values along with some possible disadvantages. Firstly, one of the main benefits of this type of autobiographical research is that it is less intrusive than many other methods. In particular, with the sample being used for this study, researchers do not need to be in contact with the individuals of interest. With sensitive subjects, such as the internment, there is the possibility that the researcher may have influence over the individual being interviewed or that the interviewee would simply report what they thought the researcher was looking for. Secondly, another benefit to autobiographical research has to do with the time. With research dealing with events from the past (e.g.; the internment, Holocaust, etc.), there is an increased likelihood that details from the events will have been forgotten or distorted over time. Using autobiographies, especially those written during the times being studied, individuals will perhaps have a more accurate account of what took place. Previous research about Japanese Canadians and their historical writings/memories has found that there was not much variance between what individuals recalled about their internment compared to what actually transpired (Ayukawa & Imada, 1990; Sugiman, 2004). A third benefit that can come from the use of autobiographies is that researchers are able to gain a more in-depth understanding of the context surrounding the situations the authors are in (Stroobants, 2005). Fischer-Rosenthal (1995) explains that autobiographical narratives allow researchers to look at both the inner and outer sphere of an individual or subject. Other
types of research methods allow this as well; however, they perhaps lack the detail that autobiographies provide with regards to the individual and the society.

Despite the benefits of an autobiographical approach, caution should also be made to some of the potential misleading aspects of this type of methodology. LeCompte (1987) suggests that the biggest challenge facing autobiographical research is bias and subjectivity. This type of research generally does not originate from academic sources, and thus is simply the recollections of individuals and/or families. As such, they perhaps lack objectivity. For example, it is unlikely that a person of Japanese descent who was interned during the war would praise the government for their actions even if these actions were “justifiable.” Additionally, these autobiographical narratives may be subject to copious amounts of editing (Sender, 1986; Suedfeld et al., 1997). The narratives have perhaps been edited to reflect a particular point of view or they may be edited to focus on specific aspects of an event as opposed to looking at everything. They also could be biased because the authors may wish to only emphasize certain aspects of the past.

However, despite these possible challenges, this study presumes to avoid these pitfalls because of its focus. This research only assessed the situations where coping strategies were used and where resources were mentioned. It did not take any particular point of view or make any judgments on either. As such, the research was concerned only with what was being reported. The results should not be compromised by the fact that an individual may have omitted a certain event or that an individual holds a particular position on a subject. Coping strategies existed regardless of these possible omissions, and the resources that were present should not be influenced by it either.
2.7 Research Questions

The possible relationship between resources and coping strategies was addressed with the following research questions.

Question 1: What coping strategies were used by Japanese Canadians interned during the Second World War?

Question 1a: Were there sex differences in coping strategies used?

Question 1b: Were there generational differences in coping strategies used?

Question 2: What types of resources were used by Japanese Canadians interned during the Second World War?

Question 3: What (if any) relationship exists between coping strategies and resources?
3 METHOD

3.1 Data Source

The narratives were found through an exhaustive search of library databases. The majority of the narratives were located at local universities; however, a few of the narratives were available through the Japanese Canadian museum and the NAJC (National Association of Japanese Canadians). Overall 69 autobiographical accounts were analyzed (see Table 1). Of these accounts, sixteen are those of women and forty are of men. Of these narratives, fifteen are Issei (1st generation) accounts; nineteen are Nisei (2nd generation) accounts; and one Sansei (3rd generation) account. The publication dates range from 1973 to 2005, with the majority being published between 1983 and 2002. All of the accounts were read and coded in English. Eight of the narratives were originally written in Japanese, but had been subsequently translated into English before publication. There were about 15 narratives written only in Japanese that were not used in the study due to the challenges associated with translation. All of the sources were from published books except one which was retrieved from a thesis. Initially, the narratives were categorized by the locations where the individuals were sent (e.g.; internment camps, sugar beet fields, prisoner camps, etc.). The sample size in each group was too small for analysis to yield accurate results.
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nakayama, L</td>
<td>*F</td>
<td></td>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Okazaki, R</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sando, T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Suzuki, D.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Takashima, G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1661</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Yoshida, R</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1661</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nakayama, T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Read the English translation

Note: Sources 23-69 are excerpts by unknown authors in B. Broadfoot’s (1977) compilation of writings about the internment.
3.2 Measures and Coding

The variables coded in this study were coping strategies and resources. The coping strategies scale is taken from the combined work of Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, and Gruen (1986) and Suedfeld, Krell, Wiebe, and Steel (1997). The scale consists of 14 coping categories (see Table 2).

Table 2. Coping Categories and Definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Confrontation Effort to resolve situation through assertive or aggressive interaction with another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Distancing Effort to detach oneself emotionally from the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Self-Control Effort to regulate one’s own feelings or actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Accept Responsibility Acknowledging that one has a role in the problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Escape/Avoidance Efforts to escape or avoid the problem physically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Planful Problem-Solving Deliberate (rational, cognitively-oriented) effort to change or escape the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Positive Reappraisal Effort to see a positive meaning in the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Seeking Social Support Effort to obtain sympathy, help, information, or emotional support from another person or persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Endurance/Obedience/Effort Effort to persevere, survive, submit, comply with demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Denial Ignoring the problem, not believing in its reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Compartmentalization Effort to encapsulate the problem psychologically so as to isolate it from other aspects of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Luck Attribution of outcome to good fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Religion/Supernatural Attribution of outcome to religious or superstitious practices; efforts to achieve such an outcome (e.g. prayer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Stoicism – “Shikata ga nai” Resolution that the problem(s) were unavoidable and were just a natural consequence of the situations they were in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Categories 1-8 were adapted from Folkman et al., 1986, and categories 9-13 were adapted from Suedfeld et al., 1997, p.163

The initial 8 coping strategies are taken from Folkman et al.’s (1983) “Ways of Coping” scale. Strategies 9 to 13 are taken from Suedfeld et al.’s (1997) analysis of
Holocaust survivors' narratives. The final strategy, stoicism, was added because it is presumed to be an additional strategy used by Japanese (and perhaps other groups as well) to cope with the challenges they faced. This theme of stoicism has continually been mentioned in previous writings about the Japanese Canadian community (e.g., Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Kobayashi, 1999); however it has never been researched systematically. The Japanese have a saying “shikata ga nai” which many use when dealing with adversity. Literally translated, the saying means “it cannot be helped.” The understanding behind the saying is that there is no sense in dwelling on the situation, it was bound to happen and now one has to move on and deal with whatever comes next. This saying is often expressed without a negative connotation, and more like a statement of fact. Examples of how stoicism was coded in the analysis include instances when the phrases “shikata ga nai,” “it couldn’t be helped,” or “there’s nothing we could really do about it” were mentioned. The main difference between Stoicism and Endurance/Obedience/Effort (the category that it most closely resembles) is that stoicism is more a mental or cognitive effort to cope, while Endurance/Obedience/Effort is more of an active physical response to the crisis.

Using Rettig’s (1995) and Rice and Tucker’s (1986) resource classification schemata as references, a slightly more time sensitive list was created for the coding of resources. The resource classification table separates resources into three main categories: human, economic, and environmental (see Table 3). In an effort to produce more specific results, each of the three sections was originally broken down into a number of subsections. Coding of the resources was done based on these 17 subcategories; however, during the final analysis, due to small sample sizes in several of the categories, the subcategories were collapsed into the original three categories (human, economic, and environmental).
Table 3. Resource Classification Table and Examples

1. Human Resources
   A. Individual
      a. Biological
         Human energy
         Physical size
         Kinaesthetic ability
         Mental health
         Health
         Visual acuity
         Auditory perception
      b. Affective
         Motivation
         Attitudes
         Feelings
         Values
         Empathy
         Consideration
         Friendliness
         Humour
      c. Cognitive
         Initiative
         Knowledge
         Perception
         Education
         Judgment
         Creativity
         Adaptability
         Intelligence
      d. Psychomotor
         Work habits
         Childcare skills
         Communication
         Manners
         Carpentry skills
         Typing
      e. Temporal
         Clock time
         Psychological time
         Calendar time
         Past, present, future

   B. Interpersonal
      Love
      Trust
      Communication
      Respect
      Information
      Cooperation

   C. Family Group
      Cohesion
      Adaptability

2. Economic Resources
   A. Income
      Wages
      Dividends
      Pension payments
      Commissions
      Royalties
      Interest
   B. Wealth
      Owned home
      Furnishings
      Appliances
      Automobiles
      Possessions
      Stock, bonds
   C. Credit
      Cash loans
      Mortgages
      Service credit
      Charge accounts

3. Environmental Resources
   A. Physical Environment
      a. Natural Tangible Surroundings
         Soil
         Minerals
         Plants
         Animals
         Rain
         Terrain
      b. Non-tangible Surroundings
         Air
         Sound
         Space
         Light
         Temperature
         Sunlight
      c. Immediate Surroundings
         Work space
         Rental apartment
         Living space
         Yard
   B. Social Environment
      a. Social Organizations
         Family, nuclear and extended
         Friends
         Youth programs
      b. Economic Institutions
         Stores
         Supermarkets
         Hospitals
         Banks
Examination of the narratives using these two coding schemata followed a basic procedure. The narratives were coded only when the author made reference to events and situations that occurred during the process of internment for the Japanese. Many of the narratives relate experiences describing events before and after the war, but to maintain a consistent stressor throughout the research, these parameters were set. Once the correct time period was established, coding of the narratives commenced.

Each of the narratives was read in its entirety to first identify which coping strategies had been used. Whenever a coping strategy was found, the paragraph it occurred in, and the section of the paragraph that dealt with the coping strategy itself were marked.

Due to the subjective nature of this research, coder reliability was checked by using a second trained coder. Both the principal coder and the second coder were trained how to code coping strategies using narratives by research assistants from Dr. Peter Suedfeld’s lab. These research assistants have substantial knowledge and experience coding coping strategies, having used the same method for analysis Holocaust survivors’, astronauts’, and Sudanese refugees’ narratives.

Before the second coder examined the narratives, both he and the principal coder analyzed a separate narrative to ensure that there was consistency in their interpretations of the coping strategies. Once there was uniformity in the understanding of the definitions of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C. Political Institutions</th>
<th>Stock markets</th>
<th>Laundries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Governments</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Voting rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional</td>
<td>Provincial Laws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>Federal Policies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Community Facilities and Services</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Fire protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Water Churches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage systems</td>
<td>Sewage systems Recreation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td>Parks Centres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the coping strategy, the second trained coder coded 10 percent of the narratives. Both percentage agreement and kappa values were taken to ensure reliability. A percentage agreement score of > 80% and a kappa value of > 0.60-0.70 (Landis & Koch, 1977) was considered to reflect substantial agreement. For coding the coping strategies, a percentage agreement score of 83.7% and a kappa value of 0.84 were found to meet these standards.

Coding of the resources followed a similar pattern to that of coping strategies. For each of the paragraphs in which a coping strategy was identified, all of the resources mentioned in the entire paragraph were pinpointed. Further coding was then done to identify which of those resources were actually associated with the coping strategy in the paragraph. Resources were classified as belonging to one of the 17 categories listed in Table 3. Again, to assess coder reliability, a second trained coder was used. Training of the second coder followed the same process that was used in training for the coping strategies, with both coders coding a sub sample of the narratives to ensure that they were consistent in their definitions of the different resource categories. Once, agreement on the categories was reached, the second coder, analyzed 10 percent of the paragraphs, coding all the resources that were mentioned in the paragraphs (those identified as having a coping strategy in it), not just those associated with a coping strategy. Percentage agreement and kappa values were calculated to ensure reliability. For the resource coding, percentage agreement was 83.5% and the kappa value was 0.84; both again considered to be reflective of substantial inter-rater agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977).

It is important to note that while the narratives often included experiences of other people in the principal individual’s life, coding was only done on events/resources that were specifically related to the principal individual.
To answer the research questions, general descriptive statistics were used to portray the sample studied; and chi-square, least square differences, and independent t-tests were used to gain insight into the variables studied.
4 RESULTS

4.1 Coping Strategies

To remain consistent with previous research (e.g., Suedfeld et al., 1997) that used a similar classification of coping strategies, the data were analyzed based on percentage use. This was calculated by first counting the total number of references to coping and then calculating what percentage of that total was represented by each specific coping strategy. These percentage figures for each strategy were then averaged over the 69 narratives. As shown in Table 4, overall, the coping strategies most commonly used were Planful Problem Solving (20.9%), Endurance/Obedience/Effort (15.6%), and Seeking Social Support (12.9%). In contrast to this, Distancing, Compartmentalization, Accept Responsibility, Denial, and Religion/Supernatural were all used less than 3 percent of the time.

Statistically significant differences between men and women, and Issei and Nisei are also shown in Table 4. There were no statistically significant differences in coping strategy use between men and women. As for generational differences however, the Issei were significantly more likely than the Nisei to use Self-Control, Positive Reappraisal, and Denial.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Issei</th>
<th>Nisei</th>
<th>Pvalue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.795</td>
<td>-1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Control</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>-1.25</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.76**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>-0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-0.41</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>-0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endurance/Obedience</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delusion</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.18**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compartmentalization</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>-1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luck</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>-1.17</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>-1.99</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoicism—&quot;shikataganai&quot;</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>-.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.
4.1.1 Addressing Methodological Issues

One of the challenges of the analysis was trying to account for the differing lengths of the narratives which ranged from 400 page books to 1-2 page excerpts from interview transcripts. As a result, 23 of the narratives only had reference to one coping strategy. The concern was that these narratives could possibly skew the results. For example, a shorter narrative that had only one reference to the coping strategy of Confrontation and no other reference to any other coping strategy would show that the individual used Confrontation 100% of the time. In comparison, a longer narrative, where an individual made reference to using confrontation 5 times, but also mentioned 45 other coping strategies throughout, would show that the individual used Confrontation only 10% of the time, despite having used it much more than the individual in the first narrative.

To counter this challenge, three additional analyses of the data were done. The first was to analyze the data on whether an individual used a particular coping strategy (1) or not (0). This method ("% of Individuals") differs from the original analysis ("% Use") in that it does not account for how many times or what proportion of the time an individual used a particular coping strategy, but rather it simply reports whether or not a coping strategy was used (at any time) by an individual. The results from this method of analysis were calculated by identifying how many of the individuals in the sample used a particular coping strategy and then dividing that number by the total number of narratives used in the study (69).

Although analysis using the "% of Individuals" method was one way to address the methodological issues related to this study, a second way was to exclude the 47 narratives that were less than 2 pages long. Although these shorter narratives may provide additional insight into the questions being studied, they also may have inaccurately reflected what
coping strategies really were used. Using the "% Use" method, analysis of the 22 long narratives was done to see if the lengths of the narratives influenced the overall findings.

The third and final method was a mixture of the previous two procedures: the "% of Individuals" method of analysis was applied to the 22 long narratives. This analysis was conducted to see if any differences would be found when using either the "% Use" method or the "% of Individuals" method. A summary of the findings for the different methods are presented in the next section. The detailed tables for these analyses are in Appendix A.

4.1.2 Overall Analysis of Statistical Significance and Coping Strategies

A summary of the findings from the different methods of measuring coping strategies is presented in Table 5. There were generally no statistically significant differences between men and women regardless of which method was used to analyze the coping strategies. In the two instances where statistical significance was found (i.e., Women's more frequent use of Positive Reappraisal in the sample with 69 narratives, and men's more frequent use of Seeking Social Support in the sample with the 22 long narratives), the "% of Individuals" method produced the significant difference.

For the generational differences, analysis of the 69 narratives produced similar findings regardless of the method used. For both the "% Use" and "% of Individuals" methods, Self-Control, Positive Reappraisal, and Denial were significantly different by generation. The only coping strategy that was statistically significant using one method and not the other was Stoicism, which was significant in the "% of Individuals" analysis but not the "% Use."
Table 5. Summary of Statistically Significant Results Across Types of Analyses – Overall Analysis of Japanese Canadians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Entire Sample (69 Narratives)</th>
<th>Long Narratives Only (22 Narratives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Use</td>
<td>% of Individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t (54)</td>
<td>χ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Confrontation</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Distancing</td>
<td>-1.12</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Self-Control</td>
<td>-1.25</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>-1.84</td>
<td>4.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Endurance/Obedience/Effort</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Denial</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Compartmentalization</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Luck</td>
<td>-1.17</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>-1.99</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Stoicism – “shikata ga nai”</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Entire Sample (69 Narratives)</th>
<th>Long Narratives Only (22 Narratives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Use</td>
<td>% of Individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t (32)</td>
<td>χ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Confrontation</td>
<td>-1.38</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Distancing</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Self-Control</td>
<td>2.76**</td>
<td>5.40*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>-.91</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>2.66*</td>
<td>7.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>-.66</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Endurance/Obedience/Effort</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Denial</td>
<td>2.18*</td>
<td>5.74*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Compartmentalization</td>
<td>-1.36</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Luck</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Stoicism – “shikata ga nai”</td>
<td>-.60</td>
<td>5.63*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.
When the sample size was limited to the 22 longer narratives, there was greater variability in the number of strategies that were statistically significant. Seeking Social Support was statistically significant when using both methods, but overall, the “% Use” method produced more significant results (i.e., Endurance/Obedience/Effort, Denial, and Luck) than the “% of Individuals” method.

Overall, none of the coping strategies was statistically significant across all four of the analyses for either sex or generation. The Issei’s more frequent use of Denial was the only strategy that was significant in more than two of the analyses.

4.1.3 Rank Order of Coping Strategies

Each of the different coping strategies was ranked from most used to least used according to overall usage, sex, and generation based on the different methods used to analyze the narratives (see Tables 6-8). These tables were created to see how consistent the overall rankings of coping strategies were across the four different methods.

Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort and Seeking Social Support were consistently the three most commonly used coping strategies regardless of which method was used (see Table 6). At the other end of the spectrum, Distancing, Accept Responsibility, Denial, and Compartmentalization were consistently the least commonly used coping strategies in all of the analyses.

Table 6 also shows that methodologically, the ranking of coping strategies remains fairly constant across the four different methods of analysis. The most commonly used (and the least commonly used) coping strategies are consistently similar regardless of the analysis used (e.g., “% Use” versus “% of Individuals” or “Entire Sample” versus “Long Narratives Only”). The only exception is Stoicism, which seems to vary depending on the length of the
narrative analyzed (i.e., was ranked as being used more often in the analyses of all 69 narratives).

Table 6. Ranking of Coping Strategy Use – Overall Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Entire Sample (69 Narratives)</th>
<th>Long Narratives Only (22 Narratives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Use Rank % of Individuals Rank</td>
<td>% Use Rank % of Individuals Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>20.9 1 49.3 1</td>
<td>17.8 1 77.3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endurance/Obedience/Effort</td>
<td>15.6 2 40.6 2</td>
<td>13.7 3 72.7 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>12.9 3 39.1 3</td>
<td>14.1 2 68.2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>8.8 4 33.3 4</td>
<td>6.0 7 59.1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation</td>
<td>8.6 5 30.4 5</td>
<td>7.7 5 59.1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoicism—“shikataganai”</td>
<td>8.1 6 18.8 8</td>
<td>4.9 10 36.4 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>6.8 7 23.2 7</td>
<td>9.8 4 59.1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Control</td>
<td>5.4 8 26.1 6</td>
<td>6.4 9 54.5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luck</td>
<td>3.3 9 17.4 10</td>
<td>5.7 8 50.0 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>2.4 10 18.8 8</td>
<td>6.9 6 54.5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>2.3 11 8.7 14</td>
<td>1.1 13 18.2 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>2.2 12 15.9 11</td>
<td>2.6 12 40.9 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compartmentalization</td>
<td>1.4 13 10.1 13</td>
<td>0.6 14 18.2 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>1.3 14 13.0 12</td>
<td>3.6 11 36.4 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When looking at sex, Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, and Seeking Social Support were the most commonly mentioned coping strategies by men regardless of the method of analysis (see Table 7). Coping strategies used the least by men are harder to describe as each analysis yielded different results. What remains consistent throughout though is that the men tended to rely primarily on five coping strategies (Planful Problem Sovling, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, Seeking Social Support, Confrontation, and Escape/Avoidance) and then used the other nine strategies sparingly. For women, the most commonly used strategies across the four different analyses were Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, Self-Control, and Positive Reappraisal. The least commonly used coping strategies by the women were Compartmentalization, Denial, and Accept Responsibility.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>Long Narratives Only</td>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>Long Narratives Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(69 Narratives)</td>
<td>(22 Narratives)</td>
<td>(69 Narratives)</td>
<td>(22 Narratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Use Rank</td>
<td>% of Individuals Rank</td>
<td>% Use Rank</td>
<td>% of Individuals Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>21.4 1</td>
<td>52.5 1</td>
<td>18.5 2</td>
<td>76.9 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>17.4 2</td>
<td>47.5 2</td>
<td>20.1 1</td>
<td>92.3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endurance/Obedience/Effort</td>
<td>14.7 3</td>
<td>37.5 3</td>
<td>12.0 3</td>
<td>76.9 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation</td>
<td>11.3 4</td>
<td>37.5 3</td>
<td>8.2 5</td>
<td>69.2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>9.2 5</td>
<td>35.0 5</td>
<td>7.1 6</td>
<td>69.2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoicism — “shikat ga nai”</td>
<td>6.6 6</td>
<td>15.0 10</td>
<td>5.0 7</td>
<td>30.8 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Control</td>
<td>4.4 7</td>
<td>25.0 6</td>
<td>4.6 9</td>
<td>46.2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>3.6 8</td>
<td>10.0 13</td>
<td>.8 13</td>
<td>15.4 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>3.5 9</td>
<td>22.5 7</td>
<td>3.5 10</td>
<td>53.8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>2.7 10</td>
<td>17.5 8</td>
<td>8.3 4</td>
<td>53.8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luck</td>
<td>1.5 11</td>
<td>15.0 10</td>
<td>4.7 8</td>
<td>46.2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compartmentalization</td>
<td>1.5 11</td>
<td>10.0 13</td>
<td>.8 13</td>
<td>23.1 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>1.1 13</td>
<td>15.0 10</td>
<td>3.4 11</td>
<td>46.2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>1.0 14</td>
<td>17.5 8</td>
<td>3.0 12</td>
<td>53.8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis of the ranking of coping strategies for the Issei and Nisei further substantiate the differences between the two groups (see Table 8). The Issei consistently reported using Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, and Positive Reappraisal as the coping strategies they most often used. In contrast to this, the Nisei reported using Planful Problem Solving regularly, but they also used the coping strategies of Seeking Social Support, and Confrontation in order to deal with the crises they encountered. The least commonly used coping strategies for the Issei across all four methods of analysis were Compartmentalization, Denial, Distancing, and Accepting Responsibility. For the Nisei, the only strategy that was consistently not used was Denial; in fact, it was not even coded once as a coping strategy in any of the Nisei narratives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>% Use Entire Sample (69 Narratives)</th>
<th>% of Individuals Rank</th>
<th>% Use Long Narratives Only (22 Narratives)</th>
<th>% of Individuals Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planful Problem Solving</td>
<td>18.2 1 63.2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.5 1 85.7 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endurance/Obedience/Effort</td>
<td>14.8 2 52.6 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.9 2 71.4 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>13.5 3 42.1 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.3 6 50.0 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Reappraisal</td>
<td>11.2 4 47.4 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.0 3 64.3 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion/Supernatural</td>
<td>7.9 5 42.1 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.5 4 57.1 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luck</td>
<td>7.5 6 42.1 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1 5 57.1 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation</td>
<td>5.3 7 36.8 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.6 8 50.0 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Control</td>
<td>5.5 8 42.1 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.9 7 57.1 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Avoidance</td>
<td>4.9 9 36.8 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2 9 50.0 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoicism — “shikataga nai”</td>
<td>3.9 10 36.8 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.2 10 50.0 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>2.7 11 21.1 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9 11 28.6 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept Responsibility</td>
<td>2.4 12 31.6 11</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6 12 42.9 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>1.6 13 21.1 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.7 13 28.6 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compartmentalization</td>
<td>.7 14 15.8 13</td>
<td></td>
<td>.7 14 21.4 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Ranking of Coping Strategy Use – Overall Analysis of Issei and Nisei
4.2 Resources

Resources were originally coded using 17 different categories. Table 9 shows the breakdown of the resources mentioned in the narratives, looking at total resources mentioned and resources linked to coping strategies. Overall, the most commonly mentioned resources were Social Organizations (22.5%) (e.g., family members, friends) and Wealth (19.2%) (e.g., house, properties). In contrast, the least mentioned resources were Family Group (0.1%) (e.g., cohesion, adaptability), Income (0.9%) (e.g., wages, interest), and Credit (0.1%) (e.g., cash loans, mortgages). When looking at the resources that were linked to coping strategies, Social Organizations and Wealth remained the most commonly mentioned resources and Family Group, Income, and Credit continued to be the least mentioned resources.

To make the analysis of resources more manageable, the 17 resource categories were compressed into three overall resource categories: Human, Economic, and Environmental. More than half of the resources mentioned in the narratives fell into the category of Environmental Resources (54.1%). When the resources were linked to coping strategies, Environmental resources remained the most commonly mentioned resource (see Table 9).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human Resources</th>
<th># of Times Mentioned</th>
<th>% Mentioned</th>
<th>Resources Linked to Coping Strategies</th>
<th># of Times Mentioned</th>
<th>% Mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>Biological</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>Affective</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>Psychomotor</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>Interpersonal</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>152</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>Family Group</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>259</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>Total Human Resources</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Economic Resources</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>Credit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>Total Environmental Resources</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>Physical Environment</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>44.6%</td>
<td>Natural Tangible Surroundings</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>44.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>Immediate Surroundings</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>Social Organizations</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
<td>Economic Institutions</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>102.6%</td>
<td>Governments</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>102.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>116.2%</td>
<td>Community Facilities and Services</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>116.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>Total Environmental Resources</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>205.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>822</td>
<td>205.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Resources Mentioned and Resources Linked to Coping Strategies
4.3 Coping Strategies and Resources

One of the aims of this study was to determine what, if any, relationship existed between resources and coping strategies. In an overall analysis of the coping strategies and resources, it was found that in 90.0% of the cases where a coping strategy was mentioned, a resource was also associated with the coping strategy.

To analyze the relationship between the coping strategies mentioned and the various resources associated with these strategies, pairwise comparisons using the least square differences test was used. This analysis did not adjust for multiple comparisons because the research is exploratory at this point in time. Results of this analysis are presented in Table 10. It is important to note that the data in Table 10 were calculated independently and separately from the analysis of the coping strategies. For the analysis of the resources, each time a coping strategy was identified, coders recorded which resources were associated with the strategy. The numbers in the table under each of the three resource categories reflect the average number of references to each resource category associated with each of the 14 coping strategies. For example, on average, each time Confrontation was identified 0.48 Human Resources, 0.34 Economic Resources, and 1.52 Environmental Resources were associated with it. Thus the numbers reflected in Table 10 have no relation to those presented in the previous tables about coping strategies.
Table 10. Means and Standard Deviations of Coping Strategies According to Resource Type in Japanese Canadians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource Type</th>
<th>Confrontation</th>
<th>Distancing</th>
<th>Self-Control</th>
<th>Accept Responsibility</th>
<th>Escape/Avoidance</th>
<th>Planful Problem Solving</th>
<th>Positive Reappraisal</th>
<th>Seeking Social Support</th>
<th>Religion/Supernatural</th>
<th>Stoicism—&quot;shikataganai&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Economic Environmental Resources</td>
<td>1.52 (1.11)</td>
<td>4.34 (5.77)</td>
<td>1.69 (1.43)</td>
<td>1.21 (2.09)</td>
<td>1.16 (1.41)</td>
<td>1.41 (2.11)</td>
<td>0.79 (0.96)</td>
<td>1.66 (1.24)</td>
<td>0.53 (1.05)</td>
<td>1.70 (1.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Resources</td>
<td>2.00 (1.41)</td>
<td>4.29 (5.52)</td>
<td>1.69 (1.43)</td>
<td>1.21 (2.09)</td>
<td>1.16 (1.41)</td>
<td>1.41 (2.11)</td>
<td>0.79 (0.96)</td>
<td>1.66 (1.24)</td>
<td>0.53 (1.05)</td>
<td>1.70 (1.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Resources</td>
<td>2.00 (1.41)</td>
<td>4.29 (5.52)</td>
<td>1.69 (1.43)</td>
<td>1.21 (2.09)</td>
<td>1.16 (1.41)</td>
<td>1.41 (2.11)</td>
<td>0.79 (0.96)</td>
<td>1.66 (1.24)</td>
<td>0.53 (1.05)</td>
<td>1.70 (1.99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Means in the same row that do not share subscripts differ at *p < .05, **p < .01. Where sphericity was violated, Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of df were used.

1. Denial
2. Distancing
3. Self-Control
4. Accept Responsibility
5. Escape/Avoidance
6. Planful Problem Solving
7. Positive Reappraisal
8. Seeking Social Support
9. Religion/Supernatural
10. Stoicism—"shikataganai"
11. Compartmentalization
12. Luck
13. Positive Reappraisal
14. Confrontation
Overall, statistical significance was found for all of the comparisons except for Denial, Compartmentalization, and Religion/Supernatural. Environmental Resources are the most commonly associated resources for the coping strategies of Confrontation, Planful Problem Solving, and Seeking Social Support. Human Resources were the most commonly related resource to the coping strategy of Luck. As shown in Table 10, Economic Resources have very little association with any of the coping strategies except for Planful Problem Solving.
5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Discussion

This study provides insight into the coping strategies and resource use of Japanese Canadians during their internment in the Second World War. The discussion is organized to address the specific research questions that guided the study. In order to answer these questions, several different approaches to analysis were done to account for some of the methodological issues that arose. To account for the differing lengths of the narratives (some being 200-400 pages while others were 1-2 pages), analysis was done using either a “% Use” method or a “% of Individuals” method. The “% Use” method looked at the percentage of time an individual used each of specific coping strategies in a narrative (compared to all the other strategies), while the “% of Individuals” method looked at whether or not a coping strategy was used by an individual at any time in the narratives. Another approach to addressing the varying lengths of the narratives was to only do analysis on the 22 longer narratives in the sample. “% Use” and “% of Individuals” methods were both used in the analysis of the 22 longer narratives.

Question 1: What coping strategies were used by Japanese Canadians during the Second World War? Overall, results from the analysis of coping strategies indicate that Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, and Seeking Social Support were the strategies relied upon the most. Research with Holocaust survivors’ narratives revealed that they too most often mentioned using the same three coping strategies in dealing with the stressors they faced during World War II (Suedfeld et al., 1997). It is possible that these coping strategies would be the most commonly used by individuals in severely stressful situations, or perhaps these coping strategies are characteristic of persecuted individuals or
groups. Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, and Seeking Social Support are strategies that seem to be more adaptive than some of the other strategies. In the case of Holocaust survivors and Japanese Canadians, any sort of aggressive or defiant response (coded as Confrontation) towards those in power resulted in greater restrictions and sanctions against them. In both cases, physical Escape/Avoidance would have been very difficult and, again, would subject the individual to severe penalties if detected. The situation for the Holocaust survivors was much more severe than that faced by the Japanese, but acts of non-compliance for both led to harsh repercussions (e.g., death for those in the Holocaust and imprisonment for the Japanese). On the other hand, palliative (cognitive or emotion oriented) strategies, such as Positive Reappraisal, Denial, and Compartmentalization, do not help to solve the actual, real problems faced by the persecuted groups. The Holocaust survivors, and to a lesser extent the Japanese Canadians, did not really have the option to cognitively or emotionally address their challenges, because in most cases they had to physically react immediately to the orders of those in power. Planful Problem Solving, Endurance/Obedience/Effort, and Seeking Social Support allow the individual to see the situation they face and then physically respond in a realistic manner.

Another aim of the study was to see if an additional coping strategy could be seen in the narratives. Stoicism (shikata ga nai) was indeed a strategy that was used by Japanese internees. In fact, rankings of coping strategies throughout the different analyses show that it was consistently in the middle (between 6 -10 out of the 14 strategies). Previous research has found support for different cultures using different coping strategies (e.g.; Kim, Won, Liu, Liu, & Kitanishi, 1997; McCarty, Weisz, Wanitromanee, et al., 1999; Radford, Mann, Ohta, & Nakane, 1993); however, similar studies have not been conducted with Japanese
Canadians, and these previous studies have not specifically identified or tested the idea of Stoicism. It could be that stoicism is unique to the Japanese culture; however, it is also possible that this strategy would be seen in other cultures as well.

**Question 1a: Were there sex differences in coping strategies used?** In the initial analysis using the “% Use” method with all 69 narratives, there were no statistically significant differences between men and women with regard to the choice of coping strategies. The sample sizes may have been too small or disproportionate (fewer narratives by women than men). Another explanation may be that the women had to take on different roles in their families because many of their husbands or fathers were sent to prisoner or road camps. With the men having been sent away, the women perhaps compensated by taking on more “masculine” roles during this crisis, resulting in their coping strategies being similar to the men’s strategies.

Across the four different analyses of coping strategies, there were two times that a statistically significant difference was found between men and women. In the “% of Individuals” analysis of all 69 narratives women were found to use Positive Reappraisal much more than men. Based on their studies, Diehl, Coyle, and Labouvie-Vief (1996) and Ptacek, Smith, and Dodge (1994) argue that women more than men tend to use strategies that help them positively adjust cognitively and emotionally to crises. However, like this study, these other studies fail to adequately pinpoint why these differences occur. Perhaps there is a psychological difference between men and women that predisposes them to react differently, or perhaps there is a cultural phenomena/stereotype that is being exhibited in their behaviour. The only other statistically significant sex difference was in the “% of Individuals” analysis of the 22 longer narratives (see Table 5): men were more likely than women to use Seeking
Social Support to cope with the internment. This finding could be because many of the men lived in prisoner or road work camps where they were constantly surrounded by other individuals sharing the same situation, and with whom they could empathize. They were taken away from their own familiar surroundings (i.e., home, family, community, etc.) and perhaps looked to each other to deal with their uncertainties. On the other hand, while the women were removed from their normal environments, the change was not perhaps as drastic. They were able to keep some of their belongings, and in most cases had the stability and knowledge that some of their family and friends were still close by. Both of these statistically significant findings should be viewed with caution, as they were not consistent findings across all four of the methods of analysis.

**Question 1b: Were there generational differences in coping strategies used?**

There were statistically significant differences between the Issei (first generation) and Nisei (second generation) in their use of coping strategies. Others (e.g., Broadfoot, 1997; Makabe, 1998, 1995; Nishimura, 1992) have suggested that there were generational differences in how the Issei and Nisei reacted to the internment, but very little had been done prior to this study to empirically support these notions. Statistical significance was found in at least two of the four different methods of analysis for coping strategies of Self-Control, Positive Reappraisal, Seeking Social Support, and Denial. The Issei used Self-Control, Positive Reappraisal, and Denial, more than the Nisei, and the Nisei used Seeking Social Support more than the Issei. These results seem to support the notion that the Issei were more reserved and reluctant to show resistance than the Nisei (e.g., Makabe, 1980; Nishimura, 1992). Many Nisei and Sansei argue that this attitude that the Issei had towards their internment is reflective of their Japanese roots (e.g., Broadfoot, 1997; Kitagawa & Miki, 1985; Yamagishi, 2005). They
suggest that these attitudes are reflective of the notion of “enryo” (literal translation: to be reserved, hesitant) and are enhanced by the fact that they were not actually citizens of Canada. The Nisei on the other hand tended to rely more on their social networks and used more aggressive actions in their efforts to cope with the challenges of the internment. This is believed to be reflective of their experiences growing up in Canada in environments that were not completely Japanese.

These findings about generational differences in coping are not unique to the Japanese community. Diehl et al. (1996) and McCrae (1982), in studying generational differences in a predominantly Caucasian, U.S. sample, found that the older generations tended to be less hostile in their coping and they were more likely to exhibit greater impulse control than the younger generations. Taken together, these findings, along with work done in this research, suggest that experiences over time have an effect on coping. It may be that older individuals evaluate stressful situations differently than younger individuals and then react in a calmer fashion.

Prior to conducting this research, it was expected that the Issei would use Stoicism (shikata ga nai) much more regularly than the Nisei; however, the results did not fully support this assumption. When the analysis of coping strategies was done using the “% Use” method, there were no statistically significant differences between the Issei and Nisei. However, when the analysis was done using the “% of Individuals” approach, statistical significance was found, suggesting that the Issei used Stoicism more than the Nisei. Further research may be able to clarify this as there has been very little done on this subject.

**Question 2: What resources were used by Japanese Canadians interned during the Second World War?** Research on Japanese Canadians and resources was purely
exploratory. Several resources were mentioned more often than others (e.g., Social Organizations, and Wealth), but it was difficult to paint an accurate picture of what exactly was available or lost to the Japanese in Canada during World War II. The resources were only coded based on the paragraphs in which a coping strategy was identified. Consequently, there were two issues that arose: 1) If resources were mentioned in paragraphs in which a coping strategy was not identified, then those resources were not included and 2) the resources that were identified were likely counted multiple times. For example, if a woman mentioned that her husband helped her make a decision in one paragraph, and then she mentioned that her husband helped her move a bed in a subsequent paragraph, the husband (as a resource) would have been coded twice for the same individual. With this in mind, while the analysis of resources does provide a good description of what resources were available with regards to coping strategies, the analysis of overall resource use should be viewed with caution.

**Question 3: What (if any) relationship exists between coping strategies and resources?** The Double ABC-X model (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983) posits that during the coping process, individuals draw upon available resources and upon their perception of the situation. This research supports this proposition. In 90 percent of the incidents where a coping strategy was mentioned, there was at least one resource directly associated with that coping strategy. Previous research has often looked at resources and coping separately, rather than identifying any connection between the two. The current study linked these two concepts. For coping to take place, individuals draw upon something from within or from without to push them into action. The impetus for coping may come from a person or object, or from a memory of a previous experience. Whatever the case may be, these are resources
that an individual has to use in order to deal with a crisis or stressor. Coping, whether active, cognitive, or emotional, requires an individual to draw upon one or more resources.

Resources, on the other hand, can only be considered a resource if they have some sort of value (e.g., a dollar value, sentimental value, etc.). Otherwise, they cannot serve as a resource. Coping is one way that a resource can have value. For example, several individuals described how they had taken for granted the temperate climate of British Columbia until they had to endure the harsh winters in the interior. The climate that they had previously not noticed had become a significant resource because they realized the value it had once it was gone.

As part of the exploratory nature of this research, a number of coping strategies were found to be related to specific resources. Confrontation and Seeking Social Support were found to be related to Environmental Resources (e.g., physical environment, social environment, etc.). This seems to be a natural connection as the majority of times that confrontation took place, it also required there to be another individual present; and the same can be said for Seeking Social Support.

Distancing, Self-Control, Accept Responsibility, Positive Reappraisal and Luck were highly related to both Human Resources and Environmental Resources, but not to Economic Resources. A possible explanation of this finding is that these coping strategies involve a cognitive process. As a result, one would most likely draw upon their own abilities (human resources) to deal with the challenge. As for the relation with Environmental Resources (e.g., social organization), quite often when the individual mentioned using one of these strategies they included the person, group, or thing that was the cause of the stress. The lack of relation with Economic Resources would indicate that these cognitively focused coping
strategies do not require the presence of a material resource. Although the material resources may be available, they have very little value when an individual engages in one of these cognitive coping strategies.

Escape/Avoidance and Endurance/Obedience/Effort also had a weak relationship with Economic Resources and a strong relationship with Human and Environmental Resources. Both of these strategies required the individual to physically respond to the crisis encountered. This would explain the strong relationship with both Human and Environmental resources. Human Resources would be relied upon to cognitively evaluate the situation and to induce the physical response. Environmental resources would include where the individual escaped to or with whom they escaped. With regards to Endurance/Obedience/Effort, the Environmental resources would include the physical environmental conditions (e.g., weather, terrain, etc.) the Japanese had to endure or the environmental resources could also include the individuals whom the Japanese obeyed or put up with.

The data also show that there is a relationship between Planful Problem Solving and Economic and Environmental Resources. In fact, this coping strategy had the most resources connected to it. These relationships may exist because of the way Planful Problem Solving was coded. Of all the coping strategies, Planful Problem Solving seems to be the one that incorporates all of the tangible resources that an individual has access to. As such, Planful Problem Solving may be the broadest of the coping strategies coded, and consequently could be related to any number of resources. An example may best illustrate this point: “To help tackle boredom, we found a ball, used a piece of discarded lumber as a bat, and organized teams to play a modified version of baseball in our small recreation grounds.”
In this example of Planful Problem Solving, “lumber” was coded as an Economic Resource, and “we” (referring to other internees) and “recreation grounds” were coded as Environmental Resources. This simple excerpt shows how diverse Planful Problem Solving can be with regards to resources. Planful Problem Solving quite often involves an individual making a plan based on their material resources and then dealing with their physical and social environments.

Stoicism was the only coping category that did not have any resources related to it. This is most likely a result of the manner in which stoicism was expressed and coded. Most of the examples of stoicism occurred whenever the phrase “shikata ga nai” was uttered. For example, an individual would say, “We just looked and thought ‘shikata ga nai,’ it can’t be helped.” Consequently, there was rarely a resource included in the section where the phrase was expressed. Overall, of all the coping strategies only Compartmentalization had fewer resources associated with it than Stoicism (and this may simply have been a result of small sample size or that it was not mentioned frequently).

5.2 Limitations

Although this research provides valuable insight into the coping strategy and resource use of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, it would be appropriate to acknowledge some of the possible limitations of the study as well. To begin, while there have been a number of books written about the internment of the Japanese in Canada, there were a limited number of biographical narratives available in English for analysis. All the narratives used for this analysis were written in English, with eight of them being translated from Japanese to English (Note: Translations were not done by researchers in this study). There were roughly 15 other narratives available for analysis, but not used in this study.
because they were written entirely in Japanese. Consequently, there is a potential source of bias in this analysis because the narratives written in Japanese were not included, and because there is the potential that some of the intended meanings of the translated narratives may have been lost during translation. Also, the narratives had to have been published. Those who did not have the ability and/or resources to write their autobiographies may have experienced the events of the internment differently from those included in the analysis.

Another potential limitation is that the narratives are recollections which reflect what the person wants to tell about the past, which may not tell the entire story. This is more of a problem if the themes in the narratives are being assessed qualitatively; but in thematic content analysis, a method of analyzing qualitative data quantitatively (such as in this study), the same issues do not arise. In this type of research, the data are not being analyzed to make judgments about what was more effective or less, but rather to paint a picture about what was going on during that time (i.e., what coping strategy was being used).

Finally, an additional related issue is that many of the details surrounding events that transpired a long time ago may have been remembered incorrectly when the authors wrote their narratives years later. All but eight of the narratives were written years after the war, and there is the potential that certain details may have been inaccurately included or even omitted. However, while the possibility exists that certain information may have been embellished or lost in the narratives, as was discussed earlier, research has been done that has found that the historical writings of Japanese Canadians have been fairly accurate in portraying what actually took place (e.g., Ayukawa & Imada, 1990; Sugiman, 2004).
5.3 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to gain further understanding into the concepts of coping and resources used by Japanese Canadians during their internment in World War II. Using McCubbin and Patterson's (1983) Double ABCX model as a theoretical framework, the analysis of 69 Japanese Canadian narratives has provided additional insight into these areas of research (coping and resources).

Support for the Double ABCX model can be garnered from the results of this study which indicate a distinct connection between coping and resources (bB factor). Previous research has generally assumed a link between these two concepts, but until this study, no one had established such a link. Specific resources were associated with certain coping strategies. Implications from these findings are that practitioners and/or counsellors could help individuals identify specific available resources and then help that individual identify ways to cope with their challenges based on the resources they have. For example, if an individual identifies that they have a lot of environmental resources available to them, but very few human or economic resources, then practitioners or counsellors could encourage the individual to focus on Seeking Social Support as a means to cope.

Further research could be done to identify even more clearly which specific subcategories of these three resource categories (i.e., Human, Economic, and Environmental) are related to the coping strategies. In doing so, researchers may be able to help individuals pinpoint precisely which specific human, economic, or environmental resources may be useful to them to successfully cope with a situation.

This research lends credence to the value of narratives as a source of data. Using existing narratives allows researchers to analyze information about an event that occurred a
long time ago, and to do so in a non-intrusive manner. The published narratives provided a
wealth of data about the lives and situations of Japanese Canadian internees, who for a
variety of reasons (e.g., death, illness, age, etc.), could no longer provide the information
through interviews and questionnaires.

In addition, this study provides options as to how to code narratives of varying
lengths. Two different methods were used, the “% Use” approach, and the “% of
Individuals” approach. The “% Use” method looked at the percentage of time a certain
individual used a specific coping strategy, while the “% of Individuals” method looked at
whether or not a specific coping strategy was used by an individual. Results show that for
the most part, both strategies produce similar findings. However, minor discrepancies
between the two methods do occur (e.g., Nisei’s more frequent use of Stoicism in the “% 
Use” method as compared to their infrequent use of it using the “% of Individuals” method).
This would suggest that researchers could use both methods as a possible test of reliability.

Another methodological contribution was the analysis of data comparing long narratives
alone or with a combination of long and one or two page narratives. Analysis using these two
different approaches showed that most of the findings were consistent for both methods.
This lends support to the feasibility of incorporating narratives of all lengths.

This study provided further understanding about the differences between the Issei and
Nisei. Like the link between resources and coping, there has been a prevailing belief
amongst the Japanese Canadian community that there are distinct differences between the
Issei and Nisei; however, very little research has been able to support these beliefs. This
study did find that the Issei and Nisei had distinctly different strategies for coping with the
challenges of the internment.
This research offers some additional methodological contributions as well. Research on resources was done using a classification schema that had never been used before. Although the classification schema itself had several limitations, it was successful in breaking the various resources mentioned in the narratives into a number of different subcategories. These categories provide researchers the ability to see what specific resources are prominent for individuals/families, and, as is the case with this study, see how and which resources are related to other concepts, such as coping.

Finally, this study also addresses questions about the possibility of additional coping strategies. Results from this study indicate that the Japanese used Stoicism (shikata ga nai) as a means to cope with their challenges. Stoicism has not been previously used in similar studies looking at coping strategies. The frequent use of this strategy suggests that there are perhaps certain coping strategies that could also be included. This finding also can be beneficial to practitioners who work with Japanese Canadians. By understanding that this strategy is commonly used by the Japanese, practitioners may be able to provide more sensitive advice for Japanese families. Even amongst different generations of Japanese Canadians, it may be useful for practitioners to understand how the Issei react to certain stressors as opposed to Nisei or Sansei. In the Japanese Canadian community itself, the Issei’s apparent use of Stoicism (shikata ga nai) has been a source of conflict for the younger generations (e.g., redress efforts – Makabe, 1998; Miki, 2004).

5.4 Further Research

Findings from this study raise several questions and issues that could be explored in further research. Firstly, this study only included one third generation Japanese Canadian (Sansei). Makabe (1998) argues that the Sansei have a unique identity that is distinctly
different from both the Issei and Nisei. Future research could build on the generational differences found in this study, to see if there are any differences if the Sansei were also included.

Secondly, a revised version of the resource classification schema could be created to alleviate some of the boundary ambiguity issues that arose during this study. Additional categories could be added and/or established categories could be separated further (e.g., Social Organizations → Family, Friends, etc.). These revisions could provide more in-depth knowledge of resources and their use by individuals as they cope with a crisis.

Thirdly, further research could be done looking at the resources and coping strategies of Japanese Canadians around the time of the internment based on specific time periods (i.e., Pre War, During the War, and Post War). This research could assess whether or not the coping strategies used by Japanese Canadians changed over the course of time, and it could also provide insight into what resources were available or lost during that same time period. Suedfeld et al. (1997) found that Holocaust survivors tended to use different coping strategies over time. An analysis of Japanese Canadians would not only provide a comparison group for data collected on the Holocaust survivors, but would also help researchers understand the role of time in both coping and resource use.

Finally, the methodology used in this study could be applied with members of other groups who have written narratives or been interviewed about their experiences. Understanding how other groups (e.g., Rwandans, North Koreans, Sudanese, etc.) have dealt or are dealing with the challenges they face, may help practitioners be better prepared to provide appropriate assistance. Findings from this study also raise issues about sex and generational differences that should be considered when dealing with these other groups.
REFERENCES


Appendix A. Coping Strategy Analysis Tables – Additional Analysis Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<td>4. Accept Responsibility</td>
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<td>12.5%</td>
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<td>8. Seeking Social Support</td>
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<td>12. Luck</td>
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**p < .05, ***p < .01.
Table 2. Coping Strategies Used Overall and by Sex and by Generation (% Use—22 Longer Narratives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td>Issei</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
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Coping Strategy | Mean (SD) | Mean (SD) |
----------------|-----------|-----------|
Confrontation   | 8.4 (8.4) | 6.9 (9.3) |
Distancing      | 7.6 (7.1) | 6.7 (7.5) |
Self-Control    | 4.2 (4.8) | 3.9 (5.8) |
Accept Responsibility | 2.8 (2.9) | 3.2 (3.2) |
Escape/Avoidance | 1.1 (1.1) | 1.6 (1.7) |
Planful Problem Solving | 1.5 (1.5) | 1.0 (1.0) |
Positive Reappraisal | 2.0 (2.0) | 2.0 (2.0) |
Seeking Social Support | 3.3 (3.3) | 4.0 (4.0) |
Endurance/Obedience/Effort | 3.2 (3.2) | 3.3 (3.3) |
Denial | 2.0 (2.0) | 1.9 (2.0) |
Compartmentalization | 2.0 (2.0) | 2.0 (2.0) |
Luck | 1.0 (1.0) | 0.9 (1.0) |
Religion/Supernatural | 3.2 (3.2) | 3.0 (3.0) |
Stoicism—"shikata ga nai" | 2.0 (2.0) | 2.0 (2.0) |

*p < .05  **p < .01
<table>
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<th>Table 3: Coping Strategies Used Overall and by Sex and by Generation (% of Individuals – 22 Longer Narratives)</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<th>Issei</th>
<th>Nisei</th>
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<td>13. Religion/Supernatural</td>
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<td>14. Stoicism—“shikataganai”</td>
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*p < .05 **p < .01