

ACCULTURATION AND VALUE CHANGE: CHINESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the personal value systems of Chinese women immigrants in the process of adjusting to Canadian culture. Using a variant of Kelly's (1955) Repertory grid methodology, fifteen Hong Kong immigrants to Vancouver, British Columbia provided six individual conflict situations. For each situation, two options were elicited which defined the conflict, resulting in twelve options for each person. A personal value construct (bipolar concept such as loyal/disloyal) was elicited from each option by asking for the major value in its favor. Using a 7-point scale, subjects then rated their individual options on their twelve individual value constructs. They also rated their options on six supplied constructs concerning cultural identity, personal identity and emotionality. A Principal Component analysis was conducted on each grid separately, including only the twelve elicited constructs. The constructs loading highest on the first principal component were assessed for a common core of meaning and given a superordinate theme which reflected this meaning. The second principal component was treated in the same fashion. In the second interview, each subject re-rated the situational options on the first and the

second superordinate themes, and was also asked to comment on the validity of the themes and the way constructs were grouped. Option scores on the first and the second components were then correlated with option ratings on the supplied constructs and on the superordinate themes. The results suggest that both the first and the second components are psychologically meaningful. Aside from a tendency for Chinese and Western identity to conflict on the first component, the findings suggest no orderly group portrait of construct organization within the process of acculturation. Individual case studies indicate pervasive value conflict in ordinary situations, with six reasonably distinct strategies of managing conflict, inferable from the organization of constructs. They are: (a) a reaction against Chinese identity, (b) a realignment with peripheral values, (c) the cultivation of a core personal identity, (d) compartmentalization, (e) an affirmation of Chinese identity, and (f) position expansion against Chinese identity.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The specific problems and needs of immigrant women from the Third World and especially Pacific Rim countries are a much neglected area in cross-cultural research.

Previous studies on Chinese immigrants, conducted almost exclusively in the United States, have dealt primarily with demographic, historical or political problems. Few studies have focused on the psychological aspects of immigrant adjustment and little, if any, attention has been paid to the special problems facing immigrant women.

The need for such a study becomes evident when one considers the traditional place of women in Chinese society, living a sheltered existence relative to that of women in Canadian society. A Chinese immigrant woman moves from a society in which her values and roles are defined within culturally narrow limits to a society in which these are redefined within far broader limits. At home, her role is primarily defined as a mother, wife and daughter; abroad this can be expanded to include social, educational and work roles, and many others. Thus, in addition to the problems of adjustment faced by all immigrants (e.g., speaking a new language, unfamiliar customs and rules of

conduct, feelings of being uprooted), the Chinese woman is now confronted with radical changes in moral and ethical values, life-role perceptions and the psychological pressures and conflicts that accompany such changes.

For this reason, a specific examination of the process of acculturation that Chinese immigrant women undergo is long overdue. The present dissertation, which focuses on Chinese immigrant women in Canada, attempts to investigate systematically the impact of acculturation and the related issue of psychological adjustment.

The theoretical base underlying the present investigation is largely drawn from the work of George A. Kelly (1955), particularly the notion of a personal construct system with core and peripheral subsystems. Superordinate within each self-construct system are the core constructs which define a person's identity. The essence of acculturation is regarded here as value/construct change, specially the centrally involved values. The aim of this study is to examine the personal value systems of individuals in transition, to explore the structure and content of this value organization in relation to value conflict, identity and emotionality. The investigation also provides the opportunity to assess the Repertory grid as a cross-cultural methodology. This method allows one to identify and measure value conflict.

within the construing of the adjusting person and to study which values are opposed, affirmed or rejected.

This dissertation begins with an extensive review of the literature on acculturation of Chinese immigrants in North America with emphasis on women and value change. Previous research and methodologies will be critically assessed. Since the Repertory grid is the main tool of investigation, its theoretical background will be described to give an orientation to the present method, which involves individual case studies of fifteen women immigrants from Hong Kong.

This study is intended to contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon of acculturation, the frame of reference of a specific minority group and the problems that arise from adjustment. In view of the growing ethnic diversity and multicultural nature of Canadian society, this research can lead to important practical applications, especially in the field of counselling and helping immigrant women integrate into society, to find new ways of building a bridge between the life they have left and the one on which they are embarking.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

Acculturation

Acculturation is a nebulous term which has been approached from different perspectives in social sciences.

As a result of the appointment of a subcommittee on acculturation in the Social Science Research Council in the mid 1930s, acculturation was defined as an area of study within the domain of cultural anthropology dealing with "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either, or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149).

Early research on acculturation was conducted within the field of anthropology, mostly within the framework of a descriptive, natural history tradition (Keesing, 1956). Also, most studies focused on the acculturation of third world nations to industrialized western societies (Siegel, 1955).

In a 1979 review on acculturation, Kim stated that sociologists have attempted to distinguish between acculturation and assimilation. For example, Gordon (1964) viewed acculturation as a limited form of assimilation, a

limited convergence toward the sociocultural mainstreams of the host country. Most sociological studies have focused on issues relating to race relations, minority group prejudice (Spiro, 1955), social status of ethnic groups and consequences of minority group membership (Berry, 1951; Marden, 1952).

Olmedo (1979) stated that the recent trends of acculturation research included: (a) a shift toward a greater emphasis on ethnicity, or ethnic identity, as represented in attempts to understand ethnic groups in their own terms rather than by contrasting them with other cultures or reference groups (Barth, 1969), (b) a shift in the target cultures of interest to include European ethnic groups (Chance, 1965), Asians (Sue, 1977), Hispanics (Clark, Kaufman, & Pierce, 1976), and (c) an increased emphasis on methodological issues, particularly in the definition and measurement of acculturation and ethnic identity (Szapocznik, 1975; Padilla, 1980).

In this study, no distinction is made between the terms "acculturation" and "assimilation," I have used them interchangeably to denote the adjustment process of immigrants to the host culture as a result of cross-cultural contact. Also, the essence of acculturation is considered as value change, particularly the centrally involved values.

Acculturation of Chinese Immigrants

Influenced by the various theories of anthropology, sociology and psychology, research on acculturation of Chinese immigrants in North America has explored several major areas: family life (Hayner & Reynolds, 1937; Lee, 1956, 1960; Lyman, 1968; Abbott, 1970); cultural values and attitudes (Kuo & Lin, 1977; Yao, 1979); child-rearing (Sollenberger, 1968; Kriger & Kroes, 1972); mental illness and culture conflict (Sommers, 1960; Sue & Sue, 1972; Bourne, 1975; Sue, Wagner, Marguillis, & Lew, 1976); dating and courtship (Huang, 1965; Weiss, 1970); interracial marriage (Beaudry, 1966); sex roles (Fong & Peskin, 1969); interpersonal behavior and social orientation (Abel & Hsu, 1949; Fong, 1965); ethnic identity (Weisman, Snadomsky, & Gannon, 1972; Sung, 1977); and social mobility (Tan, 1968; Kitano & Sue, 1973; Hong, 1976).

An attempt is made here to present some of the major findings with particular emphasis on value change and women. The credibility of such findings will be examined in the next chapter.

Early studies focused mainly on labourers and businessmen who migrated for economic or political reasons. With the influx of new immigrants, later studies concentrated more on professionals and college students who came either as immigrants or as students who decided to

stay permanently after graduation. In interpreting such results, one must take into account the variables of socio-economic status, education, occupation and age which can lead to differing degrees of acculturation.

Early studies (Hayner & Reynolds, 1937; Lee, 1956, 1960; Lyman, 1968) revealed significant demographic, descriptive and historical data regarding first settlers. It appeared that these settlers had a very insulated lifestyle with minimal contact with the host culture. The family constituted the center of their lives, with some dependence on community ethnic organizations to fulfill social and recreational needs. Traditional roles and values were strictly adhered to. "The traditional idea of a good husband is that of a good provider. He earns the money and he also spends it. He is expected to be kind and sympathetic, but if he is not, the wife must be tolerant and forbearing. A good wife in the ideology of the conservative Chinese of America spends very little money and raises as many children as possible--sons, not daughters" (Hayner & Reynolds, 1937, p. 633). Similar values and dependence on the husband regarding everyday matters were also noted by Lee (1956, 1960). Lyman (1968) observed that except for occasional visits to the community, the Chinese woman led a very secluded life, "no virtuous and respectable Chinese woman, whether married or

single is even permitted to show herself in public" (p. 325). Threat of assimilation was experienced primarily in intergenerational conflicts; parents feared the independence of children might affect the cohesion of the family.

Abbott (1970) explored the psychosocial functioning and changing values of Chinese immigrants with the California Psychological Inventory. Test results indicated that the majority of subjects tended to be socially nonassertive and indirect; they showed considerable self-restraint, unease in group, and preferred collectivity versus individuality. Furthermore, Abbott (1976) reviewed studies on the Chinese personality and extracted two key components: intragroup dependency and self-restraint, and holistic perception of phenomena as wholes rather than as parts. Abbott stated that deference, low individualism and indirect approach might be explained by the emphasis on subordination of self to family and group, and the attempt to respond to cultural norms of harmony and collectivity. This observation was supported by studies (Fenz & Arkoff, 1962; Meade, 1970; Sue & Kirk, 1972) which showed that in comparison to Caucasian Americans, Chinese Americans manifested greater deference, abasement, and external locus of control.

Young (1972) conducted informal interviews to

investigate family patterns and values among Chinese Americans. Specific values relating to success, expenditure, family system and interethnic relations were examined. Responses indicated strong family orientation and delayed gratification in attitudes toward work, education, investment and goals. Social contacts within one's ethnic group were considered more meaningful. However, differences concerning the ideal family system were noted; some had rejected the traditional extended family in favor of the North American pattern of the nuclear family.

Kuo and Lin (1977) and Yao (1979) examined the assimilation of contemporary immigrants, most of whom were well educated. They found a changing value system, conservative in some areas, but liberal in others. Results suggested the preservation of traditional values such as parental authority, filial piety, and affection for Chinese culture and identity. However, in these studies, attitude toward the woman's traditionally passive role appeared to have changed. There was an increasing emphasis on husband-wife relations and a greater recognition of the equality of woman, particularly in the wife's role in decision making and the pursuit of a career.

The importance of parental authority was further supported by studies in child-rearing (Sollenberger, 1968;

Kruger & Kroes, 1972). From interview data, Sollenberger (1968) found that Chinese parents were much stricter in controlling their children's aggressive behavior than Americans; emphasis was placed on traditional behavior of gentleness, manners and willingness to conform. Kruger and Kroes (1972) compared Chinese mothers with Jewish and Protestant mothers; it seemed that Chinese mothers placed a high value on strictness and control of behavior.

The emphasis on parental authority was also illustrated by studies on mental illness and culture conflict, particularly conflict with the parent generation (Sommers, 1960; Sue & Sue, 1972; Bourne, 1975). The authoritarian nature of the parent-child relation was based on the view that "one should serve one's parents as one serves heaven" (Sommers, 1960, p. 637). It appeared that intergenerational conflict was heightened by migration. "Most immigrant parents are likely to stress more rigidly their Old World traditions in a new country than in their native land, to protect themselves in their strange and insecure environment" (Sommers, 1960, p. 643), whereas the children might feel conflicts between their identification with parents on the one hand and with peers on the other. Also, these immigrant children experienced a great deal of pressure from parents to succeed academically. "It was often necessary for the family to invest all of its

resources in the education of one's individual, usually the oldest son. The pressure both to justify his selection and to fulfill the filial role by bringing honour to the family was considerable" (Bourne, 1975, p. 273). Research findings indicated that parental authority was highly valued among many Chinese immigrants.

In the area of interpersonal social functioning, changes parallel to that of the American mode of expression were suggested (Abel & Hsu, 1949; Fong, 1965; Yao, 1979). On the basis of the Rorschach data, Abel and Hsu (1949) found greater spontaneity and emotional expressiveness from American-born Chinese than native-born Chinese. Fong (1965) used the Stick Figures Test to examine the individual's interpersonal perception of the expressive manner of American culture. It appeared that the Chinese were acquiring a psychological disposition to perceive social gestures as Americans did. Yao (1979) also observed that contemporary immigrants had become more assertive and competitive and the traditional values of inconspicuousness and fatalism had diminished.

Such findings suggest that, in terms of interpersonal functioning, cross-cultural contact for Chinese immigrants appeared to have an effect of increased emotional expression and openness versus self-control and reticence. Also, understanding of and sensitivity to American

behavioral norms seemed to have developed.

The overall impression indicates that with increased exposure to and contact with another culture, traditional values appear to change, the degree varying according to the specific values involved. Results showed that family values such as parental authority, control and filial obligations were most resistant to change. Behaviorally, Chinese immigrants appeared to have moved toward greater spontaneity and assertiveness.

However, when we examine the impact of acculturation on sex roles and heterosexual relations, we begin to find a significant difference in reaction between immigrant men and women. A Rorschach study (Abel & Hsu, 1949) indicated that females had "greater freedom in creative productivity and emotional expressiveness" than males (p. 301). Though conflict was suggested by oversensitivity, doubt and guilt, females appeared to be better adjusted. Males, on the other hand, seemed to have a constricted emotional control: anxiety regarding sex roles and unresolved feelings of rebellion.

From a descriptive longitudinal study on innovative dating and courtship patterns of Chinese students, Huang (1956) found a differential degree of acculturation between the sexes. Females, on the whole, appeared to be more sensitive to acculturation and more ready to accept the

American ideal of sexual equality. Males, however, concentrated on superficial imitation of American culture and behavior. Weiss (1970) revealed that acculturation caused many Chinese females to denigrate their male counterparts as inhibited, passive and lacking in sexual attractiveness. Females appeared to have internalized the dominant Caucasian dating values to a greater extent than males, and to have adjusted to a greater extent to the new social customs. Fong and Peskin's (1969) study of sex roles further illustrated the potential strain in male/female relations. On the California Psychological Inventory, females expressed more conflicts than males over social norms and role expectations, as suggested by lowered scores on Socialization and Good Impression scales. Weisman, Snadomsky and Gannon (1972) also suggested a stronger influence of oriental cultural values among Chinese males than among Chinese females.

In terms of interracial marriage among Chinese and Japanese, recent data indicated an increasing trend for interracial marriage to occur predominantly among females (Sue & Morishima, 1982).

In my view, these results point toward a significant difference in the process of acculturation among Chinese immigrant women from that among men, a difference rooted in their relative positions within the traditional Chinese

family hierarchy. Because the Chinese woman begins from a position of subordination to her male relations, her exposure to Western values and social norms may force her to undergo a far more radical reappraisal of her traditional views and outlook than is the case with her male counterpart.

The Chinese male can adapt himself to the more superficial aspects of Western culture without feeling significant pressure to alter fundamentally his traditional Chinese values based on his dominant position within the family.

The Chinese female cannot make such an easy adaptation. Obviously, if she remains relatively isolated and inoculated from Western values and influences, she may continue to accept her subordinate position. But to the extent that she attempts to bridge the gap between her old and her new way of life, her position becomes increasingly problematic precisely because Western values place such an emphasis on the equality of men and women within the family and society at large. Assuming that the immigrant woman interacts with her new society only as a student or a member of the workforce, she will immediately confront a set of values in conflict with those she has traditionally held. More importantly, these new values may challenge her to alter her position within the traditional Chinese family

structure. Thus, even if she only attends university classes, she will surely meet women from widely diverse backgrounds (e.g., professionals, re-entry women, married or divorced women, single mothers, etc.), whose very life experiences may create for her role models conflicting with her traditional values. This viewpoint is confirmed by the only study of the acculturation and emotional adjustment of Chinese women (Chang, 1980). This study found that, as Chinese women became more acculturated, there was a low correlation between traditional values (e.g., obedience to parents, reserved behavior, thriftiness, etc.) and current values (e.g., sociability, independence, competence, affection, ambition).

In the long run, of course, the immigrant Chinese man may also feel the impact of continued exposure to Western values. In the first few postimmigration years however, he can pursue his professional or academic goals without feeling any direct challenge to his traditional dominant position within the family. (Under certain circumstances, he may even feel affirmed in his position of dominance within the family structure, given the fact that "male chauvinism" continues to be a widely held value among some North American males.) In sum, the impact of Western values seems to be more immediate and the contrast with Chinese values more striking for the immigrant woman than

for the man.

Value as a Problem

Value has been defined in many different ways. Kluckhohn (1952) defines value as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual... of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of behavior" (p. 395). Kessel and McBrearty (1967) state that values are standards of desirability involving the cognitive, affective and directive elements of the evaluative process. Such standards of desirability are considered in terms of good-bad, right-wrong, appropriate-inappropriate.

Wilson (1979) further states that values provide criteria by which goals are chosen, indicating that something ought to be preferred. They deal with modes of conduct (instrumental values) and end-states of existence (terminal values) in which they serve as guides, helping individuals size up significant aspects of the environment by giving these aspects meaning. Values also help an individual to get along with others by serving as standards for one's concept of oneself.

Hence, value serves a variety of functions. It gives a sense of direction and purpose to living; it provides a frame of reference for understanding oneself and one's

environment; it affirms one's identity, roles and status; it gives meaning and consistency to interpersonal relations. Shared values can provide specific rules of conduct, help one to predict expectations and responses of others and to behave meaningfully oneself.

Immigrants moving from one culture to another bring with them a set of values, attitudes and beliefs which is a reflection of childhood socialization. "Every person experiences the world through his or her culturally influenced values, assumptions and beliefs" (Adler, 1975, p. 14). In interacting with the new cultural environment, immigrants experience and construct their world through this previously established frame of reference. However, if the host culture is markedly dissimilar to the culture of origin, there will be an influx of new and diverse stimuli and information, and consequently differences in norms, expectations, and acceptable behavior. Such differences can be partially or totally inconsistent with the immigrants' typical way of perceiving and valuing (Adler, 1975).

Value presents a problem when immigrants who have been consistently affirmed in their values and identity, find themselves in a new environment where they are consistently invalidated for their formerly appropriate value systems. Much of the meaning, order and direction of their lives can

be lost through the disconfirmation or reduction of values which were once formed to deal with a now absent set of roles and relationships (McCoy, 1981b).

Value then becomes a problem if the "frames for endowing life with meaning [are] subtly transformed into cages in which people endure what they cannot escape" (Cochran, 1978, p. 19). The need for change becomes evident as a response to the perceived differences, particularly when traditional ideas, values and modes of behavior are experienced as inappropriate or inadequate to functioning in a different cultural environment.

With the encroachment of Western influence, the Chinese immigrant woman may find her values and roles fully validated within her family and ethnic enclave. But once she steps outside of such boundaries, into a work, educational or social setting, with consistent and prolonged interaction with Westerners, her basic values may be partially or totally invalidated.

Thus, with acculturation, she is faced with the possibility of expanding and revising her values and identity, but concomitantly, with the feeling of regret and loss of her former security and traditional emotional bonds.

If our conception of the particular problems faced by Chinese women in acculturation is correct, then an

understanding of their starting point in this process (i.e., their traditional system of values) is of crucial importance to the study of this entire process.

Chinese versus Western Values

The term "Chinese" needs clarification. In this study, I am specifically concerned with the adjustment of immigrants from the Hong Kong region, though I feel that the results may have applications, to varying degrees, for immigrants from Mainland China or Taiwan.

Abbott (1970) reviewed the history of Chinese philosophy in order to understand its value system. He stated that "the Chinese traditionally view their world as being in a constant harmonious movement" (p. 47). Harmony is the key concept in all relationships. Concern for other people becomes the expression of harmony in all area of human relationships. Hsu (1971) also stated that the Chinese conception of human being (Jen) is based on the individual's transaction with other people. The emphasis is on interpersonal transaction, "how it fits or fails to fit the interpersonal standards of society and culture" (Hsu, 1971, p. 29). A basic assumption of such a world view and concept of human being is other- or group-orientedness and the individual's role in maintaining harmony and congruity.

Within this orientation, the family is the most important system of relationships and "all values are determined by reference to the maintenance, continuity and function of the family group" (Lee, 1953, p. 272). Family solidarity is highly valued. Individual feelings and behaviors are sacrificed to further the welfare, pride and reputation of the family. The individual can bring credit or disgrace to the entire family. "It is the feeling of 'we' (not 'I' as in the family of the Western world), which is cherished, cultivated and finally incorporated in the personality of the grown-up adults... A Chinese does not live for himself and for himself alone. He is the son of his parents, the descendant of his ancestors, the potential father of his children, and the pillar of the family" (Lee, 1953, p. 253).

Feelings of shame and guilt are instilled during socialization (Hu, 1944), and there is a strong appeal to gratitude and responsibility. In order to maintain harmony, stringent self-control is practised and reinforced. Within such a family, the roles are rigidly prescribed by age, sex and generational status. The father-son relationship is the central relationship in the family and is viewed as a link to posterity (Lang, 1946; Levy, 1949; Anshen, 1959; Fong, 1973). The birth of a son is preferable to that of a daughter (Fujitomi & Wong,

1976).

This stress on the male lineage has profound implications for the subjugation and devaluation of women. The role of women is aptly conveyed by the popular code of feminine ethics, "the three obediences," which states that "a woman is to obey her father at home, her husband after the marriage, and her eldest son after the death of her husband." At an early age, girls are made aware that they will sooner or later be married out of the family. Often daughters are referred to as "goods [on] which one loses one's capital" (Baker, 1979, p. 41), because all the effort invested in raising a daughter is handed over to the husband's family when she marries. The whole training of the daughter is aimed at fitting her to be a wife, mother and worker for the husband's family. "Lack of learning is a woman's virtue" and educational opportunities are often denied (Levy, 1949; Fried, 1953; Wright, 1964; Das & Bardis, 1979; Baker, 1979).

To this point, we have discussed the nature of Chinese values as they are reflected in the literature, philosophy and history of China. These values are not only of historical, but also of contemporary social and psychological significance. That they persist to influence the outlook of present-day Chinese men and women is clearly demonstrated by a series of recent studies in Hong Kong.

(Liu, 1964; Stoodley, 1967; Dawson, Law, Leung, & Whitney, 1971; Podmore & Chaney, 1973, 1974; Harding, 1978).

Liu (1964) used an adaptation of Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck value-orientation scale to establish that, although there were significant value differences (many of which could be accounted for by differences in age, education and social status), nonetheless "strong vestiges of the Confucian heritage persist to the present day" (p. 55). He found a marked consensus among Hong Kong teenagers and parents that, although there was a strong trend toward individualism and "future" orientation, the traditional views regarding family cohesiveness, responsibility toward elders, and cultural rituals still had substantial support.

Hong Kong parents and youths are in a gradual process of change, as demonstrated in their attitudes toward parental authority, marital choice and relations. The Stoodley (1967) study, supported by Podmore and Chaney (1974), indicated the emergence of a variant of the conjugal family (free choice of marriage, wife's role in decision making and financial responsibility) with the coexistence of apparently contradictory norms: strong support and respect for parents; deference to parental wishes with some recently developed forms of negotiation and accommodation. The persistence of parental influence

was further demonstrated by Podmore and Chaney's (1973) study on the occupational choice of young Hong Kong adults.

Dawson, Law, Leung, and Whitney (1971) examined a traditional-modern attitude change model with the use of the Galvanic Skin Response (GSR) measurement of important versus unimportant Chinese concepts. They found that the more highly valued Confucian concepts were less vulnerable to induced pressures to change in a modern direction, were associated with higher attitudinal conflict, and involved higher GSR arousal.

Harding (1978) explored the centrality of moral values in Chinese and Western subjects by using the Repertory grid. In the Western group, there was more emphasis on the individual per se. In the Chinese group, self-respect was in close conjunction with social harmony and respect from and for others. The Chinese, Harding noted, used constructs such as "respect by others," "possibility of being disgraced," "avoids confrontation," "aware of others' responses to myself." The Westerners favored such constructs as "accepts self," "obligation to self," "importance of individual needs," etc. Also, distance between social self and ideal self was significantly smaller among Chinese than among Westerners. Emotions such as guilt and shame were strongly associated with core

Chinese values.

Possible Effects of Value Conflict

These and other works (Ho, 1976; Tinloy, 1978) leave little doubt that traditional Chinese values of filial piety, self-control, social harmony, shame and guilt still exert considerable influence on both Chinese men and women. And yet, it seems evident to me that within this framework of traditional values, men and women find themselves in distinctly different positions. The dominant position of the male and the dominated position of the female are considered crucial in maintaining that social and familial harmony on which the Chinese place so much emphasis (Lang, 1946; Baker, 1979). But let us now assume that these immigrants are suddenly exposed to a vastly different cultural environment, one which stresses individualism, autonomy, emotional expression, competitiveness, etc.

Park (1928) comments that with migration "the cake of custom is broken and the individual is freed for new enterprises and for new associations. One of the consequences of migration is to create a situation in which the same individual--who may or may not be mixed blood--finds himself striving to live in two diverse cultural groups. This is the 'marginal man.' It is in the mind of that marginal man that conflicting cultures meet and fuse"

(p. 881).

But what of the "marginal woman"? Such a question is not beside the point, especially when one is dealing with a culture which rigidly distinguishes between men and women. Although both face similar experiences in their new country, each begins from a different point of development. The dominant position of the male does not necessarily mean that he has an advantage in acculturation. On the contrary, that very domination can act as a hindering factor, if he is reinforced in his traditional values. On the other hand, the dominated or subordinate position of the woman means that the process of acculturation she undergoes may be more difficult but also more wide-ranging and more profound in its impact.

At present we have no theoretical model of cultural transition which takes these differences into account. We do know from works such as those by Adler (1975), (which did not distinguish between men and women), that the immigrant may undergo different developmental stages in this process. An initial contact phase is followed by disintegration and confusion over individual identity, leading to a strong rejection of the host culture. Later, one may come to terms with the differences and similarities between the old and the new culture in order to create a synthesis, a new framework of meaning for life situations.

We also know that there may be different types of adjustment. Sue and Sue (1971) conceptualized three typological characters of Chinese Americans (again no distinction is made between male and female) experiencing value conflict:

1. The "traditionalists" who resist assimilation by maintaining loyalty to family responsibilities and by associating predominantly with other Chinese, thus insulating themselves from the influence of Western culture.

2. The "marginal men" who may become overwesternized in defiance of parental values. They may attempt to assimilate into the host society and define self-worth in terms of acceptance by Caucasians.

3. The "Asian Americans" who try to formulate a new identity by preserving Chinese values and reconcile viable aspects of their cultural heritage with the present situation.

None of these models, significant though they are, take into account the differences between Chinese men and women. Nor do they focus directly on acculturation and the process of value conflict and decision making within this defined context.

Do the values of Chinese women change or persist when they emigrate to a Western society? Which values are affirmed

and which are expanded, rejected or polarized in their process of adjustment? What are some of the personal reactions involved?

An in-depth exploration of these issues on an individual level can generate important information about these questions. In turn, this information can be useful in counselling and assisting the "marginal woman" in assuming a full and rewarding position in the mainstream of her new society.

In a field where so little is known, it is more important to seek the right questions rather than merely to pose questions of unknown merit. Accordingly, a major objective of this study is to use case studies to explore how immigrant women alter their construct systems in adjusting to a new culture. This exploration involves two aspects. First, and most important, each grid (Kelly, 1955) serves as a basis for a case study on how at least one woman construed her options. From this perspective, fifteen case studies are used to construct individual portraits of the acculturation experience.

Second, the situations themselves are a valuable source of information on the way conflict arises. Treated as a variant of Flanagan's (1954) Critical Incident Technique, these situations are grouped into categories to portray the different kinds of conflicts and decisions

involved in adjusting to a new country. Lastly, an attempt will be made to examine group patterns. These patterns can serve comparative purposes and provide an alternative perspective to the individual case studies.

Chapter III

Acculturation and Cross-Cultural Methodologies

Content and Methodology

As we have seen, many acculturation studies have explored topics such as family life, generational differences, cultural attitudes, child-rearing and sex roles; others have measured factors such as language, friends, religious affiliation, socioeconomic or occupational status as indicators of assimilation (Lai, 1971).

Examination of the content of such studies reveals that very few focus on values and value change. Values may be partially explored in a direct manner as part of a general study on family life (Abbott, 1970), attitudes (Kuo & Lin, 1977; Yao, 1979) or emotional adjustment (Chang, 1980). Another approach to values has been indirect. Values are inferred from test results obtained in the study of other variables, including social orientation (Fong, 1965), dating (Huang, 1956; Weiss, 1970), child-rearing (Sollenberger, 1968; Kriger & Kroes, 1972), and personality characteristics (Abel & Hsu, 1949; Sue & Kirk, 1972; Sue & Frank, 1973).

Furthermore, most studies were conducted on a general population, with no account taken of the distinction

between males and females, a factor of crucial significance to an exploration of values. Though there are general cultural values which apply to both men and women, some key values pertaining to their development and affecting the process of acculturation are clearly different. Such limitations in terms of content pose difficulties in understanding the adjustment experiences of the immigrant women.

In terms of methodology, most acculturation studies have utilized approaches involving primarily factors such as historical evidence, survey data, ethnographic observations and psychometric assessment.

Historical methods in earlier studies (Hayner & Reynolds, 1937; Lyman, 1968) rely heavily on documentary evidence, records and anecdotes for interpretation. These studies tend to look at different facets of the immigrants' lives. Values and their related changes are often inferred from the information gathered. Such an approach requires that the interpreter and the target share and agree upon the meaning of the behavior being investigated.

Anthropologically-oriented field work, particularly participant observation and interviews, have also been used (Sollenberger, 1968; Weiss, 1970). Although such ethnographic research gives a more complete picture of the immigrant's real life environment in terms of a

naturalistic setting, all such studies are hampered by severe limitations stemming from the observer's bias and unreliability, the subject's reactivity, the communication of interview material, and cultural equivalence of recording-coding procedures.

Thus, as one observer remarked about Weiss' study of Chinese dating behavior, "it is difficult to determine the extent to which his racial background and his expectations may have selectively influenced his subject sample and their responses" (Fong, 1973, p. 122). The experimenter's bias appears to be a liability in Sollengerger's study on child-rearing attitudes. The study may also be affected by the fact that some interviews were conducted by Western interviewers and some by Chinese translators. Again, within such an approach, values are investigated in an indirect fashion and are based on inferences from other findings.

Another method is survey research, mostly used in sociological studies (Lai, 1971; Kuo & Lin, 1977; Yao, 1979; Chang, 1980). Here, measurement tools such as questionnaires and, sometimes, interviews are used. Questionnaires are constructed to obtain standardized information from respondents such as, the percentage of respondents who hold certain cultural beliefs. Responses are often limited to Likert-type scales or forced-choice

replies. For example, in Kuo and Lin (1977), a questionnaire forms three distinctive indicators of Chinese-American centripetal tendencies; Yao's (1979) attitude survey examines extrinsic and intrinsic cultural traits; and in Chang (1980), an acculturation index of adjectives is developed to describe values of acculturated women.

Although survey research has provided "indispensable, basic information on the fundamental beliefs of a society, at a given moment" (Zavalloni, 1980, p. 100) and has probably indicated the direction of future research, further investigation is required to obtain greater specificity of the variables involved. An obvious limitation, Zavalloni (1980) notes, is the communality between the individual and the group as determined by the use of aggregate responses obtained from a sample of individuals and expressed through average frequencies. As a result, the response obtained may be superficial and restrictive in content, and the interpretation of such data could be "too speculative and always vulnerable to what Campbell (1969) calls 'rival hypotheses'" (Zavalloni, 1980, p. 99).

Most psychological acculturation studies are based on standardized personality and projective tests. Examples include the use of the California Psychological Inventory

in Abbott (1970) and Fong and Peskin (1969), the Stick Figures Test in Fong (1965), the Rorschach in Abel and Hsu (1949), the Nunnally's questionnaire in Sue, Wagner, Margullis and Lew (1976), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory in Sue and Sue (1974), the Omnibus Personality Inventory and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank in Sue and Kirk (1972) and Sue and Frank (1973).

Such psychometric assessment involves the presentation of stimuli material to the subjects and the measurement and interpretation of their responses according to certain standardized norms. Often, such tests are administered to the Chinese group, or, if a comparative approach is adopted, to several ethnic groups for comparison of test scores and inferences. Besides the numerous unresolved questions concerning personality testing, application of such instruments cross-culturally is often confounded by such problems as construct validity, culture-bound stimulus and norms, among other things. As Zavalloni (1980) states that most of these instruments measure imposed etic variables and comparison is methodologically indefensible.

Another source of material on acculturation is derived from the clinical approach (Sommers, 1960; Sue & Sue, 1972, 1973; Bourne, 1975). Mental health attitudes, problems of the client, and the clinical judgment of the therapist

constitute the basis of such data. Again, conflicts of values and identity are usually inferred from these case studies. And the solution to such conflicts, according to Sue and Sue (1971) and Sue (1977), lies in the development of a bicultural identity.

To summarize, previous research on the acculturation of Chinese immigrants has provided invaluable information concerning their adaptation to a different cultural environment. Although the content of these studies has been diverse and a variety of methodologies has been used (each methodology with its own strengths and weaknesses), the question of value change and conflict (particularly as regards women) has never been addressed directly or explored thoroughly.

It appears that the majority of studies on acculturation of Chinese immigrants has adopted an empirical or comparative approach primarily with the use of standardized psychological tests. It also appears that the underlying assumption of acculturation is measured by an Anglo-conformity model (Gordon, 1978) ranging on a dimension from ethnic to American, unacculturated to acculturated.

An alternative to the cross-cultural study of values would shift the study of the aggregate to that of the individual and, as noted by Zavolloni (1980), would include

idiosyncratic psychological processes, relationships among values, judgments and representations of the world, and the integration of new experiences within an existing cognitive structure.

In my assessment of research methodologies, the Repertory grid (Kelly, 1955) seems to be a viable alternative. The technique focuses on the clients' view of the world in their own terms rather than on the practice of categorizing them in terms of a standard professional conceptual framework (Bannister, 1965). "It recommends itself primarily because it leads us away from the practice of trying to locate [clients] on our own personal and professional dimensions towards the practice of initially scanning those dimensions on which the [client] locates us and the rest of the world with which he is confronted" (Bannister, 1965, p. 981).

Personal Construct Theory

The theoretical base underlying the Repertory grid is largely derived from the work of G. A. Kelly (1955) on Personal Construct theory. The following discussion is by no means an exhaustive analysis of Kelly's theory. Rather, attention is focused on those parts of his theory that are relevant to the present investigation.

This theory is based on the conception of human being as a scientist whose ultimate aim is to predict and to control his or her own world. This is accomplished by setting hypotheses, testing and revising them.

Inherent in this theory is the assumption that, although reality is assumed to exist, individuals respond to reality only as they see and interpret it. Hence, individuals develop their unique and idiosyncratic framework of interpreting and making sense of events and experiences. This framework is the personal construct system, and each new event or experience is construed or interpreted in relation to this existing system. Using their constructs as guides or "transparent patterns or templates" (Kelly, 1955, p. 8), individuals can anticipate and predict events and integrate this knowledge within an already established meaningful system.

Within such a model, it is assumed that "all of our present interpretations of the universe are subject to revision or replacement" (Kelly, 1955, p. 15)--a position which Kelly terms constructive alternatism. This process takes place through construing and reconstruing. In construing (placing an interpretation), an individual notes features in a series of elements which characterizes some of the elements and are particularly uncharacteristic of others. Thus he erects constructs of similarity and

contrast. Both the similarity and the contrast are inherent in the same construct (Kelly, 1955). And the basic nature of a construct is the way in which some things are construed as being alike and yet different from others.

Since the present study is focused on the value system of the Chinese immigrant woman, the shaping of her identity as a result of acculturation, and the personal reactions involved, a clarification of some basic Kellian terms such as core and peripheral constructs, and some emotion-related constructs is in order.

A core construct is defined by its implications for other constructs. A core construct is maximally embedded in a construct system by virtue of numerous strong relations. A more peripheral construct is more minimally embedded by virtue of fewer and weaker relations to other constructs. In this theoretical viewpoint, meaning is relational, and the meaningfulness of a construct is partially a function of the extent of its relations to other constructs (Hinkle, 1965). "Core constructs are those which govern a person's maintenance processes--that is, those by which he maintains his identity and existence" (Kelly, 1955, p. 482). Stefan (1977) defines core constructs in terms of their superordinancy; they are "those constructs in the structure which identify a pattern

or identity for a loose grouping of constructs....by which the construing individual comes to posit an identity or meaning to his behavior" (p. 282). Stefan further proposes to look at the self as a basic core identity, which can be elaborated, rather than to hold a view that one is continually in the process of structuring a new and updated set of core constructs. Thus, as observed by various theorists, core constructs are basic to the maintenance of personal identity, are implicated in other constructs and more resistant to change. Peripheral constructs occupy a less central position and are those which can be altered without serious modification of the core structure. In this study, core and peripheral constructs are defined in terms of their relative centrality in the system.

In the process of expanding or revising one's constructs, emotions such as guilt or threat are experienced. Such emotion-related constructs convey "the idea that there is a certain awareness of the fate of part or all of the construct system being at stake" (McCoy, 1977, p. 104). Here we will clarify guilt and bewilderment which are directly related to this study.

Guilt is the perception of one's apparent dislodgement from one's core role structure. Within one's core role structure there are those frames which enable one to

predict and control the essential interactions of oneself with other persons and with societal groups (Kelly, 1955). Guilt is experienced when one perceives oneself as not fulfilling one's core role which maintains the self as an integral being.

Bewilderment is an awareness of imminent comprehensive change in non-core structure.. When all the world seems topsyturvey, when things are curiouser and curiouser, but self constructs have not been invalidated, bewilderment describes the resulting sense of precariousness (McCoy, 1977). In the present context, bewilderment implies reactions such as confusion and uncertainty.

Repertory Grid

Kelly devised the Repertory grid as a method for exploring the individual's construct system. Its primary concern is to conceptualize and to elucidate the subjective frame of reference of individuals in order to gain access to their outlook on the world, how they organize events and anticipate experiences. It also taps the individual's view of the self and of others, and the options and limitations available within one's construct system.

The grid can be looked at as a form of structured interview. It is both projective and idiographic. It seeks directly and explicitly to measure the subject's view

of his situation, whereas a traditional experimental approach tends to measure the experimenter's conceptualization of the situation and infer the nature of the subject's conceptualization from the response (Bannister, 1962).

In theory, since the grid is based on the assumption of man-the-scientist with his or her implicit system of viewing the world, it is a means of exploring the content and the structure of such an implicit system, which is like "networks of meaning through which persons see and handle the universe of situations through which they move" (Fransella & Bannister, 1977, p. 2). Therefore, grid results can be seen as a subjective map of the construct system, "a sort of idiographic cartography" (Fransella & Bannister, 1977, p. 3).

In practice, the grid may be defined as any form of sorting task which allows for the assessment of the content and the structure between constructs (Fransella & Bannister, 1977). The content involves the concerns and the interests of the individual; the structure is the type of relationship and organization of the constructs (Bannister & Mair, 1968).

A grid is a set of elements (people, objects, etc.) which have been judged on a set of constructs (bipolar concepts such as friendly/unfriendly), typically using 2-,

3-, 5-, and 7-point scales for rating elements. Grid data are organized into a matrix as illustrated in Appendix C. In this grid, which will be used in the present study, rival options from six problematic situations constituted the elements. Twelve constructs were elicited and used to rate options on a 7-point scale.

One of the most useful aspects of a grid is that the relations among constructs can be assessed by Product-moment correlations (among other types of correlations). For example, in the grid, the correlation between "parental expectations and obligations" and "not to jeopardize close family relations" is .88. They are strongly related. To fulfill parental expectations and obligations is not to jeopardize family relations. Not to fulfill these expectations (by pursuing social ideals) is to break off contact. This is quite a potent alignment and one can readily begin to grasp the subject's situation and the extremity with which it is framed. By contrast, the correlation between "not to jeopardize close family relations" and "personal curiosity" is only -.12. The two value constructs are negligibly related. Curiosity has no direct bearing on family relations. In this way, by seeing what goes with what, one can begin to make sense of the way the content is structured, and by implication, the way she construes her decisions.

The difficulty with correlations is that they are so numerous. For 12 constructs, there are 66 inter-correlations. One way to reduce the complexity of correlations to a more manageable and clear basis for interpretation is through the use of a Principal Component analysis.

Principal Component analysis of a grid. A Principal Component analysis is a method for reducing the complexity of data by showing dominant clusters or patterns of relationship. The first principal component accounts for maximum variance within a grid. The second principal component accounts for a maximum of remaining variance and is uncorrelated with the first. And so on. A component is specified by its latent root (amount of variance accounted for), its construct vector (loading of constructs on the component--can be thought of as correlations of constructs with a hypothetical or superordinate construct), and its element vector (scores of elements on component). As a least squares approach, the analysis makes no assumptions regarding the data being analyzed (e.g., the form of the distribution). It is essentially an analysis of the total variation in a grid (Slater, 1964; Hope, 1968).

In its application to a grid produced by a single person, the interpretation is idiographic. For example, the correlations between constructs or the loadings on a

component are not estimates of a true relation within a population of people. Rather, the correlation or loading describes the relationship within the data of a grid. That is, within the context of a set of elements, a given construct is shown to correlate to some degree with another construct or to load to some degree on a component. Within the microcosm of the individual, the relationship is an indicator of subjective meaning, the extent to which constructs or clusters are related. Typically, the aim of a Principal Component analysis of a grid is not to draw conclusions about other cases, nor to infer what is happening in some other part of one's construct system, but to describe what is there in a grid. The problems involved in a random sampling of elements and constructs from a private universe are formidable, and for the purpose of this study and most studies, unnecessary. There is no need to infer to a population.

Some investigators (e.g., Wilson, 1976) recommend the use of three times the number of elements as constructs in order to improve the stability of construct relations. But as Fransella and Bannister (1977) note, what seems desirable statistically is not always desirable psychologically, at least with an idiographic instrument. For example, an increase in elements might increase the chance of fatigue, boredom, and confusion, which can

decrease stability. Also, this stress upon a presumably more true relationship neglects the very purpose for which a grid is given, namely to describe relations within the context of certain elements. In a case study, one is not so much concerned with a random sample as with a personally significant sample. For example, in this study, there was no effort whatever to elicit a random sample of situations and constructs. Rather, an effort was made to elicit significant conflict situations and the constructs used to interpret those situations.

As Slater has repeatedly cautioned in his works (1965, 1969, 1976, 1977), a grid represents an interactive system in which constructs are related in element space. Whether the constructs might relate differently within the context of another set of elements is irrelevant. For example, rather than use constructs to rate situational options, one might use them to rate people, cultures, or artistic productions. To go further afield, one might use them to rate insects. There is little doubt that with a determined effort, one could find a set of elements within which the construct relations varied perhaps quite a bit, but such a demonstration is of little importance. What is important is how the constructs relate within the context of elements for which they are most useful or applicable, primary uses rather than remote uses. However, perhaps the most

striking reason for neglecting suggestions such as Wilson's is that the relations among constructs using 10 x 10 or 12 x 12 grids (and other sizes as well) have been shown in a variety of ways to be reasonably dependable, as will be described shortly.

The importance of Principal Component analysis for this study is that it divides constructs into core and peripheral clusters or themes. Recall that a core construct is defined by its implications for other constructs. A core construct is maximally embedded in a construct system by virtue of numerous strong relations. A more peripheral construct is more minimally embedded by virtue of fewer and weaker relations to other constructs. In this theoretical viewpoint, meaning is relational, and the meaningfulness of a construct is partially a function of the extent of its relations to other constructs (Hinkle, 1965). It is assumed that relations among constructs can be measured by correlations, particularly Product-moment correlations. Since, in a Principal Component analysis, the first principal component accounts for the maximum amount of variance in a grid, by definition it is central. Correspondingly, the constructs that load heavily on the first principal component will be central or core constructs. In contrast, the second and third principal components become increasingly peripheral, and the

constructs which load heavily on them become increasingly peripheral as well.

There is growing evidence that core constructs are different from more peripheral constructs, and different in theoretically predictable ways. Asch (1946) showed that central constructs were more influential in impression formation and change than peripheral constructs. In a follow-up study, Wishner (1960) showed that centrality could be measured by the extent to which a construct correlated with other constructs within a set of constructs. That is, a core construct was more influential in impression formation and change due to its greater number of relations with or implications for other constructs, as measured by correlations. Bender (1969) found that core constructs were used more extensively than peripheral constructs to interpret people and their actions, while Lemon and Warren (1974) found core constructs to be more salient in individuals' descriptions of other people. Cochran (1978) showed that core constructs were more influential in defining social situations than peripheral constructs. In a partial replication, Cochran (1981) further showed that core constructs were more influential, or at least more strongly involved, in the construed policies of actions toward others. In various ways, these studies provide support for

the assumption that core constructs are more meaningful and can be identified by the strength of their intercorrelations or loadings on the first principal component.

Since Slater (1965) clarified the advantages and possibilities of applying Principal Component analysis to grid data, the use of this technique has become widespread and rather customary among personal construct researchers. Slater (1976, 1977) has thoroughly discussed most of its advantages and limits. However, of immediate relevance are questions of reliability. Are the relations among constructs, upon which Principal Component analysis is based, reliable? In particular, can one count on the principal components for the purposes of this study?

One objection might be that ratings are so unreliable, unlike say test scores, that a grid is indistinguishable from a random set of numbers. To assess this possibility, Slater (1977) has developed a GRANNY program which generates and analyses grids of randomly selected numbers, which can be adjusted for 2-, 5-, and 7-point scales of judgment. The most striking difference between a randomly generated grid and an actual one is that there is a large difference in the size of the first principal component. More broadly, Slater (1977) has concluded that "experimental grids hardly ever resemble arrays of random numbers, even remotely" (p. 136).

The pattern of relationships among constructs is not a random happening, but a reflection of what those constructs mean to a person in complex interaction with a set of elements, as has become apparent in several hundred published studies. For example, Mair (1966) used dictionary meanings to determine which of a selection of constructs would be strongly related (e.g., synonyms), negatively related (e.g., antonyms), and weakly related. He found that the average relationships for a group of subjects derived from a grid were closely associated with predicted relations. Further, the pattern of relationships found in a grid tends to be consistent from one time to another, typically ranging from consistency correlations of .60 to .80 (Fransella & Bannister, 1977).

Indeed, an extensively replicated finding is that those who manifest low degrees of pattern and consistency also manifest behaviors that lead to a diagnosis of thought-disordered schizophrenia (Adams-Webber, 1979). Those who manifest symptoms which lead to a diagnosis of thought disorder tend to produce grids that more closely resemble a randomly generated array of numbers. But still, there is considerable difference between the two.

In a discussion of how grid data differs from the assumptions of population statistics, Slater (1977) has noted that even if statistical arguments or evidence of

other kinds show that grids are generally reliable, the reliability of a particular instance remains open to doubt. What is needed is not statistical evidence of a general nature, but relevant evidence about the subject which supports or verifies the content of the grid. To this end, a validation procedure (Harding, 1978; McCoy, 1979) is employed in this study (see details in the next chapter).

Repertory grid and cross-cultural applicability.

Essential to cross-cultural research is the respect for the integrity of another cultural viewpoint. This requires access to that point of view which must necessarily be on its own terms and not those which we might impose on it (McCoy, 1981a). It appears that Personal Construct theory, with its emphasis on the individual frame of reference and the individual construction of events, can be applicable across cultures.

Irvine and Carrol (1980) also stated that Kelly's theory and the Repertory grid are potentially useful for cross-cultural research. They remarked that the methodology is directly derived from the theory and from established object-sorting techniques for measurement of concept formation. Hence the phenomenon of test taking is explicable and is observable as an act of construing in itself, which is the basic conception of human experience in the theory. They further stated that similar to other

information processing models like that developed by Triandis (1972), the grid "allows for the presence of culture-syntonic content in the testing situation, ... they are general methods, having some degree of a prior construct validity..." (p. 232).

The usefulness of the grid to cross-cultural research was further noted by Ryle (1975): "in sociology and anthropology--where perceptions of role and caste are often of central concern--the capacity of grid technique to elicit the subject's own judgments in his own terms would seem to be of value" (p. 138).

Previous and ongoing studies have provided supportive evidence regarding the cross-cultural use of the grid. Harding (1978), using the Repertory grid, explored some of the differences between Chinese and Western value systems, particularly the centrality of moral values, the psychological meaningfulness of the core cluster of constructs, and the different emotions involved with the core role structure. In addition, a recent single case study (Harding, 1980) explored the changing values experienced by a 25 year old Chinese woman and illustrated the conflicts between traditional Chinese and Western values.

An ongoing longitudinal study by McCoy (1980, 1981b) involves the phenomenon of culture-shocked marriages and

the experience of expatriate wives who are in the process of culture transition. These are Western wives married to Chinese husbands whose re-entry to Hong Kong from a Western cultural environment has resulted in construct changes. Repertory grid testing over a period of two years was obtained from samples of women from four different cultural backgrounds, both before and after cultural entrance.

These few studies have illustrated the cross-cultural application of the grid method. The grid "allows the subject to reveal his own judgments in his own vocabulary regarding some important set of elements in his own experience" (McCoy, 1981a, p. 46), and as previously stated, it taps the subject's personal conceptualization of, say, people, events or things, rather than examining this through a standardized normative framework.

Chapter IV

Method

Subjects

Fifteen subjects are recruited from the University of British Columbia through letters to the Chinese Students Association, International House and an advertisement (see Appendix A) in "Ubyyssey" (the U.B.C. student newspaper). This is a volunteer sample of Chinese immigrant women from Hong Kong who have been in Canada for at least three years. Their ages range from twenty to thirty-three. Of the fifteen subjects, eight are single and seven are married.

Situation Grid

A situation grid is designed primarily to model the decision situations that immigrants are faced with in their process of acculturation. Psychologically, the heart of difficulty in adjustment is value conflict in decision situations. In order to capture this significance, the subjects are asked to speak for themselves and to draw from their own personal experiences: the conflict situations, the options and the value attributions to each option. In this way, the situation grid illustrates fidelity to the structure of the situation as construed by the individuals, how they are faced with conflicting options and values in

situations, and how they actually respond, feel polarized or "pulled apart" in decision making.

"A situation is defined in the context of a range of possibilities of which only one comes into being" (Cochran, 1978, p. 734), or as Bateson (1972) asserts, a situation is defined not only by what happened but by what could have happened but did not. In analyzing situations, we are viewing circumstances that permit some freedom of choice or some alternative courses of action.

In sum, the rationale of the situation grid is to remain faithful to the context of the situation as lived. Value orientations are explored as concrete choices that must be made in everyday life situations and are inferred from specific choice of alternatives. That is, the subject provides real options in real situations and the values that are important and meaningful in deciding upon those options. These are real life experiences in the subjective world of the immigrant. The purpose is to examine the specific values involved and the relationship between these values within the decision making process in the defined context of acculturation.

Each subject, therefore, completes the situation grid. Completing the grid involves three major steps: eliciting elements to be judged, eliciting and supplying constructs with which to judge elements and rating each element on

each construct.

Eliciting elements to be judged. The purpose of this exercise was to elicit real life situations in which value conflicts were experienced in the process of acculturation. An initial pilot using a fuller version of Flanagan's (1954) Critical Incident Technique proved to be too time-consuming and wearing on the subject. Consequently the following procedure was adopted.

Prior to participation, each subject was given a handout containing specific instructions (see Appendix B). Briefly, each subject was asked to recall six situations in which she had to make a decision in adjusting to the new cultural environment. These situations involved things which seemed most important to the subject, and covered her main interests, concerns or important areas of her life. She was then asked to identify the option she chose and the option she rejected in each situation (e.g., living on one's own versus living with family).

Eliciting value constructs with which to judge elements. After eliciting the conflict situations and options, the value which supported each option was elicited by asking the subject to reflect on the process of decision making and to come up with the reasons for justifying or choosing the option. The main reason which forwarded the accepted option was used as one pole of a value construct

(e.g., the main reason for the accepted option of living on one's own was to be more independent).

The subject was then asked to give the reasons which argue in favor of the rejected option. The main reason which was most appealing was used as the pole of a value construct for the rejected option (e.g., the main reason which argued in favor of the rejected option of living with family was to get approval from parents).

After eliciting the twelve value constructs associated with the accepted and the rejected options, the bipolar contrasts to the twelve value constructs were then elicited (e.g., becoming more independent versus following tradition). As a result, twelve value constructs and their bipolar contrasts were elicited from the subject and were used on the situation grid.

In addition to the twelve elicited value constructs, six supplied constructs were also provided. They were: (a) potential for strengthening versus weakening Chinese identity, (b) potential for strengthening versus weakening Western identity, (c) potential for strengthening versus weakening personal identity, (d) potential for expansion of personal identity, (e) potential for guilt, and (f) potential for confusion and uncertainty. The role of the supplied constructs is to aid interpretation, particularly to see how identity and emotions are aligned with certain

value clusters. For example, is guilt or confusion involved with certain conflict situations or is Chinese or Western identity more aligned with a central or peripheral cluster of values?

It is important here to note the definition of the supplied constructs. Guilt and confusion have already been defined within the Kellian tradition on pages 38 and 39 of this dissertation. Chinese identity generally refers to the sense of ethnic identity associated with the immigrant's native culture. For instance, since they are immigrants from Hong Kong, they have a certain sense of cultural heritage, and ways of doing and saying things typical of that culture. When they emigrate to a Western culture such as Canada, there are different standards which are typical of this society; Western identity refers to their cultural identity and relationship with such ideals and habits. Lastly, personal identity refers to the immigrant's personal sense of continuity, particularly her own feeling of uniqueness and individuality.

Rating each element on each construct. As a result, each subject was administered a grid comprised of twelve situational options as elements and twelve values as constructs. Also, six supplied constructs were used to rate the situational options.

Each subject was asked to rate each element on each

construct, using a scale of 7 to 1 to represent the bipolar nature of the construct dimension. For example, the subject was to rate each situational option on "independence/following tradition" dimension on a scale of 7 to 1 according to how far the situational option was described by or related to the construct (i.e., 7--very, 6--moderately, 5--slightly, 4--neutral/nonapplicable, 3--slightly, 2--moderately, 1--very. See Appendix C for rating format). The same rating procedure applies to the supplied constructs; that is, the subject was asked to rate each situational option on each supplied construct dimension using a scale of 7 to 1.

Validating core and peripheral components. The meaningfulness of the core and peripheral components was validated in the following ways. First, the data from each individual grid were submitted to Principal Component analysis. The first and the second component were extracted, and the construct loadings were ordered from highest to lowest on each component. Following the procedure of Harding (1978) and McCoy (1979), the top four constructs were selected to characterize each component. However, in this study, if a construct loaded heavily or supplemented a new dimension of meaning, it would be added. If a construct had a low loading (this applies only to the second component), it would be deleted. In this way, two

clusters of values were formed for each person. For each cluster, a superordinate construct or theme was conceptualized which seemed to reflect the meaning of the cluster. Two named themes were obtained, one for the first component and one for the second (examples can be seen in Chapter VI). The themes and clusters were checked by an independent judge who subjectively validated the common core of meaning of the clusters and the appropriateness of the superordinate theme. McCoy (1979) emphasized the significant part played by the person interpreting and naming the component. "Naming factors is a fine art ... the process of abstraction in naming is certainly not the same exercise of mathematical objectivity. In fact, subjective intuitions contribute greatly to the creativity required to meet the challenge of integrating a number of high loading elements into a single concept name" (p.303).

Second, the value clusters and the superordinate themes of the first and the second component were presented to the subject for subjective validation to see if analysis was personally meaningful and reflective of her situation. Allport (1942) discussed the rare but potentially important use of "rebuttal" that may be offered by a subject to another's analysis of himself. He cited two examples: Freud's critique of Wittel's biography (1924) published as an introduction to the biography itself, and

the philosopher's answer to his critics in the series known as the Library of Living Philosophy, illustrated in the volume devoted to John Dewey (1939). In these cases, the subject "has the opportunity to correct, or at least protest, the statements of fact and interpretations made by his biographers" (Allport, 1942, p. 44). In this study, subjective verification was sought and incorporated in the final naming of the components. Furthermore, the subject was asked to re-rate the situational options on the superordinate themes, and these re-ratings were correlated with option scores for their respective component to assess the psychological meaningfulness of the core and peripheral components.

The following is an example of the preamble explanation to the validation procedure: "From the grid ratings, I was able to use the computer to show which values go with which values and to try to organize your values into overall themes. Here is a list of what you might think of as the central theme of your adjustment (refer to the value clusters and the superordinate theme of the first component), the values on this side all go together in contrast to these values. What I have tried to do is to study these values very closely and give them an overall name or theme, something that captures the essence of your experience."

After this introduction, questions were asked to understand the subject's reaction. For example, "How do the results strike you? What does this mean for you?" The subject's response was recorded. Then the paper containing the value clusters and the named theme were removed. The subject was asked to re-rate the situational options from her first grid with the superordinate theme as a construct on a scale of 7 to 1 (see Appendix D for re-rating format). The same procedure was repeated for the value clusters and the named theme of the second component. For example, "Quite independent of the primary theme, sort of secondary, these values seem to go together in contrast to these ones, how do you feel about it?" Again, subjective validation was recorded and the subject asked to re-rate the situational options with the second superordinate theme on a scale of 7 to 1.

Procedure

The data were gathered personally by the author with each subject in two separate interviews from March to May 1983.

Prior to the interview, each subject was informed that this was a dissertation to investigate value and identity change of Chinese immigrant women (see Appendix E and F for letter to subject and consent form), and that participation

was voluntary and confidentiality of personal information would be respected. All data would be preserved anonymously upon the completion of this study.

The first interview involved the elicitation of conflict situations and options, followed by the elicitation of their related value constructs and bipolar contrasts. The subject was then asked to rate the situational options on the twelve elicited and the six supplied constructs.

A Principal Component analysis was conducted on each individual grid, from which only the first and the second component were extracted. Before the second interview, the author together with the assistance of an independent colleague, grouped the constructs that load heavily on the first and the second component and gave each cluster a superordinate theme or name, one for the first component and one for the second.

Each subject was contacted for a second interview to give feedback and interpretation of her grid results. She was then asked for subjective validation and for re-rating of the situational options on the superordinate themes.

Data Analysis

For each individual grid, a Principal Component analysis was performed to organize constructs into clusters

and to see which situational options were particularly salient for each cluster. The option scores for the first and the second components were correlated with the supplied constructs to determine how identity and emotion were aligned. Together with information from the interviews, the grid data from each individual were analyzed and interpreted to gain an understanding of how each was managing the decisions and value conflicts thought to be problematic in acculturation. For example, are Chinese and Western identity in accord, conflict, or separated in relation to the construct clusters? Is one personally aligned with Chinese or Western identity on a central or peripheral component? Through inspection of these and other questions, it was hoped fuller portraits would emerge of the ways these immigrants cope with problems of adjustment.

Chapter V

Group Results

A Principal Component analysis was performed on each grid individually. Since this study is focused upon the meaningfulness of constructs, and since prior research and theory indicate that those constructs which are more inter-related are also more personally meaningful (central rather than peripheral), the components were not rotated. The first component defines a dimension of variation that is assumed to be more psychologically central and meaningful while the second component defines one that is more peripheral and less meaningful. For comparative purposes and for an alternative perspective for case studies (presented in the next chapter), a Principal Component analysis was also conducted with a varimax rotation. However, correlations of the option or component scores between unrotated and rotated components were so high that the rotation would add little to the present results. For the first components, the median correlation was .82 with a range from 1.00 to .70. For the second components, the median correlation was .81 with a range from .99 to .69.

Psychological Meaningfulness of Components

The meaningfulness of the component clusters of

constructs was validated in four steps. First, for each individual grid, the construct loadings were ordered from highest to lowest on each component. Following the procedure of Harding (1978) and McCoy (1979), the top four constructs were selected to characterize each component. However, in this study, if a construct loaded heavily or supplemented a new dimension of meaning, it would be added. If a construct had a low loading (this applies only to the second component), it would be deleted. In this way, two clusters of constructs were formed for each person. For each cluster, a superordinate construct or theme was conceptualized which seemed to make sense of the cluster. While this step requires considerable sensitivity and sometimes knowledge of the person and her situation, a satisfactory theme was developed for each cluster of each person. Some themes seemed to fit better than others, but generally, each cluster manifested a recognizable, common core of meaning. The themes and clusters were checked by an independent judge, who subjectively validated the sense of each cluster and the appropriateness of the theme. This step, then, indicates that the clusters were meaningful to at least two independent judges.

Second, the appropriate clusters were presented to each subject for personal validation. Most subjects stated that the clustering of construct values into themes

clarified the organization of their value systems, and strongly affirmed the validity of the clusters for them. Some additionally mentioned that they were aware of their values and the way they were interconnected, and that the clusters affirmed their beliefs. Some reacted with sadness, silence, and other forms of recognition. The clusters were enlightening, but probably of a confrontational nature the subjects were unprepared to face so directly. Through these reactions and affirmations, the psychological meaningfulness of the clusters was validated by every person in the sample.

Third, and more indirectly during the interview, each person was able consistently to elaborate the meaning of the clusters through providing information about the life each was living as an immigrant. The added information tended to make the clusters even more sensible, and occasionally, to resolve questions and puzzlements about the clusters.

Last, the superordinate constructs or named themes were used to re-rate situational options, and these ratings were correlated with option scores for respective components.

As can be seen in Table 5.1, the correlations involving the first component are very strong. The average correlation is .81. The correlations involving the second

component are moderately strong. The average correlation is .53.

Unlike normative variables, it is not necessary that a grid be stable. That is, a grid partially involves a frame of mind as well as an outlook or system of construing, and frames of mind may change. In other words, a person in a happy mood might construe somewhat differently from when in a sad mood. However, the correlations indicate reasonably stable systems of meaning, and a difference between the first component and the second component. Theoretically, if a core cluster is composed of the most meaningful constructs, it seems likely that one would be more clear and stable using them rather than the more peripheral cluster of constructs. Alternatively, the statistical procedure might not capture secondary clusters as accurately as primary clusters.

In summary, the meaningfulness of the clusters was validated in four ways. The clusters proved meaningful to two independent judges, to the extent that a common core of meaning could be identified and named. The clusters were meaningful to subjects, who strongly affirmed them. The meanings of the clusters were elaborated consistently in discussions of their lives as immigrants. And the re-ratings indicate that the dimensions of variation appear to be reasonably stable sub-systems of meaning.

Table 5.1
Correlations of the named themes with the
first and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .75 | .44 |
| 2 | .76 | .53 |
| 3 | .94 | -.02 |
| 4 | .87 | .55 |
| 5 | .69 | .84 |
| 6 | .72 | .42 |
| 7 | .77 | .55 |
| 8 | .76 | .55 |
| 9 | .96 | .60 |
| 10 | .82 | .63 |
| 11 | .89 | .64 |
| 12 | .77 | .54 |
| 13 | .75 | .21 |
| 14 | .54 | .51 |
| 15 | .76 | .59 |

Group Patterns

For each individual, the ratings on supplied constructs were correlated with the option scores of both the first and second components. The correlations are aids for interpreting the components and are of major importance in the case studies. For example, if Chinese identity correlates strongly with the first component, but not the second component, then one is able to interpret that component more broadly as a grouping of values of primary importance for an immigrant's sense of ethnic or cultural identity. However, it is also of interest to examine these correlations for a group pattern.

Initially, hypotheses were framed for each set of correlations. It was expected that the first component would reflect Chinese identity, personal identity, and guilt while the second component would reflect Western identity, expansion of personal identity, and confusion and uncertainty. However, these hypotheses are somewhat redundant and subject to misplaced emphasis. First, the case studies are of primary importance in this study, and the hypotheses merely define one pattern of adaptation expected in case studies. Second, the hypotheses tend to suggest a more formal set of expectations than is actually the case, and which misleadingly overshadow the major aim of the study, which is exploration and discovery. However,

the group tests are still of value in simply indicating whether there is a tendency for the supplied constructs to relate to one component or the other in this sample.

For each person, the correlations of components with supplied constructs were transformed into Fisher Z scores. Given a supplied construct, each person received two scores, one for the first component and one for the second. Since each pair of scores was from one individual, a correlated t-test was used to determine if there was a significant difference.

Table 5.2 records the correlations of Chinese identity with the first and second components for each subject. Using a correlated t-test, the mean difference is significant, $t(14) = 2.45$, $p < .05$. Chinese identity tends to relate more strongly to the first component than to the second component, or to the central constructs more than peripheral constructs. As can be seen, the majority of correlations are substantial. However, two subjects (5 and 10) show a strong correlation with the second component.

Table 5.2
Correlations of Chinese identity with the first
and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .76 | .22 |
| 2 | .77 | .07 |
| 3 | .60 | .18 |
| 4 | .41 | .19 |
| 5 | .29 | .82 |
| 6 | .78 | .05 |
| 7 | .65 | .15 |
| 8 | .03 | .43 |
| 9 | .50 | .12 |
| 10 | .43 | .69 |
| 11 | .75 | .10 |
| 12 | .75 | .47 |
| 13 | .67 | .02 |
| 14 | .64 | .21 |
| 15 | .33 | .47 |

Table 5.3 records the correlations of Western identity with the first and second components for each subject.

Using a correlated t -test, the mean difference is significant, $t(14) = 3.04$, $p < .01$. Western identity tends to relate more strongly to the first component than to the second component. Only subject 5 manifests a substantial correlation with the second component. Further, Western identity tends to be opposed to Chinese identity on the first component. Those options which strengthen Chinese identity tend to weaken Western identity, and vice versa.

Table 5.4 records the correlations of personal identity with the first and second components for each subject.

Using a correlated t -test, the mean difference is not significant, $t(14) = .66$, n.s. As can be seen, there is a tendency for personal identity to correlate strongly with one component or the other, but with no marked pattern toward a particular component for the group.

Table 5.5 records the correlations of expansion of personal identity with the first and second components.

Using a correlated t -test, the mean difference is not significant, $t(14) = -.41$, n.s. Once again, there are many strong correlations with both components.

Table 5.3
Correlations of Western identity with the first
and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .68 | .05 |
| 2 | .31 | .35 |
| 3 | .60 | .18 |
| 4 | .02 | .00 |
| 5 | .29 | .82 |
| 6 | .76 | .19 |
| 7 | .55 | .51 |
| 8 | .20 | .00 |
| 9 | .26 | .00 |
| 10 | .90 | .22 |
| 11 | .85 | .07 |
| 12 | .92 | .05 |
| 13 | .71 | .05 |
| 14 | .78 | .39 |
| 15 | .22 | .17 |

Table 5.4
Correlations of personal identity with the first
and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .01 | .48 |
| 2 | .53 | .41 |
| 3 | .61 | .15 |
| 4 | .24 | .42 |
| 5 | .75 | .45 |
| 6 | .52 | .68 |
| 7 | .57 | .50 |
| 8 | .60 | .15 |
| 9 | .74 | .07 |
| 10 | .09 | .38 |
| 11 | .55 | .38 |
| 12 | .08 | .62 |
| 13 | .62 | .27 |
| 14 | .02 | .06 |
| 15 | .17 | .52 |

Table 5.5
Correlations of expansion of personal identity with
the first and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .18 | .64 |
| 2 | .59 | .46 |
| 3 | .41 | .05 |
| 4 | .52 | .36 |
| 5 | .49 | .66 |
| 6 | .06 | .64 |
| 7 | .54 | .49 |
| 8 | .53 | .02 |
| 9 | .77 | .13 |
| 10 | .22 | .46 |
| 11 | .61 | .18 |
| 12 | .08 | .70 |
| 13 | .59 | .44 |
| 14 | .24 | .75 |
| 15 | .16 | .59 |

Table 5.6 records the correlations of guilt with the first and second components. Using a correlated t-test, the mean difference is not significant, t (14) = .71, n.s.

While there are some strong correlations, overall, they appear to be weaker than those involving identity.

Table 5.7 records the correlations of confusion and uncertainty with the first and second components. Using a correlated t-test, the mean difference is not significant, t (14) = -.56 n.s. Once again, there are a few substantial correlations with components, but most are weak or negligible.

One statistical objection to these comparisons has been advanced. Since an unrotated first component maximizes variance accounted for, leaving less for the second component, it is argued that the first component is necessarily more reliable, in the sense of internal consistency, and will necessarily have higher external relations.

The difficulty with this argument is that it rests upon the assumptions of population statistics, which have dubious applicability to an idiographic grid (Slater, 1977, pp. 127-138). For example, constructs are not items of a test.

Table 5.6
Correlations of guilt with the first and
the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .22 | .51 |
| 2 | .47 | .26 |
| 3 | .35 | .21 |
| 4 | .13 | .21 |
| 5 | .57 | .57 |
| 6 | .14 | .84 |
| 7 | .39 | .09 |
| 8 | .32 | .19 |
| 9 | .65 | .12 |
| 10 | .36 | .43 |
| 11 | .63 | .23 |
| 12 | .29 | .42 |
| 13 | .63 | .09 |
| 14 | .48 | .29 |
| 15 | .10 | .09 |

Table 5.7

Correlations of confusion and uncertainty with the
first and the second principal component

| Subject | First Component | Second Component |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | .20 | .17 |
| 2 | .30 | .13 |
| 3 | .43 | .02 |
| 4 | .41 | .43 |
| 5 | .23 | .75 |
| 6 | .16 | .59 |
| 7 | .53 | .18 |
| 8 | .12 | .10 |
| 9 | .48 | .47 |
| 10 | .16 | .34 |
| 11 | .59 | .07 |
| 12 | .10 | .59 |
| 13 | .18 | .52 |
| 14 | .12 | .22 |
| 15 | .41 | .42 |

Selection of elements and constructs is just the opposite of random; they are selected for personal meaningfulness. There is no necessary assumption of generality beyond the elements and constructs to a universe of elements and constructs. Also, while a more reliable component might have higher external relations generally, it cannot be assumed to have higher relations specifically. In fact, the first component has higher relations only for Chinese and Western identity. In addition, given the evidence for reliability (as stability), the second component does show reasonable stability for an exploratory study, although it is certainly less than that shown for the first component.

However, this issue may be by-passed, in effect. The major finding is that Chinese and Western identity tend to be in polar opposition on the first or central component. The correlation between Chinese and Western identity may be assessed in another way. Using a Z score averaging procedure for the 15 correlations, the average correlation is $-.86$. Subjects tend to rate options on Chinese identity in nearly the opposite way on Western identity. Next, by simply examining Tables 5.2 and 5.3, it is apparent that if Chinese and Western identity were included in the grid, they would largely fall into alignment with the core dimension of variation, unlike personal identity, expansion of personal identity, guilt, and confusion and uncertainty, and

irrespective of their relations to the second component. The average correlation between Chinese identity and the first component is .58. The average correlation between Western identity and the first component is .61.

In summary, both the first and second components are psychologically meaningful. The first component tends to reflect Chinese and Western identity in polar opposition. Personal identity and expansion of personal identity tend to relate rather strongly to one component or the other while the emotions (guilt, confusion and uncertainty) are more weakly and negligibly aligned with one component or the other.

The number of subjects and the nature of the sample do not allow one to make a strong normative generalization, nor would this be desirable from the perspective of this study, which is concerned with case studies and a different type of generalization. That is, what is true for one person is apt to be true for at least some others (Chassan, 1979). The aim of this study is to identify individual patterns that are obscured or invisible in grouped data. However, provided that exceptions are not dismissed as error, the group data provide some interesting trends. A sense of identity seems to be pervasively involved in the value decisions of this group of immigrants. Often, the cultural identity of origin enters evaluation in direct opposition to

the cultural identity of the host country. In contrast, emotions are not strongly aligned generally with either component. What this means is that one can not ordinarily alleviate guilt, for instance, by strengthening Chinese identity options at the expense of Western identity options, or vice versa. One may experience guilt either way one moves, which virtually eliminates any simple solution. Accordingly, it is to individual cases one must turn in order to determine the potentially rich and diverse ways that people attempt to resolve the dilemmas of acculturation.

Chapter VI

Individual Cases

A Historical Perspective: Idiographic versus Nomothetic Approach

Diverse opinions have been expressed regarding the place of nomothetic (Bills, 1938) versus idiographic analysis (Beck, 1953; Du Mas, 1955; Allport, 1958). Allport (1942) noted that as early as 1904, Windelband had christened the opposition in terms we here adopt: he spoke of nomothetic and idiographic forms of knowledge. Spearman (1934) observed the long-standing dispute between the champions of clinical psychology and of statistical psychology; he described it as the "ancient battle between intuitionist and psychometrist." James (1891) defined psychology as the science of "finite individual minds." The work of Sidman (1952) and Bakan (1954) emphasized the role of the idiographic method in psychology. They demonstrated that only under very special circumstances do "averaged curves" have the same form as any of the "individual" curves from which they are derived and that one can seldom draw meaningful inferences about individual processes from group statistics. Tryon (1934) stressed the same point that the intensive study of the average behavior of a species generally leads the comparative psychologist

to ignore the more interesting differences between individuals from whom the "average individual" is abstracted. "The 'average individual' is, in fact, a man-made fiction, and the behavior of a species can be properly understood only by considering variations in behavior of all (or a random sample of) the individuals who are classed in it" (p. 330).

At the core of the nomothetic-idiographic controversy lies the issue of: "how liberated is the scientific imagination, always the starting point for new experiment into unknown areas of any particular field" (Beck, 1953, p. 353). The purpose here is not to reopen the argument about the relative advantages and disadvantages of both approaches, but to recognize their long-standing differences and to reiterate the different focus of each approach and how they are related to the present position of this dissertation. The focus of the nomothetic approach is placed on the incidence and the distribution of some one datum within a population; however, the focus of the idiographic analysis is on the various behaviors within one person, their mutual interaction and their effects in bringing about the total behavior which we identify as a particular personality (Beck, 1953). The position of this dissertation, previously stated and now emphasized, is primarily idiographic and it is within such a theoretical

stance that the presentation of the case studies ensue.

As indicated, the investigation of group patterns offers general normative data toward an understanding of immigrant adjustment. However, the richness and the variation of the individual cases cannot be adequately conveyed in the form of a group summary. Both theoretically and practically, it is important to seek an understanding of the individual experiences of these immigrant women, their construction of the acculturation process, the nature of the value conflicts and their coping strategies.

The format of each case study begins with a presentation of the core and the peripheral components and their contents. Together with the aid of the intraindividual correlations of the supplied constructs (i.e., Chinese identity, Western identity, personal identity, expansion of personal identity, guilt, and confusion and uncertainty-- see Appendix G), an attempt is made to incorporate clinical observation, life history data and interview information to give a more complete picture of the individual, and the personal meanings of values and experiences. Also, an endeavour is made to delineate and summarize patterns obtained from the individual protocols.

The use of statistical analysis in the single case and the summarizing of such cases into patterns have been broadly supported. In the application of factor analysis

for a single person, Burt and Watson (1951) stated that in individual psychology, a neglected mode of investigation consists of applying statistical analysis to the study not of group, but of single persons; and according to them, "statistical analysis is quite as applicable to the 'study of the single personality' as to the study of groups" (p. 179).

Burt (1949) further stressed that the patterns, combinations and interactions among traits often have a qualitative character which cannot be expressed as a difference of degree, and that in his view, trait-assessment should always be supplemented by the method of case study. "Neither is complete without the other" (Burt, 1949, p. 167). Allport (1937) referred to intraindividual statistics in measuring the consistency of an individual's acts in relation to his or her own principal life purposes or "teleonomic trends." Baldwin's Personal Cluster analysis (1942) adopted statistical techniques in investigating the single personality of an elderly widow and discovered several major ideational themes. Baldwin's (1946) work with nursery school children further illustrated the use of intraindividual correlations as compared to grouped data. Mowrer (1950, 1953) also recognized the use of a quantitative approach to the understanding of the single case, and this was further

advocated by Stephenson (1952) in his development of the Q technique.

Single case research is an established method. Its rationale has been explained and statistical methods have been developed (Shapiro, 1961, 1966; Chassan, 1961, 1979). The tradition of summarizing single cases to look at similarities and establish patterns has also been supported (Allport, 1937, 1942; Du Mas, 1955).

The focus of this chapter is the presentation of case studies of concrete individuals, in particular to examine the individuality of immigrant women within the context of their life experiences in the hope of thereby, deriving some patterns and modes of adjustment.

Case 1

First Component

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Fitting in to Canadian society | /Holding Hong Kong values and interests makes me feel rejected |
|--------------------------------|--|

Contents

| | |
|--|---|
| Try to fit in, try to make myself feel less of an outsider | /Feel alienated, like a total outsider |
| Peer group pressure in Canada | /Ignoring peer group pressure |
| Taking a risk | /Not taking a risk |
| Throwing away Chinese virtues and traditions | /Part of personal standards, respect for elders |
| To be common with everybody in peer group in Canada | /More individualistic |

Second Component

| | |
|---|--|
| Conformity and fear of breaking out of a traditional mode | /Risking a more individual approach, becoming more independent |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Go along with tide with everybody from Hong Kong | /To please my own desires |
|--|---------------------------|

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Afraid of being taken advantage of emotionally | /Brave enough to take risks |
| Afraid of going out, doing it on my own, breaking out of dependence | /Lead less of a sheltered life |
| Please teacher more by appearing to be inquisitive | /Be a passive learner |

Case 1

23

Single

General arts

"Everything I do reminds me of going through the same process, two different sets of standards, always in a dilemma. I want to grab on to something solid that I could relate to. I have to choose, to combine standards, to please myself and to please others."

These words during the interview fully capture the essence of the subject's adjustment to Canada. On arrival with her family in Vancouver, C.1 stated that she felt very confused, "almost schizophrenic," and thought that something was wrong with her personality. Because of her Hong Kong upbringing and the cultural values that had been inculcated, she was faced with a drastic difference in values between the two cultures. Now she has acquired more self-knowledge but still feels the unending process of value clarification; with each new situation she has to assess an appropriate response according to her personal standards.

The conflict situations elicited on the grid reveal that she has emulated certain acceptable behaviors considered Canadian (e.g., more casual attire, relaxed heterosexual interaction, general friendliness) and has

rejected traditional Chinese norms (e.g., formal attire, social distance between the sexes, conventional female reserved behavior). She has also expressed a preference for a combination of Canadian and Hong Kong learning approaches (i.e., class discussion combined with rote learning and part-time employment during the school year). In view of the clash of values, she appears to opt for the flexibility and the openness available in Canadian society versus the more rigid Chinese traditions. It is important to note that she has continued to retain a core Chinese value (respect for elders) in her relationship with teachers.

Analysis of the contents of the first component suggests a desire for fitting into her new society, an awareness of peer pressure and a concurrent need to validate some core Chinese values. Correlations on the supplied constructs reveal an alignment with Western identity ($r = .68$) in opposition with Chinese identity ($r = -.76$). The contents of the second component reveal fears of rejection and emotional exploitation versus risking more autonomy. Locked in the cultural opposition in the first component, she appears to be grounding personal identity ($r = -.48$) and expansion ($r = -.64$) more on the second component.

The split between her Chinese and Western identity is

further supported by observation of the ratings on the conflict situations. Chinese and Western identity are rated in opposing contiguity, while the ratings on personal identity and expansion are more aligned with Western identity (with the exception of the situation "choosing the old way of respect for teachers" in which Chinese identity, personal identity and expansion are positively aligned: raw score = 7,7,7). Her experience of confusion is substantiated by the frequency of high to moderate ratings on all conflict situations (raw score = 5,6,7,6,3,7,5,7,6,7,6,6).

Grid data and component analysis vividly demonstrate an individual caught between two cultures; amidst the pressure and the resistance to conform, she strives to become her own person. Though both components connote superordinate constructs of conformity versus rejection, an interpretative distinction can be made between the nature of conflicts contained in the first and the second component. It appears that the first component (fitting into Canadian society versus holding Hong Kong values and interests makes me feel rejected) indicates an attempt to come to terms with her ethnicity and the relativity of her belief system (i.e., Canadian versus Hong Kong values). Here the conflict involves the broader cultural context to which she has migrated. The second component (conformity

and fear of breaking out of a traditional mode versus risking a more individual approach and becoming more independent) indicates a more focused conflict concerning individuation, self-assertion and behavioral experimentation.

In summary, the impression is that of an individual divided between two cultures, implicating superordinate constructs such as conformity and rejection, and wrestling with issues such as peer acceptance and independence. The apparent polarization between Chinese and Western identity could indicate that migration has heightened the contrast of values. The predominant response seems to be that of confusion and the need to make sense of her new environment through a realignment of values.

Case 2

First Component

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Giving in to maintain family ties | /Pursuing individual course of social development |
|-----------------------------------|---|

Contents

| | |
|--|--|
| Not to pursue and discuss broader social issues with Hong Kong relatives friends | /Pursue radical social change and ideals with them |
|--|--|

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Parental expectations and obligations | /Pursue general social ideals |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Parental and relatives career expectations | /Don't care about their expectations |
|--|--------------------------------------|

| | |
|--|---|
| Not to jeopardize close family relations and Hong Kong friends | /To jeopardize, break off contact with them |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Give in to social constraints (family and friends) | /More individualism and freedom |
|--|---------------------------------|

Second Component

| | |
|---|--|
| Commitment to society and scholarly interests | /Importance of individual needs and concerns |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| More meaningful, more depth, more concern regarding others | /More self-interests |
|--|----------------------|

| | |
|---|---|
| Academic and personal interests | /Lack of academic and personal interests |
| More concern with others and broader social issues | /More concern with self |
| Social and environmental concerns | /Individual concerns, making money |
| Similar values and interests | /Gap in values, lifestyle habits are very different |

Case 2

26

Single

Urban planning

An examination of the context of migration illuminates the process of adjustment that she has undergone. She came to Vancouver alone on a student visa. During the first years of her undergraduate studies, she was able to enjoy the relative freedom of her new lifestyle in communal living and in the pursuit of liberal political interests. She was later joined by her aging parents whom she volunteered to live with. This move had initiated a process of re-entry to her family and culture of origin. This re-entry involved a reclaiming of responsibilities toward parents and extended family (i.e., siblings, their spouses and children), and a readjustment to parental control of daily living and social activities. She stated that the initial period of reunion was very stressful, especially after she had had a taste of personal freedom. However, she could not "discard her past, her linkage to her family."

At present, she feels she belongs to neither culture. Giving in to parental influence may be negatively perceived by others; nevertheless, such actions remain most meaningful. Parental expectations have particularly

conflicted with her heterosexual involvement. Most of her Caucasian male friends simply find it hard to understand her apparent subservience to family demands.

In the light of this information, it is not surprising to discover the conflicts revealed in the grid. She appears to handle most conflicts by compromise and avoidance. This can be illustrated by her choices of situational options. For example, she tends not to discuss politics at home, becomes more willing to date Chinese men, and pursues a practical career path instead of furthering philosophical-political interests.

Content analysis of the first component shows that "parental expectations and obligations, fear of jeopardizing such close relations" are closely aligned and stand in contrast to the individual pursuit of social development. Her Hong Kong upbringing which espouses a business-oriented philosophy and family-centered values is in direct conflict with her newly acquired Canadian liberal attitudes. Though the poles of family versus liberal values are in opposition, they are both positively construed and highly salient. This disagreement on the first component appears potent. Chinese identity ($r = .77$) is in opposition to personal identity ($r = -.53$) and expansion ($r = -.59$). Her core role as a daughter seems to be in conflict with her sense of who she is.

The second component reveals a commitment to society and scholarly interests versus the importance of individual needs and concerns. (Here, individual needs represent self-oriented needs and differ from the pursuit of an individual course of social development in the first component.) The development of this social and academic dimension could offer her the opportunity for growth that appears to be blocked in the first component. Personal identity ($r = .41$) and expansion ($r = .46$) appear to be aligned and support the possibility that this peripheral component offers a less blocked area of personal expansion.

The alignment of personal identity, expansion and to a certain extent Western identity in opposition to Chinese identity, is also supported by raw data observation on ratings of situational options. The only exception in which Chinese identity is aligned with the rest relates to her return from Toronto to Vancouver and continued graduate work here (raw score = 6,6,6,5). This situation involves her combining values of parental obligations with educational pursuit.

Her career choice seems to offer the resolution to the polarized conflict between family and social values. In choosing a career (urban planning) which is considered practical to her family and which simultaneously offers her the outlet for societal involvement, she has probably

integrated the best of both worlds, or what she can of them.

In sum, the predominant problem of adjustment can be seen in the strength of her social conscience versus established family-centered values from Hong Kong. Her resolution lies in the development of identity on an acceptable career compromise.

Case 3

First Component

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Overcoming loneliness and | /Being dependent, weak and |
| separation to become one's own | submerged in group |
| person, strong and independent | |

Contents

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| More independent | /Very dependent. |
| Stronger character in | /Weaker character, very |
| overcoming loneliness | vulnerable |
| Independence, time to grow | /Dependence |
| up and think for myself | |
| Separation from family and | /To enjoy the care of |
| friends | family and friends |
| Stick to principles of what I | /Don't have an opinion, |
| believe as right or wrong | listen to others' |
| | opinion. |
| Loneliness | /Companionship, avoid |
| | loneliness |
| Do everything by myself | /Someone to take care of |
| | daily necessities |

Second Component

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Fostering one's personal growth | /Procrastinating and wasting time |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Conents

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Increase personal knowledge | /Uneducated |
| Use time for pursuit of own interests | /Waste time, not doing anything |
| Relaxation | /Waste energy in useless activities |

Case 3

20

Single

General arts

She comes from a big family, being the youngest of seven siblings. The main reason for migration was to further her education. Her parents remained in Hong Kong while entrusting her to the care of a married sister in Vancouver. In recounting her earlier experiences in Canada, she became very emotional: she remembered her popular and active social life in Hong Kong, but after emigrating she had been transformed from "being a very sociable person to extremely depressed and withdrawn." She missed the emotional support of family and friends, the separation had produced a great deal of homesickness and loneliness. Her greatest problem, she claimed, was "feeling depressed and wasting time in sleeping and eating." She later recognized that "it was time to grow up and stop being the baby of the family." To cope with her loneliness, she pursued part-time employment after school to keep herself occupied; she joined a regular exercise program to learn relaxation; she also chose to live with a landlady with whom she found occasional companionship. It appears that the initial adjustment was taxing and that uprooting had resulted in an acute sense of nostalgia,

social isolation and emotional deprivation. It also appears that she was able to develop a repertoire of coping skills to deal with this new situation.

This information from the interview is substantiated by the conflict situations elicited on the grid, which illustrate her struggle on this independence-dependence continuum.

The outstanding feature of her first component is the salience this exercises over her entire belief system. This reveals a need to overcome loneliness and separation, to become strong and independent rather than being dependent, weak and submerged in a group. The elicited value constructs reveal repeated themes of independence, loneliness, separation and strength of character, in sharp contrast to dependence, vulnerability, lack of opinion, and the need for succorance. Personal identity ($r = .61$) is aligned with Western identity ($r = .60$) in opposition to Chinese identity ($r = -.60$). The first component appears to subsume or overshadow the content of the second which involves "fostering one's personal growth versus procrastinating and wasting time."

The component analysis is consistent with her expressed wish to develop individuality which involves Western values such as personal autonomy and responsibility versus the traditional Chinese feminine virtues of

dependence and subjugation to group and family.

In summary, the overall picture indicates primarily an abrupt process of weaning--a developmental crisis which cultural transition has accelerated and affirmed in terms of its immediate situational demands. In migrating she has placed herself in an environment where she has to develop effectance in making an adjustive response. Results indicate a clear adoption of Western values in terms of personal development while traditional Chinese values are rejected.

Case 4

First Component

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Protected married and family | /Unprotected single life |
| life is also confining and | which is free and |
| dependent | independent |

Contents

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Dependence | /Independence |
| Protective environment | /No protective environment |
| Married family life | /Single life |
| Restriction | /Freedom |
| Reunite with husband | /Stay by myself |

Second Component

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Job opportunity and survival | /Less job opportunity and |
| at the expense of indifference | not surviving in favor of |
| to people and stigma | helping others and lack |
| | of stigma |

Contents

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| More job opportunity | /Less job opportunity |
| Maintain survival | /Not to maintain survival |
| Indifference | /Helping people |
| Social stigma | /No social stigma |

Case 4

29

Married

Accounting

C.4 migrated with her family to Toronto. She had previous university training in social work from Hong Kong where she could have established a fruitful career. However, this area where she could have expanded herself was impeded by migration and further compounded by the difficult economic circumstances in Canada. After a protracted period of unemployment, she finally underwent retraining in accounting to obtain work. During the interview, she related her acculturative experiences in a task-oriented manner. When asked about how she felt in relation to what she had left behind in Hong Kong and what she had acquired in Canada, she appeared quite content and resigned to her present security in marriage and job.

Elicited conflict situations reveal normal life events such as marriage, career choice and career change (e.g., living on her own, professional retraining and move to Vancouver to reunite with her husband). In the first component (protected married and family life is also confining and dependent versus unprotected single life which is free and independent), the contents of one pole "dependence, protective environment, restriction and

married family life" are closely aligned in antithesis to the opposing pole "independence, freedom, and single life." The chosen pole appears to be associated with Chinese identity ($r = .41$) in opposition to expansion ($r = -.52$). The second component reveals that "job opportunity, maintaining survival, and indifference to people" are chosen at the expense of "job satisfaction and helping people." The chosen pole does not appear to be aligned with personal identity ($r = -.42$). In both components, Western identity is not related to the scheme of things ($r = .02, .00$). Hence it appears that in the first component, she has succumbed to a married life in which she finds protection; in the second component she has opted for job security and survival. What is revealed here is a basic incongruence between her value attributions and her final decisions with each conflict situation. The central issue appears to be an idealistic belief in personal freedom and career satisfaction versus a concession to different forms of security.

The picture gives a compelling sense of someone being locked into a mundane existence which she has accepted as the only viable alternative. A pattern of self-abnegation can be inferred from her core role of wife and career woman. This brings in the notion of identity transferability in acculturation. She has experienced some

form of "status dislocation" (Richmond, 1967); her new environment does not facilitate the transfer of her previous occupational identity which has resulted in diminished professional capacity and probably some loss of life's meaning. The problem is that she does not seem to anticipate recovery. The present solution is to become "dependent, indifferent." Ideals such as "freedom, helping others" would dislodge her from this adaptive position, and would entail a radical reconstruing of priorities, an option for growth that seems extremely unlikely.

Case 5

First Component

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Desire for self-fulfilment | /Devoting to my husband's needs and obligations |
|----------------------------|--|

Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| My family obligations | /My husband's family obligations |
| My family and friends in Hong Kong | /My husband's family in Canada |
| Future employment prospects | /Lack of future prospects |
| Making decisions with my husband | /To follow my husband |

Second Component

| | |
|--|--|
| In spite of communication difficulties, religious beliefs and seeing people as individuals broaden scope and understanding | /Emphasis on racial and cultural differences would limit understanding |
|--|--|

Contents

| | |
|---|--|
| Can't communicate, little things in common | /Can communicate, more things in common |
| Fit my ideals of Christianity | /Doesn't fit my ideal of Christianity |

Broaden my scope

/Limit my scope

Person, not the race, that
is important

/Race more important than
person

Case 5

25

Married

Business administration

She came as a student and met her husband in Canada. Upon university graduation she returned to Hong Kong for a year to spend some time with her family and to repay her filial debt. She later came back to Vancouver to join her husband and his family. During the interview, she spoke of the dilemma in having to choose between her own family responsibilities and her husband's, and her final choice of leaving behind family and friends for permanent migration. On one hand, she accepted the prescribed Chinese tradition "to follow one's husband," and major life decisions such as migration and place of settlement were contingent upon his priorities. On the other hand, she expressed regret for not fulfilling her own needs and desires.

The interview information is validated by elicited conflict situations on the grid which center on three main issues: marital decision making, career development and interethnic relations. Inspection of the components and their contents gives further illustration. The first component (desire for self-fulfilment versus devoting to her husband's needs and obligations) reveals the awareness of personal needs in spite of the salience of her marital

relationship. The second component suggests the influence of religious beliefs. Christian principles that emphasize communication, inclusiveness of all cultures, and individual worth have definitely broadened her attitudes toward interracial peer group and dating.

In both components, Chinese identity ($r = -.29$ & $-.82$) is in diametrical opposition to Western identity ($r = .29$ & $.82$); while personal identity ($r = .75$ & $.45$) and expansion ($r = .49$ & $.66$) are in alignment with the Western identity pole.

Component analysis indicates a potent conflict between the two cultures extending from core to peripheral values. The response to such a polarization appears to be the assertion of a personal identity as indicated in the components results and further supported by raw data observation (i.e., ratings on situations associated with conflicts between Western and Chinese identity tend to be aligned with the strengthening of personal identity).

In sum, her core role of a traditional Chinese wife seems to be conflicting with her desire to establish an independent identity. Her Christian beliefs in perhaps advocating certain Western values appear to have a pervasive influence in broadening her values. The overall trend is that of an enhancement of personal needs and identity in the face of a cultural conflict of values.

Case 6

First Component

| | |
|--|---|
| Expanding myself, becoming more sociable, creative and independent | /Limiting myself to security and routine |
|--|---|

Contents

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Get to know more people | /More time for myself |
| Can change from field to field, more interesting | /Permanence, routine |
| Job marketable | /Not marketable |
| Get more general knowledge | /More academic knowledge |
| Independence, involves decision making, taking up responsibility | /Someone to rely on |

Second Component

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| More privacy and time for myself | /Emotional responsiveness to others |
|-------------------------------------|--|

Contents

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Less involvement | /Deeper understanding |
| More privacy | /Less privacy |
| Convenience | /Commitment is valuable |
| Casual, loose relationship | /Genuine relationship |
| Can have more time for myself | /No time for myself |

Case 6

23

Single

Science

She migrated with her family to Canada and considered the closeness of family ties crucial to her adjustment. During the interview, she expressed ambivalence regarding certain aspects of Western culture (e.g., casual relations and independence) while firmly believing that her professed need for commitment and permanence could only be found in the Chinese family. In the final analysis, she would "follow tradition, it would require too much courage to break through," an option she might have followed if she had migrated earlier or had been born in Canada.

Conflict situations on the grid reveal a split between the more rigid conception of family, marriage, career and interpersonal behavior (e.g., living at home, formal marriage, long-term career and passive social behavior) versus a more individual and carefree approach.

The first component is characterized by the appeal of "becoming more sociable, creative and independent" in contrast to leading a more restrictive and routine existence. Conflict can be inferred from the direct opposition between Chinese identity ($r = -.78$) and Western identity ($r = .76$). The second component deals

specifically with the limits of affective involvement with others (more privacy and time for self versus emotional responsiveness, deeper understanding and commitment). Guilt ($r = .84$) and confusion ($r = .59$) are strongly associated with less people involvement, whereas emotional responsiveness is aligned with the personal identity pole ($r = -.68$) and expansion ($r = -.64$).

Ratings on the grid indicate a stable position on primary relations. It is outside of this arena that considerable doubt and uncertainty seem to emerge. Ratings show a strong relation of Chinese identity with values such as responsibility and commitment, while Western identity is associated with openness, sociability and casual experimentation. However, it is important to note that personal identity and expansion are associated with a combination of traditional Chinese family values and some Western interpersonal behavioral changes.

The overall impression suggests conflicted superordinate values of self-expansion versus traditional security, which are reflected in the dichotomous interpretation of Chinese and Western values. The solution seems to be the peripheral development of personal identity in terms of social responsiveness.

The value conflict in this case, in many ways, illustrates Hsu's (1971) concept of psychosocial

homeostasis which claims the Chinese family and kinship system as the primary and continuous source of intimacy and that there is no need to extend from this permanent core for satisfaction of affectional needs. The subject discloses her much need nourishment from home and the fears of reaching out to peers.

Case 7

First Component

| | |
|---|--|
| Seeking individual happiness and expansion | /Fulfilling responsibilities toward family |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Seek personal happiness | /Fulfill obligations to parents |
| Elderly--intrusion into our lives | /Acceptance of elderly |
| Career development | /Family expectations |
| Career aspirations | /Family obligations |

Second Component

| | |
|---|---|
| Following tradition of a moral respectable Chinese woman | /Breaking away from traditional role expectations |
|---|---|

Contents

| | |
|--|--|
| Keep dignity as dignified Chinese girl | /Lose dignity |
| Old people are useless | /Real love and care for elderly |
| Choose husband who hasn't married before | /Choose husband who has married before |
| To lose love | /To gain love |
| Being the second wife is not second rated | /Being the second wife is second rated |

Case 7

26

Married

Architecture

She went to university in the United States, married later and moved to Vancouver to settle close to her family. During the interview, she described her adjustment as "full of contradiction," particularly her marriage to a divorcee with a child from the previous marriage. The status of such a union would, by Chinese standards, reduce her to the level of a concubine. Their eventual settlement in Vancouver was solely out of filial considerations in spite of the adverse economic situation which had left her an unemployed architect for over a year. However, she believed that migration had helped her to be more independent, especially in developing a career and making personal decisions, as opposed to the traditional dependence learned in Hong Kong. She also remarked that "Western values can become exaggerated through the pursuit of individualism and that when [she] comes to choose, [she] cannot really choose the norm."

Grid data and components analysis throw further light on her personal adjustment. Conflict situations reveal a strong orientation toward people and a capacity for emotional warmth (e.g., keeping her grandmother at home,

settling in Vancouver to be close to her family, and living common-law with a divorcee). The first component (seeking individual happiness and expansion versus fulfilling family responsibilities) reveals that personal happiness and career development are aligned in opposition to obligations toward parents and elders. Here, Western identity ($r = .55$) is aligned in reaction to Chinese identity ($r = -.65$), personal identity ($r = -.57$) and expansion ($r = -.54$). The second component suggests a puzzling mixture of stereotyped role conceptions and moral attitudes. This inconsistency ranges from traditional Chinese beliefs of marriage to Western views of romantic love and male/female equality. In this component, Western identity ($r = .51$) is aligned with personal identity ($r = .50$) and expansion ($r = .49$). It appears that the first component reflects her core role as a daughter while the second component contains primarily her role as a wife or life partner.

Her sense of contradiction, as expressed in the interview, is substantiated by grid ratings, with strong guilt (raw score = 7,6,7,5,7,5,6,7,7,5,7,7) observed on all situational options, indicating ambivalence and perhaps fear of reprisal (e.g., losing the dignity of a respectable Chinese woman versus losing love). Her concept of morality is also very much culture-bound and contradictory, reflecting typical moral/immoral behaviors of either culture

(e.g., filial responsibility and the husband's dominant role in marriage are associated with Chinese culture, while individualism and romantic love are related to Western values).

We are looking at an individual whose values and feelings are locked in a conflict--the conflict of her faith and fidelity to institutionalized beliefs which could be traced to a feudal Chinese society now very much in decline. The central issue appears to be her sense of duty versus her right to personal happiness. This incongruity probably reflects a desperate attempt to cling on and at the same time to disown some of these beliefs as she attempts to come to terms with her newly developed values.

Case 8

First Component

| | |
|--|---|
| Assimilation would mean different personal and cultural standards, less emotional support from family and growing emphasis on the individual | /Preserving Chinese values would mean closeness to and dependence on family |
|--|---|

Contents

| | |
|--|--|
| Integrate into new society Independence Different cultural values and interests Emotional separation from family and friends Less emotional support from family Develop own financial resources Rely on own judgment | /Not integrate /Dependence /Similar cultural values and interests /Closeness to family and friends /More emotional support from parents /Not develop own financial resources /Not rely on own judgment |
|--|--|

Second Component

Caring and ethnicity is /Not important
important

Contents

Personal love and interest /No love or interest

Racial identity is important /Not important

Case 8

26

Single

Pharmacy

She had migrated with her family to Vancouver. As she reconstructed her adjustment, she remembered being faced with some difficult choices but none particularly disturbing.

Conflict situations on the grid reveal ordinary life decisions surrounding place of education, settlement, choice of friends and dating preferences.

The first component suggests superordinate constructs regarding cultural assimilation and the personal meaning of integration with Canadian society. The chosen pole involves different personal standards, more self-reliance and less emotional support from family. The second component reveals subordinate constructs relating to social and heterosexual relations (i.e., her preference for a mixed group of Canadian and Chinese peers, though dating is restricted to Chinese men. This element of ethnicity could account for the remnants of a Chinese identity being observed in the second component). What is striking about her is that personal identity and expansion are dominant, both relating to the first component ($r = .60$ & $.53$). Chinese identity is irrelevant to the first component

($r = .03$) and weakly aligned to the second ($r = .43$).. Western identity is related to neither component ($r = .20$ & $.00$)..

This observation is validated by grid ratings in which she mostly center-rates herself (raw score = 4) on Chinese and Western identity, showing a neutral position and perhaps implying an absence of allegiance to either culture. However, the relatively high ratings on personal identity and expansion are suggestive of a more potent and meaningful construction.

Her main stream of thought appears to be directed toward the development and the consolidation of a self-identity, involving personal standards such as family values and behavioral competence. No strong identification with either culture is indicated.

Case 9^aFirst Component

Desire to be my own individual /Total conformity and
socialization

Contents

| | |
|---|--|
| Broaden horizon, personal development | /Lack of personal development |
| Not to follow tradition | /Tradition, the family should stay together |
| Independence | /Dependence |
| Freedom to be myself, no need to fit into stereo- typed roles | /Fit into the mode |
| Not submitting to fear of parental authority | /Fear of parental author- ity or manipulation |
| Educational knowledge and exposure to different cultures | /Little educational opportunity |
| No financial security | /Financial security |
| Emotional security with people from any background | /Security with people from similar cultural background |

Second Component

Commitment to religion

/Lack of religious
commitment

Content

Religion--to serve God:

/Not to serve God

Case 9

30

Married

Theology

The subject sounded very enthusiastic about her settlement in North America, first as a student and now as an immigrant. She recalled having a great desire for autonomy and achievement in Hong Kong. The West had offered opportunity for expansion in a similar direction. Her major life goals were to become her own individual and to promote her Christian beliefs. She had been consistent in taking risks at various periods of her life and she clarified that "what is observed as risking behavior is a means to an end--the desire to be [her] own person."

Conflict situations on the grid show a movement away from family restrictions toward a greater control over her life. This can be illustrated by her decisions to live by herself, marry a Caucasian, make independent financial decisions, travel and return to graduate school.

The first component (desire to be my own individual versus total conformity and socialization) reveals the constructs which dominate many decisions. "Independence, personal development, furthering knowledge" are in direct conflict with the deference to authority prescribed by parents, tradition and economic conditions. Supportive

evidence can be drawn from the correlations on personal identity ($r = .74$) and expansion ($r = .77$) and a concomitant reaction against Chinese identity ($r = -.50$) and guilt ($r = -.65$). The second component suggests a commitment to religion, which is affirmed by her return to theology school for advanced studies.

Ratings on the grid show that guilt is associated with learned family values such as parental consultation, job security and financial accumulation. She perceives such options as strengthening Chinese identity which she has rejected in favor of a personal identity. This is shown by strong ratings on personal identity and expansion indicating a more meaningful alliance. Western identity tends to be center-rated (raw score = 4), implying that Western values do not really enter into the scheme of things.

The profile appears to be a person who has developed a clear sense of self-identity in relating to tradition and environment. There is a definite reaction against Chinese values which are represented in traditional socialization. She has chosen a more individualistic approach which, combined with her religious commitment, remain the motivating forces in her life.

Case 10

First Component

| | |
|--|--|
| Concern for others and social security | /Individual concerns and lack of social security |
|--|--|

Contents

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Away from friends and relatives in Hong Kong | /Close to friends and relatives |
| More protection for work | /No protection for work |
| Sense of community, mutual assistance | /Lack of mutual assistance |
| Helping people | /More self-interests |
| More educational opportunities | /Fewer educational opportunities |

Second Component

| | |
|---|--|
| Meaningful personal ties and career advancement | /Less meaningful ties, less career advancement |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Easy to relate, more sharing of past experiences | /Very little to talk about |
| Chance of promotion | /Less chance of promotion |
| More comfortable lifestyle | /Less comfortable lifestyle |

Case 10

24

Single

Pharmacy

Emigrating with her entire family had assisted her initial adjustment. She remembered being aware of some lifestyle differences such as doing housework versus relying on Hong Kong servants. She missed the people she had left behind; however, this was gradually replaced by the warmth and friendliness in her suburban neighbourhood. As time went on, she had grown to like Canada and to appreciate the liberal values integral to this society.

The conflict situations on the grid are very much along this line, a mixture of social and personal concerns (i.e., preference for education, work system, peers, place of settlement) which reveals the general thrust of her adjustment: a movement toward Western ideals and values.

As noted in the first component, construct poles such as "work protection, sense of community, mutual assistance, and more educational opportunities" are closely aligned in contrast to construct poles of "closeness to family and friends, self-interests and lack of work protection." Responses suggest the development of social concerns as opposed to self-oriented needs. This component probably mirrors her adoption of liberal attitudes in Canada as

compared to the more business-oriented philosophy of Hong Kong. The chosen construct poles are strongly aligned with Western identity ($r = .90$).

The second component suggests an emphasis on personal issues such as career development, comfort with one's ethnic group and former lifestyle. The chosen poles are strongly aligned with Chinese identity ($r = .69$).

As inferred from the results, it appears that her personal sphere of meaning has been expanded to include social concerns with personal needs taking on a more peripheral position. Raw data observation supports the notion that liberal attitudes tend to augment personal identity and expansion while the opposing options tend to have the reverse effect.

What is observed is an alignment of core values with Western identity and the alignment of peripheral values with Chinese identity. This could indicate a compartmentalization of values into functional clusters, an adaptive way of viewing her world: a clear identification with Western values regarding social issues and a preservation of Chinese values in her personal life. In terms of construct application, both sets of values are meaningful within a different context of her life.

Case 11

First Component

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Meaningful, in-depth relationship | /Casual, superficial relationship |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

Contents

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Interested in in-depth friendship | /Not interested |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Serious relationship | /Casual superficial |
|----------------------|---------------------|

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Consider dating as part of process of marriage | /Unrelated process |
|---|--------------------|

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Dating is not for fun | /Dating for fun |
|-----------------------|-----------------|

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Importance of family and parental expectations | /Unimportant |
|---|--------------|

Second Component

| | |
|---|--|
| Professional, practical career aspirations | /Less practical, more general interests |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| More practical training | /Less practical |
|-------------------------|-----------------|

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Professional training, job opportunities | /Fewer job opportunities |
|---|--------------------------|

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Less interest in general knowledge | /Interest in general knowledge |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Respected regardless of whatever job | /Lack of respect for some jobs |
|---|-----------------------------------|

Case 11

22.

Single

General arts

She emigrated with her family to Vancouver. Cross-cultural contact outside her ethnic milieu has been confined to school, work and church activities.

Conflict situations on the grid evolve around personal relations and career decisions. For example, in the first component, "serious relationship, dating as a process of marriage, importance of family expectations" are aligned in contrast to a shallow understanding. This sober outlook covers all aspects of personal relations (family, marriage, friendship), and is aligned with the Chinese identity pole ($r = .75$), personal identity ($r = .55$) and expansion ($r = .61$). The casual and superficial is aligned with Western identity ($r = -.85$), and guilt ($r = -.63$) and confusion ($r = -.59$).

The second component reveals career concerns: "more practical, professional training, job opportunity" versus "general interests and knowledge." Career considerations seem minimally related to Chinese identity ($r = -.10$) and Western identity ($r = .07$). Also, raw data on career options tend to be neutral, unrelated to cultural identity.

In this case, immigration problems are minimized by a clear affirmation and perpetuation of Chinese values and a rejection of Western values regarding human relations.

Superordinate constructs such as commitment and responsibility determine her involvement with people.

While career considerations are primarily defined in terms of utility, quite independent of cultural identification, she clarified that personal interests would be a decisive factor in her career choice. This could be an area of loosening when her range of experience is enhanced by new interests and challenges.

Case 12

First Component

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| To be integrated into | /Maintaining Chinese |
| Canadian society | culture means isolated |
| | from host society |

Contents

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Frustration | /Comfort, lack of |
| | pressure |
| Acceptance by Canadian | /Rejection |
| society | |
| More contact with society | /Isolation |
| Avoid exploitation | /Be exploited |
| Give up heritage language | /Maintain Chinese culture |
| Fight for one's rights | /Harmony |

Second Component

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| To develop career in spite | /Give up career |
| of difficulties | |

Contents

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| Show interest at work | /Show disinterest |
| Conflicted between two | /Avoid confusion |
| cultures | |
| Canadian-recognized | /Lack of recognized |
| professional training | training |

Case 12

33

Married

Social work

She migrated with her husband and children to Vancouver. Since he could not find similar employment here, he returned to teaching in Hong Kong; while she stayed in Canada with their preschool children. The early years were extremely frustrating, adjusting to a new environment while he joined them briefly during the summer holidays. She remembered her first experiences of shovelling snow, getting groceries--daily chores that became magnified as she led the secluded life of a single parent in a new culture. Her return to work and continuing education were made possible with his permanent return recently.

Elicited conflict situations are primarily concerned with ethnic parenting and the role demands of career versus motherhood. On one hand, she feels obliged to raise her children in their cultural heritage, stressing social harmony, Chinese language and customs. On the other hand, they should be raised as Canadians, independent, assertive and fluent in English. She fears her confusion may affect their upbringing. Furthermore, she feels guilty about her career development, which conflicts with her traditional belief in full-time motherhood.

The basic struggle appears to be her confused superordinate constructs of assimilation versus preservation of Chinese culture. The first component reflects some of this uncertainty. The chosen poles of "frustration, need for acceptance, contact with society, avoid exploitation" are aligned with Western identity ($r = .92$) while the opposing poles (lack of pressure, rejection and isolation from society, maintaining Chinese culture) are aligned with Chinese identity ($r = -.75$). It seems evident that with such disaccord she is unsure of her position on parenting.

Concern for career development is reflected in the second component. Her interest in work and continuing education are aligned with personal identity ($r = .62$) and expansion ($r = .70$).

The major conflict appears to be that of assimilation versus maintaining ethnicity. She is aware of the alternative perspective of acculturation and the effects this has on their lives. At present she feels torn between the values she should expound at work and at home. The results show a divided core configuration and the development of a work-related personal identity--a comparatively safe area where she can expand Western values such as assertiveness and openness. Her work identity could be an avenue of change and a bridge in reducing social and cultural alienation.

Case 13

First Component

Freedom in pursuing self- /Security and tradition
development

Contents:

More freedom /Restraint

Transient relations /Permanence, security

Be myself /Submit to others'
 opinions

More career development /Less career development

Personal development /Follow tradition

Broaden knowledge /Limit learning opportuni-
 ties

Second Component

Duty toward parents, support /Total estrangement
and approval from family

Contents:

Spend time with parents /Not fulfilling obligation
 toward parents

Companionship, support from /Alienation
family

Family approval /Disapproval

Case 13

26

Married

Social work

For the first years of migration, she was on her own, living in a university residence with Canadian peers. Reacting to the stifling atmosphere in which she was brought up (an overprotective family and a conservative girls' school), she went through a cycle of total rejection of Chinese values. Migrating later, her family found it hard to accept the change which they considered "eccentric" and "a bad example to the younger sisters and brothers." As she said, she paid a price for independence and often wondered if it was worth the widening rift with her family.

Conflict situations on the grid reflect decisions concerning living conditions, network of friends, permanent immigration and educational pursuit. Inherent in these choices appear to be a moving away from defined Chinese norms toward a more individualistic interpretation of standards.

The component results show value configurations which are parallel to this line of reasoning. The first component (freedom in pursuing self-development versus security and tradition) reveals concerns about the pursuit

of personal growth in relations, career and education. Here, personal identity ($r = .62$) and expansion ($r = .59$) are aligned with Western identity ($r = .71$) and in opposition to Chinese identity ($r = -.67$). Ratings on the situational options support a similar interpretation.

Her feeling for family, as revealed in the interview, is reflected in the second component (duty toward parents, support and approval from family versus total estrangement). Though family-centered values have taken a subordinate position to individual-centered values, they continue to contribute to personal expansion ($r = .44$). Also, the frequent ratings on confusion may suggest general uncertainty respecting the choice of self versus family.

What has emerged is an individual's reaction against the restraint and dependence intrinsic to Chinese identity. She has opted for the more flexible personal development available in Western society. However, it seems that she has not rejected or severed her family bonds, but rather has managed to place the elements of this potential conflict more at right angles to one another, where the conflict is occasional rather than typical.

Case 14

First Component

| | |
|--|--|
| To be accepted into Canadian society requires taking on different values | /To be oneself and to keep tradition may risk alienation |
|--|--|

Contents

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Acceptance into society | /Not being accepted |
| Adjust to new society faster | /Reserved, not adjust |
| Take on another's values | /Be oneself |
| Disrespectful to teachers | /Tradition, respect for teachers |

Second Component

| | |
|---|--|
| To be reserved in interaction with others | /Responsive to new influences and people |
|---|--|

Contents

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Reserve own ideas, not be influenced | /Accepting new ideas |
| To protect myself | /Be open |
| Superficial relationship | /Good friendship |
| Emotionally unstable and unhealthy | /Emotionally stable and healthy |

Case 14

24

Single

Electrical engineering

She recalled being very guarded with people on her first arrival in Canada. On one hand, she believed that migration has helped her to mature faster; she has met new friends and has had new experiences. On the other hand, she would prefer some continuity with her previous way of life.

Conflict situations on the grid reveal mixed emotions regarding interpersonal relations, ranging from a need to validate core values such as respect for elders, to hiding emotions, to a more open interpretation of male/female friendship.

There is some ambivalence toward the cultural differences of values in the first component and its effect on concrete personal relations in the second. The first component reveals a desire to be accepted into the mainstream of Canadian society, contrary to the need to be oneself, preserve tradition, and risk alienation. The issue appears to be a reluctance to take on another's values and the vulnerability of being influenced. Her attitude toward assimilation appears ambiguous, as illustrated in the polar opposition between Western

identity ($r = .78$) and Chinese identity ($r = -.64$) and the overall sense of guilt and confusion observed in her ratings of accepted and rejected options.

The contradictory nature of her personal relations is disclosed in the second component. It raises concerns regarding the degree of openness with friends, the forms of intimacy between male and female, and the need for self-protection by being superficial. It seems that with increased exposure to people, she has experienced some fears of closeness and is questioning her previous attitudes toward personal relations. The option of "responsiveness to new influences and people" is aligned with "good friendship, emotional stability and health," and could potentially offer room for expansion ($r = -.75$).

The trend suggests a clash of core values. Her personal relations on a concrete, day-to-day level are probably the area where she can get meaningful verification and where she can seek further extension.

Case 15

First Component

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Fostering a career | /Promoting full motherhood and family life |
|--------------------|---|

Contents

| | |
|---|---|
| No time with baby | /Closer contact, spent more time with baby |
| Keep myself occupied | /Idle |
| Mutual benefit in taking care of each other | /Conflicts in extended family |
| Improper growth of child-- breakup of marriage | /Proper growth of child-- main linkage in marital relations |
| I can work | /Stay home and look after my child |

Second Component

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| To consolidate marriage and career | /Marital breakup and ca- reer dissatisfaction |
|---------------------------------------|--|

Contents

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Strengthen my marriage | /Divorce |
| Career specialization | /Do clerical job the rest of my life |
| Work with people of my own race | /Work in a predominantly white society |
| Root to the family | /Rootlessness |

Case 15

32

Married

Urban planning

She migrated with her husband and child to Vancouver. With a university degree from Hong Kong, she could only obtain clerical work. Her career aspirations were further blocked by conflicting role expectations. Her husband sees her primarily in the role of a "homemaker which [she] has accepted as part of [her] duty, and which [she] believes that there is no true equality in a Chinese family." After two years, she returned to graduate school; this move was prompted by "aimless" clerical work and the perceived discrepancy between her husband's career advancement and her own lagging-behind.

Conflict situations surround family responsibilities and career development. The chosen options (e.g., return to school, sale of home to finance studies while home symbolizes "root to the family", not having a second child) are in direct defiance of conventional Chinese expectations of a homemaker, wife and mother.

Component analysis emphasizes this dilemma. The first component reveals conflict of working role versus mothering role with Chinese values strengthening mothering role and the concept of work perhaps reflecting a minor theme of

Western culture. Constructs such as "no time with baby, improper growth of child, keeping myself occupied" are aligned to illustrate her preoccupation with child-rearing and work. Emotional distress of not being able to integrate both roles and the fear of negative consequences (e.g., marital breakup, neglect of child's upbringing) could be inferred.

The second component highlights alignment of marriage and family with career advancement, requiring more study or specialization. No conflict is observed in this component.

Chinese identity is an ambiguous guide in this Western situation for it affirms the role of mother in contrast to working woman in the first component, but in the second component, affirms marriage and family roots which are aligned with career advancement in contrast to menial work. Thus, her Chinese identity ambiguously confirms antagonistic pressures in her current situation, which is underlined by her increased sense of confusion regarding career pursuits in the first component and decreased sense of confusion regarding career specialization in the second.

Advanced study is possibly a temporary solution to these warring and confusing pressures, for it both partially takes on yet puts off the potent conflict in the

first component. Also, the second component which supports advanced study provides an unconflicted basis for personal identity ($r = .52$) and expansion ($r = .59$).

Given the potency of her situation, Western culture seems almost secondary, like a remote conflict she has yet really to face. She is too overwhelmed by the immediate situation.

Summary of Case Studies

In summary, case studies reveal a complex picture of acculturation. What this study is concerned with are what life looks like from the individuals' focus of values, how these women feel, what they experience and remember in their own process of adjustment, and the reasons for their choosing and acting on certain decisions. The findings indicate acculturation to be embedded in a host of factors such as (a) the context of migration, voluntary versus involuntary, whether they come alone or with family, what is left behind: relationships, career, (b) the reasons for migration: education, work, political stability, or better opportunities, (c) the family structure involved: strength of family ties in preserving heritage or facilitating assimilation, (d) their definition of core role identity (i.e., daughter, wife, mother, working woman) and whether the host culture supports the transfer of this major role dimension, (e) personality characteristics and outlook, and (f) situational demands and emotional factors.

The case studies demonstrate both the commonality and the diversity of these immigrant women. The commonality of the core clusters of values (ten out of fifteen cases) are concerned with personal development as opposed to preserving family values and traditional role conceptions. The rest (five out of fifteen) are associated with

individual adjustment to the host society. The peripheral clusters of values are more dispersed, with concerns ranging from personal relations (eight out of fifteen), career development (four out of fifteen) to religious and social commitment (three out of fifteen).

Despite the commonality of value themes, diversity in personal interpretations is observed. For example, family relations are perceived as being nurturing and supportive by some, but restrictive and confining by others. As another example, the meaning of friendship also varies. Transient Western relations are construed as superficial and irresponsible versus genuine and liberating.

However, of major importance, there appear to be reasonably definite structural patterns which suggest various modes or strategies of handling conflicts. The following is a description of the different strategies as they are inferred from the structural alignment of the personal value systems.

1. Reaction against Chinese identity: This pattern reflects a reaction against the perceived constraints of Chinese culture. Contained in this category are obligations toward family, dependence and security, stereotyped roles and submergence in a collective identity. These elements are construed as a block against developing individuality. Inherent in this mode of adjustment is an

opting for the Western values of individual expansion, happiness and freedom. The major thrust of personal development is toward westernization, which forces a loosening of socialization and facilitates assimilation. Cases 2, 3, 7, 9, 13 are illustrative of this pattern of adjustment. In most of these cases, Chinese and Western identity are in polar opposition, with an alignment of personal identity with Western values in reaction against Chinese identity.

2. Realignment on peripheral values: Where the core constructs are divided between Chinese and Western values and no resolution is forthcoming, maneuvering around this impasse can be noted in the alignment of personal identity with peripheral, conflict-free constructs involving personal relations, career and the like. This pattern can be recognized in Cases 1, 6, 12, 14. All involve opposing core values, with discord between Chinese and Western identity. Presumably, an alternative is sought in the peripheral constructs where personal identity can be posited on a less conflicting base.

3. Cultivation of a core personal identity: The dominant structural pattern involves an apparent cultivation of a core personal identity, irrespective of culture or perhaps as a result of a conflict between cultures. This pattern is illustrated by Cases 8 and 5.

Central values are strongly associated with a personal identity while cultural identities are neutral. On the other hand, warring values between cultures may contribute to the enhancement of an individual identity. This mode represents a growing emphasis on the individual and the recognition and pursuit of personal needs. Culture may be regarded as irrelevant or transcended.

4. Compartmentalization: This poses a solution where core and peripheral value clusters each represent a different cultural orientation. In terms of construct organization, this offers a functional, nonconflicting way of dealing with an otherwise chaotic, potentially conflictful world. Cultures are viewed at right angles to one another, separate, distinct, and not in total disagreement. Case 10 is supportive of this mode of adjustment: an alignment of core values with Western identity and the alignment of peripheral values with Chinese identity. In terms of construct application, both sets of values can be meaningful within a different context or situation.

5. Affirmation of Chinese identity: This strategy reflects the affirmation and the perpetuation of traditional values in a new cultural environment. Chinese identity is maintained to ensure the sense of continuity

interrupted by migration. Previous cultural values constitute the main and consistent source of validation. This confirmation of Chinese identity is by necessity accompanied with a resistance against assimilation and a clear rejection of Western values. This position can be illustrated by Case 11. Chinese values are affirmed as the primary mode of construing, in opposition to Western values.

6. Positive expansion against Chinese identity: This pattern also retains a sense of continuity with tradition, as expansion is anchored on and in contrast to Chinese identity, with a broadening of traditional roles and values. This pattern is distinct from the mode of reaction against Chinese identity where a major adoption of Western values is observed. Western culture may not be involved in this adjustment process. Cases 4 and 15 appear to demonstrate this strategy, although a weak relationship is present in terms of positive expansion against Chinese identity.

Whatever the adaptive strategies, the findings clearly indicate that these immigrant women experience individual conflicts and frame life options differentially. There are idiosyncratic patterns of adjustment. Each pattern is reflective of different experiences and interpretations of value conflict.

These six patterns of adjustment are most appropriately viewed in the context of discovery rather than confirmation. That is, generalization to a population would be inappropriate, and as noted above, undesirable. However, by the logic of single case studies (Chassan, 1979), what is true for one person is likely to be true for at least some others. At present, there is no basis for anticipating who is apt to manifest a particular pattern, nor is there a basis for understanding the broader context of these patterns. For example, the patterns might be types of adjustment or stages of adjustment. How they change is currently unknown. This study has indicated six kinds of patterns, which can serve as a basis for further questions and research.

Chapter VII

The Nature of Conflict Situations

An Examination of Situational Options:

The focus of this chapter is an examination of situational options and the kinds of decision that generate value conflict. Exploration can help clarify the nature of values involved, how they are polarized, affirmed or rejected. The analysis will provide useful information for counsellors in their work with immigrants.

To recapitulate, each subject was asked to recall six situations in which she had to make a decision in adjusting to a new cultural environment. These situations involved things which seemed most important to the subject and covered her main interests, concerns and important areas of her life. She was then asked to identify the option chosen and the option rejected in each situation. As a result, a total of ninety situations were collected from the fifteen subjects, each characterized by opposing options.

Through a process of inference and judgment, a set of categories is formulated to classify the conflict situations. These ninety situations can be classified into seven main categories: relations with other people, career and education, personal being and acting, staying or moving, living arrangement, financial, recreational and

religious. A reliability check over .95 agreement is obtained by having judges categorize the situations under the various headings.

The following is a description of the seven main categories and their sub-categories.

1. Relations with other people: (a) relations with parents and family, for example, involving questions of total versus peripheral involvement. Individual fulfilment is at variance with family obligations and unity in most cases, (b) relations with spouses and boyfriends, involving a conventional versus an unconventional outlook on casual dating, common-law cohabitation and interracial marriage. Feelings of companionship, love, and commitment, expansion and sharing of one's ethnic identity are included, (c) relations with friends chiefly covering emotional responsiveness outside of one's primary relations. Important aspects consist of communication, openness and acceptance versus self-protectiveness and limited involvement, and (d) relations with teachers which include maintaining respect for authority versus initiating a more egalitarian relationship. This sub-category reflects basic cultural differences in the educational system, one based on unquestioning obedience and rote learning from the old

Table 7.1
Classification of situations into categories
and percentages

| Category | | No. of Situations | % |
|----------|---|----------------------|-------|
| 1. | Relations with other people | Total: 26 | 28.86 |
| | a) parents and family | 8 | 8.88 |
| | b) spouses and boyfriends | 8 | 8.88 |
| | c) friends | 8 | 8.88 |
| | d) teachers | 2 | 2.22 |
| 2. | Career and education | Total: 23 | 25.54 |
| | a) type of institution, program | 10 | 11.11 |
| | b) return to school versus working | 4 | 4.44 |
| | c) career versus family | 4 | 4.44 |
| | d) preference for work/educational system | 3 | 3.33 |
| | e) part-time employment | 2 | 2.22 |
| 3. | Personal acting and being | Total: 18 | 19.98 |
| | a) friendliness | 8 | 8.88 |
| | b) general lifestyle | 5 | 5.55 |
| | c) social-philosophical outlook | 4 | 4.44 |
| | d) decision making | 1 | 1.11 |

Table 7.1 (continued)

| Category | No. of Situations | | % |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|----|-------|
| 4. Staying or moving | Total: | 11 | 12.21 |
| a) staying in Vancouver | | | |
| versus moving | | 7 | 7.77 |
| b) stay in Canada versus | | | |
| return to Hong Kong | | 4 | 4.44 |
| 5. Living arrangement | Total: | 7 | 7.77 |
| living on one's own versus | | | |
| living with family | | | |
| 6. Financial decisions | Total: | 3 | 3.33 |
| 7. Recreational and religious | | | |
| activities | Total: | 2 | 2.22 |

culture, and the other espousing a more stimulating approach.

2. Career and education: Major concerns involve the choice of career, type of program or institution, return to school, home-career conflict, part-time employment and the preference for specific work/educational system. The main issue surrounds the utility of a career, with emphasis on the perceived need for acquisition of practical employment skills (a prevalent theme in the immigrant's search for survival and security in a new environment) as opposed to the pursuit of intellectual or personal interests. Family responsibilities play an important role in decisions regarding continuing education.

3. Personal being and acting: This category covers interpersonal behavior in terms of the degree of sociability, friendliness and warmth; it implies the broadening of customary feminine passive behavior and the adoption of a more candid, relaxed disposition. The recent acquisition of a social-philosophical outlook is contrasted with traditional self-oriented needs and materialistic stance. Behavioral norms at school, at home and around one's ethnic community are also being questioned.

4. Staying or moving: This group contains decisions regarding place of permanent or temporary settlement, for example, staying in Vancouver or moving away to other

cities. Deciding factors such as proximity to family and emotional support versus individual mobility and expansion are indicated. Another example involves staying in Canada or returning to Hong Kong, a persistent theme of immigrant adjustment, that is, nostalgia for and the need to return to one's roots and home of origin.

5. Living arrangements: Living on one's own versus living with one's family constitutes the main conflict of this category. Individuation from family versus traditional dependence is at stake here.

6. Financial decisions involve consultation with family regarding financial support and investment. The conflict again involves independence versus dependence.

7. The last category comprises recreational and religious activities to enhance the quality of one's life.

The examination of situational options shows a recurrent pattern of practical everyday decisions and actions. What is striking is that amid these mundane situations are found extremely potent value conflicts. It is not so much the extraordinary, but the very ordinary that is a site for continuing struggle. Conflict may manifest itself in relationships, career/education, social behavior or seemingly simple matters such as living arrangements, place of settlement, financial decisions, etc. The situations suggest an uneasy alliance with

traditional guiding values, an awareness of alternative perspective with an inevitable choice between two opposing dimensions. It is as if suddenly all common situations seem to heighten one's consciousness of alternative values and pressures, which demand a choice.

The Analysis of a Decision

The ordinariness of the conflict situations belies its potency. This is illustrated by an analysis of a decision from a case study. Following the raw data presentation of the elicited bipolar values and with the aid of the supplied constructs, an attempt is made to align the constructs and to draw some inferences.

In organizing case material, Cochran (1980) emphasizes the roles of contrast and alignment. Alignment of constructs accomplishes certain goals: (a) "overload is managed through grouping," (b) "the relationship among constructs allow one to use or understand a person's interpretive system of inferences," and c) "aligning constructs allows one to observe the type of reality a person is constructing, and consequently, acting on and reacting to" (p. 136). Aligning constructs, in this case, can clarify the nature of conflict, particularly the values that are implicated, affirmed or polarized in the process of decision making.

The example involves "living by myself versus living with family," the raw data are extracted from the grid and the two columns are considered as alternatives of a decision.

Alignment of the poles of the constructs shows that the more potent values such as "loneliness, alienation and disapproval from family, independence, freedom, transient relations" are strongly related, in sharp contrast to "family approval, support, companionship, dependence, restraint, permanence and security." Other values such as personal development, expanding knowledge and career are implicated in the process; however, they are not as directly affected when compared to the more influential values.

The main psychological features attached to "living on one's own" appear to be independence and the loss of family support, while the alternative of "living with family" means dependence and affectional support. This is quite a split and one can begin to understand the dilemma of the subject's situation and the polarity with which it is construed. According to her construction, independence is costly, involving alienation from family. In this way, by examining what goes with what, one can begin to make sense of the way her values are being structured and interrelated, and by inference, the way she construes the

reality of her situation and options, and the risks involved.

An inspection of the supplied constructs reveals the emotional conditions and the identity issues which this particular decision has engendered. The chosen pole of living on one's own is strongly aligned with guilt and Western identity, while the rejected option of living with family reduces guilt, and enhances Chinese identity. Chinese and Western identity are definitely pulled in opposite directions. Both options, though creating confusion, are construed as strengthening and expanding personal identity.

This example and many others illustrate in a concrete way the dilemmas and the possibilities of decision making within the real life context of the immigrant women. The significance and the broader impact of such decisions lies far beyond the apparently simple situations.

An Example from Case 13

Accepted Option

Living by myself

Rejected Option

Living with family

Value ConstructsRatingsBipolar Contrasts

More freedom

7 2

Restraint

More career development

6 4

Less career development

Companionship

1 7

Loneliness

Broaden knowledge

7 5

Limited learning
opportunities

Personal development

7 5

Follow tradition

Fear of embarrassment

3 4

Ignore others' opinions

Support from family

1 7

Alienation

Spend time with family

1 6

Not fulfill parental
obligations

Family disapproval

7 1

Approval

Permanence, security

2 7

Transient relations

Dependence

1 7

Independence

Be my own person

6 3

Submit to others'
opinions

| <u>Supplied Constructs</u> | <u>Ratings</u> | <u>Bipolar Contrasts</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Strengthens: | | Weakens: |
| Chinese identity | 2 7 | Chinese identity |
| Western identity | 7 2 | Western identity |
| Personal identity | 7 5 | Personal identity |
| Expansion of personal identity | 6 5 | Expansion of personal identity |
| Guilt | 6 1 | No guilt |
| Confusion and uncertainty | 7 5 | No confusion and uncertainty |

7 -- very

6 -- moderately

5 -- slightly

4 -- neutral/nonapplicable

3 -- slightly

2 -- moderately

1 -- very

Chapter VIII

Discussion

The results indicate that both the first and second principal components are psychologically meaningful, in several major senses. They organized constructs in a meaningful and illuminating way. The superordinate entitlements which characterized the nature of the clusters of constructs were reflective of subjective adjustment experiences. Validation from the subjects and from the independent judges subjectively verified the organization of the clusters and the appropriateness of the themes. Through the interviews, the subjects were able to elaborate the meaning of the clusters through providing information about their concrete life experiences as immigrants. Lastly, the superordinate entitlements or named themes, when used to re-rate situational options, correlated strongly with options scores on corresponding components. In short, the meaningfulness of the value clusters are validated and affirmed, denoting the dimensions of variations to be reasonably stable and accurate subsystems of meaning.

Second, group findings suggest that the first principal component tends to reflect both Chinese and Western identity in polar opposition. Personal identity

and expansion of personal identity tend to relate rather strongly to one component or the other. Guilt, confusion and uncertainty tend to be more weakly and negligibly aligned with one component or the other. Aside from a tendency for Chinese and Western identity to conflict on the first component, the findings reveal no orderly group portrait of construct organization within the process of acculturation.

Third, case studies indicate six individual patterns of construct organization in dealing with value conflict: (a) a reaction against Chinese identity, (b) a realignment with peripheral values as a result of a conflicted core between Chinese and Western values, (c) the cultivation of a core personal identity irrespective of culture or as a response to conflict between cultures, (d) compartmentalization where core and peripheral values are separated into functional nonconflicting clusters, (e) an affirmation of Chinese identity with a clear rejection of Western values, and (f) positive expansion against Chinese identity in which Western values may not be implicated in the adjustment process. While there is no overall group pattern, there are six rather well-defined individual patterns of construct organization, which offer different possibilities for psychological adaptation in a new culture. The six patterns will require extension or

confirmation. However, they are generalizable on the basis that what is true for one person is apt to be true for some others (Chassan, 1979).

Limitations. There are two major considerations in assessing the present findings. First, most of the subjects selected come from a university environment (i.e., students, recent graduates or women about to return to university). Therefore, the subjects are on average more highly educated than a normal population of Chinese immigrant women from Hong Kong. Second, the age bracket of this sample is from twenty to thirty-three. Of the fifteen subjects, eight are single and seven are married. These characteristics may affect the results and could reflect issues and concerns typical of this group.

In view of the restricted sample in education and age, caution is needed to interpret and to generalize the present data. Further, the evidence is limited by the methodology employed and should be validated by other methods.

Theoretical Implications

Conflict. One finding of major theoretical significance is the nature of conflict that is revealed. Individual and collective results strongly suggest that value conflicts experienced by these immigrant women are

potent and pervasive. The pervasiveness and the potent nature cover every aspect of the immigrant's life: self-development, relationships, career and social commitment. These characteristics, as revealed by the contents of the first and second principal components, are strongly suggestive of the extremity of conflict.

A second feature of the nature of conflict is that cultures are cast in opposition. Results show that Chinese and Western identity are in diametrical opposition, both perspectives being present particularly in the central constructs. This finding means that Western values are not peripheral but enter the core as antagonists to Chinese identity. Acculturation appears to have heightened the awareness of both cultures which are cast in direct opposition and poses significant contrasts and differences. This finding is supportive of Harris's (1975) model which attributes culture shock experiences to central and significant identity demands; the former culture is seen as providing a set of expectations about the self which the new culture may or may not validate. This heightened awareness of both cultures also seems to illustrate some of the features described in various developmental transition models (Adler, 1975; Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979), in which a process of active contrast is taking place.

A third characteristic is that conflict abounds in the

ordinary. The exploration of situational options reflects a pattern of such everyday practical decisions and actions as, for example, the form of relations with parents and spouses, the meaning of friendship and its commitment. Other examples include appropriate interpersonal behavior, career choice and change, living arrangements, staying or moving, financial and recreational decisions. What is compelling is that the very ordinary becomes the basis for pervasive and continuing conflict. It seems that transition has raised the immigrant woman's consciousness of alternative values and pressures, which demand a choice.

The assumptive basis of this study is that value conflict within the process of acculturation can be illuminated by the way an individual's constructs are organized. This study strongly suggests that group portraits are very limited. The more one analyzes the group data, the more apparent it becomes that each of these subjects finds herself holding what amounts to mutually contradictory positions. If we probe deeper, we find that this picture of contradictions created by the group result really arises from a very rich and complex process (of necessity different for each individual and therefore idiosyncratic by nature), of transition from one culture to another. The richness and the complexity of this process

and adjustment patterns can only be adequately grasped through an analysis on a case by case basis.

Structural patterns of managing conflict. As revealed in the individual cases, the structural patterns of managing conflict have certain implications for psychological adjustment.

The first pattern reflects a reaction against Chinese identity and a major alignment with Western values. This newly acquired outlook may facilitate assimilation but, as Richardson (1967) states, "though he may become like his hosts in many ways, the new attitudes, beliefs and behaviors that he acquires will always be set within the context of a basically different personality structure" (p. 4). A reaction against Chinese identity implies a rejection of previous socialization with the replacement of a vastly dissimilar value system. Such a transformation could have immense implications for the entire construct system. This rejection could affect traditional emotional bonds and relations with one's ethnic community. Mixed emotions of guilt, confusion and grief may result from such radical changes in thinking and valuing. Such a pattern of adjustment is similar to the description of the "marginal man" as conceptualized by Sue and Sue (1971).

The second pattern suggests a realignment on peripheral values as a response to a conflicted core. What

is manifested is an identity which is developed on peripheral constructs which are relatively conflict-free. Discord between Western and Chinese values remains potent with no resolution in sight. Adjustment is usually channelled through a specific area (e.g., career, education or friends) while the central theme of personality and the position of living remain unclear.

The third pattern involves the cultivation of a core personal identity. Since this strategy is based on personal needs with the adoption of values that are personally relevant and meaningful, this pattern probably offers the maximum opportunity for self-growth. It appears to be more defensible against the stresses of transition because it is anchored on personal choice, yet it tends to be anchored, temporarily at least, outside culture as the individual perceives it.

The fourth pattern of compartmentalization seems to be an efficient way of dealing with the demands of both cultures. However, this entails a double set of norms--one for contact with the host society and one for private existence with one's ethnic enclave. The rapid changes in personality to accommodate situational demands may create confusion in oneself and one's personal relations. Furthermore, depending on the situational context and

perspective, such behaviors may be interpreted by others as inconsistent or different.

The fifth pattern of affirmation of Chinese identity provides a sense of continuity in a new cultural environment. The individual may feel that there is no problem in adjustment or, even if a problem is recognized, she may feel no need to confront or face the host society. Superficial instrumental adaptation is practised with no desire to change traditional ways of thinking. The repercussion comes when the individual steps outside of her secure ethnic milieu and is faced with consistent invalidation from the host society regarding behaviors, attitudes and values. Also, her rejection of Western values may pose difficulties in terms of acceptance from the host surrounding. This pattern appears to support the notion of the "traditionalist" as espoused by Sue and Sue (1971).

The last pattern of positive expansion against Chinese identity seems to retain the sense of continuity and tradition. Expansion is anchored on Chinese identity and made possible by a flexible broadening of roles and values. This pattern, like the others (e.g., realignment on peripheral values, cultivation of a core personal identity), involves change and risk-taking, but, unlike some others (e.g., reaction against Chinese identity,

affirmation of Chinese identity), does not entail a radical disowning of or stringent attachment to one's previous heritage and the negative consequences that follow. This coping strategy appears to concur with the description of the "Asian American" (Sue & Sue, 1971).

The theoretical significance implied by the six structural patterns suggests that there is no clear cut norm or model but potentially many diverse strategies of adjustment. The patterns seem to confirm the basic conceptual typologies of Sue and Sue (1971). However, this discovery further expands their theoretical model to include alternative and diverse ways of minority identity development.

In assessing the theoretical contribution of the structural patterns, let us now review them briefly within the broader context of cultural assimilation, transition and ethnic identity. There have been two main approaches: typological (Stonequist, 1937; Sue & Sue, 1971; Mayovich, 1973; Newman, 1976; DeVos, 1980) versus developmental (Taft, 1957; Richardson, 1967; Atkinson, Morten & Sue 1979). The phases in the developmental models are in many ways similar to the different stages described in the phenomenon of culture shock (Oberg, 1958; Adler, 1975; Klein, 1977; Taft, 1977) as a prolonged transitional experience. My aim is not to advocate one or another of

these approaches or to discuss their ramifications. The present finding of adjustment patterns is primarily structural by nature reflecting the construct organization of individuals in adjusting to situations and values posed by the host culture. This structural alignment may mirror different aspects of adjustment dependent upon a host of cultural, personality and situational factors. Some of these aspects may emerge at one time, some at another, or they may separate or recombine in different ways. At this point, they do not seem to fit conveniently or neatly with one interpretation or another (i.e., a type or a developmental approach). Further investigation will be needed to clarify their role in either interpretation. However, the present results strongly reflect the diversity and the concreteness of individuals while various theoretical models tend to stay abstract. The patterns affirm the basic typologies as espoused by Sue and Sue (1971) and highlight some, if not all, of the important features involved in the developmental, transitional models (Oberg, 1958; Adler, 1977; Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979).

In the final analysis, the most significant contribution of the adjustment patterns, in my view, is that of discovery rather than confirmation or generalization. Such patterns augment the nature of present conceptual paradigms by offering a feasible

alternative in construing the phenomenon of acculturation, that is, in terms of the construct organization of the adjusting individual, and within the diversity and the concreteness of subjective life experiences.

Self-development. As stated by Park (1928), migration "must be studied not merely in its grosser effects, as manifested in changes in custom and in the mores, but it may be envisaged in its subjective aspects as manifested in the changed type of personality which it produces" (p. 887). As revealed in the findings of adjustment patterns, there appear to be diverse ways of dealing with culture change, and one of the issues that consistently emerges is that of self-development--the awareness and the pursuit of personal needs versus family values and traditional socialization.

"When the traditional organization of society breaks down, as a result of contact and collision with a new invading culture, the effect is, so to speak, to emancipate the individual" (Park, 1928, p. 887) and to "free the individual judgment from the inhibitions of conventional modes of thought" (Teggart, 1925, p. 196). These effects are keenly felt in the case of the Chinese immigrant woman. In her culture, the idea of self as a separate entity is not encouraged; identity is primarily defined in roles within one's family (Abbott, 1970; Hsu, 1971). Hence,

acculturation appears to foster a basic conflict by stressing, on one hand, the importance of validating one's tradition and values and, on the other hand, the need for individual development and fulfilment. Both responses are basically incompatible since the goals of the values of Chinese and Western cultures must ultimately diverge.

As is already known from previous research (Abel & Hsu, 1949; Huang, 1956; Fong & Peskin, 1969; Weiss, 1970; Yao, 1979; Chang, 1980), as far as Chinese immigrant women are concerned, there is a greater awareness of options outside of traditional roles and values, concurrent with a dissatisfaction and a conflict with conventional Chinese norms. As distinct from previous research and methodologies, the present study is able to elucidate from the personal frame of reference of these women, within the context of their own private experiences, the importance of self-development needs as opposed to familial and traditional expectations.

Another highlight is that the Chinese immigrant women seem to work out their own individual method of adjustment. Different strategies are used to cope with the new environment. Similar strategies are observed in research regarding the techniques by which women manage conflicts and pressures, such as favorable definition of the situation, deciding the most important role,

compartmentalization, compromise and the like (Fransella & Frost, 1977, p. 130). The present finding may reflect a commonality pertaining to conflicts and coping strategies of women, which are irrespective of culture bounds.

Practical Implications

An important function of research lies in its relationship to people and individuals. The findings and the views expounded here have certain practical implications.

Idiosyncratic nature of adjustment. To reiterate, the basic objective in this study is to examine the personal value systems of Chinese immigrant women and to explore which values are affirmed, rejected or polarized in the process of acculturation. The overall findings are indicative of a diverse and idiosyncratic response to adjustment. The nature of such a response, as reflected in the conflict of values, appears potent and pervasive, centering around the contradictoriness and the mutual incompatibility of Chinese and Western values. Prevailing Western values stress individualism and independence while Chinese culture is dedicated to family solidarity and role structures. The present data strongly suggest diverse variation in the interpretation and the management of value conflicts. Adjustment seems to be dependent upon a host of

factors: the strength of family ties, interaction with the host society, personal styles and situations, among other things.

These findings have implications for counsellors working with immigrant women. In particular, there is a need for an awareness of basic cultural differences (Chinese and Western) in viewing the world, people and relationships, and the influence these differences can exert on the personal response of the counsellor and the client.

However, while heightened awareness of issues which are likely to be salient for immigrant women is important, it would be imprudent to impose normative expectations or interpretations on these issues. For example, inter-personal relations in North America might be interpreted as irresponsible, immoral, shallow, liberating, growthful, and friendly, to name a few individual interpretations. While the issue of how to relate to others is likely to arise for Chinese women immigrants, it is subject to quite different interpretations and experiences. To understand an issue as experienced in an individual's life--what is at stake so to speak--it seems crucial for a counsellor to explore the client's individual frame of reference. The present adaptation of Kelly's Repertory grid would seem to be a very useful adjunct of counselling in this regard.

Ordinary nature of conflict situations. A noteworthy observation on the analysis of conflict situations reveals the mundane and practical nature of the circumstances in which value conflicts are generated. These everyday incidents and decisions can be the kind that counsellors may take for granted. For example, moving out of home or pursuing particular academic interests is considered normal occurrence in Western society. However, these apparently common situations may be indicative of, for instance, an underlying potential conflict, the need to assure continuity of tradition, family roles and dependence. Traditional family-oriented values can be a strength or a weakness in the adjustment of these immigrant women. Problems arise when fundamental values are transplanted to a different cultural milieu where they are challenged. It seems that each conflict contains a choice of opposing elements manifested in everyday life situations; the opposite potential involves a deeply hoped-for, yet feared, alternative. In the final analysis, the ordinary nature of conflict situations may mirror a search and a struggle of an individual to find her own meaning, probably as a cultural hybrid, living and sharing the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples (Park, 1928). Hence, awareness of the common-place nature of conflict situations, sensitivity to the feelings reflected in such

situations and the appropriate identification of issues would be beneficial in counselling the immigrant woman.

Attitude toward the process of acculturation.

Progressive assimilation appears to be the mainstream view toward the process of acculturation. Such a view regards the measure of successful adjustment in terms of an unidimensional continuum ranging from ethnic to North American. A similar notion is reflected in the work with immigrants and refugees (Tyhurst, 1982). The assumption is that of a "unidirectional process, aiming towards the future and towards a stance or outcome of demonstrable condition of satisfaction, independence and productivity" (Tyhurst, 1982, p. 8). Such attitudes suggest conformity toward the host culture and "fail to capture the interaction effects of both cultures in creating attitudes or behaviors that cannot be predicted from a knowledge of each culture" (Sue and Morishima, 1982, p. 164). The present findings, particularly the richness inherent in individual case studies, are indicative of diverse modes/patterns of adjustment rather than the mainstream view. For example, the notion of progressive assimilation fits best with the mode of adjustment in which Chinese values are rejected while Western values are affirmed. Presumably, the other modes of adjustment are faulty. But is this really the case? Is it beneficial for an immigrant

woman to reject her prior values? How would this be beneficial? As noted, it is unknown whether these modes of adjustment are types or stages. Also, unknown are their relative advantages and disadvantages for different purposes such as psychological well-being, assimilation, and identity consolidation. Given the current state of knowledge, a more open and flexible attitude would seem advantageous since there might be quite different paths toward satisfying adjustment. It is also possible that different modes of adjustment are ideally suited for different individuals, and that the imposition of but one mode would be detrimental. In view of this possibility, caution and an experimental attitude seem advisable.

Methodology. The present investigation can be regarded as a valuable study in which to try out a research methodology within a cross-cultural context and to obtain some detailed information on how the subjects would respond. Subjects were asked how useful they found the whole exercise. The responses were uniformly positive, particularly in pinpointing concrete situations and delineating the value responsible for each option. Feedback on the primary and the secondary theme of adjustment was most affirming and illuminating.

The use of the Repertory grid as a clinical assessment tool has been reported in this study. The grid offers an

idiographic approach, distinct from previous cross-cultural research on acculturation, that is able to tap the individual construct system, its structure and contents, and to specify conflicts and identity patterns. The grid's value, in my view, lies in the fact that it generates data which are extremely rich in content. This is because the grid treats the individual as a microcosm. In other words, although the way in which the immigrant woman expresses herself may be subjective and personal, what she expresses reflects a whole range of familial, social, cultural and historical interactions and influences. Rather than reducing the individual to a standard series of test scores or survey responses, the grid allows the subject to reveal a fuller spectrum of her personality in the form of concrete decision situations, options and value attributions within the defined context of acculturation.

In summary, this methodology remains faithful to the context of the situation as lived and construed by the immigrants. Value orientations are explored as concrete choices that must be made in everyday life situations and are inferred from specific choice of alternatives. The method confirms the psychological reality of the core and the peripheral value clusters. It illustrates the process of decision making and value conflict, thereby confirming the practical use of the method and its adaptation within

the present study.

Future Directions for Research

Patterns of adjustment. The results on patterns of adjustment should best be viewed within the context of discovery rather than confirmation. This study has indicated various patterns of construct organization in the process of acculturation which can serve as a basis for extension, verification, further questions and research.

A number of significant questions arising from the patterns can be further investigated. What are women who manifest a particular pattern like? What led up to each pattern? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each pattern? Do the patterns indicate different types of adjustment or perhaps different stages of adjustment? Do immigrant men manifest similar or different patterns?

Also, through counselling immigrants, the question of patterns of adjustment can be investigated in a practical way. It seems likely that people who adjust differently will present different types of problems and require different strategies of counselling. Since this area is largely unknown, generating hypotheses for study and searching for more effective methods of counselling can be a rich basis for theoretical and practical exploration.

Identifying common conflicts. Hypothetically, each

culture challenges every other culture in distinctive ways. If we knew how these challenges emerge and develop, and what they were, we could assist immigrants in preventing major problems from arising. To cite one obvious example from the present research, West challenges East by a stress on personal growth. Identifying common conflicts may facilitate the process of acculturation and help immigrants make their transition more meaningfully, productively, and satisfyingly.

Summary

This study examines the personal value systems of women immigrants in the process of adjusting to a new culture, with particular attention to value conflict, identity, and emotionality.

Using a variant of Kelly's Repertory grid methodology, fifteen female Hong Kong immigrants to Vancouver, British Columbia provided six individual conflict situations. From each situation, two options were elicited which defined the conflict, resulting in twelve options for each person. A personal value construct (bipolar concept such as loyal/disloyal) was elicited from each option by asking for the major value in its favor. Using a 7-point scale, subjects then rated their individual options on their twelve individual value constructs. They also rated their options on six supplied constructs concerning Chinese identity, Western identity, personal identity, expansion of personal identity, confusion and uncertainty, and guilt.

A Principal Component analysis was conducted on each grid separately, including only the twelve elicited constructs. The constructs loading highest on the first principal component were assessed for a common core of meaning and given a superordinate theme or name which reflected this meaning. The second principal component was

treated in the same fashion. In the second interview, each subject re-rated the situational options on the first and the second superordinate themes, and was also asked to comment on the validity of the themes and the way constructs were grouped. Option scores on the first and the second components were then correlated with option ratings on the supplied constructs and on the superordinate themes.

The results suggest that the first and the second principal components are psychologically meaningful. Subjects were able to provide subjective validation of the clustering of value constructs and their respective themes, which were further elaborated through information about their concrete life experiences as immigrants. The re-rating on the situational options also correlated strongly with options scores on corresponding components.

Group findings indicate that the first principal component tends to reflect both Chinese and Western identity in polar opposition. Personal identity and expansion of personal identity tend to relate rather strongly to one component or the other. The emotion constructs are rather weakly and negligibly aligned with one component or the other. Aside from a tendency for Chinese and Western identity to conflict on the first principal component, the findings suggest no orderly group

portrait of construct organization within the process of acculturation.

Individual case studies indicate pervasive value conflict in ordinary situations, with six reasonably distinct strategies of managing conflict, inferable from the organization of constructs. They are: (a) a reaction against Chinese identity, (b) a realignment with peripheral values as a result of a conflicted core of Chinese and Western values, (c) the cultivation of a core personal identity irrespective of culture or as a response to conflict between cultures, (d) compartmentalization where core and peripheral values are separated into functional non-conflicting clusters, (e) an affirmation of Chinese identity with a clear rejection of Western values, and (f) positive expansion against Chinese identity in which Western values may not be implicated in the process.

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Appendix A

Advertisement for subjects

ATTENTION Chinese Female Students:
Share your experiences and your insights
by participating in a doctoral study on the
value changes Chinese women undergo
when emigrating from Hong Kong to
Canada. Please contact Chris Lee at:

Appendix B

Preparation for interview

Try to think of something that has happened in your life in the last couple of years while adjusting yourself to a new culture in Canada. Then choose 6 of the situations dealing with the things which seem to you to be most important, which cover your main interests, concerns and important areas of your life.

Please think of the 6 important situations in which you had to make a decision. Please identify the option you chose, and the option you rejected in each situation. Then think of the main value that supported each option.

Thank you very much.

Appendix C

Rating Format

Situation Grid

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Options <u>accepted</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | Options <u>rejected</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | to go into graduate school | | | | | | | | | | | | impossible to get along with them | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | stay in Vancouver | | | | | | | | | | | | try to convince them | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | not to take job with SPEC | | | | | | | | | | | | materialistic concerns | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | more concern with social issues | | | | | | | | | | | | return to Toronto | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | never talk politics at home | | | | | | | | | | | | pursue philosophical/political issues | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | more willing to date Chinese. | | | | | | | | | | | | take job with SPEC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | pursue philosophical/political issues | | | | | | | | | | | | impossible to get along with them | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | return to Toronto | | | | | | | | | | | | take job with SPEC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | take job with SPEC | | | | | | | | | | | | materialistic concerns | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | materialistic concerns | | | | | | | | | | | | try to convince them | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | impossible to get along with them | | | | | | | | | | | | impossible to get along with them | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Appendix C continued

| <u>Values rejected</u> | | | <u>Opposing values</u> |
|--|---|--------------------------------|---|
| academic & personal interests | 1 | 6 6 5 7 5 4 6 4 6 2 7 4 | lack of academic interests |
| more individualism & freedom | 2 | 3 2 3 3 2 3 3 6 6 2 6 7 | give in to social constraints |
| social & environmental concerns | 3 | 7 7 4 7 4 4 6 4 7 1 7 4 | individual concerns |
| more concern with myself | 4 | 1 3 3 2 4 4 1 4 1 7 1 4 | more concern with others |
| pursue radical social change with family | 5 | 2 2 1 2 1 4 1 4 7 1 7 2 | not to pursue & discuss |
| lifestyle habits are very different | 6 | <u>4 4 4 4 4 6 4 6 4 4 4 7</u> | similar values & interest |
| strengthens Chinese identity | 3 | 6 5 3 6 6 3 2 2 6 2 2 | weakens Chinese identity |
| strengthens Western identity | 6 | 6 4 6 4 3 5 4 6 2 6 6 | weakens Western identity |
| strengthens personal identity | 6 | 6 3 7 3 5 7 4 5 3 6 5 | weakens personal identity |
| positive expansion of personal identity | 6 | 5 4 7 2 5 7 4 5 3 6 4 | negative expansion of personal identity |
| guilt | 3 | 2 5 5 3 4 3 6 6 4 4 5 | no guilt |
| confusion & uncertainty | 5 | 6 6 2 6 5 6 6 6 4 3 5 | no confusion & uncertainty |

7 — very
 6 — moderately
 5 — slightly
 4 — neutral/nonapplicable
 3 — slightly
 2 — moderately
 1 — very

Appendix D
Re-rating Format

Situation Grid

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Options | Options |
| <u>accepted</u> | <u>rejected</u> |

same as Appendix C

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| e.g. <u>1st component</u> | <table style="margin: auto; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">1</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">2</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">3</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">4</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">5</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">6</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">1</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">2</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">3</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">4</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">5</td><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5</td><td>6</td><td>5</td><td>2</td><td>6</td><td>5</td><td>1</td><td>3</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>2</td><td>2</td> </tr> </table> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Giving in to
 maintain
 family ties.

Pursuing
 individual
 course of
 social
 development

- 7 -- very
- 6 -- moderately
- 5 -- slightly
- 4 -- neutral/nonapplicable
- 3 -- slightly
- 2 -- moderately
- 1 -- very

Appendix E

Letter to subject

My name is Christina Lee. I am a graduate student completing my doctoral degree in Counselling Psychology here at the University of British Columbia. Part of the fulfilment of the doctoral programme requires the completion of a dissertation study. In this study, I hope to learn more about your experiences as a Chinese immigrant woman and the changes in values and identity as a result of your adjustment to Canadian society. I would prefer subjects who are immigrants from Hong Kong with more than three years residence in Canada. This information will be helpful to educators and counsellors of immigrant women. In addition, as you participate in this study, you may discover some interesting things about yourself, such as the changes your own values and identity have undergone since your arrival in Canada.

Your participation in this study would be very much appreciated. Participation is totally voluntary and all information gathered is strictly confidential. You may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any questions. Participation or withdrawal will in no way affect your marks or your standing within your university program.

If you choose to participate in this study, please
call me at for further information and to set up
an appointment at U.B.C.

Thank you very much for your attention,

Appendix F

Subject Consent Form

This is a doctoral dissertation project to learn more about your experiences as a Chinese immigrant woman and the changes in values and identity as a result of your adjustment to Canadian society.

Your participation in this study would be very much appreciated. Participation is totally voluntary and that all information gathered is strictly confidential. You may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any questions. Participation or withdrawal will in no way affect your marks or your standing within your university programme.

Participation will consist of two interviews (total time for two interviews 2-3 hours). Briefly, the first interview will involve questions regarding events which created conflicts for you while you were adjusting yourself to Canada. The second interview will involve feedback and interpretation of your test results.

Having full knowledge of these facts, I hereby:
consent _____; do not consent _____.

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix G
Individual Cases

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 1

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.76 | .22 |
| Western Identity | .68 | -.05 |
| Personal Identity | -.01 | -.48 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .18 | -.64 |
| Guilt | -.22 | .51 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.20 | .17 |

For example, on the first component, Chinese and Western identity are in opposition. On the second component, personal identity and expansion of personal identity tend to be aligned.

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 2

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | .77 | .07 |
| Western Identity | -.31 | .35 |
| Personal Identity | -.53 | .41 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | -.59 | .46 |
| Guilt | -.47 | -.26 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .30 | .13 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 3

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.60 | -.18 |
| Western Identity | .60 | .18 |
| Personal Identity | .61 | -.15 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .41 | -.05 |
| Guilt | .35 | -.21 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .43 | .02 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 4

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | .41 | .19 |
| Western Identity | .02 | .00 |
| Personal Identity | -.24 | -.42 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | -.52 | -.36 |
| Guilt | -.13 | -.21 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .41 | -.43 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 5

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.29 | -.82 |
| Western Identity | .29 | .82 |
| Personal Identity | .75 | .45 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .49 | .66 |
| Guilt | -.57 | -.57 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.23 | -.75 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 6

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.78 | .05 |
| Western Identity | .76 | -.19 |
| Personal Identity | .52 | -.68 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .06 | -.64 |
| Guilt | .14 | .84 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .16 | .59 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 7

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.65 | -.15 |
| Western Identity | .55 | .51 |
| Personal Identity | -.57 | .50 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | -.54 | .49 |
| Guilt | .39 | .09 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .53 | -.18 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 8

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | .03 | .43 |
| Western Identity | .20 | .00 |
| Personal Identity | .60 | -.15 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .53 | .02 |
| Guilt | -.32 | .19 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .12 | .10 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 9

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.50 | .12 |
| Western Identity | .26 | .00 |
| Personal Identity | .74 | -.07 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .77 | -.13 |
| Guilt | -.65 | -.12 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.48 | .47 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 10

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.43 | .69 |
| Western Identity | .90 | -.22 |
| Personal Identity | .09 | .38 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .22 | .46 |
| Guilt | -.36 | -.43 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.16 | -.34 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 11

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | .75 | -.10 |
| Western Identity | -.85 | .07 |
| Personal Identity | .55 | -.38 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .61 | -.08 |
| Guilt | -.63 | .23 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.59 | .07 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 12

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.75 | .47 |
| Western Identity | .92 | .05 |
| Personal Identity | -.08 | .62 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | -.08 | .70 |
| Guilt | .29 | -.42 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .10 | -.59 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 13

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.67 | .02 |
| Western Identity | .71 | .05 |
| Personal Identity | .62 | .27 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .59 | .44 |
| Guilt | .63 | .09 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | -.18 | .52 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 14

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.64 | .21 |
| Western Identity | .78 | -.39 |
| Personal Identity | -.02 | .06 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | .24 | -.75 |
| Guilt | .48 | -.29 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .12 | .22 |

Intraindividual Correlations: Case 15

| | First Component | Second Component |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chinese Identity | -.33 | .47 |
| Western Identity | .22 | -.17 |
| Personal Identity | -.17 | .52 |
| Expansion of Personal Identity | -.16 | .59 |
| Guilt | -.10 | -.09 |
| Confusion and Uncertainty | .41 | -.42 |