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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL SUPPORT ON ACCULTURATIVE STRESS, DEPRESSION, AND LIFE SATISFACTION AMONG JAPANESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN CANADA

BY

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Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Social Work
In partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Doctor of Social Work Degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1993

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ABSTRACT

Various aspects of social support appear to interact with acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction for Japanese post-war immigrant women. This study examined 1) the acculturation and level of stress experienced by Japanese immigrant women, 2) the mental well-being in relation to bouts of depression, 3) the life satisfaction, 4) the social support networks, and 5) the degrees to which perceived social support work to moderate the acculturative stress and depression and enhance life satisfaction in Canada.

One hundred and twenty-one Japanese immigrant women, who immigrated to Canada after World War II, and living in Southern Ontario, were taken as the study sample. Multiple regression analysis was employed to predict levels of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction based on the demographic and immigration-related variables. The results of the analysis showed that two variables, levels of English proficiency and current feelings about the decision to immigrate, were significant predictors for acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction.

Perceived social support and communication with husbands were tested and revealed a significant buffering effect on acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. Analysis of social networks revealed that about half of the study sample had only friends of Japanese cultural background.

English proficiency appeared to be a recurring theme affecting the process of acculturation and levels of partnership with husband, other family members, and individuals of the broader social network. It was also a critical key to achieving upward mobility in occupations, expanding social networks, and obtaining greater life satisfaction in Canada.

Research results suggest needs for bilingual counselling and referral services to deal with women's physical and mental health problems, and their family affairs related to acculturation. For future human services, information on availability of counselling and referral services both in Japanese and English need to be circulated among Japanese speaking community.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

> The story of the immigrant Japanese woman has long been overshadowed by the Issei man's history. In examining her side of the human drama, we shall raise the questions usually asked of men. What influenced her decision to come to America? How did she adjust to the stark realities of the hostile and foreign land? More particularly, how did she live through the poverty, the social rejection by the larger society, and the legal injustice? (Fujitomi & Wong, 1973, p. 256).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The questions these authors ask of American pre-war immigrants can be asked of post-war Japanese immigrant women in Canada. For anyone immigrating to a foreign land, the various social changes accompanying acculturation can be stressful (Groen, 1971; Murphy, 1973; Berry, Minde, U.Kim, & Mok, 1987). New immigrants are in an awkward position: they try to maintain their original culture while familiarizing themselves with the language and customs of their new society. Thus immigrants' experience is imbued with a host of changes, some quite overwhelming.

The stress of social change can affect the immigrants' physical and psychological well-being. If the degree of stress exceeds their capacity to cope, it can lead to severe psychological distress or trauma.

The situation of many female immigrants is particularly complex. Many women immigrate as spouses or dependents. It's the men's decision to immigrate, and women must support it (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting

Immigrants and Refugees, 1988a (from below, Task Force will be used); Estable, 1986). Women often take the responsibility of keeping the family together while the men work outside the home. Young children often adjust to Canadian society faster than their parents (Task Force, 1988a; Crystal, 1989). Independent immigrant women, meanwhile, can face prejudice and discrimination (Task Force, 1988a).

Researchers have found strong connections between psychological and economic well-being (Task Force, 1988b). The insecurity of underemployment or unemployment can become a source of chronic stress for many immigrants. "Highly educated and highly trained immigrants and refugees often find it impossible to work at the level for which their training has prepared them; the resulting underemployment is a potent risk factor for emotional disorder" (Task Force, 1988a, p. 29). Women classed as dependents by immigration rules are doubly disadvantaged. They lose out on employment opportunities as well as a good chance to develop a facility with their new language outside the home because of lack of access to English training (Estable, 1986).

Worse, discriminatory hiring practices involving visible minority immigrants have been reported (Task Force, 1988a). Immigrant women are especially subject to menial work. They enter Canada as dependents, so job counsellors assume they lack work experience or skills (Task Force, 1988a).

Asian immigrants are no exception. Crystal (1989) challenges the myth that Asian immigrants have fewer mental health problems than non-immigrant Americans, a myth that has been created by the number of success stories of Asian Americans in the 60s. Japanese immigrants, too, are often embraced by this myth. With the boom in Japanese post-war economic development, the image of Japanese immigrants has been stereotyped as cosmopolitan, hard-working, modern and technologically adept.

Though recent Japanese immigrants may be more prosperous than their forebears, they share the stress of acculturation experienced by other Asian immigrant groups. Married Japanese women bring their traditional patriarchal (and Confucian) cultural and family system with them. Once situated in their host country, a majority of Japanese immigrant families seem to maintain these traditional values. The resulting culture shock can be multi-dimensional. Traditional values clash with pluralistic, egalitarian Western ones, while at the same time their children are changing and adapting to Western values much more quickly than their parents.

Thus, Japanese women experience a conflict in lifestyles within the family when they act as mediator between husband and children, while outside the home their Canadian host society expects them to take different roles from the ones they fulfil inside the home. The psychological adjustment may be awkward, ultimately affecting their mental health.

RECENT STUDIES

Studies of women's relative difficulty in adapting to the host culture compared with those of men have been numerous (Locke, Kramer & Pasamanick, 1960; Roskies, 1978; Carpenter, Brockington, 1980; Hitch & Rack, 1980; Halldin, 1985). Extensive studies exist focused on immigrant women's acculturation and their mental health (e.g. Roskies, 1978; Franks & Faux, 1990; Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado & Garcia, 1988; Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1986). According to cross cultural studies conducted in North America, women are reported to have greater difficulty in adjusting than men (Fong & Peskin, 1969; Hill, 1966; Porter, 1962). Women have also been found to be more vulnerable to social and cultural changes than their male counterparts (Roskies, 1978). These adjustment problems may exist because the original cultures are more traditional, and social roles for women are more restricted than those in the North America (Fong & Peskin, 1969).

The social adaptation to the culture of the host country has been studied by employing socio-demographic variables as predictors of adjustment such as age of immigration, duration of stay in the host country, education, country of origin, economic status, command of the language in the host country, and difference in female roles between home and host country (Roskies, 1978; Inbar, 1977; Beiser, 1988; Nguyen & Henkin, 1982). In view of the fact that immigrant women are in a

high-risk group for mental health problems, they may require services that are specifically designed to meet their needs. Mainstream services have utilized general knowledge to apply to this specific immigrant population, however, a more effective way of delivering services to meet their needs must be explored (Crystal, 1989). Social support has been recognized as having a role in moderating stress in stressful life events (e.g. Cohen & Hoberman, 1983; Cobb, 1976). It has been hypothesized that various kinds of social support act as stress buffers (Cohen, & Hoberman, 1983; Cobb, 1976). However, as Noda, Noda, and Clark (1990) observed, these studies on various kinds of acculturative stress have remained at the level of description. They have not provided insights into effective means of intervention within immigrant populations.

CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

As of the 1986 Canadian Census, there are 54,505 Japanese Canadians, 15,000 of whom immigrated after World War II. Among the post-war immigrant group, about 3,000 live in the Toronto area (Japan Information Service, 1991). The post-war Japanese immigrants make up 20% of the total Japanese-Canadian population, yet have not received a great deal of attention. Most of the studies on the Japanese in North America have been on the first generation of pre-war immigrants and second or third generation Japanese Americans or Canadians. Since the

post-war group consists of a fairly large percentage of the whole Japanese Canadian population, they will become an important force in the Japanese community within Canada in the future (Kobayashi, 1989).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study proposes to examine how various aspects of social support interact with acculturative stress, depression and life satisfaction for Japanese post-war immigrant women. Due to the scarcity of studies on post-war Japanese immigrant women, there was difficulty to compare the experience of their acculturation with that of other immigrant women. This study will contribute to source of information in light of comparability of women's acculturation and mental health issues whether they share more common problems or they differ. It will also provide insights into the broader social aspects that influence the way these women reach out to social support networks. The study can shed some interesting light on this issue, as will be seen, because post-war Japanese immigrants to Canada are as a group less socially cohesive than their pre-war counterparts. It will further help to identify desirable program and policy development in this area for both the Japanese community and the Canadian government. The research will build on the work of Salgado de Snyder (1986, 1987) and Noda, Noda, and Clark (1990), but will also study how the perceived availability of social support affects the

relationship between demographic and immigration related factors and the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction.

Therefore, it is important to examine 1) their acculturation process and level of stress experienced by immigrant women, 2) their mental well-being in relation to bouts of depression, 3) their life satisfaction, 4) their social support networks, and 5) the degree to which these support networks work to moderate the stress and depression and enhance life satisfaction in Canada.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the outcome of the study will be treated as a presentation of implications for further studies rather than reaching definite conclusions.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Although the Japanese immigrant population consists of 0.3% of the total immigrants in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1981), this study has broader implications. As mentioned, the experience of Japanese women has much in common with that of other immigrant women, especially those from other Asian countries, and the research findings will serve to help formulate more adequate program and policy development for these groups.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis consists of five chapters (including this introduction). Chapter 2 gives further consideration to the variables mentioned in the above conceptual framework. Chapter 3 formulates specific research questions, defines and operationalizes terms, and proposes methodologies for collecting and analyzing data. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the data collected. Chapter 5 discusses the findings in light of the previous literature and presents the implications for future human service practice as well as a number of important new policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

1. ACCULTURATION

Definition of Acculturation

Although migration has been an international phenomena for many centuries, it has become more widespread in recent times. Various kinds of social changes that migrants experience have been studied and documented by anthropologists and sociologists for a long time.

In defining acculturation, four major concepts have been broadly accepted by social scientists (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936; Herskovits, 1938; Linton, 1940; Social Science Research Council (SSRC), Summer Seminar, 1954). In early studies the most broadly adopted definition was proposed by Redfield et al. (1936):

> Acculturation comprehends (sic.) those phenomena which result when groups of individuals who have different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups ... under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomena which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation. (pp 149-150).

The Social Science Research Council (1954) defines acculturation as

> ... culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the process of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors. (p. 974).

The above definitions describe the nature, levels, dynamics, and outcome of acculturation, as well as some of the factors that come into play.

Direction in Acculturation

Models have been developed for the direction and dimensions of change caused by acculturation phenomena. The first model posits that, in principle, the phenomena occur in both directions (Bailey, 1937). However, in reality, the dominant culture has a greater influence over the group in the weaker position. (Unidirectional cultural change has been described by Parkman in 1867).

Keefe (1980) takes the position that cultural change may occur in one or both groups, and in various aspects of culture, and the stronger direction of influence is from the dominant culture to the non-dominant group. This process has been referred to as Anglo-conformity as well as assimilation. In order for this process to be facilitated, the non-dominant

group has to be accepted by the dominant group (Teske and Nelson, 1974; Berry, 1988).

A strong general assumption in the research on acculturation in North American seems to accept the unidirectional continuum of change that involves the absorption of the non-dominant group or minority culture into the dominant or Anglo culture (see Gordon, 1964). This model assumes that the traditional culture of the minority group is dropped when Anglo-culture is added (Linton, 1940; Samora and Deane, 1956).

A second model, proposed by Dohrenwend and Smith (1962), suggests that cultural change occurs in two dimensions. In this model, traditional cultural may be maintained or lost, and new culture traits will be added. Thus, the addition of an Anglo culture would not automatically result in the abandonment of the traditional culture (e.g., McFee, 1968; Stonequist, 1935).

A third model formulated by Padilla (1980) combines the elements of the other two models. Padilla challenges the assumption made in the first model that change occurs in a unidirectional continuum resulting in the replacement of one culture by another. Padilla also challenges the second model's assumption that the traditional or non-dominant culture is either maintained or lost by its contact with, and possible assimilation into, the dominant-culture. Instead, Padilla proposes that the interplay of cultures is multi-

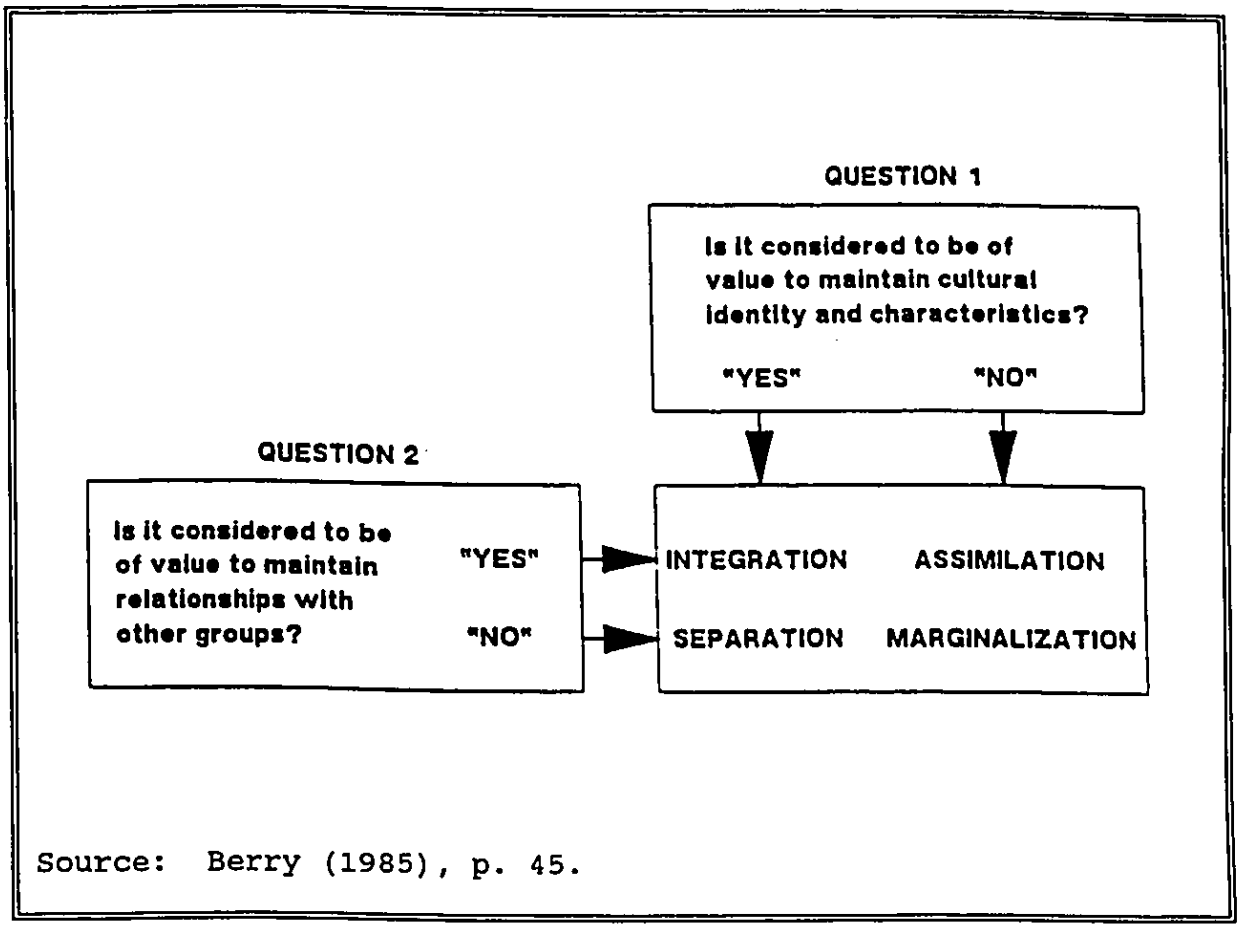
dimensional, pointing out that cultural awareness and loyalty to the original culture can be maintained even though anglicization is recognized in behaviours and attitudes of the individual.

Modes of Acculturation

The modes of acculturation are determined by the decisions of the individual in the plural society (Berry, 1980). Berry (1980, 1985) conceptualizes four modes of acculturation and suggests that the path the individual chooses depends on the manner and degree to which the connection with the original culture is maintained, as well as the manner and degree of participation in the mainstream society. These four modes are assimilation, integration, segregation, and marginalization, and they exist in a continuum, not independently (see Figure 2.1).

The process of assimilation begins as one moves into the dominant culture and relinquishes one's own culture. The result can be the absorption of the non-dominant culture into the established group, or the merging into pluralistic groups to form a new society. Gordon (1964) emphasized the importance to structural assimilation of similar behavioral characteristics in the non-dominant group in relation to the dominant group. Berry's (1988) definition of adjustment shares a similarity with Gordon's structural assimilation.

Figure 2.1 Four Modes of Acculturation



Source: Berry (1985), p. 45.

In comparison, integration allows the non-dominant group to maintain its own cultural dignity while it adopts the culture of the dominant group and becomes part of the larger society. In this mode, the group moves actively to participate in the mainstream culture while retaining its own culture.

Segregation or separation occurs when no relationship is maintained between the non-dominant group and larger society. A segregated non-dominant group is forced to avoid contact with the larger society, while separation is the result of the dominant group's choosing not to have contact with the mainstream society (Berry & Annis, 1974).

Marginalization occurs when groups or individuals are confused or overwhelmed by the larger society, and stress and alienation result (Berry & Annis, 1974). Marginalized groups or individuals lose contact with their own culture while withdrawing or being excluded from the larger society.

Berry and Kim (1988) suggest that a number of factors determine the modes of acculturation, among them national policy, the nature of the acculturating groups and the individuals, and the attitudes of the dominant community. Canada's official national policy is "multiculturalism". Under this policy, various acculturating groups are able - theoretically - to have their wishes reflected in various levels of government policy-making and programming. Individuals are encouraged to seek their most comfortable means of acculturation. The mainstream community is officially encouraged to seek out the views of various non-dominant groups when policy is being developed that will apply to them. This is defined as integration.

Changes Associated with Acculturation

From the definitions above, one can readily assume that various levels of change are involved with acculturation. Several authors have described acculturational changes (Berry, 1988; Westermeyer, 1989). Berry (1988) describes these changes in seven dimensions: 1) physical, 2) biological, 3) political, 4) economic, 5) cultural, 6) social and 7) psychological. The first level of change occurs in the individual: he or she changes accommodation, geographic location, demographic characteristics (or social 'fit'), experience of new population density, urbanization, and so on. The second set of changes occurs at the biological level with nutritional and immunological adjustments. The third or political level of change usually occurs when the non-dominant group is brought under the control of the dominant culture and the acculturating group experiences some loss of autonomy. Economic or fourth-level change happens as the non-dominant group enters the workplace. Cultural or fifth level change involves various forms of institutional alterations to language, religion, education, and technology. The sixth level of change involves shifts in social relationships. The final or seventh level psychological changes take place within the individual (see Berry, 1980). Psychological changes embrace shifts in personal and ethnic identity, views about the degree to which an individual can participate in the acculturation process (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki,

1986), and the attitudinal changes involved in choosing a lifestyle.

Acculturative Stress

Acculturative stress is defined as "one kind of stress, that in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation (Berry, U. Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987, p. 492)." Berry describes a particular set of behaviours often associated with the process of acculturation, including feelings of marginality, increased incidence of depression and anxiety, and confusion of identity. Thus, acculturative stress is characterized by a sharply reduced sense of mental and physical well-being. Kuo (1976) describes the kinds of stress associated with adapting to a new culture. These include a sense of isolation, culture shock, and cultural change, as well as the stress involved in striving towards a goal. A distinct psychopathology may result (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987).

A susceptibility to illness depends on one's perception of the stress associated with acculturation (Berry & Kim, 1988) - that is, whether one views the acculturation process as stressful or opportunity-filled.

Nguyen (1982) suggests that key factors here include the degree to which the mainstream community is accepting and accommodating and the level of motivation and determination on the part of the immigrant to perform in the new environment.

Unfavourable conditions, according to Nguyen (1982) include a lack of preparedness, the rapid change in socio-cultural environments, and the loss of social position or network, irrelevant new social norms, a lack of energy and the shortness of time spent in the new environment.

Especially crucial are gaps in perception between expectations and reality - what immigrants expect to be the case on arrival in their new country and what actually happens. The closer expectations are to actual outcomes, the more likely immigrants are to maintain their mental well-being; the greater the discrepancy, the greater the resulting potential stress. Salvendy (1983) suggests that a key factor in the maintenance of mental health is the extent of help that immigrants receive from the outside - the vitality of their support networks, in other words.

Although stress and its resulting pathologies may occur in varying degrees, it is not inevitable (Berry, 1988). Identifying where specific problems exist can lead to managing or ameliorating them. According to researchers, the relationship of acculturation to mental health depends on various factors, like realistic goal setting and a willingness to cope (Berry, 1988). As the process of immigration necessarily involves many changes, the problems that can result are multidimensional (Salvendy, 1983).

Rahe's theory (1972) relating stressful life events to a susceptibility to illness, posits that immigrants'

vulnerability to various mental disorders is brought about by their psychophysiological reactions. If the amount of change they have to absorb surpasses their ability to cope with it, they may become susceptible to illness.

In a study on the effects of stress on psychological and physical well-being, Selye (1982) and Salvendy (1983) found that the number of different possible stressors makes it difficult to pinpoint any one of them as the cause in a particular case. Nevertheless, the human body responds in a stereotypical pattern to life changes through common mediating pathways in order to make the adjustments that sustain life (Selye, 1982).

Kuo (1976) argues that the previous studies have failed to delineate the conditions of migration that result in or contribute to increasing levels of adaptive stress for immigrants, in turn producing isolation (alienation), culture shock (acculturative stress), goal-striving stress, and cultural change.

Murphy (1965) states that the process of acculturation has diverse characteristics that are both individual and societal in nature. Cross-cultural researchers (Brislin, 1981; Dyal and Dyal,1981; Wittkower and Dubreuil,1973) suggest that cultural changes may be stressful and can affect an individual's ability to psychologically adapt. The uprooting of the home environment in the original culture and the resettlement in a foreign environment can produce feelings of

alienation. Berry (1970) postulates a relationship between marginalized states and the stress, deviance, and rejection experienced in the dominant society. Other researches have shown the relationship between alienation and feelings of powerlessness and the fact of an external locus of control (Horowitz, 1979, Reimanis & Posen, 1980; Tomeh, 1974).

The immigrant experience can be stress-inducing and may in fact lead to a discernible pathology. Ever since the work of Ødegaard (1932) and Melzberg and Lee (1956), immigrants have been viewed as part of the high risk group when it comes to possible mental health problems. The studies in the 60s and 70s, on the other hand, suggest that this is not necessarily the case. Roskies (1978) suggests that there is enough evidence to support the view that the incidence of mental health problems in immigrants is no higher than that of non-immigrants. The question is an important one, and numerous factors come into play regarding it.

2. FACTORS AFFECTING MENTAL HEALTH DURING ACCULTURATION

Studies conclude that acculturative stress is alterable or avoidable, and stress takes different forms in groups and individuals (Berry, & Kim, 1988; Nguyen, 1982; Salvendy, 1983). These studies also suggest that stress is not always destructive - sometimes it promotes mental health. One's perception of a stressor is key to its effect on an individual: some see problems as opportunities. Observations

such as these suggest that while stressors stem from various larger social, economic and cultural factors, the effect of acculturative stress is ultimately determined by the reactions of each individual immigrant.

Two stages in the acculturation process relate to an immigrant's mental health, the pre-contact stage and the during- and post-contact stage (Berry, & Kim, 1985, 1988; Goldlust, & Richmond, 1974; Canadian Task Force on Issues Affecting Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees, 1988b), (see Figure 2.2 for relationship between level of acculturative stress and moderating factors). The extent of an immigrant's preparation - a knowledge or familiarity with the new host culture and its language and customs, for instance - can go a long way towards determining his or her success in the new environment.

A summary of factors affecting mental health during acculturation as they have been identified by various authors (Berry & Kim, 1988; Nguyen, 1985; Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988b; Goldlust, & Richmond, 1974) is shown in the chart below (see Table 2.1, and Figure 2.2), followed by a brief discussion of each.

Table 2.1

Factors Affecting Mental Health of Immigrants During Acculturation

Socio-cultural factors
Settlement patterns: rural or urban (changes in living environment),
Social class, employment status, education
Cultural background of the immigrant, knowledge of language of the host country

Socio-demographic
age at time of immigration, sex, marital status, family composition,

Socio-economic
employment, income,

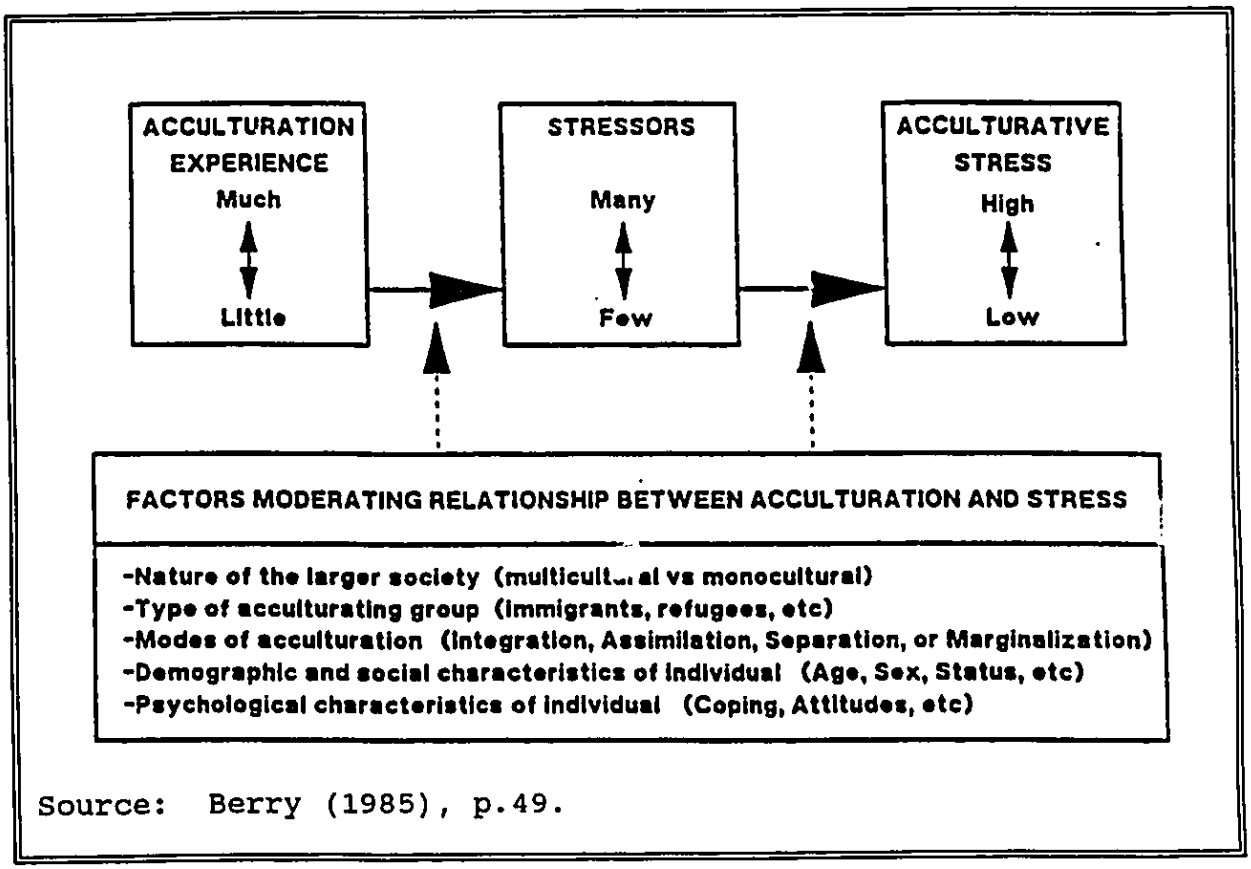
Social support,

Host society:
public attitude, policy on immigration, availability of services to immigrants, presence of ethnic community, degree of acceptance in mainstream society, culture of the host society, length of residence,

The migrant (psychological):
motivation and determination for migration, circumstances of migration, realistic or unrealistic expectations of the future, psychological characteristics of the individual, cognitive control over the acculturation process.

Figure 2.2

Factors Relevant to Acculturative Stress



Source: Berry (1985), p.49.

Socio-cultural Factors

Settlement Pattern

Settlement patterns are either nomadic or sedentary (Berry & Kim, 1988; Goldlust & Richmond, 1974). Nomadic people are normally used to living in wide-open environments. If they are forced during acculturation to live in densely populated and structured social contexts, they can experience the stress of having to accommodate themselves to their new

living arrangements. The opposite situation, a shift from densely populated to scarcely populated, may apply to post-war Japanese immigrants. They may feel anxious, or feel relieved.

Social Status Change

The shift in social status (usually downward) in the move to the new society can have a significant effect on mental stability (Berry & Kim, 1988; Task Force, 1988). Vignes, & Hall (1979) reported that those who developed mental health problems had the highest social status with highest level of education among the total Vietnamese refugee study sample. Moreover, the struggle to regain or maintain social status within the larger society can become a major source of stress. Education and work experience help determine social status too.

Language

As mentioned above, acculturative pressures can be significantly eased through prior knowledge of the language and familiarity with the culture of the host country before immigrating (Berry & Kim, 1988).

Language has been viewed as one of the key factors determining an immigrant's ability to adapt to the host culture. Brein and David (1971) regard overseas adjustment as equivalent to "effective interpersonal functioning". They suggest that the knowledge of a foreign culture is a condition necessary for adaptation and a necessary first step. It is

important to note that one can resist acceptance of the host culture while understanding it sufficiently to function within it.

Proficiency in the language of the host culture is one of the socio-cultural variables reported to have significant affect on mental health (Maingot, 1985; S.D. Nguyen, 1982; Nicassio, 1983, Nicassio, Solomon, Guest, & McCullough, 1986; Vega, Kolody and Warheit, 1985; Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988, Williams & Carmichael, 1983). A lack of proficiency has been found to cause depression in women (Williams and Carmichael, 1985), schizophrenia in men (Bland and Orn, 1981), and behavioral problems in children (Marcos, 1982; Stevenson, Richman & Graham, 1985,). B-L.C. Kim (1978) reports that fluency and problem solving abilities are intimately related.

Studies by Vega et al. (1986), Salgado de Snyder (1986, 1987), and Padilla et al. (1988) found that not being able to speak English was one of the most difficult things experienced during acculturation among Mexican and Latin American immigrants. Having a limited circle of communication and media usage (Nicassio et al., 1983; Salgado de Snyder, 1986) may limit one's network and lead him or her to develop a sense of isolation, affecting self-esteem (Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988). Nicassio (1986) found that an ability to speak English among South-east Asians buffered or moderated the effect of stress.

Previous studies have found that the level of English proficiency is related to the level of adjustment, and participation within mainstream society, as well as to job levels and income (Task Force, 1988a,1988b; Richmond, 1984). Research on factors contributing to adaptation suggests that an individual's ability to communicate supports Brein and David's argument about successful adjustment being a matter of effective interpersonal functioning. The study of foreign students in the U.S. (Morris, 1960; Sewell, & Davidsen, 1961) has shown that greater interaction with members of the host society leads to a greater satisfaction with the whole process of acculturation. Language may not be the only skill required for interaction but it is probably the most important skill. Olson and Tucker (1974) have found that conversational language ability helps the adaptation process significantly.

B-L.C. Kim (1978) reports that Asian-Americans consider fluency in English to be equivalent to achieving full social equality. Therefore they are anxious about their children losing touch with their original culture and language. Yet Asian-American immigrants themselves have ambivalent feelings about learning the host language while maintaining their mother language and culture.

Many studies have identified a fluency in English as one of critical factors to determining overall well-being in the host country, bringing with it increased opportunities, larger incomes, more self-esteem, and a greater ease in functioning

within mainstream society. Results of the current study will reveal that this crucial variable of English proficiency relates directly to levels of acculturative stress even among the more affluent, less socially cohesive post-war Japanese women immigrants to Canada.

Education

Previous studies have found that higher levels of education received in the home country do not necessarily ease the process of adjustment to the new culture (Task Force, 1988b). In fact, studies have found that the reverse is true (L.T. Nguyen & Henkin, 1982; Vignes & Hall, 1979; Westermeyer, Neider & Vang, 1984). Those who had higher education and higher employment status in their original countries found it harder to adjust to the lower job status in the host country. Lack of access to educational opportunities to requalify or upgrade qualification in the host country will create frustration and disillusionment for immigrants not being able to practice their trade or profession (Richmond, 1984). The higher the education in the host country, the better chance of achieving upward mobility in the new country (Goldlust & Richmond, 1974), however, again, this affects immigrants' mental health indirectly.

Socio-demographic Factors

Age at Time of Immigration

Rapid social change affects adolescents and young adults (Miller, Chambers and Coleman, 1981; Naditch and Morrissey, 1976), and seniors (Ikels, 1983; Kurzeja, Koh, & Liu, 1986; Naidoo, 1985) more than other age groups. Pre-adolescents have shown vulnerability, but not until after migration (Inbar, 1977; Schrader, 1980). Studies report that the attitudes of the parents of young children towards the host country appear to affect the children of this age category (B.K. Kim, 1980; Kurian, 1986).

The elderly, meanwhile, find adaptation difficult after a certain age (Smither & Rodriguez-Giegling, 1979). The elderly, who followed immigrant children, tend to be left unassimilated. Since the views of the elderly are not sought when family members make decisions (Lum, Cheung, Cho, Tang, & Yau, 1980; Spitzer, 1984). The elderly often find their children and grandchildren alien, and hostile (Krupinski, 1984). The elderly are affected by depression, a sense of isolation, and low self-esteem (Miller, Chambers & Coleman, 1981).

A study on the elderly immigrants (Black, Hispanic, Pilipino, Guamanian, Samoan, Japanese, Chinese, Korean) suggests that enmeshment in a close family may contribute to lower level of social interaction outside of homes. Language

barriers of those who immigrated in their senior years may be a contributing factor (Weeks, & Cuellar, 1983).

Sex of the Immigrant

Crucial to studies of acculturative stress among immigrant women is the fact that they generally take on family roles in their new culture that are different from their spouses' and as a result experience greater stress (Castro, 1982; Naidoo, 1984). Some quantitative studies have reported that immigrant women are more vulnerable to family conflicts and developing emotional disorders than male counterparts (Carpenter and Brockington, 1980; Halldin, 1985; Roskies, 1978). The results of general studies on the impact of life events on emotional distress are consistent with the above findings (D.Belle, 1982; Dean and Ensel, 1983; Dohrenwend, 1973; Gove and Tudor, 1973; Radloff & Rahe, 1981; Weissman and Klerman, 1977). Other studies have reported contrary results, however. Lasry and Sigal (1980) reported that sex was not a significant variable in regard to psychological disorders in an immigrant population.

These contradictory findings suggest that the mental health of females and males may be affected differently. On the other hand, both senior women and men suffer from loss of self-esteem, and loss of country who are separated from the acculturation of the rest of the family members (Penning, 1983; Rahim and Mukherjee, 1984; B-L.C. Kim, 1978). Male

immigrants seem to be more affected by changes in employment and occupational status after migration (K.B. Chan and Lam, 1983; Trovato, 1986).

Studies of women's relative difficulty in adapting to the host culture compared with those of men have been numerous (Locke, Kramer & Pasamanick, 1960; Roskies, 1978; Carpenter, Brockington, 1980; Hitch & Rack, 1980; Halldin, 1985). According to cross-cultural studies conducted in North America, women (in this case female foreign students) are reported to have greater difficulty in adjusting than men (Fong & Peskin, 1969; Hill, 1966; Porter, 1962). The social adaptation to the culture of the host country has been studied by employing socio-demographic variables as predictors of adjustment such as age of immigration, length of residence in the host country, education, country of origin, economic status, command of the language of the host country, and difference in female roles between home and host country (Roskies, 1978; Inbar, 1977; Beiser, 1988; L.T. Nguyen & Henkin, 1982).

Previous studies show that variables such as social class, sex, and ethnicity can be relevant. Being female, minority, and lower class can be stress inducing, as can be being underemployed or unemployed, which can also be a factor in later mental health disturbances (Catalano, & Dooley, 1977).

Ghaffarian's (1987) study on Iranian immigrants reported that men wanted to keep traditional role of women; women should be submissive to men, though men had higher level of acculturation than women. On the other hand, those women who were less acculturated than other women, who kept traditional behavior, believed in the equality of the sexes after they experienced the modern idea of the role of women. These differences in value and the role of women may lead to marital conflicts after resettlement.

Roskie's (1978) study indicates that inferior mental health is caused by the stress of acculturation. Many immigrant women play the same role in the host country that they did in their home culture, namely, looking after children and the home. Thus their opportunity to develop new knowledge and interact with the larger society is limited, their integration more awkward.

Nevertheless, Salvendy (1983) argues that male counterparts are not free from stress either: the communication gap between themselves and their family, as well as their diminished sense of autonomy in having to strive harder to be successful outside the home are two key sources of stress. Among family members, conflicts related to adjustment have been well-documented in the literature (Lum et al., 1980; Mangalam, 1986; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981).

However, Salvendy emphasizes the more vulnerable position of women as a result of having to be the mediator between a

husband and children when values clash. Krupinski et al.'s (1965, 1984) study in Australia and Hirayama's (1982) study suggest that this mediating role of women puts a high emotional strain on them. Ultimately, women may have a sense of being somewhat alienated from both cultures, a feeling that may eventually lead to marginalization, isolation and low self-esteem.

Family Constellation

Several authors comment that relatives have played positive roles in helping the nuclear unit to cope (Brodsky, 1982; Fantino and Kennedy, 1983; Haines, Rutherford and Thomas, 1981), even in crisis situations (Alcalay, 1984; Cheung and Dobkin de Rios, 1982; Fandetti and Gelfand, 1978). More important still is the fact that the support of relatives seems to have a particularly significant impact on women. Without it, mental distress is reported to have been the result (Krupinski, 1984; Lynam, 1985; Rahim and Mukherjee, 1984; Williams and Carmichael, 1985). Notwithstanding the positive efforts of support of relatives, conflicts among family members caused by the stress of adjustment have been well-documented in the literature (Lum et al., 1980; Mangalam, 1986; Wakil, Siddique and Wakil, 1981).

Salvendy (1983) points out differences between adults and children in the ability to adjust and adapt. Children appear to be more flexible in adjusting to the host

environment, and learn new cultural behaviours and language faster than immigrant adults. However, intergenerational conflicts between parents and adolescents has been reported to lead the children to behavioral problems (Krupinski, 1984).

Socio-economic Factors

Employment and Income

Employment has been identified as one of most important factors associated with emotional well-being after migration (Minde & Minde, 1976; Starr & Roberts, 1982; Westermeyer, Vang & Neider, 1983a, 1983b).

In absolute terms, studies suggest that unemployment and low incomes become a source of stress (Cheung & Dobkin de Rios, 1982; Neuwirth, Grenier, Devries, & Watkins, 1985; Richmond, 1982). In relative terms, socio-economic status bears on how the family's new status in the host country compares with what it was in the home country. An opportunity to use the training and knowledge acquired in the home country appears to affect mental health (Boman & Edwards, 1984; Hopkins-Kavanagh & Sananikone, 1981; Vignes & Hall, 1979; B-L.C. Kim, 1978).

Economic needs have forced many immigrant women to work. Their participation in the work force changed their roles in the family structure. Women tend to perceive the change of roles as "freedom", while men perceived it with dismay, and marital discord has been reported (Vignes, & Hall, 1979).

Social Support

In previous studies of acculturative stress, social support has been a very important variable. The existence of ethnic groups ready to assist in the transition and settlement of immigrants is helpful. These groups might be ethnic associations, neighbourhood enclaves, extended families (including endogamy), cultural clubs, formal institutions like cultural centres, agencies, and clinics devoted to specific cultural support.

Examples of the importance of social support are numerous. Cochrane, Stopes-Roe and Hashmi (1980) studied the integration of Indian, Pakistani, and Irish immigrants to English culture. The direction of acculturation, they concluded, was two ways. Immigrants' mental well-being bore on the extent to which they either maintained their affiliations with their own cultural groups or developed their facility in relating to the host society. S.D. Nguyen (1982) has reported that the cause of depression and anxiety during acculturation is the separation of family and loss of close ties with kin. Opportunities to interact with their own ethnic group may ease this sense of loss.

The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (1988a), in reviewing over 1000 mental health publications on migrants, suggests that ethnic communities "help to protect mental health mainly by affirming cultural and personal identity. Religious institutions, for

instance, reinforce personal faith which can act as a buffer to stress (Submission: Immigrant Women's Group of P.E.I.). Speaking one's mother tongue relieves the strain and exhaustion of constantly translating. Simple recreational and cultural activities enable immigrants to "let go" and "be themselves" (p. 18). On the other hand, exclusive contact with the ethnic community only may "lead to isolation from the language, the institutions and the opportunities of the larger society (p. 18)."

Host Society

Degree of Acceptance

The atmosphere of the host society plays a role. Pluralistic societies can be tolerant, but ethnic groups can also experience discrimination.

Only few comparative studies exist regarding the level of adjustment of immigrants in pluralist societies. Writers of the All-Party Parliamentary Special Committee Report on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, (published under the title Equality Now! in 1984 as submitted to Task Force, 1988a) maintain that 15% of Canadians hold discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants, while another 20 to 25% have discriminatory attitudes toward visible ethnic groups.

A key variable seems to be the willingness of the mainstream to accept new immigrants. Acceptance seems to

depend on ethnicity, race, or religion. The greater the marginalization, the greater the stress. Berry and Kim (Berry, 1984; Berry & Kim, 1988) note that pluralist societies may have a greater tolerance for difference, but there are "still relative degrees of social acceptability of the various acculturating groups" (1988, p.217).

Mental health studies reveal that multiculturalism aids acculturation. Murphy's (1965) study on the rates of immigrant hospital admissions in the U.S. and in Canada, for instance, found a lower rate of admission among Canadian immigrants. Berry and Kim (1988) attribute the lower rate to "the extent of [the host country's] cultural pluralism." Murphy (1973) notes two related variables: the higher the ethnic population, the greater the assistance available through social networks, and the greater the cultural diversity of the host society, the greater the tolerance of ethnic minorities. He contrasts the latter observation with the fact of homogeneous societies in which "a clear set of national attitudes and values which all immigrants had either to adjust to or oppose" (1973, p. 228). Murphy further speculates that "immigrants in Canada feel relatively little pressure to mould themselves to the majority's demand" (p.228). Murphy suggests that "this sense of minority status vis-a-vis a powerful majority is a key factor affecting the immigrant's mental health" (p. 228). A few specific reports on the impact of policies on immigrants' mental health also

exist (Cheung & Dobkin de Rios, 1982; Fernando, 1984; Westermeyer, Vang and Neider, 1983b).

In Canada, Berry's (1977) crossectional survey found apparent discriminatory attitudes among Canadians toward certain ethnic groups. Racism and discrimination have been found in employment, education, and housing (Head, 1979; Ubale, 1977). Fantino and Kennedy (1983) reported in their study of Polish immigrants that their perception of acceptance by Canadians significantly affected their perception of adjustment to the mainstream culture. This may just as well be true of other immigrant cultures. More empirical research is needed on how to implement advocated policies on how to deal with racism and discrimination (Task Force, 1988a).

Community Composition

A number of studies suggest that ethnic enclaves appear to contribute to mental well-being, while isolation may be associated with psychological distress and a risk of psychiatric disorder (Chan, 1984; Giordano & Giordano, 1977; Smither & Rodriguez-Giegling, 1979. (The present study can shed some interesting light on this issue, as will be seen, because post-war Japanese immigrants to Canada are as a group less socially cohesive than their pre-war counterparts.) Previous studies suggest that contact with their own cultural community may contribute to the psychological well-being of immigrant children as well as seniors (Huych & Fields, 1981;

Olowu, 1983). Facilitating the maintenance of customs and religious beliefs appears to mitigate the stress of cultural change (Way, 1985). Other studies suggest that it's not so much the ethnic cultural contact that contributes to the mental well-being as much as the supportive feelings and sense of belonging associated with the environment of a large cultural community or friendly host society (Murphy, 1955).

Length of Stay

General agreement exists on the notion that the longer migrants stay, the better they become adjusted (Alley, 1982; Guidote & Baba, 1980; Lasry & Sigal, 1980). Also generally agreed is that immigrants' mental health varies with experience of pre- and post-migration (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984; Sluzki, 1979; Tyhurst, 1982). Studies on refugees suggest that there are two phases of acculturation that produce a higher risk of psychological distress: the resettlement period between three to eighteen months after arrival (Rumbaut, 1985; Westermeyer, Vang & Neider, 1983a), and several years after resettlement when family problems may begin to emerge (Sluzki, 1979). Marital problems seem to involve either the husbands' being exposed to the new environment while the wives are left out at home and isolated, or wives acculturating more readily and asking for more freedom (in keeping with western values) (Roskies, 1978; Vignes and Hall, 1979).

Generation gaps create different conflicts amongst family members too. Children often adapt to the host culture faster than their parents, thereby challenging their parents' traditional values (Kurian, 1986; Wakil, Siddique and Wakil, 1981). Women in traditional roles in the home can thus often find themselves at odds with family members. Married women with limited knowledge of English have been reported to experience alienation from the rest of the family, and mental health problems after mother's role diminished (Krupinski, 1984). While ethnic cultural and support networks may aid adjustment and enhance psychological well-being, they can also impede the enhancement of social and professional status (K.M. Lin, Masuda, & Tazuma, 1984; Westermeyer, Neider & Vang, 1984). However, previous studies have not established clear causal relationships.

Psychological Factors

Other attributes prior to acculturation that may have an effect on one's mental health are the level of education, employment value, self-esteem, sense of identity, motivation and achievement, adaptability and cognitive style. The kinds of contacts made with the larger society are crucial: their number and variety as well as the degree to which they were helpful and accommodating are important variables here.

The degree of an individual's cognitive control over the acculturation process seems to affect adjustment too - whether

changes are perceived to be threats or opportunities. Berry and Kim (1988) suggest that "it is not the acculturative changes that are important, but how one sees them and what he or she makes of them (p. 218)." Richmond (1984) argues that motivation and intentions of immigrants are important pre-migration factors. These factors do affect the propensity of the immigrants to learn the host language, to develop certain types of network, and degree and willingness to participate in the formal organizations including community, citizenship, and political arena.

3. DEPRESSION AND IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Theoretical Framework of the Study of Stress, Depression, and Social Support

Previous stress-illness models tend to view the relationships of stress and illness as unicausal, although more recent theoretical models include intervening processes as moderating the effects of stress-inducing life events on the individual (Warheit, 1979). Warheit (1979) is critical of the stress-illness model, viewing it as "static" and views "closed". The stress-illness model does not "take into an account the systemic relationships inherent in the real world as organisms affect and are affected by their psychological, social, ecological, and cultural milieus" (p. 503). A more recent theoretical framework considers the coping process to

involve variables like life events, resources, stress, and depressive symptomatologies (Warheit, 1979, see Figure 2.3).

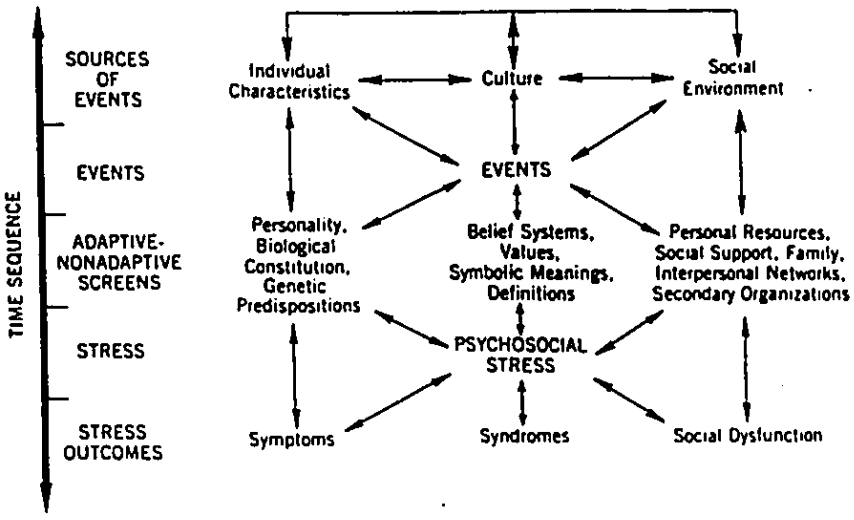
In this framework, resources assisting acculturation are both individual and social. Individual resources bear on factors like personality, biological constitution, and genetic predisposition, while social resources, where available, include networks like family, friends, co-workers, professionals, and secondary agencies. Also important in the social context are cultural beliefs and value systems. In this model, stress is considered "an altered state of an organism produced by agents in the psychological, social, cultural, and/or physical environments" (Warheit, 1979, p. 502). As seen in Figure 2.3, sources of events, stress, and stress outcomes are differentiated.

Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, and Mullan (1981) also see the stress process as similarly tripartite, the three aspects being "the source of stress, the mediator of stress, and the manifestation of stress" (p. 337). This model traces sources of stress back to the boundaries of social and cultural milieus. From the individual's perspective, the stresses arise out of discrete events and continuous problems. Life events produce stress, either in themselves or by adding to already existing problems. Pearlin et al. (1981) recognize self-mastery and self-esteem as important variables in the mediating process. Moreover, coping strategies are learned and shared, so the individual and social realms are

interrelated. In both models, symptoms are seen as stress outcomes, the result of psychological distress.

Figure 2.3

Life Events: Sources, Adaptations, and Outcomes



Source: Warheit (1979), p. 503.

U. Kim (1988), and Salgado de Snyder (1986) have related the general theoretical division of life events, stress, and symptoms to the immigrant experience. Immigrant life events

may include: "value conflicts, identity confusion, communication problems, and the experience of prejudice and discrimination (Kim, 1988, p. 44)." Pearlin et al. (1981) link socio-demographic factors to the intensity of stress and depression: age, sex, race, self-esteem, marital status, and unemployment status.

Sex Difference in Depression

In general epidemiological studies, researchers have found that females reported higher levels of depression than males (e.g. Gove, 1978; Gove, & Tudor, 1973; Pearlin, 1974; Weissman & Klerman, 1977; Klerman & Weissman, 1980; G.W. Brown & Harris, 1978; Gover 1978; Steele, 1978; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987). Golding (1988) argues that only indirect associations have been established.

Immigrant women have been found to have lower professional status, less education, lower level of language proficiency, and income, and are more likely to be underemployed or unemployed altogether than immigrant men (Estable, 1986; Paredes, 1987). All these factors are likely to affect women's mental health, producing in them a higher risk of depression than men. Other factors that may make some women more vulnerable to higher levels of depression are their relative youth and lower social status. Single women may be more vulnerable still than married women. Golding (1988) suggests that women are more likely than men to be found in

one or several of the above demographic groups and are therefore likely to have higher levels of depression.

Gove (1972) suggests that men find more satisfaction in their socially well-defined multiple roles than women do with their unstructured domestic roles. Rosenfield (1980) reports that women in traditional married roles have higher levels of depression than their male counterparts.

A consistent finding in epidemiological literature is that married women suffer a lower level of depression than single women (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960; Gove and Tudor, 1973; Briscoe & Smith, 1974; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Warheit, Holzer, Bell, & Arey, 1976; Ensel, 1982). An explanation given for this result is that marriage as a social norm gives women emotional stability (Gurin et al., 1960).

Cleary and Mechanic (1983), in summarizing the research findings on the relationship of depression and marital status, sex, and life events, conclude that 1) females are more depressed than males; 2) married non-working females are more depressed than married working females, and are significantly more depressed than married males; 3) married working females are more depressed than their male counterparts; and 4) the stress associated with working and being responsible for raising children contributed significantly to higher levels of depression among married women.

S.D. Nguyen (1982) reports that depression is one of the most common mental health problems among immigrant groups.

Berry (1988) notes that depression can be the typical result of immigrants' experiencing acculturative stress.

Depression in Immigrant Women

Kuo's (1984) comparative study among three Asian groups used the Centre for Epidemiological Studies of Depression (CES-D) scale to examine the level of depression among 449 Asian-Americans in Seattle, Washington and compared them with the levels of depression in White Americans. The result showed distinctive characteristics among the sub-sample groups (i.e. Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans). For instance, married immigrants had the lowest levels, 6.92, followed by widowed or separated immigrants at 7.10, and those who never married at 8.26 ($p<.05$, X^2 test). Housewives had a score of 9.20, second only to those who were part-time workers including males (10.28). Among Japanese Americans, males scored higher at 7.98 than females at 6.74.

The mean score of the immigrant sample, however, was higher than that of the Whites. The Koreans had the highest at 14.37, followed by the Filipinos at 9.72, then the Japanese and Chinese at 6.93. Among the other groups, however, the female score was higher in the case of the Chinese and Filipino females, lower in the case of Korean and Japanese females. Differences in ethnic background thus seem to apply, as does gender, one way or another.

The mean score of the white sample was 14.5, but 60% exceeded the customary cut-off point of 16. Most important, however, was the fact that the level of depression and acculturative stress showed significant correlation ($r=.40$, $p<.001$). Acculturative stress predicted 16% of the total variance in depressive symptomatology ($r=.16$, $F(1, 138)=25.8$, $p<.001$). The involuntary immigrant women scored a higher level of depression than voluntary immigrant women ($\bar{X}=16.7$ and 12.7 respectively, $t(135)=2.41$, $p<.05$), while no significant difference was found in the acculturative stress level. Kuo (1984) speculates that the higher Korean score was due to the fact that Koreans were more recent immigrants, having therefore had less time to adjust (7 years vs 15 years or longer). Koreans tended to take jobs offering less prestige than other groups, though the Korean's level of education was comparable. Learning English appeared to be particularly difficult for Koreans. Sixty-nine percent reported that learning English was a difficult task for them, though the rest of those sampled also experience some difficulty learning English.

Vega et al. (1986, 1987) reported levels of depression of 785 Mexican American women of three categories: 18 or older (84.2%), younger than 18 (8.3%) and those who were born in the U.S. (7.5). The mean of the CES-D scores were similar: 11.04, 11.32., and 11.25 respectively. The group of 18 or older was further examined. Under the socio-demographic

variables the study employed, education and years of residence were inversely associated with level of depression, while employment status and age did not correlate. Confidant support, however, was found to assist mental well-being.

The study also found, as might be expected, that higher levels of education and income mitigated against depressive symptoms. No relationship was found between depression and either employment status or age. The result of regression analysis revealed that the best combination of the predictors was income and education. The best-fit explained 9.7% of the variance. The study concluded that "perceiving a fundamental incompatibility between their own culture and that of the receiving nation is related to depression, and may further indicate feelings of marginality, alienation and social discrimination." (Vega et al., 1987, p. 527).

A study of social support and depression by Vega, Kolody, Valle, and Weir (1991), revealed that reduced levels of depression were most likely to be the result of family support and income. On the other hand, frequency of interaction or contact with friends and family were not related with depression.

Franks and Faux (1990) studied the level of depression among four ethnic groups of immigrant and refugee women over the age of 18 in Canada, Chinese (N=60), Vietnamese (N=46), Portuguese (N=56), and Latin American (N=50) immigrant and refugee women age over 18. The study also examined the

interrelationship among selected demographic characteristics, like stress, mastery, social resources, and depressive symptomatology.

Besides the significant differences in CES-D scores among the groups ($F(3,207)=4.17$, $p=.007$), the scores of some of the sample groups were remarkably high: 15.1 (sd=.42) for Chinese; 13.2 (sd=.53) for Vietnamese, 16.3 (sd=.43) for Portuguese, 10.6 (sd=.34) for Latin Americans. A higher percentage of suggested cutoff for clinical depression (above 16) was found: 35% of Chinese, 24% of Vietnamese, 48% of Portuguese, and 22% of Latin American women, while a normal community distribution in female population has been reported to be 20% (Eaton & Kessler, 1981).

Key variables in a multiple regression analysis accounting for 38% of the variance included perceived stress (b=-.35), mastery (b=-.29), level of education (b=-.14), and perceived financial status (b=.14). Among significant predictors of stress were levels of English proficiency and social support (Portuguese), life events, age and the number of friends (Vietnamese) and job and income status (Latin American).

Further analysis showed that the best model for predicting depression among all the collective groups included perceived stress and mastery. This result is consistent with the findings of the other studies that acculturative stress is correlated with an individual's perceived stress and mediated

by a perceived sense of mastery and internal control. In contrast to prervious findings, depression was not correlated with marital status or lower economic condition.

Regarding depression, the authors suggest that women are regarded as a significantly high risk group for depression regardless of the phase of their resettlement. The fact that different variables were highlighted as predictors for depression for different ethnic groups suggests that some practical measures are more appropriate for newer arrivals (i.e. Vietnamese and Latin Americans), while supportive measures to reduce stress and facilitate social relationships may be more useful for established Chinese and Portuguese groups. Beiser (1988) has suggested that providing services to develop skills in English and finding suitable employment are appropriate for newer groups, too.

The authors also suggest reexamining the provision of psychosocial services, since a pronounced stigma is attached to mental health problems in immigrant cultures. The psychological problems are expressed as somatic because they seem rather a normal part of life than something particular to the immigrant experience (Canino & Canino, 1982; E.H. Lin, Carter, & Kleinman, 1985; Moitoza, 1982). Sometimes, immigrants may avoid utilizing or underutilizing mental health services (N. Lin, 1986; S.D. Nguyen, 1984; Williams, 1985). Integration of mental health services with social services such as life skills might be the best strategy.

Salgado de Snyder (1986, 1987) hypothesizes that older immigrants have more difficulty adjusting. Lack of communication and feelings of uprootedness among 140 Mexican married women in Los Angeles county appeared to substantiate this. The major foci of the study were the relationships among acculturative stress, social support and depressive symptomatology and the differences in these results between voluntary and involuntary immigrants. The mean CES-D score was 14.5, but more than 60% of the sample reached the cut-off point of 16 or more. A strong correlation between the level of depression and acculturative stress was observed, $r=.40$, $p<.001$. Lower levels of language proficiency were found to correlate with higher levels of depression, $r=.33$, $p<.001$. Here again language proficiency comes to the fore as a crucial issue in studies concerned with acculturative stress.

4. LIFE SATISFACTION

Although numerous studies on factors affecting mental health and psychological well-being among immigrant women exist, the same cannot be said of studies on life satisfaction (Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988; Salgado de Snyder, 1986, 1987; Vega & Colody, 1985; Moghaddam, Ditto, & Taylor, 1990; B-L.C. Kim, 1978).

Dominant study models here correlate psychological symptoms to satisfaction levels. Salgado de Snyder's (1986) study includes five domains: opportunities; friends; family,

marriage; and the decision to immigrate to the U.S. Moghaddam et al.'s (1990) study compared level of life satisfaction in the original country (India) with that experienced in the host country (Canada). The study considered economic situation, education, housing, health, immigration services, and family role.

Levels of life satisfaction vary. Despite the various kinds of stressors, most of the respondents reported that they were satisfied on most counts (Salgado de Snyder, 1986; Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988). Vega & Kolody (1985) report that Mexican immigrant women have a lower level of confidant support than the native-born Americans, and were less satisfied with their networks. The Indian immigrant women were reported to have various levels of dissatisfaction (Moghaddam et al., 1990), some of it stemming from a pressure to succeed. They are less satisfied with housing, employment, education, and life in general in Canada. The significant difference in satisfaction was in relation to social roles. B-L.C. Kim (1978) reports that Asian-American groups (Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos) were experiencing problems in adjustment, yet they expressed relative satisfaction with their decision to immigrate.

5. SOCIAL SUPPORT

Definitions

It is a well-accepted notion that there are diverse definitions of social support (Carveth and Gottlieb, 1979; Thoits, 1982; Turner, 1981; Vaux 1988).

Caplan (1974) formulated the concept of social feedback, which might influence the outcome of one's crisis or transitional situations, and coined the term "support system". Although he did not develop the concept or show how the system worked, he included in the notion a network of family and friends, and individuals and groups that provide informal social support to an individual.

Cobb (1976) views social support as an informational function that communicates to an individual a sense of being cared for, being esteemed, or belonging, functions that encourage communication and a sense of obligation.

Thoits (1982) makes distinctions among social support systems, and defines social support as "the degree to which a person's basic social needs are gratified through interaction with others" (p. 147). Further, social support system was defined as "a subset of persons in the individual's social network upon whom he or she relies for socio-emotional aid, instrumental aid, or both" (p. 148). Cohen and Hoberman (1983) refer to social support as "various resources provided by one's interpersonal ties" (p. 100).

Turner, Frankel, and Levin (1983) make distinctions between social support and social support resources. They adopt a socio-psychological cognitive conception, and define social support as "a personal experience rather than a set of objective circumstances or even a set of interactional processes" (p. 74). Their concept of social support is most similar to that of Cobb's (1976), and Weiss's (1974) emphasizing the individual's feelings of being cared for, involved, and respected.

House (1981) defines social support as "an interpersonal transaction involving one or more of the following: (1) emotional concern (liking, love, empathy), (2) instrumental aid (goods and services), (3) information (about the environment), or (4) appraisal (information relevant to self-evaluation)" (p. 39). According to House, the sources of social support include spouse, friends, relatives, coworkers, supervisors at work, neighbours, professionals and caregivers.

Shumaker and Brownell (1984) define social support as "an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well-being of the recipient" (p. 17). The kinds of support include behavioral assistance, intimacy, information, feedback, lay referrals and intimacy (p. 22).

N. Lin (1986) defines social support as "the perceived or actual instrumental and/or expressive provisions supplied by the community, social networks, and confiding partners" (p.

18). Besides the above two categories, there are three levels of social linkages specified, namely belonging, binding, and bonding.

Lin also utilizes Granovetter's (1973) concept of strong and weak ties and further distinguishes instrumental from expressive action. Expressive action serves to maintain personal resources rather than personal gain, and this is best served by strong ties in which similar characteristics and lifestyles are shared by network members. The mental well-being is maintained through strong and homogeneous ties.

Theoretical and Conceptual Issues of Social Support

The role of social support in maintaining an individual's mental health has been recognized for some time by specialists. Since the 1970s, studies have verified this logical notion (Gottlieb, 1981; Caplan, 1974). Cassel (1976) found that people who lack significant social contact are found to be more susceptible to various kinds of illness, like alcoholism, schizophrenia, and tuberculosis. Cassel's study suggests that a practical and realistic solution to strengthening mental health would be to strengthen social supports rather than to work from a medical model and provide treatment. Cassel (1974a, 1974b, 1976) suggested that various psychosocial disruptions have an impact on psychological functions, and in turn on resistance to illness. Cassel's study also focused on the importance of primary group support,

and it was suggested that the function of this group was to moderate the consequences of stressful experiences that might otherwise have been pathological. Cassel also stressed that the relationship between stress and social support is intertwined - stressful events sometimes disrupt social ties. Cobb (1976) emphasized the idea of social support as a buffer to stress and an aid to well-being.

Factors that intervene to moderate the impact of stress on the occurrence of illness were emphasized by Dohrenwends (1978). The importance of studying the joint effect of life events and social support was suggested by social epidemiologists during late 1970s (Cassel, 1974a,b; Kaplan, 1975; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977).

Two overall points deserve emphasis: first, social support seems to have a direct influence over health and well-being regardless of stress level (Aneshensel, & Stone, 1982); and, second, social support provides a buffering effect against stress to prevent illness (Dean, Lin, & Ensel, 1981; Dean and Lin, 1977, Cohen, & Hoberman, 1983).

Considering the role of social support, two contextual perspectives need to be noted (Cohen and Syme, 1985). One is the variation in the individual's need or desire for support, and the other is the degree of ease with which his social environment can provide it.

Vaux (1988) points out some of the important factors concerning social context, among them 1) the influence of

stressors on diminishing support; 2) the fact that network relationships may change according to the shift of the stressor; 3) certain stressors such as tragic losses, and terminal illness, may incapacitate supportive relationships temporarily; 4) stressors may contribute to promoting network resources in some circumstances, and the sharing of similar experiences brings people together (Sheriff, 1966) and generates mutual assistance (Hamblin, Hathaway, and Wodarski, 1974); and 5) stressors might have an affect on mobilizing network resources.

Focus of Studies of Social Support

The focus of existing studies on social support is wide-ranging. Different processes, elements, and social-relational systems are examined (Turner, Frankel, and Levin, 1983). Despite diversity and discord, Vaux (1988) points out that these studies seem to have coalesced around three issues: the range of social relationships, the availability and perceived features of support, and the variety of forms of social support.

The Range of Social Relationships

Studies have investigated various ranges of social relationships, from intimate ones to those involving the neighbourhood and community (Gottlieb, 1981, Heller, 1979). The relative importance of the level of social ties is still

a matter of debate (Gottlieb, 1981; Turner, Frankel, and Levin 1983; Wellman, 1981).

Social Integration

Social integration focuses on an individual's social ties. A number of studies have dealt with the degree to which an individual integrates into the larger society by considering factors like marital status, contact with relatives and friends, participation in various organizations such as community, religious or ethnic groups, and the impact of such groups on an individual's well-being (Bell, LeRoy, and Stephenson, 1982; Berkman and Syme, 1979; Eaton 1978; Gore, 1978; Lin, Simeone, Ensel, & Kuo, 1979; Miller and Ingham, 1976; Myers, Lindenthal, and Pepper, 1975; Warheit, 1979; Williams, Ware, and Donald, 1981).

Intimate Relationships

The importance of intimate relationships is taken for granted. Some researchers have studied the availability of intimate relationships (Brown, Brolchain, and Harris, 1975; Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Medalic and Goldbourt, 1976; Miller & Ingham, 1976). Fried (1963) studied the impact of residential relocation and the accompanying loss of friends on psychological distress. Some researchers have found that the loss of spouse has an impact on health (Parks, Benjamin, and Fitzgerald, 1969).

Social Networks

Studies of the characteristics of a network have included three aspects: structure, components and composition (Vaux, 1988). Structure might deal with size and density. Network composition might include the proportion of family members, friends, or relatives. Network components might deal with the homogeneity of the network in relation to sex, age, or ethnicity. Other features of a network include frequency of contact, durability and intensity of relationships, and geographic proximity. The direction of relationships (the degree to which they are reciprocal) may be examined. Social network analysis appears to provide a rich context to the study of social support.

In reviewing social support measures, House and Kahn (1985) categorized them as follows. One way to assess social relationships and contact is to quantify the frequency of contacts with relatives and friends, and the number of such relationships. These concepts are operationalized in the existence or quantity of social relationships (e.g., Berkman & Syme, 1979; Eaton, 1978; Funch & Marshall, 1983; Wan & Weissert, 1981). Some studies have more precise descriptions of the aspects of social relationships or contacts and social resources (e.g., Donald & Ware, 1982; House, Robbins, & Metzner, 1982). Some studies argue that the quantity of social support is more important than the function or structure of the support (e.g., Syme, 1982).

There are still conflicting findings, however, in quantifying the characteristics of structures and interactions in social networks (Israel, 1982). The only agreement is in relation to the network size - the larger the network, the better the sense of well-being it provides for those included in it. (e.g., Froland, Brodsky, Olson, & Stewarat, 1979; Gallo, 1982; Phillips, 1981). Gallo has found that the same applies to network density. Hirsch (1980, 1981) contradicts these results. Phillips (1981) finds no relationship between these two variables.

Some studies suggest that small, dense, homogeneous, closely-knit networks help maintain social identity and general well-being. On the other hand, adjustments to changes in social identities and roles are promoted by larger, less dense, more culturally diverse networks (Walker, MacBridge, and Vachon, 1977).

Availability of Support

Many early studies focused on assessing actual activities (Eaton, 1978; Miller and Ingham, 1976; Williams, Ware, and Donald, 1981), although, one of the early studies by Lin et al. (1979) focused on the individual's perception about the community and the neighbourhood. While the perception and the reality may often correspond, another dimension of study emerges if they do not. Unintentional acts of kindness may still be perceived as genuine, bringing about a sense of

comfort or support regardless of intent. The contrary can also be true: good intentions misdirected or misinterpreted can well lead to hurt feelings.

Actual and Perceived Features of Support

Through a review of the literature on social support, Barrera (1986) organized the concept of social support into three categories: social embeddedness, perceived social support, and enacted support (Barrera, 1981; Barrera, Sandler, & Ramsey, 1981; Gottlieb, 1983; Heller & Swindle, 1983).

Social Embeddedness

The notion of social embeddedness relates to the degree to which an individual is connected to significant others in his or her social environment - the perception of a sense of community (Sarason, 1974), in other words, versus the sense of social isolation (Gottlieb, 1983), a major factor in psychological disorders (Rook, 1984, Thoits, 1982). Two approaches have been prevalent in measuring social embeddedness (Barrera, 1986): employing broad social indicators to measure the existence of social ties (Eaton, 1978; Thoits, 1982), participation in community activities (Andrews, Tennant, Hewson, & Vaillant, 1978; Berkman & Syme, 1979; Lin, Simeone, Ensel, & Kuo, 1979), connection with siblings in the community (Sandler, 1980), and friends (Silberfeld, 1978).

Perceived Social Support

Perceived social support relates to the cognitive model of stress and coping (Folkman, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1979; Lazarus & Launier, 1978). One responds to stress inducing situations from the point of view of the level of social support with which one considers oneself equipped. Subjective availability and adequacy of support are the two important dimensions here.

Enacted Support

Enacted support is behavioral (Tardy, 1985) and therefore is distinguished from perceived and embedded support. Enacted support is provided when a person is facing acute stressors (Barrera, 1986).

The above three approaches - social embeddedness, perceived support and enacted support - do not exist separately. Heller and Swindle (1983) provide a model that combines the three approaches. Available social networks provide people with a sense of social embeddedness. Individuals' perception of social support is based on the number and actions of the social networks they have.

Forms of Social Support

Many studies have focused on distinguishing functions and modes of social support. Caplan (1974) has noted three categories of activities: mobilizing resources to deal with

emotional problems, providing cognitive and material assistance, and sharing tasks. Cobb (1976) categorized information into three areas: esteemed, involved, and being cared for. Weiss (1974) categorizes social provisions six ways: social integration, reliable alliance, reassurance of worth, opportunity for nurturing, attachment, and guidance.

Pattison (1977) distinguishes between instrumental and affective social support; Tolsdorf (1976) as tangible, advice, intangible, and feedback; Brim (1974) as positive interaction, valued similarity, trust, concern, and assistance; Hirsch, 1980) as emotional support, tangible assistance, cognitive guidance, socializing, and social reinforcement; Cohen and Hoberman (1983) as tangible, appraisal, belonging, and self-esteem; House (1981) as emotional, informational, instrumental, and appraisal; Schaefer, Coyne, & Lazarus (1981) as emotional, instrumental, and informational; Wills (1985) as esteem, instrumental, social companionship, and motivational; Lin, Dean, and Ensel (1986) as expressive and instrumental.

Other features of social support have been presented: social ties (N. Lin, 1986), exchange (House, 1981; Shumaker, and Brownell, 1984), and subjective appraisals (Thoits, 1982; Turner, Frankel, and Levin, 1983). Some other features are the context of problems (House, 1981), the avoidance of constraint (Shumaker, and Brownell, 1984), and ongoing social needs (N. Lin, 1986; Turner, Frankel, and Levin, 1983).

Although terminologies may be the same, some definitions may differ slightly.

Cohen and Syme (1985) distinguish structural measures from functional measures. Hammer (1983) suggests that information about properties of networks around an individual is independent of personal characteristics. Structural aspects of social integration include the number of members in active relationships and the number of contacts with family members, friends, and others in the community, in order to provide objective information on social embeddedness. Cohen and Syme (1985) argue that "subjective-functional measurement helps to tap individuals' psychological representations of their support systems." (p. 12). Since an individual's resources are affected by the perception of environmental characteristics rather than an objective network, the objective network measures may not be related to subjective support resources.

Sex differences in Supportive Relationship

Confidant support measures assess the availability of close relationships with one or more persons. From such relationships, self-esteem and personal guidance are most likely to flow. A key to studies involving the effects of acculturative stress on women is that women have been found to benefit more from this kind of confidant support than men (Husaini, Neff, Newbrough, & Moore, 1982; Henderson, Byrne,

Duncan-Jones, Scott & Adcock, 1980, Brown, Bhrolchain, & Harris, 1975; Paykel, Emms, Fletcher, & Rassaby, 1980; Brown et al.,1975; Paykel et al., 1980).

The differences are attributable to one different kinds of stressors affecting men and women (c.f. Billings & Moos, 1981), but also the different needs elicited in the way each sex copes or socializes. These studies suggest that women gain satisfaction from sharing feelings and problems with close friends, while men gain satisfaction from their striving with associates towards more tangible, professional goals (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982; Wills, Weiss, & Patterson, 1974). The style of supportive interaction differs between men and women.

House and Kahn (1985) suggest that network analysis appears to highlight gender as a "neglected but promising" variable in social relationships. Studies have provided evidence that relationships with women are more likely to promote health and foster support than those with men. Men generally benefit from marriage, but women benefit more from relationships with others such as friends and relatives, predominantly female ones (House & Kahn, 1985). Further, the mental health of women is more affected by the life events of those they know (presumably by providing support) (Kessler and McLeod, 1984). From the study of health in relation to social relationships, it may be concluded that reciprocity plays an important part in promoting health. Both the person who

provides the support and the person who receives it benefit emotionally (Gallo, 1982).

Measures of Social Support

House and Kahn (1985) have presented a theoretical framework for the relationship of social support on physical and mental well-being (see Figure 2.4). This framework was developed for the purpose of valid measurement, but it also helps to conceptualize various aspects of social support.

Early studies assessed the level of support provided by social networks. These studies assumed that what an individual gains from a social network is proportional to the range and size of the network, and that the relationship that one has to the network is equivalent to the support that one receives from it (Schaefer, Coyne & Lazarus, 1981).

Researchers have pointed out problems with the approach. Vaux (1988) suggests that loosely defined terms might lead to different interpretations (e.g., Jones and Fischer, 1978), as can unclear distinctions between various networks such as friends, relatives, and spouse (e.g., Brim, 1974; Hirsch 1979; Pattison, Defrancisco, Wood, Frazier, & Crowder, 1975). Many measurements do not exhaust the "full stock" of social network features. While the majority of the studies are focused on the size of social network, structural variables vary:

> size, density, clusters (isolated high density groups), boundary density (overlap between subgroups), and geographical dispersion; interactional dimensions might include intensity, multiplexity (dimensionality),

> reciprocity, temporal features, and homogeneity (Vaux, 1988, p. 36).

Instruments differ in assessing specific modes of support, structure, characteristics of network relationships, network compositions such as source, description and evaluation of types of support rendered. Dispositions of social support vary too: 1) whether the support was enacted or available, 2) whether the support is simply described or evaluated, and 3) whether the support was evaluated in a way that relates it to helpfulness or satisfaction. Content refers to the modes of assessment of support (such as tangible and emotional) and the source of the social network (social identity - friend, relatives, or coworkers).

Social network measures are the second category House and Kahn (1985) provide. The advantages of network analyses are several:

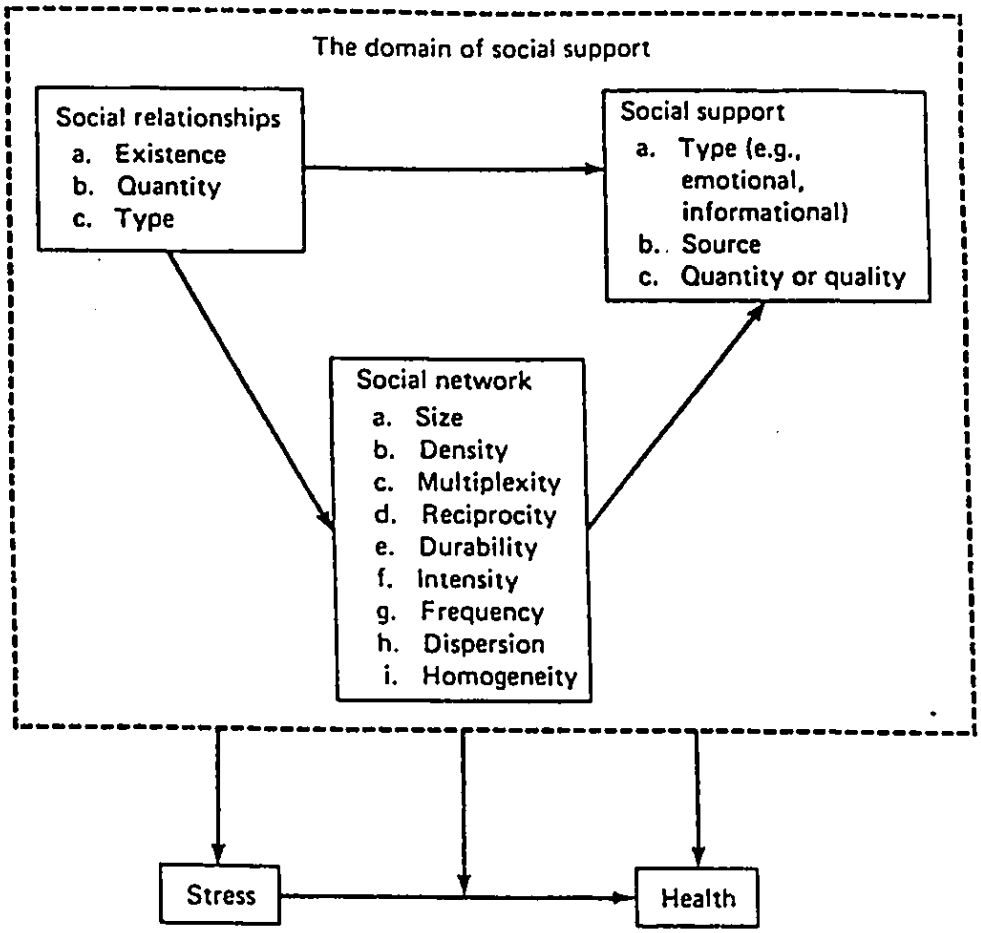
> 1) they broaden the range of social relationships examined,
> 2) they encourage attention to the multiple aspects and effects of these relationships, both positive and negative, and
> 3) they provide a method for describing the structural patterns of ties and for analyzing the effects of different patterns (House and Kahn, 1985, p. 91).

House and Kahn (1985) argue that quantifying the social relationship may be a crude measure, but that such quantification provides relative objectivity to the measure.

Israel (1982) identified the structural and functional characteristics of social networks as (1) size or range, (2) density (i.e., the extent to which all members of a network

are linked with each other), (3) content (i.e., simple versus complex, or the extent to which relationships involve more than one type of content or transaction), (4) directedness or reciprocity, (5) durability, (6) intensity or emotional closeness, (7) frequency, (8) dispersion, and (9) homogeneity.

Figure 2.4 The Domain of Social Support



Theoretical framework for assessing the quality of measures of social support

Source: House, & Kahn (1985), p. 86.

In summary, network analysis has not developed a prototype for measurement. Among the properties of network, density, sex composition, and reciprocity appear to be key variables (House and Kahn, 1985).

Scales to Measure Social Support

There have been many scales developed to assess various functions and features of social support. These scales have been developed to serve the study of general population or specific populations such as college students or people with specific needs. Lengths vary, as do the methods of capturing the specific characteristics of social supports. The strengths and weaknesses of these measures have been assessed and reviewed by researchers (e.g., House & Kahn, 1985; Vaux, 1988; Barrera, 1986). Many of these measures have tested reliability and some of the measures have obtained stable results, while others have not reported the results. However, most of the measures have not established their validity (House & Kahn, 1985; Vaux, 1988).

Very few studies on immigrants have utilized these established scales. Problems of utilizing scales developed for North American population exist from those of cultural sensitivity to validity of constructs of measures.

Measures to assess the social network structure are the Social Network Questionnaire (SNQ: Hirsch, 1979), the Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule (ASSIS: Barrera, 1980,

1981), the Social Support Scale (SSS: N. Lin, Simeone, Ensel, and Kuo, 1979), the Social Network List (SNL: Stokes, 1983).

Measures to assess the perceived availability of support are the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List (ISEL: Cohen & Hoberman, 1983; Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, & Hoberman, 1985), the Perceived Social Support (PSS) scale (Procidano & Heller, 1983), Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus (1981), the Social Support Network Interview (SSNI: Jones & Fischer, 1978; Philips & Fischer, 1981), Perceived Social Support From Friends (PSS-Fr) and Perceived Social Support From Family (PSS-Fa) (Procidano and Heller, 1983).

Measures to assess supportive behaviour are the Index of Socially Supportive Behaviours (ISSB: Barrera, Sandler, & Ramsay, 1981), and Social Support Behaviours (SSB: Vaux, 1982).

The measures to assess sources of support and types of support for specific population are contained in the Norbeck Social Support Questionnaire (NSSQ: Norbeck, Lindsey, & Carrieri, 1981).

Measures to assess the availability of support are found in the Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ: I.G. Sarason, Levine, Basham, & B.R. Sarason, 1983). Measures to assess characteristics of a specific population have been developed by some investigators, such as Brandt and Weinert (1981) for families of individuals with multiple sclerosis.

Measures to weigh the impact of a confidant are in Lowenthal and Haven (1968), and Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, & Mullan (1981).

Measures evaluating the effect of social relationships are the Quantitative Social Support Index (QSSI) and Family Relation Index (FRI) (Billings & Moos, 1981; 1982; Holahan & Moos, 1982), the Interview Schedule for Social Interaction (ISSI: Henderson, Byrne, Duncan-Jones, 1981).

The review of measures of perceived availability of support and related measures is still in the process of development. A conceptual framework has not been used to guide the measures in most scales. Some investigators have pointed out the importance of using a theoretical base when constructing a measurement of social support (e.g., Cohen and Wills, 1985a; House and Kahn, 1985). Even so, the measures developed have resulted in satisfactory discriminant validity (House and Kahn, 1985). Considering the fact that various kinds of support are provided by one person (such as emotional and instrumental support), many types of support are difficult to distinguish from one another. "Different types of support are most likely to be discriminable and to have different effects as the nature of the problem requiring support varies" (House and Kahn, 1985; p. 103).

Social Support and Immigrant Women

There have been extensive studies conducted on immigrant women to assess mental health problems related to acculturative stress, stressful life events and the effects of social support (Salgado de Snyder, 1986, 1987; Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1986; Franks, & Faux, 1990; Lynam, 1985; Ng & Ramirez, 1981; Nagata, 1969).

Some of these studies point out gaps in existing services to strengthen the support that immigrant women needed, and the impact of helping networks and social support on their mental health and well-being have been recommended as crucial aspects of program development. Ng and Ramirez (1981) point out that the immigrant women they studied did not perceive that resources were available to provide the support they needed even though these women had indicated that they were experiencing problems. Nagata's (1969) study also demonstrated that immigrant women felt alienated though they thought support might be available.

A popular model of study in the field of social psychology in the studies of social support among immigrant women involves the relationships between stress, various resulting pathologies (like depression), and the role of social support as a buffer. Under this model, a set of demographic variables are used to see whether they can predict depressive symptoms or acculturative stress among the immigrant women. At the same time, studies of social

networks, confidants or other functional supports are used to reveal whether such support can ameliorate the effects of stress.

Previous studies on factors contributing to better adjustment to a host culture identify social support as one of the most important factors (Lin, Simeon, Ensel & Kuo, 1979; Berry & Blondel, 1982). Studies on social support among immigrant groups assert that the availability of contacts with their ethnic group in the host country becomes an important source of support and promotes the well-being of immigrants, especially ones in the process of settlement (Murphy, 1977; Nguyen, 1982).

There have been studies conducted on immigrant women to assess mental health problems related to acculturative stress, stressful life events and social support (Salgado de Snyder, 1986, 1987; Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1986; Franks, & Faux, 1990; Lynam, 1985; Ng & Ramirez, 1981; Nagata, 1969). Nagata's (1969) study also demonstrated that immigrant women felt alienated though they thought support might be available. These studies indicate that information concerning the availability of support needs to be conveyed to the specific population.

Studies of social support among immigrant samples are categorized three ways: the first is the features of network, such as functions and structure; the second, the range of social relationships such as social integration and confidants

and marital relationships; and the third is the availability or perceived level of support, using a multi-purpose support scale. Some of these studies have tested for a buffering effect, and report different results.

Social Integration

Lin, Simeone, Ensel, and Kuo (1979) give data to illustrate that support from persons of the same ethnic background and a degree of social participation have a beneficial effect on one's mental health, at least partly by moderating the effect of stressful events.

The study by Lin et al. (1979) specifically dealt with Asian-Americans (Chinese) in Washington, D.C., using composite measures of social support and the Homes and Rahe Social Readjustment Rating Scale (SRRS). Nine social support measures included interaction with people in the area, quality of the neighbourhood, frequency of contact with neighbours and friends, participation in ethnic community activities, and job satisfaction. Research findings indicate that stressful life events (b=.21) and lack of social support (b=-.36) are important predictors of psychiatric symptoms. Marital status, occupational prestige, and stressful life events together accounted for 8% of the total variance explained by the model. The variance increased to 21% when variable of social support was incorporated. Thus, social support independent of marital status, occupational prestige, and stressful life events

accounted for approximately 13% of the variation in psychiatric symptoms (or 62% of the explained variance).

Franks and Faux (1990) studied levels of depression, demographic characteristics, stress, mastery, and social resources among four groups of ethnic immigrants and refugees: Chinese (N=60), Vietnamese (N=46), Portuguese (N=56), and Latin American (N=50). The study found that the newest arrival groups, the Vietnamese and Latin Americans, had the highest social networking scores, and had more frequent contact with their confidants than other groups. However, the result of the social network study showed that both Asian groups were less likely to ask for the necessary assistance from friends and relatives.

Confidant Support

Vega et al. (1986) examined the role that confidant support played in mediating depressive symptoms among 1,915 women in low-income Mexican immigrant females in San Diego County. Research findings in confidant support in the general population suggest that confidant support has both a buffering effect by mediating the stressful experience and the pathogenic outcome (Dean, Lin, and Ensel, 1981; Dean and Lin, 1977), and a main effect in promoting psychological well-being by fulfilling "a person's needs for affiliation, belonging, respect, social recognition, affection, and nurturance" (Aneshensel & Stone, 1982, p. 1392). The findings of studies

employing the model of confidant support and depression suggest that this model has a strong main effect as well as buffering effect (Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, and Mullan, 1981). Furthermore, the kinds of support elements involved in confidant relationships were highly intercorrelated (Schaefer, Coyne, and Lazarus, 1981), and this becomes a characteristic of marriage and other intimate relationships. In Vega et al.'s (1986) study, the variables used to identify confidant relationships were marital status and living arrangements (other adults and children under 18 living in the house). In addition, the question of whether or not the participant had somebody with whom she could share her innermost thoughts was included in the interviews.

The depressive symptoms increased with disruptions in marital status and decreased with the presence of confidant support. A series of regression analyses was conducted to examine the relationship of the mediating effect of confidant support with marital status, with depressive symptoms as dependent variables and various sets of adjusting or controlling variables as correlatives or predictors. This study found that the best set of predictive demographic variables for depressive symptoms were income, education and marital status. Those with marital disruptions showed the most depressive symptoms, closely followed by married and widowed, then never married. The most striking finding was that the confidant support increased the explained variance

from 4% to 10% when added to the best set of demographic variables as predictor of depressive symptoms. The study concludes that confidant support plays a powerful role and is likely to moderate stress induced by the adjustment process.

Perceived Availability of Support

Studies have revealed that confidant support is also a stress buffer when it is perceived to be part of the available social support among both general and immigrant populations (Brown, Bhrolchain, & Harris, 1975; Miller, Ingham, 1979; Vega et al., 1986). The results of the sample studies on immigrants also confirm findings of previous studies concerning the perceived availability of social support as a measure to assess the effect of social support on stress. Pearlin et al's (1981) study also suggest that using perceived availability of social support is an accurate measure to assess the effect of social support as a stress buffer.

Salgado-de-Snyder (1986, 1987) studied 140 Mexican married women in Los Angeles county on the relationships among acculturative stress, social support and depressive symptomatology. The availability of social support has been treated as an intervening variable to examine whether it has a buffering effect on depressive symptomatology, but it did not have the effect. Support from the spouse was related to a lower level of depression ($r=-.28$, $p<.01$). Interestingly

enough, however, no relationship was found between spousal support and acculturative stress.

As part of the above study of Salgado de Snyder (1987), the nature of social networks among 140 Mexican immigrant women was investigated. Functional support measures included instrumental support, emotional support and confidante support. The source of the supportive relationship, sex, age and frequency of contact with the source of support were also obtained. (The questions made no reference to husbands.)

Over 90% of the respondents indicated that their source of support was female including female friends, mothers, and sisters. Only six subjects reported a male as a source of support. Over 40% of the respondents reported that instrumental support (for renting a car or borrowing money) was male. Over 80% of the respondents reported that they had frequent contact with a friend, at least once a week.

Whether support had been provided or received (and how often) as part of the network within the last month was asked of respondents. Over 70% had received a service from, and over 65% provided a service to, a member of the network.

Respondents were asked whether they considered their spouses as important sources of support on a four point scale (0: do not agree to 4: strongly agree). The mean 3.4 indicated that the respondents consider their spouse as important sources of support.

Nevertheless, the study did not show a buffering effect of availability of social support on acculturative stress. The only buffering effect the study found was the support offered by the spouse. Salgado de Snyder suggests the necessity of further analysis on perceived availability of social support, which might reveal a buffering effect.

Process of Expanding Networks

Lynam (1985) studied how twelve immigrant women of various ethnic backgrounds with young children (Greece, Hong Kong, Japan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Poland, Uganda and Yugoslavia), answered their needs and conceptualized their ways of expanding their support networks. All the women expressed "the need to feel as if they belonged, or had feelings of affiliation with people in Canada, and receiving personal support (p. 328)". Their sense of isolation was described as a feeling of "being apart from people or resources (p. 328)." These feelings appeared to stem from "a lack of mutual basis of understanding (p. 328)," the result of being at something of a loss about how to go about developing a network with other immigrant women and share their experiences.

These women longed for personal support. Feelings of loneliness resulted from the difference in people's support networks in the host country compared to those in the home country. Their needs were often unmet, and the lack of a

supportive relationship led individuals to feel a sense of marginality (Weiss, 1974).

These women sought support because they felt the need for affiliation. But they lacked information on resources or had no access to resources.

The resources identified by these immigrant women were divided into three categories: kin, insider, and outsider. Their kin were their closest relatives, including husband, siblings and extended family members. An insider was defined as one who understood their needs because they shared the same ethnic origin or immigrated at the same time. Outsiders included all the rest: agencies, resources, or other unfamiliar women.

These women expanded their social network to outsiders by using their knowledge of the way in which close networks are formed with kin and insiders. They made inferences through the knowledge of their own culture, language, understanding of events, customs and surroundings. By starting their network with those around them, these women were eventually able to expand their networks.

The study of social support and the strength of ties identifies different serving purposes (Granovetter, 1973). Networks with kin and insiders provide women with a sense of comfort and support, sharing their experience of immigration. But their needs were not always met through these small groups. Their interest in and desire to learn about the rules

and customs of the host culture made them go beyond their closest social networks to establish supporting relationships with outsiders.

Hammer, Gutwirth, and Phillips (1982) found that parenthood brings a different dimension to social networks to individuals. In this regard, the experience of immigrant women is not unique. However, reports of these women demonstrated that establishing a relationship with neighbours of different ethnic background was not an easy task. These women took their own initiative and felt confident in their ability to develop relationships that would give them access to and interaction with outsiders.

Their utilization of social resources varied depending on how strongly they sought a Canadian career. Some of them decided to enrol in school. Some women expressed a desire for assimilation by changing their behaviour to suit the customs of the host culture.

Muller (1980) suggests that different types of social support serve different purposes according to individual need. The immigrant women in this study had great interest in developing networks with outsiders. The same cannot be said about a willingness to contact professional help: Lynam (1985) found that only a few immigrant women call on or seek a professional when they need help.

In summary, many of the studies of social support among immigrant women suggest that they value informal support

networks. These studies also suggest that family members, relatives, and female friends are key players. The models used in many of these studies were correlational among the variables of sociodemographic factors, level of acculturative stress, depression, and social support. Studies that tested for the buffering effect of social support in relation to stress levels and resulting psycho-pathologies have reported inconsistent results: sometimes social support networks appear helpful in alleviating acculturative stress, sometimes they do not. Qualitative studies have revealed the value of social support in developing an individual's networks. These conclusions provide useful suggestions to social work practitioners for the development of programs. The intent of the program, among other things, appears to be particularly important.

6. JAPANESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Demographic Characteristics

Post-war Japanese immigrants (Shin-issei) are of chief concern to the present study. In demographic data on post-war Japanese immigrants, information on Japanese female immigrants is limited.

The post-war Japanese immigrants to Canada make up 20% of the total Japanese-Canadian population (Kobayashi, 1989). This new group of immigrants has not received a great deal of attention in the past, partly because the issue of

compensation for Japanese who were interned during World War II has been a keen issue for the Japanese Canadian community. However, this group will provide an important role in the community in the future since the population constitutes a fairly large proportion of the total Japanese Canadians (Kobayashi, 1989). Also, as mentioned earlier, this group is "in transition" and may be more at risk in relation to acculturative stress and depression.

There are 54,505 Japanese Canadians (Census Canada 1986). Here Japanese Canadians are defined as those who were either born in Japan and immigrated to Canada, or their descendants who have Japanese ethnic origin. Since World War II, 15,000 Japanese immigrants augmented Canada's population. Between 1,000 and 2,000 were Canadian citizens but were deported to Japan in 1946, and accepted as immigrants later. About 3,000 did not stay in Canada. Thus, the net gain is approximately 10,500 (Kobayashi, 1989). According to the Japanese Information Service (1990), there are 5,000 post-war immigrants in Southern Ontario, about 3,000 of which live in the Toronto area.

A significant increase in Japanese immigrants in the 1960s coincided with the immigration of post-war "baby boomers", and followed the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy (Kobayashi, 1989). In 1965, the number of Japanese immigrants to Canada was 209. In 1966, the number increased to 509. In 1967, the number further increased to

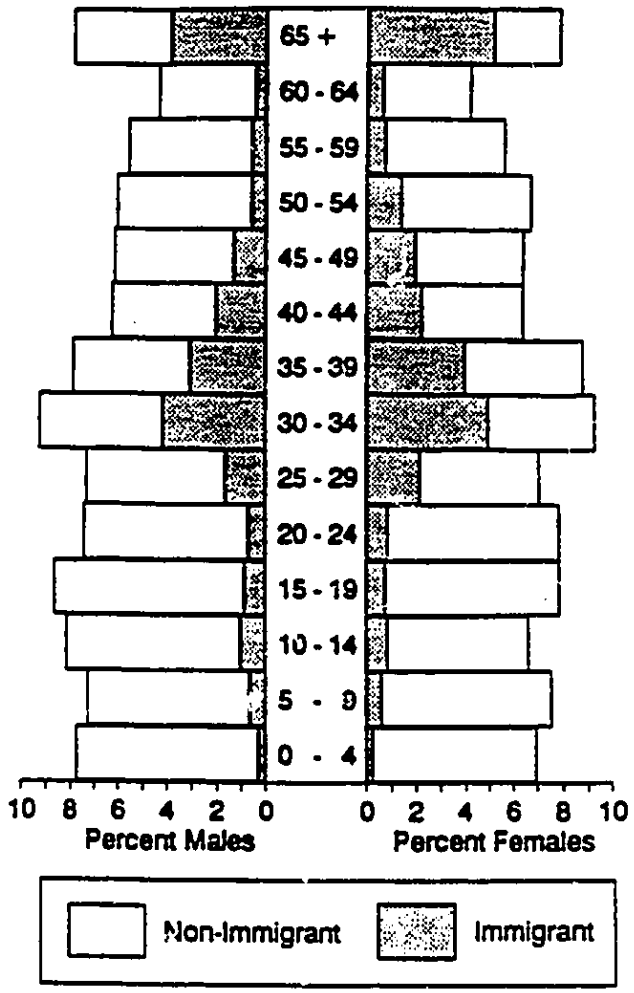
930. The largest number of Japanese immigrants to Canada was recorded in 1973, at 1,105 due to "Oil Shock", when Japan lost national confidence (Kobayashi, 1989). The number of immigrants has fluctuated since, between 200 to 800 annually. The number of Japanese immigrants for 1989 was 541, and for 1990, it was 365 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1991). The group between the age of 30 and 40 is most likely to immigrate. The population pyramid of 1989 shows that there are more immigrants than Canadian-born Japanese women in the age 38-43 group and 65 plus (see Figure 2.5). Those who are 65 and over could be either early immigrants or those who followed children and immigrated recent periods.

An extensive contrast between Japanese and Japanese Americans could be found in the institution of marriage. Ravic and Wyden (1974) report that there is still one-third of Japanese marriages arranged by matchmakers. For Japanese, intra-racial marriage is still dominant, while Japanese-Canadians' inter racial marriage has become the norm (Kobayashi, 1989). For the Sansei generation, those under age 37, the rate of intermarriage exceeded 90% for women, and approaches 90% for men. For the older Sansei generation, in the 37-44 age group, the rate approached 80% for men, and 60% for women. Newer Japanese immigrants, Shin-issei, have different marriage patterns. For the younger generation, a large percentage of Japanese immigrant men are married to immigrant women, but a majority of immigrant women marry

Canadians of another ethnicity (Kobayashi, 1989). Over 50% of men and women in the age group under 37 marry to Japanese (51% for women, and 60% for men). For the age group of theose 37-44, a higher percentage of men (68.9%) are married to Japanese, and 48% of women married to Japanese. For the Shin-issei to have a higher rate of intra-racial marriage, it could be speculated that more men immigrate with spouses while more women immigrate independently. The marriage pattern for Japanese Canadians born outside of Canada reveals that females in the 55-64 age group and males 65 and over had a high proportion of marriage with Japanese Canadians born in Canada (see Table 2.2).

These post-war immigrants settled in major Canadian cities, and they formed a large percentage of the Japanese-Canadian population (1989). For example, in Metropolitan Toronto, the post-war Japanese immigrant group forms 20.2% of the total Japanese Canadian, and in Vancouver, 25.9%. Among provinces, Quebec has 28.2% of post-war Japanese immigrant group, British Columbia, 21.2%, and Ontario, 19.6% (Census Canada 1986).

Figure 2.5
Age Structure of the Japanese Immigrants and Japanese Canadians, 1981



Source: Census Canada, 1981.

Table 2.2

Marriage Patterns of Japanese Immigrants to Canada by Age Group and Ethnicity of Spouse, 1986

Age Group		% Married to Japanese BIC[1]	% Married to Japanese BOC[2]	%Married to NJ[3]	Total Number
<37	Female	5.1	51.6	43.3	1,375
	Male	3.8	60.3	35.9	785
37-44	Female	9.8	48.1	42.1	1.580
	Male	1.6	68.9	29.5	1.205
45-54	Female	38.1	35.1	26.8	1.140
	Male	8.7	73.0	18.3	630
55-64	Female	59.7	22.2	18.1	360
	Male	31.5	46.6	21.9	360
>65	Female	29.9	61.2	8.9	335
	Male	55.7	39.1	5.2	570
Total	Female	20.5	44.9	34.6	4,800
	Male	15.0	60.6	24.4	3,555

[1]Born in Canada
[2]Born outside of Canada. Includes individuals of Japanese ethnicity born in Japan and all other countries outside Canada. The number born in other countries is insignificant.
[3]Non-Japanese (ethnicity). Includes individuals born inside and outside Canada.

Source: Kobayashi, 1989, p. 54.

Other Features of Post-war Japanese Immigrant Women

As Fujitomi and Wong (1973) argue, the fate of Japanese women immigrants has been overshadowed by the success stories of Issei (pre-war first generation) men. Japanese immigrants and their descendants in North America have been reported as one of most economically and socially successful immigrant groups and their success stories and assimilation process have

been described by a number of authors (e.g., Caudill & De Vos, 1956; Caudill, 1952; Caudill, & Scarrs, 1962). By using Gordon's "Anglo conformity" assimilation model (1951), Caudill and Scarrs examined the Japanese value system and their striving to succeed in American society. According to Caudill and Scarrs, Japanese Americans' social and economic success and their upward mobility were a result of coherence of their middle class values with that of North American society. Kitano (1976) also considered a more detailed assimilation process employing Gordon's model. Nonetheless, the focus of these success stories was mainly about Japanese males having climbed up the ladder of corporate success.

Post-war immigrants to Canada have different class characteristics, and these characteristics seem to have an effect on the formation of ethnic communities. The number of post-war immigrants began to increase steadily until the early 70s. These immigrants were called Gijutsu-imin, which literally means technical immigrants (Ujimoto, 1976). There were two types of women immigrants in the post-war period: women who immigrated with these technically-skilled immigrants as spouses or fiancees, and single women who came as independent immigrants with some technical skills (Shibata, 1980). Women in the latter category stayed single, married to Japanese, or married to non-Japanese after immigration.

Although the reasons why Japanese single females are attracted to Canada is not clear, one might speculate that one

contributing reason might be the difficulties of establishing a professional career especially for women in Japan. In the past two decades, the influx of this group, largely in the 38-43 age group in 1989, has been strong, particularly in Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver. According to Kobayashi (1989),

> they now occupy a particular niche within the Japanese-Community. Often intermarried with Canadians of other ethnicity, they nonetheless play an active role within the social and volunteer network, and provide an important bridge between the older immigrants and the rest of the community. (p. 53).

Japanese Cultural Values

Japanese cultural values are important factors present among the post-war immigrant women, which influence their acculturation. Since they are relatively new to Canada, the Shin-issei (post war immigrants), the focus of this study, might be more affected by the traditional social values, and family system and dynamics of the Japanese society.

Locke (1992) reviewed previous studies on Japanese values and concluded that the most pervasive values of Japanese society include the work ethic, group endeavour, and selflessness. Smith and Beardsley (1962) emphasized "collaterality" in interpersonal relations, which stresses the welfare of the group and consensus among its members. Kaneshige (1973) described the internal conflicts an individual might have due to vertically defined expected

behaviour and selfless endeavour for the prosperity of a group.

Another characteristic of Japanese society as described by various sociologists is the Japanese conformist attitudes to mainstream culture (e.g. Kitano 1976). Kaneshige (1973) describes this dominant conformity attitude is rooted upon enryo (reserve, constraint), trying to conform toward dominant culture, or some superior entity in order to make the environment harmonious. This enryo attitude is rooted upon the highly vertically structured social system, which determines the ranking of one's position according to social status, level of education, gender, age, and so forth.

Family structure and dynamics are formed based on the above social structure and values. Among the family members, the roles and power positions are defined accordingly. The relationship of parent and child is clearly defined in terms of role differences: the dominant father, the deferential child, and the mediating mother. It is also considered a disgrace to display family problems to outsiders. Most family problems are resolved within the extended family unit. Sue and Sue (1973) argue that Japanese perseverance towards role perfectionism is one of the prime motivators for mothers to devote themselves to children's education. Children's discipline is regarded as mother's role, while father works outside the home. It is expected that a good housewife will cook well, keep the house tidy, and train children to be

academically successful. Due to the necessity of maintaining a high standard of living, high costs for education of children, and increasing number of career oriented women, many women are working outside the home. However, it is still common that housework is not equally shared between spouses.

Because of clear role distinctions in the society and family, boys and girls learn different role expectations. Males learn to be dominant in the family, while females learn to be modest and humble. The mother's role in the family is to be submissive to her husband and play her role in such a manner to bring harmony to the family.

Japanese Families in North America

Japanese belong to one of the oldest Asian immigrant groups in North America. There are four generations derived from the pre-World War II Japanese immigrants; Issei, Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei, and new Issei (post-war immigrants, the focus of this study). Each generation has unique characteristics and presents different features. Kitano (1976) describes acculturation of Japanese Americans as follows:

> acculturation has not followed a simple linear pattern; rather it has varied in terms of place and situation, so that variables like ethnic power, numbers, cohesion, goals, and expectations must be considered. There is also the degree of permeability of the American system, which has varied in terms of time, place, and situation so variables like prejudice and discrimination have to be included in any explanation of acculturation. (p. 105).

From the review of literature on acculturation, it is clear that the acculturation of a group or an individual is a

complex process. Making a generalization of acculturation of one ethnic group as the "Japanese family in North America" is not an easy task. However, comparative studies of acculturation among family members suggest that dominant cultural and family values appear to stay intact throughout generations (e.g., Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil, 1981). The same statement can be made for Japanese families in North America. Kitano (1976) made a general observation of the Japanese-American family on the following points:

1. ... intact family unit with low rates of separation and divorce

2. ... vertical and traditional family structure, father and male on the top

3. ... cohesive community, which served as an effective social-control device, and provided socialization opportunity

4. ... preservation of values, norms, and behaviors, which interacted with the power position of the Japanese in the United States, and developed stereotypes of the Japanese

5. ... the situational orientation learning how to behave to those above, below, and equal

6. Acculturation has not been a simple linear movement; Japanese in various locations and contexts in North America formed different features as a group.

7. Social class has always been a factor in the Japanese culture. ... Many of the values were associated with the middle class: high educational expectation for their children; respect for those in authority; desire to own property; emphasis on banking and savings; and a future orientation. (pp 110-111).

The above features of Japanese families in North America appear to share many commonalities with those in present day

Japan. However, when traditional core values have been put into a different cultural context, they may affect groups of people differently.

Acculturation Issues of Japanese Immigrant Women

There are few studies on the acculturation of Japanese women who immigrated to Canada (Shibata, 1980) and the U.S.A. (e.g., Lebra, 1974; Kiefer, 1974; Gee, 1971) in the pre-war and post-war periods. Ujimoto (1976) describes different characteristics of Japanese ethnic communities in Vancouver between pre- and post-war immigrants.

The post-war immigrants did not form closely-knit Japanese communities as the pre-war immigrants did in Vancouver. Post-war immigrants with technical skills had fairly higher levels of English proficiency, and they did not have to depend on the ethnic community for communicating, or finding jobs (Ujimoto, 1976). Due to rapid travel of pop culture from the U.S., and broader use of TV and other mass media, the post-war Japanese immigrants had more knowledge on North American culture and language before immigration.

Weeks and Cuellar's (1983) study on the Japanese elderly immigrant report the kinship among the family members but social isolation from the mainstream of social life. The results of this study suggests that those who followed children were more isolated than the non-immigrant elderly among the sample study in California. Among the study sample

of Japanese Americans (70% was immigrants), 65% of them followed children to immigrate to U.S. The recent immigrants were reported to have lower household isolation than longer-term immigrants and non-immigrants, but recent immigrants scored higher rate of neighbourhood isolation. One of the reasons given to this high degree of neighbourhood isolation was the dispersion of Japanese community.

Shibata (1980) presents a slightly different view of post-war immigrant women. Shibata interviewed 60 Japanese pre- and post-war immigrant and sojourner women in Vancouver and described the process of acculturation, women's social networks, and the value conflicts caused in the family. Women who came as independent technical immigrants were "less sheltered from the mainstream of Canadian culture (p. 269)," were sometimes ostracized for being single, and kept contacts in both the ethnic (Japanese) and mainstream (Canadian) communities. The majority of the single women Shibata (1980) interviewed admitted that their facility in English was still not good enough, and they had to cling to the Japanese community for support. Other women who went out outside of the Japanese community to look for a job experienced severe competition with other Canadians, and often they had to take low paying jobs, a result of their language handicap. These women were ambivalent whether they would stay in Canada or return to Japan.

Married women who came as spouses of technical immigrant husbands had different acculturation problems: language difficulties, child rearing, conflicts with their children over value systems, and confusion of identity. Their networks were based on the Japanese community. Although these women expressed a desire to communicate with the mainstream society, they were hesitant because of lack of confidence in language. Mothers were confused about values and were experiencing discipline problems with their children. This group of women Shibata interviewed unanimously expressed a desire to stay in Canada permanently.

Shibata also interviewed Japanese women who were married to non-Japanese. These women also experienced difficulty in communicating in English, problems that were particularly acute due to the difficulty of discussing personal problems with their spouses and in-laws. These women appeared to have the largest number of social contacts with Canadian mainstream society among the three groups of women included in the study, yet expressed a wish to make contact with the Japanese ethnic community. These women were critical of Japanese cultural values and traditional women's roles, especially those of Japanese businessmen's wives in Canada.

Shibata (1980) describes the close social networks developed in the pre-war Japanese immigrant community in Vancouver. In the pre-war period, there was a distinct Japanese immigrant community which existed in Vancouver. The

social networks and contacts among the pre-war married immigrant women were limited to the Japanese community. As a result of language difficulties and value differences, these women felt more comfortable associating and communicating with friends who were also immigrants in the Japanese community rather than with their children who adapted to Canadian society rapidly. The social networks that pre-war Japanese immigrants developed were through churches, both Christian and Buddhist, and social services developed for the Japanese community in the 1970s. These women expressed their desire to make friends with Canadians, but they expressed a lack of confidence in their English speaking ability. As mothers, pre-war immigrants felt that value differences between Japanese culture and Canadian (western) culture were a critical issue for child rearing and disciplining.

As a result of the government's dispersement of Japanese immigrants during World War II, the Japanese community in Vancouver became much smaller after the war was over. Post-war Japanese immigrants did not have the closely knit community ties that pre-war immigrants did (Kobayashi, 1989).

Ujimoto (1976) describes the difference between pre-war and post-war immigrants to Canada in terms of their networks in the ethnic community. The majority of them were either in the unskilled category, engaged in the fishery, or in farming. Pre-war immigrants formed strong ethnic-community ties amongst themselves as a result of communication problems. Their

relationships were characterized by a vertical traditional Japanese social structure of obligation and support.

Shibata describes common features she found in both pre-war and post-war immigrant women. They were adventurous and highly educated, and, except for women who came as technological immigrants, felt that their limited command of English made them lack confidence in expressing themselves. The lack of confidence in language created a negative self-image, a limitation of social activities, and a loss of authority within the home. The women who immigrated both pre- and post-war were diverse and cannot fit into a single mould (Shibata, 1980).

According to Fujitomi and Wong (1973), Japanese women have become less "traditional". A study by Arkoff, Meredith, and Dong (1963) in California compared the level of acculturation (or Anglo-conformity) in relation to both traditional or male-dominated and egalitarian or Westernized marriages among four groups: Japanese-American females, Japanese-American males, Caucasian-American females, and Caucasian-American males. The result shows a tendency to preserve traditional values among Japanese-American males but an inclination toward egalitarian values in Japanese-American females (as well as in Caucasian-American females and males). The result of the study suggests that Japanese American women have been acculturated, while Japanese American men have

changed less in their attitude toward male-female relationships.

B-L.C. Kim's (1978) study on the service needs of Asian Americans, highlighted various aspects of life among Japanese immigrants and American-born Japanese in the U.S. (150) in relation to Koreans (200), Chinese (140), and Filipinos (200) in Chicago. The study assessed affiliations with ethnic community bodies, problems and service needs in daily life in the community, and problem solving strategies.

Compared with other study samples, Japanese community bodies were well-established and organized in the community, and many of the Japanese-Americans belonged to more than one group, while members of Japanese immigrant groups were affiliated with only one group.

As for the motivation to immigrate, for Japanese women it was "overwhelmingly domestic" according to Kim: 42.4% reported the purpose was to join the family, 37.6% to get married. These answers suggest that few had a pressing social or economic need to immigrate (B-L.C. Kim, 1978). Only one reported wanting to look for better career opportunities.

Compared with the employment situation of other ethnic women, Japanese women held more part-time rather than full-time jobs, and appeared to be more likely to be homemakers, while husbands held high-paying jobs to support the family. Nevertheless, all the immigrant groups, on average, had more

than one income to maintain their standard of living (B-L.C. Kim, 1978).

The adjustment appeared to be more difficult for Japanese females than Japanese males since they have listed 70% more problems than Japanese males (B-L.C. Kim, 1978), even though women have also been reported to be more sensitive to cultural and life changes (Roskies, 1978). Areas in which Japanese immigrants experienced difficulties were in this order: familiarity with English, missing home, lack of ethnic contacts, food, weather, and life style and cultural differences. Although the Japanese immigrants, and women in particular, have difficulty adjusting, they were satisfied with their decision to emigrate: 59.5% of males and 50.8% of females were definitely happy, 8% of males and 18% of females had some reservations. The author speculates that some of the ambivalence toward the host country may be the result of the bitter experience of World War II, on the one hand, and the present success of Japanese in the U.S., on the other.

The study also assessed problems they experienced seeking help. The Japanese were the group most likely to suggest that there were "no" problems in this regard (32%). One reason may be cultural, the author speculates, that is, the traditionally accepted Japanese notion that an admission of problems is shameful. Another reason may be the degree of Japanese economic success, ensuring that they experience fewer problems than those earning less income. In response to hypothetical

questions about physical and mental health problems, the Japanese group also reported a much higher use of informal sources of help such as family members, relatives and friends. For hypothetical financial problems, the Japanese group revealed themselves to be much more dependent on family members than other Asian groups.

Factors preventing Asian-Americans from using available resources were identified in the research. All groups suggested that either the problems were non-existent or not serious, or that they solved their problems by themselves or with the help of family members.

Services perceived as being the most important for Japanese immigrants were bilingual referral services (36.7%), English conversation classes (33.3%), and employment services (30.0%).

English proficiency and problem solving strategies emerged as the most critical elements in the overall picture of service needs in Asian-American groups including Japanese immigrants. The author concludes that three services strongly related to cultural adjustment are legal aid, English classes and bilingual referral. Adding to anxieties about seeking available resources with limited language proficiency were the complexities of the Western legal system (B-L.C. Kim, 1978).

Studies of mental health issues in relation to acculturation among Japanese immigrant women are few. Noda, Noda and Clark (1990) conducted a study on Japanese immigrant

housewives' adjustment and related family factors. The rationale for this study was to examine whether family factors can reduce "distress associated with immigration and adaptation to a new culture" (p. 689).

The sample was taken from various Japanese associations and religious organizations in Vancouver and Toronto (N=130). Housewives were asked questions about adjustment and whether or not they were experiencing or had experienced any symptoms of depression either just after immigration or since.

The hypothesis was that Japanese immigrant women who maintain traditional conjugal relationships will have more adjustment problems than those in non-traditional relationships. If the conjugal relationship is carried out in a traditional manner, the immigrant housewives will not be able to develop other social ties outside home and will increases their social isolation (Shibata, 1980; Maykovich, 1980). Consequently, they will have higher level of depression. This hypothesis was not confirmed in the Noda et al.'s study.

The second hypothesis was that Japanese immigrant women experiencing conflict with their children will have more adjustment problems with higher level of depression than those not experiencing such problems. Again, the Noda et al. did not confirm this hypothesis.

The one hypothesis which was supported was the significant correlation between level of communication with

spouse and level of adjustment. Individuals who communicated well with their spouses were better adjusted than those who did not communicate well with them. This result is consistent with other immigrant studies on depression and confidant support (Vega et al., 1985, 1986, 1991; Salgado de Snyder, 1986). Though communication is a universal factor for any successful marriage relationship (Hinchliffe, Hooper, & Roberts, 1978), this study suggests that the critical factor for Japanese immigrant housewives that affects adjustment appears to be the level of communication with their spouses.

A small case study (Isomura, Fine, and T-Y. Lin, 1987) on Japanese immigrants who were psychiatric patients in Vancouver suggests that factors such as shortness of time spent in the host country, the stigma attached to psychiatric illness in Japanese society, and keeping problems within the family led to an increased level of stress for these people. The study concluded that less assimilated families are not able to seek help from service agencies. The authors suggest that authoritative, more active, and direct intervention might be more appropriate for some traditional Japanese families who would not actively seek outside help, though this may be a controversial means of intervention.

7. CONCLUSIONS IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT STUDY

Post-war Japanese women immigrants have many apparent advantages over the Asian and other immigrant groups that

formed the focus of previous studies. Japan has made significant economic advances since the war, while the world's major trading nations, Japan among them, have become increasingly interdependent. The likelihood of a younger, better educated generation of post-war immigrants having had previous cultural contact with the West has increased.

In addition, a pluralist Western society (not to mention an officially "multicultural" Canadian society) may have made integration into the mainstream less demanding, maybe even less necessary. Still, traditional Japanese women's roles contrast markedly with current Western ones, making relationships within Japanese-Canadian families rich in potential conflict and resulting acculturative stress.

There may be more specific cultural differences too, if the results of Kuo's (1984) study, in which Japanese women had the lowest levels of depression of four Asian sub-groups, even lower than Japanese males, are universally applicable in Canada as well as the United States.

Other differences may be socio-cultural. If the newer generation's better training and technical skills including facility in English bring better incomes, they may also bring less acculturative stress. Similarly, even if communication between spouses, as Noda et al. (1990) found, remains important to the reduction of stress among post-war immigrants, it may not be so crucial a variable among a more affluent, better educated, less tradition-bound generation.

The whole relevance of support networks (the findings of the Salvendy (1983) study) may thus be more debatable if the study sample had been in Canada for longer period of time. The degree to which the prevailing aspirations for a better life, both professional and personal, can be fulfilled may well be the dominating measure of life satisfaction for a whole new generation of Japanese immigrants.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, data from the present study of post-war Japanese immigrant women can shed more light on the degree to which the level of English proficiency acts as a buffer to acculturative stress. Certainly Nicassio's (1986) study of Southeast Asian refugees and the conclusions of the Canadian Task Force (1988b) report on issues affecting immigrants and refugees point in this direction. Results of the present investigation can thus help form a consensus around a key focus for research into - and programs that respond to - the social well-being of immigrant populations.

The major questions to be addressed in this study, then, are as follows: what sociodemographic and immigration related variables are important in explaining level of acculturative stress, level of depression, and level of life satisfaction, and whether perceived social support including communication with husband acts as a buffer.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGIES

In this chapter, research questions and hypotheses will be presented. Terms used in this study will be defined conceptually and operationally. Research design and rationale for having selected the design will be discussed. The instruments utilized for the study will be discussed with reliability and validity. Data collection procedure as well as analysis of the data will be described.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Several authors who have studied the mental health of Asian Americans challenge the accepted notion that Asian immigrants have fewer mental health problems because their family ties are strong and supportive (e.g. Crystal, 1989; Sue & Morishima, 1976). Instead, Crystal suggests that mental health problems are numerous among Asian immigrants and that there is a need for increased social support. Sue and Morishima argue that other factors may be inhibiting these groups from fully utilizing the mental health services available to them. Services may be inaccessible to some, for instance, or the use of such services may have a social stigma attached to it, for others. Japanese immigrant women are no exception.

Studies on Japanese immigrant women and Japanese Canadian families make just such a case for increased psycho-social services (e.g. Noda, Noda, & Clark, 1990; Isomura, Fine, &

Lin, 1987). Immigrant women from patriarchal cultures have mentioned their difficulty in adjusting to western egalitarian norms. Social support among immigrant populations has been identified as one of the key factors contributing to the level of social adjustment and mental well-being (Nguyen, 1973; Berry, 1988).

The present study examines the relationship between demographic and immigration-related factors to acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction, and considers the possible buffering effect of social support in reducing acculturative stress.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The focus of the present study makes the following questions important.

In general, does perceived social support reduce acculturative stress and depression (and increase life satisfaction) among Japanese women immigrants in Canada?

In the specific study sample,

1. What are the demographic characteristics of Japanese women immigrants?
2. What is their immigration experience?
3. ... their level of acculturative stress?
4. ... their level of depression?
5. ... their level of life satisfaction?
6. Is the level of acculturative stress, depression and

life satisfaction reported by Japanese women immigrants predicted by the demographic and immigration-related variables?

7. From whom do Japanese immigrant women report receiving social support?

8. Does perceived social support reduce reported levels of acculturative stress and depression and increase life satisfaction?

9. Does communication with the husband reduce acculturative stress and depression and increase the level of life satisfaction?

HYPOTHESES

From these important questions the following hypotheses are derived:

1. The level of acculturative stress for Japanese immigrant women in Canada will be predicted by the demographic and immigration-related variables.

2. The level of depression for Japanese immigrant women in Canada will be predicted by the demographic and immigration-related variables.

3. The level of life satisfaction for Japanese immigrant women in Canada will be predicted by the demographic and immigration-related variables.

4. The perceived social support will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors

and reported level of acculturative stress.

5. The perceived social support will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors and reported level of depression.

6. The perceived social support will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors and reported level of life satisfaction.

7. Communication with the husband will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors and reported levels of acculturative stress.

8. Communication with the husband will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors and reported level of depression.

9. Communication with the husband will act as a buffer between demographic and immigration-related predictors and reported level of life satisfaction.

CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Level of Depression: Individual immigrants experience symptoms of depression as a result of "distress associated with immigration and adaptation to a new culture" (Noda, Noda, & Clark, 1990, p. 689). These symptoms of depression, in turn, affect their physical and mental health and their psychological well-being.

The level of depression is measured by the CES-D (Center for Epidemiological Studies - Depression) scale developed by

Radloff (1977), a short-form 20-item inventory that asks respondents how often they experienced various depressive symptoms in the past week from 1 to 7 Likert-type scale: (1: less than one day; 2: 1 to 2 days; 3: 3 to 4 days; and 4: 5 to 7 days). The symptoms in the CES-D scale include feelings, moods, and perceptions of vegetative motor indicators and the duration and severity of depressive symptoms.

Level of Acculturative Stress: Conceptually, the level of acculturative stress is defined as "one kind of stress, that in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation (Berry et al, 1984, p. 492)." Acculturative stress has been associated with feelings of marginality, increased psychosomatic symptoms, and confusion of identity, lowering the overall level of an immigrant's physical, psychological, and social health.

According to Berry et al. (1987), acculturative stress produces "lowered mental health status (specifically confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, a heightened psycho-somatic symptom level, and identity confusion (p. 492)." Associated with problems in adjusting are symptoms of depression such as insomnia, loss of appetite, crying, loss of concentration, and suicidal thoughts (Noda, Noda, & Clark, 1990).

It is measured by using items developed in the Latin American Stress Inventory used in Salgado de Snyder's acculturative stress study (1986), and modifying items

applicable to the Japanese population. Items assess potential stressors in the social, cultural, familial, and marital domains. The stress level is measured by a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Coping strategies are measures taken by respondents to reduce or compensate for acculturative stress. The measures given by respondents are categorized as 1) the utilization of social support, 2) direct measures, 3) indirect measures, and 4) other.

Level of Social Support: While Cohen and Hoberman (1983) give as their conceptual definition of perceived social support the "various resources provided by one's interpersonal ties (p. 100)," this study, because it is also interested in the utilization of public support, defines social support as various resources provided by one's interpersonal ties and the resources available through formal and informal community ties.

Operationally, social support is defined as the help that a person receives through interpersonal ties developed among close friends who share intimate thoughts and feelings or through professional resources.

Social network is defined as the kinds and number of the respondent's personal ties. Social network is operationalized by the number of close friends that the respondent has in Canada. Frequency of contact is a simple numerical measure of the number of talks or meetings a respondent has with close

friends over a certain amount of time: once a week, once a month, or once a year. Source of support applies to the giver of support beyond geographic boundaries.

Communication with the husband is operationalized as the frequency which serious problems are shared with the husband (from "never" to "always").

Level of Social Support is measured by the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List Scale (ISEL-S), which includes a tangible scale, a belonging scale, an appraisal scale, and a self-esteem scale, developed by Cohen and Hoberman (1983). Each subscale consists of six items in a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Life Satisfaction applies to the respondent's level of contentment with marriage, family, friends, opportunities, and the decision to immigrate to Canada. A 7-point scale developed by Salgado de Snyder (1986) was used for this study.

RESEARCH DESIGN

A post-test (experience) only one-group research (one-shot case study) design was used in this study (Grinnell, 1988). The rationale for the selection of this design was based on the exploratory nature of the research. The data was collected by mail survey. Correlational analysis was selected as a major data analysis method. This design was appropriate for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not there were interactions between independent (demographic and immigration-

related) variables, dependent variables (acculturative stress, depression and life satisfaction), and intervening variables (perceived social support, and communication with spouse).

The self-administered survey questionnaire provided an opportunity to gather data from post-war Japanese married immigrant women regarding demographic and immigration characteristics, their level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction in marital, familial, social, and immigration-related domains, and the level of social support and the extent of their social networks.

INSTRUMENTS

The variables assessed by the self-administered mail-in questionnaire were the demographic and immigration-related data, the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction, and the social support and social network.

Demographic variables include age, level of education (higher number indicates higher level of education), country where last education was received, occupation, level of employment (higher number indicates lower level of employment), husband's ethnic background, husband's occupation and his level of employment, annual family income, number of children and number of adolescents.

Immigration-related data included level of English proficiency (higher number indicates lower level of English proficiency), ethnic identity, person suggesting immigration,

original response to immigration, primary motivation to immigrate (from totally disagreed to totally agreed), present feeling toward the decision to immigrate (from a very bad decision to an excellent decision), age when immigrating, length of residence in Canada, and future desire to stay in Canada.

Level of acculturative stress was measured in familial, marital, cultural and social domains. The measures taken to reduce the level of stress were considered in the following categories: direct, indirect, utilization of social support, and other. To assess the level of acculturative stress, a modified short LASC-I (Latin American Stress and Acculturative Stress and Coping Inventory), was used (Salgado de Snyder, 1986). LASC-I was developed by the Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center (1985), and was aimed at assessing specific stressors experienced by Latin American immigrants to the United States. The modified short form of LASC-I used in Salgado de Snyder's study (1986) was a 12 item questionnaire determining potential stressors in four domains: marital, familial, social, and financial in a four-point Likert-type scale (range from 0 to 3), and overall score range from 0 to 36. The result was interpreted as the higher the score the higher the level of acculturative stress.

After LASC-I was translated into Japanese by the author, it was used for a pilot study. A pilot study revealed that some questions did not apply to Japanese immigrant women.

Therefore, some modifications were made to make the questionnaire more culturally appropriate. The Japanese version of the Acculturative Stress Scale consists of 11 items and a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Besides the stressors in the Acculturative Stress Scale, respondents were asked to describe what were other stressors experienced. These stressors were categorized as qualitative data.

The rationale for using this scale is that it assesses potential stressors in socio-cultural and family domains, and it is suitable for the experience of acculturation for Japanese immigrant women. Another reason for using the adapted scale is to allow the results of this study to be compared with those of previous studies.

ISEL-S developed by Cohen & Hoberman (1983), was used to assess the level of perceived social support. Cohen and Hoberman (1983) suggest that specific functions appear to capture the effect, such as those in the four subscales in ISEL-S. Since ISEL-S is assessing four functions in the four subscales, it is useful to observe some of the characteristics in functions of support among Japanese women in these subscales. The original form of ISEL-S developed for university students by Cohen and Hoberman (1983) was a two-point scale (true or not true) and a 48-item questionnaire. The modified shortened form of ISEL-S, 6 items for each subscale, for a total of 24 items, with a 7-point Likert-type

scale, was used for this study, and wording was modified to suit Japanese women. The result was interpreted as the higher the score, the higher the level of social support.

Communication with the husband is assessed on a 7-point Likert-type scale (from "never" (1) to "always" (7)) asking whether the respondent shares her serious problems and concerns with her husband.

Social network data gathered included size of network, source of network, ethnic background, frequency of contact, and interaction with non-Japanese. Gathered as qualitative data were answers to questions about the utilization of professional help or other source of support. In addition, if respondents suggested they needed help, they were further asked in what area they thought they needed help.

For the level of life satisfaction, the Satisfaction scale used in the study of Salgado de Snyder (1986) was adopted for this study. The scale was specifically made to assess the experience of immigrant women in four life domains, and can be appropriately applied to the study of Japanese immigrant women. The result was interpreted as the higher the score, the higher the level of life satisfaction.

For the level of depression, the CES-D, originally developed by the Center for Epidemiological Studies of the National Institute of Mental Health (Radloff, 1977), was used. Each item consists of a 4-point scale ranging from 0 to 3. The overall score ranges from 0 to 60. The higher the score,

the greater the symptomatology indicated. The measure of CES-D is non-diagnostic screening, and it has been validated with patient populations. (Internal consistency of the CES-D Scale for white populations reported in the study (Radloff, 1977) was as follows: alpha= between .84 and .85 in three groups in the general population, split-halves r= .76 and .77, and Spearman Brown= .86 and .87.) The CES-D has been used in the multi-cultural community and its reliability has been reported to be reasonably high (Kuo et al, 1977; Veta et al., 1986). The CES-D 20-item short form is easy to administer, and the wording is simple and easily understood. Using this scale, the results can also be compared to those of other ethnic groups.

After the questionnaire was translated into Japanese, the questionnaire was tested in a pilot study using 16 members of a local Japanese immigrant women's group, and received feedback from the above members on its cultural sensitivity before it was used for larger sample.

THE RESEARCH MODEL

The design of the study is exploratory, based upon a survey questionnaire. In this study, an intervening variable, perceived social support, will be added, between independent variables and dependent variables to measure its buffering effect (see Table 3.1). This study will attempt to determine whether or not the presence of social support buffers the

level of acculturative stress and depression, and increases the level of life satisfaction in this population. If it is found to make a difference. there will be support for policies and programs for Japanese immigrant women that are based upon strengthening social supports rather than the therapeutic interventions suggested by Noda et al's (1990) study.

Table 3.1

MODEL

VARIABLES		
Independent	Intervening	Dependent
(demographic variable)		
age	perceived social support	level of acculturative stress
	communication with husband	
level of education	friends' ethnic mix	level of depression
level of employment	frequency of contact	level of life satisfaction
husband's ethnicity	source of network	
country last education received		
occupation		
husband's occupation		
number of children		
age of children		
household income		
ethnic identity		
(immigration-related variable)		
language proficiency		
decision to immigrate		
own decision to immigrate or not		
motivation to immigrate		
present evaluation of immigration decision		
age of immigration		
length of stay in Canada		
desire to stay in Canada		

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

After the questionnaire was finalized, a pilot test was conducted. Reasonable reliability was obtained for the modified scales, ISEL-S, and Acculturative Stress Scale

(Spearman-Brown was used. Both rs were above .80 with hypothesis testing of r=0 at p<.05 level).

In September 1991, the president of the New Japanese Canadian Association in Toronto, principals of three Japanese language schools in Toronto, leaders of Japanese women's groups in Toronto and Kitchener-Waterloo, and the minister of a Japanese-speaking church in Toronto were contacted. They agreed either to distribute the questionnaire to their members or to provide the author with members' lists. Covering letters explained the purpose of the study, outlined the promise of confidentiality, noted that the research had been approved by the Ethics Review Committee of Wilfrid Laurier University, mentioned the study sample, and included instructions for filling out the questionnaire. In early November of 1991, questionnaires were sent to the above organizations and individuals with stamped, self-addressed return envelopes. Two weeks after the initial mailing of the questionnaires, follow-up letters were sent. It was also advised that a number of copies of the questionnaire should be left at the library of the Japanese Cultural Center in Toronto for library users who might be interested in participating in the survey.

Four hundred and seventy copies of the questionnaire were sent out, and 135 completed questionnaires were returned within one and a half months - a 29% return rate. The return rate is based on the assumption that all the questionnaires

were distributed, which may not have been the case. For example, schools may have requested more questionnaires than they actually needed, and some questionnaires may have remained at the library. Therefore, the actual return rate is probably higher than 30%.

The sample is purposive, and non random. The criteria for inclusion in the sample were that respondents be female, 18 years or older, married, born in Japan, immigrated to Canada after World War II, and either a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident. Data for 14 participants were discarded because of their not meeting the above criteria, resulting in a total sample of 121.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis included the use of descriptive statistics for demographic information, immigration, acculturative stress, social support, depression and life satisfaction. Multiple response analyses were used for those questions with identical values (i.e. ethnicity of your five closest friends), so that the frequency of occurrence of each response could be documented for the entire sample. A number of complex variables were created through the manipulation of the original survey variables. These included an index of the ethnic composition of close friends and a measure of the frequency of contact of these same friends.

A series of multiple linear regressions was used for the

demographic and immigration-related variables predicting the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction.

Finally, another series of multiple regressions were created to explore the potential buffering effects of social support and spousal communication. This was done by entering social support variables, ISEL and its subscales - tangible, appraisal, belonging, and self-esteem, and communication with the husband - into previous stepwise regressions with other relevant demographic and immigration-related variables to see whether or not the total variance increased.

Internal consistency coefficients were calculated using the Spearman-Brown formulae to assess the reliability of the three modified measures. The coefficient alpha for the Acculturative Stress Scale was .81 with hypothesis testing of $r=0$ at $p<.05$ level. For the modified ISEL (Interpersonal Support Evaluation List), the coefficient alpha was .86 ($p<.05$), for the Life Satisfaction Scale, the alpha coefficient was .73 ($p<.05$). The scales' internal consistency reliability was generally high.

All data analyses were calculated using SPSSX. The results were considered statistically significant if they met the $p<.05$ level. Among the 121 cases entered into the computer, 10 were randomly selected to serve as a data input accuracy check. The input accuracy for these 10 cases was 99.8%.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Potential limitations of the study may be present for the following reasons. The study sample was not selected randomly, therefore the results of the study cannot be generalized to the population of all post-war Japanese immigrant women in Southern Ontario. This non-randomness in the sampling procedure may affect the results of the analysis. The results also may be skewed because the sample was drawn through Japanese schools and cultural groups. Those who choose not to send their children to Japanese schools or participate in Japanese cultural groups may have different patterns of acculturation than this group.

Consideration should be also given to those who did not participate in the study; their refusal could be a reflection of the Japanese value -- that individual problems should not be revealed to outsiders, and problems should be solved within the family. Respondents have been less open about acculturative stressors or level of depression than might be the case with Canadians of different ethnic origins, or they may have felt that the researcher was intrusive. Another reason could be based on the social stigma attached to mental health problems; those who felt depressed may not have wished to display the problem to outsiders. These consideration could explain deviations from the study sample.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Generally speaking, survey results revealed an educated, largely middle-aged group of female Japanese respondents who immigrated to Canada about a generation ago, on average, when they were in their late 20s. They immigrated most often to marry, rather than for economic reasons, yet generally found themselves in households whose income is very good in relation to the Canadian average. Typically, they are satisfied with life in Canada, feel established here, and, though family ties may draw them home from time to time, plan to stay.

But the general contentment of the larger picture betrays other problems beneath it. In fact, a large sense of cultural hesitation - half the respondents report having formed friendships only with other Japanese, for instance - is borne out by a closer, more detailed look at the study's findings which, in turn, can lead us to important conclusions about the provision of necessary social services for this group of immigrant women.

In the previous chapter, it was reported that the total as a study sample was 121. However, there were respondents who did not complete some of the questionnaire items. Therefore, the number of cases reported in various result of the data may differ.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DATA

Age

The respondents' age range varied between 26 and 75. The mean age of respondents was 42.8, and the mode was 42. Of the total 121 respondents, 86.8% (105) were between the ages of 30 and 49. About half (53.7%, 65) of the respondents were between the ages of 40 and 49. Another third (33.1%, 40) were aged 30 to 39, and 10.4%(15) were 50 or older.

One of the reasons for having a clustered sample between age 30 and 50 might be that a large portion of the sample was drawn through the parents who sent children to Japanese language schools.

Table 4.1
Age of the Respondents

Age group	Number	Percentage
Below 30	1	0.8
30 - 39	40	33.1
40 - 49	65	53.7
50 - 59	11	7.1
60 over	4	3.3
Total	121	100.0%

Mean: 42.8, Mode: 42.0, Median: 42.0, SD: 7.52

Level of Education

The highest level of education attained by 35.5% (43) of the respondents was equivalent to a grade 12 diploma. A further 32.2% (39) had some university education, usually two

years at a junior college. About one fourth (25.6%, 31) of the women had finished a four year university degree.

More than 90% of the women received their final year of education in Japan. Only ten women (8.3%) received their final year of education in North America.

Occupation and Labour Force Participation

Respondents were asked to select the category which best described their occupation. They were also asked about their current level of employment. Of the total (118) respondents, about 15% belonged to the category of professional or semi-professional: 5.0% (6) categorized themselves as professional, 9.1% (11) as semi-professional. These categories included culturally-specific positions such as interpreter and translator. About one fifth (19.0%, 23) belonged to the clerical category, 10.7% (13) engaged in trade, and 5.8% (7) fell into the middle management category. Those who reported as homemakers were 39.7% (48) of the total respondents. The rest of the occupational categories (10.7%, 13) included students, retirees, and so forth.

As for the level of employment, 28.1% (34) of the respondents were full-time, 29.8% (36) part-time, 40.5% (49) not employed and 1.6% (2) belonged to other.

Husband's Ethnicity

Among the total responses (120), 74.0% (89) of the sample were married to a spouse of Japanese origin and 26.0% (31) were married to non-Japanese men.

Husband's Occupation and Labour Force Participation

Among the total responses (117), about 30% of the spouses of the study sample were engaged in either professional jobs (20.7%, 25) or high level management (6.6%, 8). About 20% (19.0%, 23) of the spouses were categorized as semi-professional, 9.1% (11) as middle management, and 11.5% (14) held clerical positions. The number of males engaged in jobs that were classified as crafts/trade/labour was 20.7% (25), which was the same number of men who were engaged in professional jobs. As for level of employment, 92.6% (112) of the respondents' spouses were employed on a full-time basis.

Family Income

Among the total responses (119), the mode of annual family income fell most often into the category of $70,000 and over (26.9%, 32). An annual income range between $50,000 and $59,000 was the second largest category with 21.8% (26). The third was incomes between $40,000 and $49,999 (20.2%, 24). Sixteen percent (19) had incomes between $60,000 and $69,999. Ten point one percent (12) of the respondents reported family incomes between $30,000 and $39,999.

Family Constellation

Of 120 responses, 92.5% (112) of the respondents reported having children. Most commonly, a family included 2 children (51.7%, 62), though 26.7% of the respondents (32) had three children, and 13.3% (16) had one child.

Thirty eight point three percent (46) of the respondents had children who were age 13 to 18, while 61.8% (74) had children who were younger than 13 or older than 18. This may be an important variable in explaining stress, depression, and life satisfaction levels because conflict between parents and children among immigrant families has been reported in previous studies. This conflict may be more prevalent than in non-immigrant families because the difference in values begins to become more apparent when the children are in adolescence in immigrant families (Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil, 1981).

2. IMMIGRATION-RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DATA

Age at Immigration

The mean age at the time of immigration was 28 years, with a standard deviation of 6.4 years. The youngest age at the time of immigration was 18, and the oldest was 61. Seventy point two percent of the respondents (85) immigrated before the age of 30, 24.8% (30) of them immigrated between the age of 30 and 40, and 5.0% (6) immigrated in their 40s. Children of these women, we can speculate, were either born in Japan, and immigrated while very young, or were born in

Canada.

Primary Motivation to Immigrate

There was some variation in the primary motivations given for immigrating to Canada (see Table 4.2). Thirty two point two percent (38) of the respondents described their primary motive to immigrate as marriage. In these cases, the marriage may have been arranged, between women in Japan and men, including non-Japanese, who had already immigrated to or resided in Canada. Twelve point seven percent (15) of the women said they immigrated to Canada to reunite with the family. In these cases, the husband had immigrated to Canada first, established himself, then the family immigrated later. Ten point two percent (12) reported they came to Canada at first just to visit.

These results revealed that familial and marital matters were the major motivating factors in the decision to immigrate for these Japanese women (this result is similar to B-L.C. Kim's (1978) finding). Only 3.4% of the women listed economic need as the primary motivation to immigrate. The Japanese have a long history of immigration for economic reasons; however, as far as this study sample is concerned, for these women the major reason for immigrating was to get married. If their spouses had been asked why they immigrated to Canada, it may be that they would have said for economic reasons.

The "other" category (29.7%, 35) included various

reasons. Interest in and curiosity about living in North America (9) was the largest reason cited; the second, that the spouse sought and found a job (8). Company assignment (4), children's education (3), a less stressful life (3), and an opportunity to challenge life (3) followed.

Table 4.2
Primary Motivation for Moving to Canada

Primary motivation	Number	Percentage
To get married	38	32.2
To be with family	15	12.7
Only to visit	12	10.2
To get a degree	7	5.9
To study English	7	5.9
Economic need	4	3.4
Other	35	29.7
Total	118	100.0%

Length of Residence in Canada

The length of time respondents had resided in Canada varied from one year to 35 years. The mean length of stay was 180.1 months (15 years) with a standard deviation of 79.6 months, while the mode was 216.0 months (18 years). According to the data provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (1991), the peak period for Japanese immigration to Canada was in 1973 (18 years ago, as of fall, 1991). The number of Japanese who immigrated in that year was 1105. More

than 40% (48) of the respondents in the present study sample immigrated prior to the peak period of immigration in 1973.

Proficiency in English

Among 121 responses, half of the respondents (52.1%, 63) said that their level of English proficiency allowed them to communicate in daily life without difficulty. One third (28.9%, 35) said they could use English in their work environment. Those who rated their proficiency in English as being fully bilingual, and those considering their English so poor as to need help communicating, made up of 9.1% (11).

Self-evaluated English proficiency was assessed at five levels: 1) fully bilingual, 2) except technical terms able to communicate without difficulty, 3) in daily life able to manage without difficulty, 4) require some help in communicating in English, and 5) Japanese only. A level of at least 2 would be needed to participate in the workforce.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity has been one of the foci of acculturation studies. The literature shows that those persons who exhibit a strong identification with their ethnic group of origin appear to show higher levels of stress in the acculturation process (Padilla, 1980). Categories available in the present study were 1) Japanese, 2) Japanese Canadian, 3) Canadian or 4) Other. A majority of the women (85.1%, 103) viewed

themselves as Japanese, and 13% (16) viewed themselves as Japanese Canadian.

Decision to Immigrate

The question of whose decision it was to immigrate to Canada and how the respondent felt about the decision was asked of respondents. More than half of the women (55.0%, 66) felt that it was their husband's decision to immigrate, while 39.2% (47) felt that the decision to immigrate was their own.

Whether they agreed with the decision at the time of immigration or not was assessed on a seven-point-scale from totally disagreed (rate of 1) to totally agreed (rate of 7). The mean score was 5.8 with a standard deviation of 1.3. A majority of women (82.2%, 97) agreed (rating of 5-7), 11.0% (13) were neutral (rating of 4), and only 6.7% (8) of them showed some degree of disagreement with the decision to immigrate (rating of 1-3).

The above result shows that more than 80% of the respondents agreed with the decision to immigrate to Canada, although the original idea to immigrate may not have been their own. This result may have an impact on their present feelings about immigration and the level of satisfaction.

Present Evaluation on the Decision to Immigrate

The current feeling about the decision to immigrate was asked on a seven-point-scale of 1 (a very bad decision) to 7

(a very good decision). The mean was 5.3 with a standard deviation of 1.2. More than half (60.2%) of the women indicated that they still feel good about their decision (rating of 5-7); 36.7% of the women were neutral (rating of 4). Those who evaluated the decision as a bad one (rating 2 and 3 only - nobody rated it 1) were only 2.5% of the total sample.

The respondents were asked to indicate why they felt the way they did. The reasons provided by the sample were categorized as economic, familial, social, lifestyle, self-realization, and other. Of 75 respondents, 24.0% (18) of the women answered that they preferred the Canadian lifestyle (e.g., "the relationship between people is less cohesive, and less stressful."). Sixteen percent (12) of the respondents listed economic reasons, including some cautious ones: "Our life in Canada is entirely dependent on the Canadian economy. So far, it's been good, but I am not sure of the future of our economic situation."

It is important to note that one-fourth of the respondents mentioned that the Canadian lifestyle was different from the Japanese one and that they preferred it. Only one respondent referred to the treatment of women as a reason for her liking her life in Canada. The reasons for preferring the Canadian lifestyle appear to be related to the less cohesive, more loosely connected, more individualistic interpersonal relationships and the slower pace of life.

Desire to Stay in Canada

How do respondents view their future? Canadian society has changed a great deal since they immigrated. Canada has received a large number of immigrants from all over the world, challenging the values of the dominant society. The economic imbalance between Canada and Japan has changed drastically since the period immediately following the war. In fact, Japan has made dramatic economic and technological advancements over these two decades. The Japanese penchant for hard work and their successful response to competition have been highlighted in the media. Some of the respondents commented that they were concerned about the future of Canada. Economic issues and educational opportunities for their children were of particular concern. The parents that these Japanese immigrants left behind in Japan are aging and that too has become another source of concern for them.

More than half (51.7%, 62) of the respondents expressed their desire to stay in Canada permanently. One fourth (25.0%, 30) expressed a desire to return to Japan sooner or later. Those in the category of "Other" (23.3%, 28) provided answers such as preferring to live in both countries during the year, or preferring to alternate their living places.

These responses indicate that, although the respondents' extended families continued to reside in Japan, the majority of the respondents were established in Canada and this was a factor in their decision to remain. Some respondents

mentioned that their children's future was of primary importance, and that they would stay in Canada permanently. Some mentioned that their aging parents were still in Japan, so they wanted to return sooner or later. Familial factors, mostly, lay behind the decision of the Japanese immigrant women to stay (or not to stay) in this country.

3. ACCULTURATIVE STRESS

One of the three dependent variables in this study is the level of acculturative stress. Some of the Japanese immigrant women who completed the survey have been in Canada for more than 25 years, yet still experience ongoing stress related to acculturation.

Level of Acculturative Stress

There are eleven items in the acculturative stress scale. A Likert-type response format was used in which each item was rated on a scale of 1 (no stress) to 7 (a great deal of stress). The mean score obtained from each item is listed in Table 4, as well as the distribution of responses for each item. The level of acculturative stress was divided into three categories: low (rating of 1-2), medium (rating of 3-5) and high (rating of 6-7). The overall score of acculturative stress may range from 11 to 77. The mean overall score for this sample was 32.5 with a standard deviation of 6.9. The lowest overall score was 11 and the highest was 61.

The data in Table 4 reveal that item 1 "not being able to speak English freely" obtained the highest percentage (22.3%) in the highest stress range (rating of 6-7). The second highest (17.4%) item was item 2, "missing family and friends in the home country." When combining the percentages of medium and high level of stress, the items that obtained the highest percentages (more than 65%) were all related to either language or understanding the host culture: 1) understanding host culture (70.0%), 2) not being able to speak English freely (69.4%), 3) worrying about English with Japanese accent (67.8%), and 4) worrying about what to cook when their children brought their Canadian friends home for dinner (64.7%). Items related to familial or mother culture revealed medium to lower ranges of stress level.

These findings reveal that not mastering the language and culture of the host country appears to contribute most to a higher level of acculturative stress. The longer the stay of residence, the greater the possibility of acquiring a deeper understanding of the host culture as well as a greater command of the host language. However, at the same time, respondents realize the depth of the culture and the difficulty of fully understanding it.

Table 4.3

Percentage Scoring High, Medium and Low on the Acculturative Stress Scale

Questions	Mean	Level of accul stress N=113		
		Low (1-2)	Mid (3-4)	High (6-7)
1. Not being able to speak English freely	3.8	30.6%	47.1%	22.3%
2. Missing family and friends	3.5	36.4	46.2	17.4
3. Discriminated against	3.0	47.9	43.0	9.1
4. Understanding Canadian culture	3.5	30.0	60.0	10.0
5. No husband support	2.2	65.0	32.5	2.5
6. Conflict with children	2.2	62.4	34.2	3.4
7. Worrying about Japanese accent	3.5	32.2	56.2	11.6
8. Losing contact with Japan	2.8	46.7	50.8	2.5
9. Japanese surname	1.5	86.8	13.2	0.0
10. Making mistakes with Canadians	2.9	45.8	50.9	3.3
11. What to cook for Canadians	3.5	35.3	55.5	9.2

Range: 11-66, Mean: 32.5, Median: 34, Mode: 35, SD:11.4

Other Stressors

The respondents were asked to list other kinds of stressors experienced in daily life besides those mentioned in the questionnaire. The kind of stressors described by the sample were divided into the following categories: stressors dealing with host culture, mother culture, intercultural communication, family, and finance.

Of the total respondents (90), 37.8% (34) indicated experiencing stressors from the host culture. Among typical responses are these: "When my children's Canadian friends come

and visit they would not take off their shoes." "The tax is so high that it presses the finance of our family budget." "I experience frequent phone calls asking for donations for charitable causes and sales." "The manner of sales persons are not nice, and the society is not service-oriented."

One fifth (21.1%, 19) of the respondents stated that they encounter situations in which language problems become a stressor (e.g., "No matter how long I stay in this country, I do not feel comfortable speaking English." "Since my English is not good enough, communication with my children's school teachers tend to become insufficient." "Due to the limitation of English, it is not easy to find a job." "Due to the limitation of English ability, I cannot utilize my professional skill which I gained in Japan.").

Some women expressed stress derived from feeling marginalized (e.g., "Those who do not have specific skills and are not outgoing - like me - tend to become isolated in this country." "When going to parties, or dinner, I feel that I am ignored and I feel terrible.").

Some of the stressors arise from intercultural conflicts. The continued experience of dealing with two cultural norms seemed to create conflict and confusion. Differing cultural views regarding discipline at school and parental expectations of teachers' roles created some stress among these women. One woman was concerned about the growing difference in her children's behaviour in relation to her own or that of her

Japanese relatives. She was concerned that the differences would contribute to a lack of understanding among family members.

The majority of the sample had reasonably high incomes compared with that of the average Canadian. However, some women expressed concern about financial stability. They felt that if they were in Japan they would be able to augment the family income by working themselves. However, being unfamiliar with how to earn money, these women felt they should be watching their budget carefully. Some women expressed concern that they had to set aside some money in order to make trips to Japan to meet with parents and relatives once in a while. These financial concerns created some stress.

Some of the women felt that they did not experience any stress as a result of living in Canada. They pointed out that in Canada they do not have to worry about cohesive, tightly connected, interpersonal relationships of the kind they might have to deal with in Japan. To these women, the cohesive interpersonal relationships (especially among their kin) in Japan were quite stressful. Some women reported that they had not had other kinds of stressors. One of the respondents mentioned that she had been maintaining her own cultural values and lifestyle within her home; therefore, she had not experienced other kinds of acculturative stress.

Table 4.4
Other Kinds of Stressors Experienced in Daily Life in Canada

Stressors	Number	Percentage
Host culture	34	37.8
Communication	19	21.1
Inter-cultural	10	11.1
Familial	5	5.7
Mother culture	3	3.3
Financial	1	1.1
Other	7	7.8
None	11	12.1
Total	90	100.0%

Measures to Reduce Stress

In relation to the above stressors and acculturative stress scale, respondents were asked what measures they had taken to reduce the level of stress (shown in Table 4.5). The measures were categorized as 1) direct, 2) utilizing social support, 3) indirect, 4) no action, and 5) other.

Among the solutions provided by the total respondents (92), some form of direct action like talking, complaining, or protesting was reported by 37.4% (34) of them. Twenty point nine percent (19) of the women sought social support, (i.e., talking with their friends about the problems they experience in order to seek emotional support and understanding, rather than approaching the source of the problem directly). Fourteen point three percent (13) used indirect measures to compensate for the stress, (i.e. engaging in shopping and

sports). Fourteen point three percent (13) of the women indicated that they used other measures. Solutions in this category included seeking spiritual stability by developing an interest in religion, life philosophy, or meditation.

Table 4.5
Measures Taken to Reduce the Level of Acculturative Stress

Measures	Number	Percentage
Direct action	34	37.4
Social support	19	20.9
Indirect action	13	14.3
No action	12	13.1
Other	13	14.3
Total	92	100.0%

4. LEVEL OF DEPRESSION

The Center for Epidemiological Studies - Depression scale (CES-D) was used to measure the level of depression. CES-D is a standardized scale, with a total score ranging 0 to 60. A score of 16 or more indicates that the respondent is clinically depressed and a score of 24 or more indicates high risk (Radloff, 1976). This criterion was used in this study. The mean score of the CES-D of this sample was 14.1 with a standard deviation of 7.2.

Among the total respondents (119), 63.6% (75) scored below the cutoff of 16. It is important to note that 36.4% (46) of the respondents scored above the cutoff point of 16 or

higher, which means that medical attention may be required, and 11.9% (14) scored 24 or higher, which made them high risk candidates for clinical depression.

5. LEVEL OF LIFE SATISFACTION

In the last section of the questionnaire, the Japanese immigrant married women were asked to rate their levels of satisfaction with the decision to immigrate, opportunities in Canada, friends in Canada, family relations, and their marriage. Each item was measured on a seven-point Likert-type scale from very unsatisfied (rating of 1) to very satisfied (rating of 7). The percentages obtained at each level of satisfaction for the five respective domains are listed in Table 6.

The data show that the level of life satisfaction is reported to be high in all five domains. In the family relationship, 74.4% of the respondents were highly satisfied (rating: 6-7), 21.5% were moderately satisfied (rating: 3-5), and 4.1% were little satisfied (rating: 1-2). In the marital relationship, 68.9% were highly satisfied, 25.2% were moderately satisfied, and 7.6% were little satisfied. In the domain of friendships made in Canada, 65.0% expressed a high level of satisfaction, 30.8% expressed medium, and 4.2% expressed low. For opportunities in Canada, 62.0% were highly satisfied, 37.2% were moderately satisfied, and 0.8% were little satisfied. Regarding the decision to immigrate, 57.0%

were highly satisfied, 35.6% were moderately satisfied, and 7.4% were little satisfied. It is clear that very few of the respondents sampled showed discontent with various opportunities they had in Canada.

The overall level of life satisfaction was calculated. The mean score for overall level of satisfaction was 27.6 with a standard deviation of 5.1. The lowest score was 13 and the highest was 35 (in a range of total possible scores from 5 to 25). From the ratings on the various aspects of satisfaction, it would appear that the study sample generally revealed a high level of life satisfaction.

Table 4.6
Level of Life Satisfaction

Domain	Mean	Level of satisfaction in percentages		
		Low (1-2)	Mid (3-5)	High (6-7)
Family relationship	5.8	4.1%	21.5%	74.4%
Marital relationship	5.6	7.6	25.2	68.9
Friends made in Canada	5.5	4.2	30.8	65.0
Opportunities in Canada	5.5	0.8	37.2	62.0
Decision to immigrate	5.3	7.4	35.6	57.0

For total score: Mean:27, Mode: 32, Max:35, Min:13, Median:28, s.d.:5.11.

6. PERCEIVED SOCIAL SUPPORT

A modified form of the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List (ISEL) (Cohen and Hoberman, 1983) was used to measure the level of perceived social support. The ISEL consists of four subscales of support: tangible, belonging, appraisal, and

self-esteem. The possible range for the overall score is 24 to 168. In this sample, the actual range for the overall score was 24 to 168. The mean overall score was 128.9 with a standard deviation of 24.33 and a range of 56 to 168.

The possible score for each ISEL subscale ranges from 6 to 42. On the tangible subscale, the mean score obtained was 34.7 (range: 9-42, s.d.= 6.9); the belonging subscale, 33.2 (range: 9-42, s.d.=7.8); the appraisal subscale, 34.0 (range: 11-42, s.d.=7.6); and the self-esteem subscale, 27.1 (range: 9-42, s.d.=6.7).

The results in Table 7 reveal that the study sample reported having moderate to high social support overall and on each of the subscales. For the overall score, 67.3% had medium level of support (range: 3-5), and 32.7% had high support (range: 6-7). On three subscales, tangible, appraisal, and belonging, the levels of high and medium support scores showed a similar tendency on levels of support. On these subscales, about 50-55% of the respondents reported that they had high levels of support: 54.0% for appraisal, 51.7% for tangible, and 49.6% for belonging support. About 40-45% of the respondents reported medium levels of support on these subscales: 44.9% for tangible, 44.5% for belonging support, and 41.6% for appraisal.

For self-esteem, 11.4% reported high level of support, and 81.6% reported medium level of support. A high percentage (81.6%) reported that they had a medium level of support for

self-esteem compared to other subscales. One of the reasons for fewer high scores for self-esteem might be cultural. In Japanese culture, boasting is not seen as a virtue, while others would not praise a friend's virtue too much either. The Japanese women in the sample may still maintain this "cultural virtue" although, on average, they have lived in Canada for a long time.

Table 4.7
Level of Social Support on ISEL Score

Name of Scale	Mean Score	Level of Support in Percentages		
		Low (1-2)	Mid (3-5)	High (6-7)
Overall Score (94)	128.9	0.0%	67.3%	32.7%
Tangible (118)	34.7	3.4	44.9	51.7
Appraisal (113)	34.0	4.4	41.6	54.0
Belonging (119)	33.2	5.9	44.5	49.6
Self-esteem (114)	27.1	7.0	81.6	11.4

7. COMMUNICATION WITH THE HUSBAND

The degree of communication with the husband was also assessed on a seven point scale by asking how often the Japanese women share their problems with their husbands (from not at all=1 to always=7). The mean score was 5.9 with a standard deviation of 1.4. Of the 119 who responded, 44.5% (53) women answered that they always share their problems (a rating of 7). One third of the respondents (30.3%, 36)

reported that they shared problems with their spouses very often (a rating of 6), and 14.3% (17) of women answered they shared their problems with their husbands often (a rating of 5). The rest of the respondents reported varied levels of communication with their spouses: 2.5% communicated fairly often (a rating of 4), 2.5% once in a while (a rating of 3), 3.4% rarely (rating of 2), and 2.5% never (a rating of 1). The findings therefore show that about 90% of the women report that they communicate their problems with their husband either fairly often or always.

The women were also asked if they had any issues that they find difficult to discuss with their husbands. About half (48.6%, 36) of the women answered they had none, while 10.8% (8) answered that they cannot talk with their husband about problems related to their children's education or discipline. Some women said that their husbands would not listen to their problems. Some of the examples of the problems that respondents could not share with their husbands in the "other" category included personal problems concerning female friends and female health. Some women expressed concern that they could not discuss financial problems with their husbands.

8. SOCIAL NETWORK

Size of Social Network

The Japanese women were asked whether or not they had close friends in Canada, and, if so, how many. A majority of the women (93.3%, 111) reported that they had. It is important to note, however, that 6.7% (8) reported that they had no close friends with whom they could share problems besides their husbands. The number of friends the respondents reported ranged from one to 27 (Table 4.8). The mode was 5.0 (25.6%, 30). The mean was 4.8 with a standard deviation of 3.9.

Source of Social Network

The respondents were asked to describe where their social connections were formed (up to five cases). The source of the respondents' social network is shown in Table 4.9. Results of the sources revealed variation. Of 432 responses, the source of social network for the largest number derived from friend's introductions (14.6%, 62). The second largest source came from connections in the workplace (9.5%, 42). Various kinds of schools including English school, vocational school, and university also provided a source of connection (8.1%, 35). Friends through connections with their children's Japanese school and husband's friends appeared as the fourth largest source (7.9%, 34). Neighbours were fifth (7.7%, 33). Other connections included the Japanese Canadian Association (7.0%,

30), church (6.8%, 29), children's Canadian school and related activities (6.3%, 27), party and other gatherings (4.4%, 19), hobby group (2.8%, 12), and relatives and their introduction (2.6%, 11). The networks specifically related to the Japanese community were the Children's Japanese school, and the Japanese Canadian Association and were made up of 15.1% (65) of the total responses.

Table 4.8

Number of Close Friends among Japanese Immigrant Women

Number of close friends	Number	Percentage
0	8	6.8
1	4	3.4
2	12	10.3
3	27	23.1
4	10	8.5
5	30	25.6
6	3	2.6
7	5	4.3
8	1	.9
9	1	.9
10 or more	16	13.8
Total	117	100.0%

Table 4.9

The Source of Social Network

Source of network	Number	Percentage
Friends' introduction	62	14.3
Work	41	9.5
School (English, University, and Vocational)	35	8.1
Children's Japanese school	34	7.9
Husband's friends	34	7.9
Neighbour	33	7.6
Japanese Canadian Association	30	6.9
Church including buddhist and other	29	6.7
Children's Canadian school and related activities	27	6.3
Parties an other gathering occasions	19	4.4
Hobby group	12	2.8
Relatives and their introduction	11	2.5
Friends from Japan and same home town	9	2.1
Other	24	5.6
Unknown	32	7.4
Total	432	100.0%

Ethnic Mix of Respondents' Friends

Respondents were asked to report five friends and their ethnic backgrounds in order to examine the ethnic mix of respondents' friends. The cases were clustered into three groups: all Japanese, mixed, and all non-Japanese (Table

4.10). Of 107 cases (each case included five friends or less), about half (49.5%, 53) reported friends of all Japanese origin, 39.3% (42) had friends with mixed ethnicity, and 11.2% (12) reported their friends' ethnicity as all non-Japanese. Among the total number of friends reported (420), 74.8% (314) were Japanese, and 25.2% (106) were non-Japanese (Table 4.11). There remains, apparently, either a strong sense of cultural cohesion behind the formation of friendships among female Japanese post-war immigrants or a strong sense of hesitation about becoming involved in mainstream society.

Table 4.10
Ethnic Mix of Respondents' Friends

Ethnic Mix	Number	Percentage
All Japanese	53	49.5
Mixed	42	39.3
All non-Japanese	12	11.2
Total	107	100.0%

Table 4.11
Ethnicity of Respondents' Friends

Category	Number	Percentage
Japanese	314	74.8
Non-Japanese	106	25.2
Total	420	100.0%

Frequency of Contact with Friends

The frequency of contact with friends was calculated by taking the mode for each respondent's report among the three categories, at least once a week, once a month, once a year, up to five friends. Among the total respondents (106), monthly contact was most common (80.0% (84)). For 12.3% (13), weekly contact was most common, and for 8.5% (9), yearly contact was most common.

Table 4.12 shows the total number of friends and frequency of contact by the respondents. Of a total 366 friends, 54.4% (199) were contacted at least once a month, 35.5% (130) were contacted at least once a week, and 10.1% (37) were contacted at least once a year.

Table 4.12
Frequency of Contact

Frequency of Contact	Number	Percentage
At least once month	199	54.4
At least once a week	130	35.5
At least once a year	37	10.1
Total	366	100.0%

Persons to Turn to For Help With Problems

Respondents were asked to give three names of persons to whom they turn, besides their husbands, when they have problems. Of 264 responses, nearly half of the sources

(45.5%, 120) were female friends; 12.9% (34) were siblings (including the spouse's siblings); and 12.5% (33) were parents (including spouses's parents). Twelve respondents (4.5%) referred to a religious leader as a source of help. Only nine respondents (3.4%) mentioned professionals as source of help. It is important to note that 12 women reported that they had no other sources besides their husbands.

Table 4.13
Persons to Turn to for Help with Problems

Person to Turn to	Number	Percentage
Female friend	120	45.5
Sibling	34	12.9
Parent	33	12.5
Relative	17	6.4
Male friend	17	6.4
Child	12	4.5
Religious leader	12	4.5
Professional	9	3.4
Other	10	3.8
Total	264	100.0%

Note: Those who reported "husband only" were excluded from the total response.

9. NEED FOR PROFESSIONAL HELP

Respondents were asked if they had experienced any problems for which they felt a need to seek professional help. Of 118 respondents, 72.9% (86) of the women answered they had felt no need for professional help, while 27.1% (32) answered

that they did. Those who answered yes were asked to list the kinds of problems requiring professional help. Among the 32 respondents, one-fourth (25.0%, 7) indicated a concern about their children's education, language, health, or discipline. About one-fifth (21.9%, 7) indicated that marital problems had spurred them to contact professional help. Another one-fifth indicated their own health problems as a source of concern. More than ten percent (12.5%, 4) had felt needs in regard to mental health, another 12.5% in regard to legal affairs. The rest of the respondents (6.2%, 2) indicated that they contacted professional help when job hunting or about legal matters that required specialized knowledge.

Seeking professional help has not been common in the Japanese tradition, however, some women expressed a need for professional help. In light of the fact that Japanese immigrants live in closely-knit networks, some women prefer that their problems remain confidential. With the Japanese community, seeking professional help may be a more desirable solution than revealing personal problems within the Japanese community.

10. REGRESSION ANALYSIS

A series of multiple regression analyses were conducted in order to analyze the effects of the predictor variables on the criterion variables, levels of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. In this study, stepwise

regression is employed in view of the exploratory nature of the study. According to Wesolowsky (1976), stepwise regression procedure is described as follows:

> In the stepwise procedure, the variables already in the equation are reevaluated at each stage. Because of intercorrelation, a variable that was important at an earlier stage may not be important at a later one. In stepwise regression, before a variable is added, the variable already in the regression with the lowest partial F value is dropped if this value is less than F out. (p.71).

Stepwise regression programs are designed to eliminate the variables that were not significant, the variables that have made largest contributors to R^2 remain in the equation (Cohen & Cohen, 1975).

The regression analyses took two steps in this study. The predictor variables were divided into two clusters: demographic and immigration related variables, and treated separately. First, demographic-related variables were entered into a stepwise regression to examine which variables revealed significance, then, immigration-related variables were entered as a cluster into a stepwise regression. Second, all the independent variables were entered into a stepwise regression to examine which variables remained as significant predictors for levels of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction.

Demographic-related variables included age, level of employment, level of education, level of family income, and number of children. Immigration-related variables included

self-evaluated level of language proficiency, length of residence in Canada, respondent's level of agreement on the decision to immigration, age at time of immigration, and present evaluation on the decision to have immigrated to Canada.

Predictors of Acculturative Stress

In the stepwise procedure, all the demographic-related variables were entered into the equation, using the significant variables. Among the demographic-related variables entered into the equation using the $p<.05$ level as the p value to enter. Among the demographic related variables entered into the equation, the level of employment accounted for 8% of the total variance, $F(1,106)=10.35$, $p<.01$, adjusted $R^2=.08$ (Est $R^{*2}=.08$) for the model with $T=3.22$. The level of education was entered second with $T(105)=-2.92$, $p<.01$. Together these two variables explained 14% of the total variance in acculturative stress, $F(2,105)=9.8015$, Est $R^{*2}=.14$, $p<.0001$, (see Table 4.14). No other variables were significant at the $p<.05$ level.

Being partially or fully employed appeared to help acculturation by encouraging interacting with other Canadians (higher number indicates lower level of employment). Partial or full employment may also help develop communication skills in English. Having a higher level of education may be helpful in encouraging acceptance of cultural differences and the

cultural diversity of the host country. The higher the level of education, respondents reported to have lower level of acculturative stress. The results of the analysis suggest that the higher the level of employment and education one has, the lower the level of acculturative stress. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

Table 4.14
Stepwise Regression Analysis on Demographic Variables that are Predictors of Level of Acculturative Stress

Multiple R	.39664
R Square	.15732
Adjusted R Square	.14127
Standard Error	10.47567

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	2151.2164	1075.6082
Residual	105	11522.6632	109.7396
F=9.8014		Signif F=.0001	

Independent variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Level of employment	0.28	3.13	.0022
2) Level of education	-0.26	-2.92	.0043

A stepwise regression was conducted with immigration-related variables. The results indicate that self-evaluated language proficiency appears to be the strongest predictor of the level of acculturative stress (lower score indicates higher level of language proficiency). This variable by itself explained 31% of the total variance (Est R^{*2}=.30775, $F(1,106)$=48.57, p<.0001, for the model with T=6.97). The current feeling about the decision to immigrate was also a significant predictor for the level of acculturative stress. The results of the regression analysis revealed that this

model was significant, and the two variables explained 34% of the total variance in acculturative stress, $F(2,105)=27.95724$, Est $R^2=.33505$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.15).

The result of stepwise regressions suggests that the higher the proficiency in English and the more positive attitude one has, the lower the level of acculturative stress. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

Table 4.15
Stepwise Regression of Immigration-related Variables that are Predictors of Level of Acculturative Stress

Multiple R	.58947
R Square	.34748
Adjusted R Square	.33505
Standard Error	9.39395

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	4934.24378	2467.12189
Residual	105	9265.85807	88.24627
F=27.95724		Signif F=.0000	

Independent variables	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Language proficiency	.51	6.18	.0000
2) Current feeling about decision to immigrate	-.19	-2.31	.0226

Finally, a stepwise regression was conducted to enter all the demographic and immigration-related variables into the equation. Neither the level of employment nor the level of education remained significant at the $p<.05$ level when all the predictor variables were entered. Variables revealing significance were language proficiency and the current feeling about decision to immigrate. Language proficiency itself explained 32% of the total variance, $F(1,102)=49.74673$,

$p<.0001$, Est $R^{*2}=.32$. This model was significant, explaining 37% of the total variance, and obtained the following outcome: $F(2,101)=31.16624$, Est $R^{*2}=.36938$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.16).

The results of regression analysis indicates that the more proficient with English, and the more positive one feels about the decision to immigrate, the lower level of acculturative stress. Hypothesis 1 was supported.

Table 4.16
Stepwise Regression of Demographic and Immigration-related Variables that are Predictors of Level of Acculturative Stress

Multiple R	.61776
R Square	.38163
Adjusted R	.36938
Standard Error	9.05225

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	5107.72804	2553.86402
Residual	101	8276.27196	81.94329
F=31.16624		Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Language proficiency	.50	6.23	.0000
2) Current feeling on immig	-.24	-2.96	.0038

Prediction for the Level of Depression

A similar procedure was taken to conduct a series of regression analyses predicting the level of depression. A stepwise regression analysis with demographic-related variables revealed the following result. The level of family income was the only significant variable, explaining 5% of the total variance ($F(1,111)=6.45$, Est $R^{*2}=.045$, $T=-2.54$, $p<.05$). The results of the analysis indicate that the higher the

family income, the lower the level of depression. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported.

Immigration-related variables were entered into a stepwise regression analysis next. The result of the regression analysis shows that the current feeling about the decision to immigrate explained 12% of the total variance ($F(1,110)=16.02$, Est $R^{*2}=.12$, $p<.0001$, $T=-4.00$). The addition of a second predictor variable into the regression, self-evaluated English proficiency ($T(109)=2.478$, $p<.05$), showed a second significant finding: $F(2,109)=11.45$, $R^{*2}=.16$, $p<.0001$. The results of the analysis indicate that those who felt immigration was an excellent decision with higher English presented the lowest scores on the level of depression. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported.

Table 4.17
Stepwise Regression of Immigration-related Variables on Level of Depression

Multiple R	.41674
R Square	.17367
Adjusted R Square	.15851
Standard Error	6.57611

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	990.69880	495.34940
Residual	109	4713.72978	43.24523

F=11.45443 Signif F=.0000

Independent variable	Beta	T	SigT
1) Feeling about immigration	-.28	-3.10	.0024
2) English proficiency	.23	2.48	.0147

Finally, all the predictor variables were entered together into a stepwise regression equation predicting for the level of depression. Family income did not reveal significance any longer. Variables revealing significance were language proficiency, $F(1,106)=13.63$, $p<.001$, Est $R^{*2}=.11$, $T=3.69$, and the current feeling about decision to immigrate $T(10^{-})=-2.76$, $p<.01$. This model was significant and explained 16% of the total variance, obtaining the following outcome: $F(2,105)=11.04539$, Est $R^{*2}=.16$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.18). The results of the analysis indicate that the more proficient in English, and the more positive one evaluates the decision to immigrate, the lower the level of depression. Hypothesis 2 was supported.

Table 4.18
Stepwise Regression of Demographic and Immigration Variables Predicting Depression

Multiple R	.41692
R Square	.17382
Adjusted R Square	.15808
Standard Error	6.55562

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square
Regression	2	949.37779	474.68889
Residual	105	4512.50184	42.97621
	F=11.04539	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
Language proficiency	.26	2.76	.0068
Current feeling on immig	-.26	-2.76	.0069

Prediction for the Level of Life Satisfaction

A stepwise regression was conducted entering demographic-related variables. Family income revealed significance; however, this variable explained only 4% of the total variance accounted for by the model ($F(1,111)=5.83$, $T=2.42$, $p<.05$). This result indicated that demographic-related variables were weak predictors for the level of satisfaction. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported.

A stepwise regression was conducted by entering the immigration-related variables. The result showed that the current feeling on the decision to immigrate accounted for 34% of the total variance explained by the model ($F(1,110)=57.85$, Est $R^2=.34$, $p<.0001$, $T=7.606$). The results indicated that current feeling about immigration was a strong predictor for the level of satisfaction. The more one feels positive about the decision to immigrate has higher level of life satisfaction. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported.

After demographic and immigration-related variables were treated as two clusters, they were entered together into a stepwise regression equation predicting for level of life satisfaction. Variables revealing significance were the current feeling about immigration, $F(1,106)=55.35$, $p<.0001$, Est $R^2=.34$, and English proficiency. The demographic-related variable of family income did not reveal significance at $p<.05$ level any longer. The overall model explained 36% of the

total variance, and obtained the following outcome: $F(2,105)=31.15$, Est $R^{*2}=.36$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.19). Those who feel more certain about their decision to immigrate with higher level of English proficiency present higher levels of life satisfaction. Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Table 4.19
Stepwise Regression of Demographic and Immigration Variables on Life Satisfaction

Multiple R	.61021
R Square	.37235
Adjusted R Square	.36040
Standard Error	4.06707

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	1030.37067	515.18533
Residual	105	1736.81452	16.54109

F=31.14579 Signif F=.0000

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
Current feeling on immig	.54	6.71	.0000
English proficiency	-.18	-2.22	.0289

11. TESTING FOR THE BUFFERING EFFECT OF SOCIAL SUPPORT

One of the major tasks of this study was to test for the buffering effect of social support on levels of acculturative stress, depression and life satisfaction. The procedure to test for this buffering effect was conducted by entering perceived social support (ISEL), four subscales -- appraisal support, tangible support, belonging support, and self-esteem support -- and communication with the husband, respectively, into a stepwise regression equation to predict acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. The results were

observed to see whether or not the addition of the respective social support variable increased the total variance. If the variance increased, the result would indicate that the social support variable was an important predictor of the three dependent variables, and that social support revealed a buffering effect.

Some of the respondents did not fill out the ISEL scale completely. These cases were treated as missing values. As a result, the total number of cases in the regression with ISEL appeared smaller than the cases in the regression without ISEL.

Buffering Effect of Perceived Social Support on Acculturative Stress

When ISEL was entered with other demographic and immigration-related variables into a stepwise regression predicting for the level of acculturative stress, ISEL appeared as the second strongest and significant variable in the equation, $T(86)=-2.646$, $p<.01$. However, the total variance accounted for by the model did not increase when compared to the results of a stepwise regression without ISEL, $F(2,101)=31.17$, $EstR^{*2}=.37$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.20, compare the result with Table 4.16 without ISEL). The result appears to have been caused by the smaller number of cases. Those who did not complete some items of the ISEL score were treated as missing data in the computation. Otherwise, the total

variance would have been increased. However, the fact that ISEL appeared as the second strongest and significant variable in the equation predicting the level of acculturative stress suggests that perceived social support (ISEL) was a significant predictor of the level of acculturative stress, and showed a buffering effect. The results of the analysis indicate that those who have higher proficiency of English, and feel more positive about the decision to immigrate with higher level of perceived social support have lower level of acculturative stress. Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Table 4.20
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Acculturative Stress adding ISEL

Multiple R	.58959
R Square	.34761
Adjusted R Square	.32486
Standard Error	8.85009

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	3589.12051	1196.37350
Residual	86	6735.86838	78.32405
	F=15.27466	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) English proficiency	.44	4.94	.0000
2) ISEL	-.22	-2.51	.0140
3) Current feeling on Immig	-.19	-2.13	.0360

Following the entry of the ISEL score, respective scores for the ISEL subscale, appraisal support, belonging support, tangible support, and self-esteem support, were entered into a stepwise regression. As shown in Table 4.21, Table 4.22, Table 4.23, and Table 4.24, four subscales revealed themselves as significant predictors of acculturative stress. For the

case of adding belonging support score into regression, the total variance increased from 37% without ISEL to 39%, adjusted R^2. For the case of tangible support score, the total variance increased to 39%. Self-esteem support score also increased the total variance to 39%. Therefore, these four subscales also had a significant influence on the level of acculturative stress, and revealed a buffering effect. Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Table 4.21
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Acculturative Stress adding Appraisal

Multiple R	.60902
R Square	.37091
Adjusted R Square	.35083
Standard Error	8.75125

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	4244.41211	1414.80404
Residual	94	7198.93483	76.58441
	F=18.47379	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) English proficiency	.45	5.34	.0000
2) Current feeling	-.24	-2.76	.0071
3) Appraisal	-.17	-2.02	.0459

Table 4.22
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Acculturative Stress adding Belonging

Multiple R	.63527
R Square	.40357
Adjusted R Square	.38549
Standard Error	8.93068

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	5342.65681	1780.88560
Residual	99	7895.94513	79.75702
	F=22.32889	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) English proficiency	.49	6.01	.0000
2) Current feeling	-.21	-2.59	.0110
3) Belonging	-.16	-2.06	.0416

Table 4.23
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Acculturative Stress adding Tangible

Multiple R	.64178
R Square	.41188
Adjusted R Square	.39388
Standard Error	8.90522

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	5442.83086	1814.27695
Residual	98	7771.68874	79.30295
	F=22.87780	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) English proficiency	.50	6.24	.0000
2) Feeling on decision	-.22	-2.78	.0066
3) Tangible	-.18	-2.31	.0228

Table 4.24
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Acculturative Stress adding Self-esteem

Multiple R	.63707
R Square	.40586
Adjusted R Square	.38670
Standard Error	8.89417

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	5025.61378	1675.20459
Residual	93	7356.88107	79.10625
	F=21.17664	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) English proficiency	.44	5.17	.0000
2) Self-esteem	-.25	-2.96	.0040
3) Feeling on decision	-.17	-2.09	.0397

Next, the buffering effect on acculturative stress of communication with the husband was tested for. This variable did not reveal significance in the stepwise regression, and did not add variance in predicting the level of acculturative

stress (Beta in=-.083365, T=-1.039, Sig T=.3015). A possible reason for this could be speculated as follows. Although the respondents in this study perceived their level of communication with their husband to be relatively high, these kinds of communications may not necessarily deal with acculturation problems, so this particular variable may not moderate the level of acculturative stress. Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

Buffering Effect of Perceived Social Support on the Level of Depression

When ISEL was entered into a stepwise regression predicting for the level of depression, ISEL did not reveal significance at $p<.05$ level (Beta In= -.19, T=-1.878, Sig T=.0637). English proficiency was the only variable significant with $F(1,90)=9.42598$, Est $R^{*2}=.08475$, $T=3.070$, $p<.01$. This could be because the number of cases was smaller - 92 - while there were 108 cases in the stepwise regression without ISEL predicting for the level of depression, or the overall ISEL did not have a strong impact in terms of predicting the level of depression, while some of the subscales had.

Cohen and McKay (1984) argue that one's personal support works as a stress buffer only when the specific support function meets with support needs. Since ISEL is the combination of four subscales, appraisal, belonging, tangible,

and self-esteem, some of these support functions may work as stress buffers for specific dependent variables. Based on this assumption, each subscale was entered into a stepwise regression with other predictor variables.

When this was done, appraisal revealed significance as the third strongest variable (see Table 4.25). The total variance was also increased from 16% to 18% by adding a variable of appraisal. This result indicates that appraisal had a significant influence on the level of depression, and revealed a buffering effect. Hypothesis 5 was supported.

Table 4.25
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Depression
Adding Appraisal

Multiple R	.45359
R Square	.20575
Adjusted R Square	.18092
Standard Error	6.51922

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	1056.89363	352.29788
Residual	96	4080.01637	42.50017
	F=8.28933	Signif F=.0001	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	-.23	-2.37	.0200
2) English proficiency	.24	2.56	.0123
3) Appraisal	-.20	-2.13	.0357

When the belonging support score was entered into a stepwise regression, it did not reveal significance at the $p<.05$ level. This result suggests that belonging to a group does not necessarily moderate the level of depression.

The tangible support score was entered into a stepwise

regression, but it did not reveal significance at the $p<.05$ level either. This result suggests that a function of tangible support may not be sufficient to moderate the level of depression. In other words, unless tangible support is associated with support that might address the cause of depression, it may not have an impact on moderating the level of depression.

Self-esteem was entered into a stepwise regression predicting for the level of depression, and this variable contributed to R^2 more than other predictor variables at $p<.05$ level. Self-esteem by itself explained 12% of the total variance in this model, $F(1,100)=14,17319$, $EstR^{*2}=.11538$, $p<.001$ (see Table 4.26). The results indicate that those who have higher level of English with higher level of self-esteem present lower level of depression. Self-esteem support had a significant impact in predicting the level of depression, and revealed a buffering effect. Hypothesis 5 was supported.

Table 4.26
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Depression adding Self-esteem

Multiple R	.41664
R Square	.17359
Adjusted R Square	.15689
Standard Error	6.46685

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	869.64970	434.82485
Residual	99	4140.19344	41.82014
	F=10.39750	Signif F=.0001	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Self-esteem	-.28	-2.94	.0041
2) English proficiency	.23	2.43	.0167

Finally, communication with the husband was entered into a stepwise regression. This variable revealed significance and by itself explained 13% of the total variance accounted for by this model, $F(3,104)=16.38286$, $EstR^2=.12778$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.27). The total variance increased from 16% to 25% by adding a variable of communication with the husband. The results indicate that those who have higher level of communication with the husband and feel more positive about the decision to immigrate with higher proficiency of English had lower level of depression. Having a confidante to talk to about anything seems to be an important support mechanism and appears to moderate the level of depression. Hypothesis 8 was supported. This finding of a buffering effect of confidante support is consistent with the result of Vega et al. (1986), and Salgado de Snyder (1986).

Table 4.27
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Depression
Adding Communication with Husband

Multiple R	.52226
R Square	.27276
Adjusted R Square	.25137
Standard Error	6.23923

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	1489.20541	496.40180
Residual	102	3970.65308	38.92797
	F=12.75180	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Communication with spouse	-.32	-3.71	.0003
2) Feeling on immig	-.24	-2.65	.0092
3) English proficiency	.23	2.54	.0127

Buffering Effect of Perceived Social Support on the Level of Life Satisfaction

When ISEL was entered into a stepwise regression predicting for the level of life satisfaction, ISEL revealed significance, and an increase in the total variance was observed, $F(2,88)=29.98730$, $EstR^{*2}=.39179$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.28). The total variance increased from 36% to 39% by adding ISEL to the equation. These results indicate that ISEL is a significant predictor of life satisfaction. Among those who feel more certain about the decision to immigrate with higher level of ISEL score present higher the level of satisfaction. Hypothesis 6 was supported.

Table 4.28
Stepwise Regression
Predicting Level of Satisfaction adding ISEL

Multiple R	.63663
R Square	.40530
Adjusted R Square	.39179
Standard Error	3.69712

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	819.77280	409.88640
Residual	88	1202.84259	13.66867
	F=29.98730	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.52	6.35	.0000
2) ISEL	.31	3.76	.0003

Four subscales were entered into a stepwise regression respectively. All revealed significance, and contributed to the higher level of life satisfaction (see Table 4.29, Table 4.30, Table 4.31, and Table 4.32). Appraisal revealed significance, with the total variance explained by this model being 43%, $F(2,97)=38.10143$, $EstR^{*2}=.42842$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.29). Addition of variable, appraisal support, increased the total variance from 36% to 43%. Hypothesis 6 was supported.

Belonging was entered into a stepwise regression and also revealed significance, while total variance accounted for by this model increased to 40% $F(2,103)=36.38549$, $EstR^{*2}=.40263$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.30). Addition of variable, belonging support, increased the total variance from 36% to 40%. Hypothesis 6 was supported.

Tangible support also revealed significance, and the total variance increased to 43%, $F(3,101)=27.22568$, $EstR^{*2}=.43069$, $p<.0001$. Addition of variable, tangible support, increased the total variance from 36% to 43%. Therefore, tangible support also contributes significantly to the level of life satisfaction (see Table 4.31). Hypothesis 6 was supported.

Self-esteem was then added to the stepwise regression, and it revealed significance, and the total variance explained increased to 38%, $F(2,98)=31.86399$, $EstR^{*2}=.38168$, $p<.0001$. Addition of variable, self-esteem, increased the total variance from 36% to 38%. So self-esteem support is also a

significant predictor of life satisfaction. Among those who feel more certain about the decision to immigrate with higher level of self-esteem support present higher level of life satisfaction (see Table 4.32). Hypothesis 6 was supported.

Table 4.29
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Satisfaction
Adding Appraisal

Multiple R	.66330
R Square	.43996
Adjusted R Square	.42842
Standard Error	3.83342

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	1119.81161	559.90580
Residual	97	1425.42839	14.69514
	F=38.10143	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.54	7.02	.0000
2) Appraisal	.31	4.02	.0001

Table 4.30
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Satisfaction
Adding Belonging

Multiple R	.64344
R Square	.41401
Adjusted R Square	.40263
Standard Error	3.80970

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	1056.18298	528.09149
Residual	103	1494.92080	14.51379
	F=36.38549	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.54	7.04	.0000
2) Belonging	.27	3.53	.0006

Table 4.31
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Satisfaction
Adding Tangible

Multiple R	.66866
R Square	.44711
Adjusted R Square	.43069
Standard Error	3.72370

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	1132.52976	377.50992
Residual	101	1400.46071	13.86595
	F=27.22568	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.53	6.88	.0000
2) Tangible	.27	3.71	.0003
3) English proficiency	-.17	-2.22	.0288

Table 4.32
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Satisfaction
Adding Self-esteem

Multiple R	.62773
R Square	.39404
Adjusted R Square	.38168
Standard Error	3.88985

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	964.26130	482.13065
Residual	98	1482.82780	15,13090
	F=31.86399	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.49	6.12	.0000
2) Self-esteem	.30	3.74	.0003

Finally, communication with the husband was entered into a stepwise regression predicting for the level of life satisfaction. This variable also revealed significance, and the total variance with this variable increased to 40%,

$F(2,103)=36.19235$, $EstR^{2}=.40132$, $p<.0001$ (see Table 4.33). Addition of variable, communication with husband, increased the total variance from 36% to 40%. Therefore communication with the husband had a significant impact on the level of life satisfaction. Those who feel more certain about the decision to immigrate and have better communication with their husband have a higher level of life satisfaction. Hypothesis 9 was supported.

Table 4.33
Stepwise Regression Predicting Level of Satisfaction
Adding Communication with Husband

Multiple R	.64243
R Square	.41272
Adjusted R Square	.40132
Standard Error	3.90432

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	1103.40972	551.70486
Residual	103	1570.09972	15.24369
	F=36.19235	Signif F=.0000	

Variable	Beta	T	Sig T
1) Feeling on immig	.31	7.28	.0000
2) Communication with spouse	.28	3.68	.0004

12. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined various demographic and immigration-related characteristics of post-war Japanese married immigrant women. Stepwise regression analyses were conducted to determine which demographic and immigration-related variables predicted for the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. Respective social

support variables were added into the regression equations to check for the buffering effect of social support.

As a predictor of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction, the level of proficiency in English and the current feeling about the decision to immigrate appeared as significant variables.

Social support variables, ISEL, tangible support, appraisal support, belonging support, self-esteem support, and communication with husband revealed significance in most cases when entered into stepwise regression predicting for the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. Cohen and Wills (1985) argue that esteem and informational support are suitable measures for cumulative stress, while instrumental support and a sense of belonging provide a buffering effect only on the stress of a particular event. That some of the ISEL subscales and communication with the husband did not reveal buffering effects in some cases could be attributable to Cohen and Wills' argument. Therefore it is concluded that social support revealed a buffering effect. As mentioned above, buffering effects are likely to occur when functional support measures are suited to specific needs.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study sample of post-war Japanese immigrant women portrayed the following features. They had a strong identity as Japanese, more endogamous than other female Japanese Canadians, who have been in Canada for several generations. They were educated in Japan, had friends of Japanese ethnic origin, and low-expressed self-esteem. These characteristics reflect the cultural values and attributes of the Japanese rather than those of acculturated Japanese Canadians appear to affect the acculturation of post-war Japanese immigrant women.

Two important findings revealed from the regression analysis in this study. One is the result of a stepwise regression predicting the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. The other is the result of testing for the buffering effect of social support.

Among the demographic and immigration-related variables predicting the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction, proficiency in English and the current feeling about the decision to immigrate appeared as statistically significant variables at the $p<.05$ level.

Language proficiency is an important tool in one's acculturation if a person's first language is not English. Not being equipped with these language skills has numerous consequences for immigrant women's lives (Estable, 1986). A proficiency in English may influence the degree of success in employment, may lead to further education or vocational

training, and may help to develop larger social networks with people of other ethnic origins. English is also an empowering tool in many social relationships.

On the other hand, if a woman's level of language is limited, she may always have to depend on her husband or other family members to interpret feelings or give responses, severely limiting certain kinds of interpersonal relationships. Limited language skills also limit access to further education, dooming immigrant women to underemployment or unemployment, or to life within the home (Task Force 1988a). Such a situation limits the immigrant woman's economic resourcefulness while also limiting her sense of partnership with her husband, especially if she had been used to contributing to household income as a professional in Japan. Such a change in the interpersonal dynamics of the marital (and familial) relationship may contribute to a deterioration of mental health. Having once been considered an equal, the woman may be viewed more by family members in the new cultural context as a dependent. Qualitative data gathered by this study support this hypothesis.

Other social consequences also follow from a lack of English proficiency. Obtaining firsthand information about anything can be difficult - everything is filtered through Japanese-speaking contacts. Social and community activities may be limited; participation in the mainstream curtailed or avoided. The sense of being a productive member of society,

no matter the woman's previous role in her homeland, may be seriously diminished.

Another variable, the current feeling about the decision to immigrate, was also revealed as significant in predicting the level of acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. It is a subjective variable, and it can be interpreted in many ways. However, as Berry (1988) and Salvendy (1982) argue, matching expectations with reality, and being willing to perform in the new environment, help an individual towards a positive attitude about acculturation. On the other hand, equipping oneself to cope with the present situation would seem automatically to lead to a better feeling about the decision to immigrate. A proficiency in English, clearly, is part of that necessary equipment.

Therefore, a limited level of English proficiency affects immigrant women's social condition in many ways. Women are in double jeopardy because they tend to be confined to the home while also losing opportunities either to develop higher levels of proficiency in English or to improve working skills. Language difficulties also sentence Japanese women immigrants to low-paying jobs (Shibata, 1980), or at least make competing for jobs against other Canadians very difficult.

Current counselling needs among Japanese immigrant women seem to be in the area of career development, vocational, marital, and self-esteem coaching, among others. However, the results of this study show that few immigrant women follow up

on a need for professional help. This response may be due to a lack of information in that language, or a lack of culturally appropriate services, as Sue and Morishima (1976) argue.

Under the model employed in this study, the buffering effect of social support for Japanese immigrant women was observed on acculturative stress, depression, and life satisfaction. The major source of support, according to the results of this study, was from their female friends. The level of communication with their husband was not necessarily related to moderate levels of acculturative stress. This result indicates that the function of social support has to meet specific needs in order for it to reveal a buffering effect, as Cohen and Wills (1985) argue. Half the respondents in this study associated only with Japanese friends. A lack of English proficiency may again be at least partially to blame for this awkwardness in cultural adjustment.

In Canada's multicultural pluralistic society, maintaining ethnic cultural heritage is encouraged. Individuals can choose whether or not to interact with the mainstream. Assimilation is not insisted on; immigrants are free to integrate as they wish (Berry, 1988).

Japanese immigrant women may choose to interact with people of other ethnic origins, but if this choice is inhibited by external factors such as language proficiency, then a need for appropriate and effective language programs

for ethnic women seems obvious.

Being able to communicate with the dominant society also affects the immigrant's psychological well-being, even if the choice is freely made not to do so. Again, previous studies on language in the field of cross-cultural communication support the notion that communication skills lead to more satisfactory living experiences for immigrants in the host country (Morris, 1960; Sewell, & Davidsen, 1961). Shibata's (1980) study also supports the findings noted concerning Japanese immigrant women's wish to develop a social network with other Canadians, but for the perceived obstacle of language. Language difficulties led to the development of social networks that were limited to the Japanese community, especially among married Japanese women whose spouses were also Japanese.

The level of language proficiency may also affect the size of the social network. Having a close, tightly-knit, culturally sensitive and homogeneous network provides a person with a sense of security and identity in the group (Walker, MacBridge, and Vachon, 1977). This type of social network may be helpful during the early settlement period (and even later) in maintaining ethnic identity. Involvement in a small, closely-knit, and strongly-tied socio-cultural network may assist acculturation independent of other factors. Then, as the acculturation process continues, immigrants need to expand to a larger, more loosely connected, more culturally

heterogeneous network. As social networks diversify, communication skills may improve.

Previous studies have examined some of the barriers to women's access to various services in Canada, including English (e.g., Estable, 1986). Immigrant women's traditional role tends to make them either dependent or sponsored (Estable, 1986), so men have been the first to receive services. Married immigrant women tend to become more home bound as husbands work outside. As a result, immigrant married women tend to lose opportunities to develop their language and speaking skills. Underemployment, unemployment, or job ghettoization results. Limited levels of language proficiency also affect social activities; they tend to isolate themselves in their daily lives (Estable, 1986). Estable (1986) points out that immigration policy has been developed around male immigrants more than their female counterparts.

Among the respondents in this study, 55.0% of the Japanese immigrant women followed their husband's decision to immigrate to Canada. However, about 40% of the women in the study sample made their own decision to come to Canada, looking for opportunities to improve their lives or expand their careers, among other reasons. Kobayashi (1989) mentioned that the trend toward single Japanese women immigrating to Canada as independent immigrants has been strong since 1970s. The case of this newer female immigrant

should be looked at more closely in determining appropriate program responses. Such immigrants' independence of mind and strength of will in searching out new professional or other career possibilities needs to be taken into account over and against the earlier, more traditional roles and expectations of female immigrants.

Proficiency of English as a key factor affecting mental health and other social conditions of Japanese immigrant women has appeared as a recurring theme in this study as well as in other studies of immigrant women. English language and social networks appear to be critical variables that have an effect on broader areas of the lives of Japanese immigrant women. There may be many ways in which the current feeling about the decision to immigrate can be improved if more information is available to immigrant women to provide them with answers to their various questions.

CONCLUSIONS

This study makes the following conclusions with respect to Japanese immigrant women in Southern Ontario.

1. The level of acculturative stress for Japanese immigrant women was predicted by the level of language proficiency and the current feeling about decision to immigrate. This supports hypothesis 1.
2. The level of depression for Japanese immigrant women was predicted by the level of language proficiency and the

current feeling about decision to immigrate. This supports hypothesis 2.

3. Their level of life satisfaction in Canada was predicted by their current feeling about the decision to immigrate. This supports hypothesis 3.
4. Perceived social support had a buffering effect on the reported level of acculturative stress. This supports hypothesis 4.
5. Perceived social support had a partial buffering effect on the reported level of depression. This supports hypothesis 5.
6. Perceived social support had a buffering effect on the reported level of life satisfaction. This supports hypothesis 6.
7. Communication with the husband did not reveal a buffering effect on reported level of acculturative stress. This does not support hypothesis 7.
8. Communication with the husband had a buffering effect on reported level of depression. This supports hypothesis 8.
9. Communication with the husband had a buffering effect on reported level of life satisfaction. This supports hypothesis 9.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN SERVICES

1. This study revealed a need for professional social services, though the majority of study respondents did not express that need. An increase in the use of counselling and referral services may follow from their being offered in Japanese. Information on available services needs therefore to be conveyed in both English and Japanese and circulated in the Japanese community. More culturally appropriate responses to perceived needs may also follow from this strategy.
2. It is recommended to train counsellors who are able to provide services in English and Japanese.
3. Half the respondents in this study associate only with other Japanese immigrants, indicating their language difficulties and hesitancy to interact with other Canadians. Since various cross-cultural studies suggest that higher levels of life satisfaction flow from increased interaction with the host culture, measures to increase such interaction with the mainstream need further development. House bound respondents need to be further encouraged to take advantage of communication and language programs to increase their level of interaction outside of their own ethnic group. At the same time, more inter-racial ethnic exchange programs with Canadians (not just multi-cultural festivals) should be developed and promoted so that ethnic groups can interact more

fully with the mainstream.

4. "Settlers in Canada who cannot speak English or French are less likely to find employment than those who do" (The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988, p. 23), and even if they do find a job, they are likely to be underemployed, that is, employed at a level below that for which they are qualified. Underemployment and unemployment can lead to a higher risk of mental health problems among immigrants. A method of teaching English should be suited to the experience of Japanese immigrant women. As B-L.C. Kim (1978) suggests, the design of such programs should take more fully into account the social context of immigrant women's lives.
5. It is recommended to provide educational programs such as assertiveness training, career counselling and career development workshops for women in both English and Japanese.

RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE STUDIES

1. Qualitative studies on immigrant women and social support have made valuable contributions in describing the process of individual's developing support networks (e.g. Ng, and Ramirez, 1981; Lynam, 1985; Weiss, 1974; Hammer, Gutwirth, and Phillips, 1982). Qualitative study appear to fit the area where cultural sensitivity is needed.

These studies have provided initial useful suggestions to social work practitioners for the development of appropriate programs. Therefore, further qualitative studies in the area of mental health and acculturation of immigrant women are recommended.

2. Kobayashi's (1989) demographic study of Japanese Canadians shows that the post-war Japanese immigrant group forms a larger portion of the age cohort of 65 and over than non-immigrant Japanese Canadians. This age cohort is second largest next to age cohort of 30 to 40. Seniors and women with lower proficiency of English and scarce social support have been reported to have more mental health problems. These problems are due to alienation within the family and isolation from the larger community (Weeks and Kuellar, 1983; Williams and Carmichael, 1985). Further studies on Japanese immigrant women, and their aging and mental health are recommended.

3. Studies on immigrant women's acculturation and the affect on their mental health are limited. Even so, the research findings on problems of acculturation of Japanese immigrant women and immigrant women of other ethnic backgrounds appear to share more commonality than differences. Where Japanese immigrant women had lesser degrees of stress, this appears to be related to their higher economic status. However, this economic security may not have been brought about by Japanese immigrant

women themselves. Immigrant women go through similar experiences at various stages of acculturation. The factors that affect them are more similar than different. In order to utilize their experience for future programs and policy development for the acculturation of immigrant women, comparative studies among immigrant women of various cultural groups are recommended.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Letters Sent to Potential Respondents

LETTER IN ENGLISH

201 Erb St. W. #14B
Waterloo, ON N2L 1V6

October, 1991

To: Participants in the research on "Acculturative and Social support"

Re: Request for filling out the questionnaire
"Acculturative stress and Social support"

This survey is to examine your experience of stress in living in two cultures, and your sources of social support in adapting to life in Canada.

I am undertaking this research to fulfil one of the requirements for my doctorate in social work at Wilfrid Laurier University Faculty of Social Work. My research supervisor is Dr. Anne Westhues. The information I obtain will be totally confidential, and individual information will not be revealed anywhere. I will use the data only in reporting results for all respondents. I am the only one who see the raw data. The data I fathered will be kept in the secure location.

Participation in filling out the questionnaire is totally voluntary and there would be no adversary if you did not participate. You are free not reply to questions you would prefer not to answer.

Please return this questionnaire to Mariko Kimura 201 Erb St. W. #14B Waterloo, ON N2L 9Z0, in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope. If you have any questions about the questionnaire or the study, please phone me (519-884-3431) or Dr. Anne Westhues (519-884-1970 ext. 2474).

If you are interested in receiving a summary of the results of the survey, it will be available in the fall of 1992. A copy of the complete report will be given to Toronto New Immigrants' Association when it is completed.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Mariko Kimura

LETTER IN JAPANESE

201 Erb St.W.#148
Waterloo, ON N2L 9Z0
Phone:519-884-3431

1991年11月

日系女性の皆様へ

アンケート調査御協力のお願い

私は現在Wilfrid Laurier University Faculty of Social Work の博士課程で学んでいます。このたびトロント新移住者協会の後援を得て博士論文「日系女性の文化適応とストレス、家族や友人による支え」の調査を行うことにいたしました。

この調査の目的は次のとおりです：１）カナダと日本の二つの文化の中で生活する日系女性のストレスと家族や友人による支えの問題を掘下げる、２）調査結果を日系コミュニティ及びカナダ政府の政策やプログラムの発展に役立てる。

調査は、戦後カナダに移住した日系女性の方々を対象としています。調査は学術的貢献を目的とし、個人の利益を追及するものではありません。アンケートは無記名形式です。調査は個人の秘密を厳守し、生の調査データが研究者（木村）以外の人の目に触れることはありません。調査データは、統計的分析を行った上で論文にまとめます。まとめた調査結果は新移住者協会にも報告し、日系の移住者の今後の活動に役立てていただくつもりです。

調査データは統計処理をして用いるため、できるだけ多く集めたいと考えます。一人でも多くの方々に御協力いただけましたら幸いです。

アンケート用紙は全部で４ページです。該当するものにマルを付ける部分と必要事項を書込む部分に分れています。マルをつける部分は、最も適切なものを１つだけ選んでください。記入もれがありますとデータの処理ができませんので、できる限り記入してください。（大きな枠は自由に書込んで下さい。）

アンケートは、記入を済ませたら、同封の返信用封筒に入れて投函して下さい。切手は必要ありません。お忙しい折とは存じますが、できるだけ早めに記入し、御返送ください。調査についてのお問合わせは、519-884-3431（木村）までどうぞ。

なおこの調査の結果に関心をお持ちの方は、1992年秋頃、519-884-3431（木村）までお問合わせ下さい。皆様の御協力を心より感謝いたします。

木村真理子

FOLLOW-UP LETTER

201 Erb St. #14B
Waterloo ON N2l 1VG
PHONE:519-884-3431

1991年　11月

受講生及び学校関係者の御家族
日系女性の皆様

再び「日系女性の文化適応に伴うストレスと家族や友人による支え」
アンケート調査御協力のお願い

１１月も半ばをすぎ、もうすぐ１２月、皆様いかがおすごしでしょうか。

先日お配りいたしました「日系女性の文化適応に伴うストレスと家族や友人による支え」のアンケート用紙に御記入いただけましたでしょうか。既に記入を済ませて御返送いただきました方々には御協力を感謝いたします。まだ記入を済ませていらっしゃらない方々、どうぞ御記入、御返送をお願いいたします。
毎日少しずつ返送されて来るアンケート用紙を心待ちにしておりますが、１１月２５日現在、まだ統計分析に必要なサンプル数に満たない状況です。皆様お一人お一人の御協力が大変貴重な資料になります。
一人でも多くの方々の御協力が得られる事を望んでおります。

お忙しい折とは存じますが、お早めにアンケート用紙の記入を済ませ御返送をお願いいたします。
御協力を心より感謝いたします。

Mariko Kimura
木村真理子

Appendix B

Data Collection Instrument

Acculturative Stress, Depression, Life Satisfaction and Social Support Among Japanese Immigrant Women Questionnaire
1991

Please answer the following questions, filling in the blanks or circling the response which is most appropriate.

Client ID Number:_____

DM 1. Age at last birthday _____

2. Marital status:

1 married, 2 single, 3 divorced, 4 widowed, 5 other _____

3. Husband's ethnic background: 1 Japanese, 2 other _____

4. Highest level of education:

1 below senior high, 2 finished senior high, 3 some university,

4 finished university, 5 above university, 6 other _____

5. Country where you received last education:

1 Japan 2 North America 3 other _____

6. a. In which category does your occupation fall?:

1 Professional 2 High level management 3 Semi-Professional/Technician

4 Middle Management/supervision 5 Clerical/Sales/Services

6 Crafts/Trade/Labour 7 Homemaker 8 Student

9 Retired 10 other _____

b. Are you employed full-time or part-time?

1 full-time 2 part-time 3 not employed

7. a. In which category does your husband's occupation fall?

1 Professional 2 High level management 3 Semi-Professional/Technician

4 Middle Management/supervision 5 Clerical/Sales/Services

6 Crafts/Trade/Labour 7 Homemaker 8 Student

9 Retired 10 other _____

b. Is he employed full-time or part-time?

1 full-time 2 part-time 3 not employed

8. In which category does your total annual family income fall?

1 below $20,000, 2 $20,000-29,999, 3 $30,000-39,999, 4 $40,000-49,999,

5 $50,000-59,999, 6 $60,000-69,999, 7 $70,000 or over

9. a. How many children do you have? _____

b. How old are they? (Are any of them in addrescent?) 1.Yes 2.No

IM. The following items are asking you about immigration to Canada and related matters.

10. Self-evaluated language proficiency

Very good 1 2 3 4 5 Very poor

Use the following as a guidline: 1. Japanese only 2. In English, need some help 3. Manage to use English for daily necessities 4. Except technical terms, manage to use English 5. Fully bilingual

11. Ethnic identity: I identify myself as:

1. Japanese2. Japanese Canadian 3. Canadian 4.Other

12. Status in Canada

1. Pose-war immigrant 2. Visitor 3. foreign student

4.Other(specify)_____

13. Whose idea was it to immigrate to Canada?

1 mine 2 my husband's 3 another relative's 4 Company's order

5 other (specify)_____

14. Did you agree with the decision to move to Canada?

Totally disagreed 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Totally agreed

15. What was your primary motivation to move to Canada?

1. economic need 2. only to visit 3. to get a degree 4. to study English 5. to unite with family 6. to get married 7. other

_____

16. a. How do you feel about your decision to immigrate to Canada?

A very bad decision 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 An excellent decision

b. Please explain your decision.

_____

17. How old were you when you immigrated to Canada? _____

18. How long have you lived in Canada? _____months.

19. Do you want to stay in Canada?

1 Yes, permanently 2 No, I want to go back to Japan 3 other

_____

AC. The following are questions about stress related to living in this country. How much stress did the following situation create for you during the last three months? Please choose from following:

1. Not being able to communicate in English.

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 a great deal of stress

2. Missing my family and friends in Japan.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Being discriminated against because I am Japanese.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Difficulty understanding Canadian values and culture.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Not having the support of my husband to utilize opportunities to study or develop my skills.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Conflict with my children because they have adapted to the Canadian way of life faster than my husband or I.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Worrying about speaking English with an accent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Feeling bad that I am losing contact with Japan.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Being embarrassed to have a Japanese surname.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Being worried about making mistakes dealing with Canadians.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Becoming worried about what to cook when my children bring their Canadian
friends home.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

a. Are there any other kinds of stressors you experience living between two cultures? (please list as many as you like)

_____

b. What do you do to decrease the stress level you described?

SN. The following questions ask about who provides you with social network. Please circle or fill in the most appropriate response.

1. Do you have close friends in Canada whom you can talk about your problems?

1 Yes 2 No

2. If yes, how many close friends do you have whom you can talk to and share about intimate things?

_____

3. Please describe five of your friends you listed above, and describe a. the place you met with them (such as hobby group, church, language school, Immigrants' group, etc.), b. their ethnic background whether they are Japanese, or others, and c. the frequency of contact, how often you meet or talk with them? (Example: at least once a week, at least once a month, or at least once a year).

	a.Place of meeting	b.Ethnic background		c. Frequency of meeting (At least once in every)		
		Japanese	Other	Week	Month	Year
1	_____	1	2	W	M	Y
2	_____	1	2	W	M	Y
3	_____	1	2	W	M	Y
4	_____	1	2	W	M	Y
5	_____	1	2	W	M	Y

4. Who do you usually talk to besides your husband when you have serious problems or when you are depressed? Please list three persons. Example: female friend, my sister, male friend, my brother in Japan, female friend in Japan, counsellor, minister, etc.

1_____ 2 _____ 3 _____

5. a. Do you share your serious problems and concerns with your husband?

never 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 always

b. What kind of problems do you not consider appropriate to discuss with your husband?

_____

6. a. Have you come across serious problems you would like to have assistance of professionals?

1 Yes 2 No

b. If yes, what kind problems are they?

SS. To what extent do the following statements apply to your situation. Please circle whether they are: 1 very untrue to 7 very true.

TN1. I know someone who would bring me meals to my house if I were sick.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I know someone who would teach me where to get ingredients for Japanese food.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. I know someone in town who would give me a lift or lend me a car if I didn't have a car.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. I know someone whom I could ask for help when moving.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. If I plan a party, I know somebody who will help me.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. I know somebody who would give me a lift if I had to go to the doctor.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

BL7. I have sufficient friends with whom I have group activities together (Japanese-Canadian activities, hobbies, etc.).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. I have someone with whom I have contact regularly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. I have someone who would phone me or ask me how I am doing if I have not talked to the person for a while.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. I belong to a group which meets on regular basis, perhaps weekly or monthly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. If I decided to plan a mahjon game or gathering this weekend, I could easily find someone to invite.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Friends often come to visit me weekdays or weekends.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

AP13. I know someone with whom I would feel perfectly comfortable talking about any of my adjustment problems to life in Canada.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. If I had a serious argument with my husband or partner, I have someone to talk with about the problem.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. I have someone with whom I can talk about problems of child-rearing.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. When I've been troubled, I would not keep things to myself. I have someone to talk to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. I know someone whom I can talk with about my marital problems and the relationship between men and women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. I know someone who I see or talk to often with whom I would feel perfectly comfortable discussing any conflicts I might have with my children.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SE 19. Most of my friends think I am attractive.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. Most of my friends think that I am friendly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. Most people I know think I am one of most successful people who have come to live in this country.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. Most of my friends think I am a hard worker.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. Most of my friends think I am a good listener as well as a talker.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. I am more satisfied and happier with myself than most of my friends.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

DP. The following are questions about your feelings or moods. Please tell me how often you have felt or behaved this way during the past week. Please indicate whether you felt this way: 1. Less than 1 Day 2. 1-2 Days 3. 3-4 Days or 4. 5-7 Days.

1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.

Less than 1day	1-2days	3-4days	5-7days
1	2	3	4

2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.

1 2 3 4

3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.

1 2 3 4

4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.

1 2 3 4

5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.

1 2 3 4

6. I felt depressed.

1 2 3 4

7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.

1 2 3 4

8. I felt hopeful about the future.

1 2 3 4

9. I thought my life had been a failure.

1 2 3 4

10. I felt fearful.

1 2 3 4

11. My sleep was restless.

1 2 3 4

12. I was happy.

1 2 3 4

13. I talked less than usual.

1 2 3 4

14. I felt lonely.

1 2 3 4

15. People were unfriendly.

1 2 3 4

16. I enjoyed life.

1 2 3 4

17. I had crying spells.

1 2 3 4

18. I felt sad.

1 2 3 4

19. I felt that people dislike me.

1 2 3 4

20. I could not get "going."

1 2 3 4

SAT. Please answer the following questions regarding degree of satisfaction with different aspects of your life, at this time, choosing from
1 very unsatisfied, 2 unsatisfied, 3 somewhat unsatisfied
4 neutral, 5 somewhat satisfied, 6 satisfied, 7 very satisfied.

1. Are you satisfied with your decision to be immigrated to Canada?

Very unsatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very satisfied

2. Are you satisfied with various opportunities in Canada?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Are you satisfied with your friends you have made in Canada?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Are you satisfied with your family relations?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Are you satisfied with your marriage?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Acculturative Stress, Depression, Life Satisfaction and Social Support Among Japanese Immigrant Women
1991

「日系女性の文化適応とストレス、家族や友達による支え」アンケート

1.つぎのアンケートに必要事項を記入し、該当するものを1つ選んで○をつけて下さい。
記入漏れがありますとデータ処理ができませんので、できるだけ記入して下さい。

1． あなたの現在の年齢は？_____歳　誕生日：西暦_____年_____月_____日

2． ご結婚は？　1　既婚　2　独身　3　離婚　4　死別　5その他_____

3． ご主人の背景：1．日本人　2．それ以外_____

4． あなたの最終学歴：　1　高校以下　2　高卒　3　高校以上　4　大卒　5　大学以上

5． 最終教育を受けた国：　1　日本　2　北米　3　その他_____

7．a　あなたの職業：
1　専門職　2　高級管理職　3　準専門職／技術職　4　中間管理職　5　事務職／セールス／サービス　6　技能職／商業／労働職　7　主婦　8　学生　9　退職　10　その他_____

b　フルタイム、パートタイムの区別？　1　フル　2　パート

c　御主人の職業：
1　専門職　2　高級管理職　3　準専門職／技術職　4　中間管理職　5　事務職／セールス／サービス　6　技能職／商業／労働職　7　主婦　8　学生　9　退職　10　その他_____

d　フルタイム、パートタイムの区別？　1　フル　2　パート

8． 家庭の年収（税込みで）：1　$20000以下　2　$20000－29999　3　$30000－39999
4　$40000－49999　5　$50000－59999　6　$60000－69999　7　$70000以上

9　a．お子さんは何人ですか？_____人

b．年齢は？_____

11．カナダ滞在の経緯についておたずねします。

10．あなたの英語は？：1　バイリンガル　2　英語でも特殊事項以外は不自由しない　3　英語でも日常の用事は足せる　4　英語の場合助けが必要　5　日本語のみ

11．あなたは自分を（1　日本人　2　日系カナダ人　3　カナディアン　4　その他_____）と思っている。

12．あなたは：1　戦後移住者　2　短期滞在者　3　留学生　4　その他_____

13．カナダへの移住（滞在）を提案したのは：
1　自分　2　夫　3　親戚　4　会社命令　5　その他_____

14．あなたはカナダへの移住（滞在）に賛成でしたか：
1　全く不賛成　2　不賛成　3　少し不賛成　4　中立　5　少し賛成　6　賛成　7　全く賛成

15．カナダ移住（滞在）のきっかけはなんでしたか：
1　経済的理由　2　単なる訪問　3　留学　4　英語を学ぶため
5　家族との合流　6　その他_____

16a．移住（滞在）の決断についてどう思いますか：
1　非常に悪い　2　悪い　3　かなり悪い　4　普通　5　かなり良い　6　良い　7　とても良い

b．その理由は？_____

17．カナダに来た時の年齢は？：_____歳

18a．カナダ滞在年数は：_____年_____か月

b．カナダ永住の希望は：1　永住したい　2　いずれは日本に帰りたい　3　その他_____

III. 次の各文は2つの文化の中で生きる時のストレスを記述しています。あなたはこの3か月間に、以下の事柄から来るストレスを経験しましたか。下の記述に対するあなたのストレスの度合いを 1 全く気にならない、2 気にならない、3 あまり気にならない、 4 普通 5 少し気になる、6 気になる、7 ひどく気になる から選んで下さい。

		全くなし						ひどく気になる
1	英語で十分コミュニケーションができない。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	日本の家族や友達の暮らしが気にかかる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	日本人であるゆえに差別されること。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	カナダの価値観や文化を理解すること。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	いろんな機会をとらえて勉強したり技能を習得したいが、夫はあまり賛成しない。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	子供は親よりも速くカナダ文化に適応したため家庭内に葛藤がおこる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	英語を話すとき日本語のなまりで流暢に話せない。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	日本とのつながりを失うことが心配。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	日本人の名字を持っていること。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	カナディアンとつきあう上で、何かミスをしないか気になる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	子供達がカナディアンの友達を家に連れてきたとき、食事や対応に気を使う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

a. 上記以外にあなたがこの国の生活の中で感じるストレスにはどんなものがありますか。いくつでも上げて下さい。 (　　)
(　　)
(　　)

b. それらのストレスを解消するための方法としてあなたが行っているのはどんな事ですか。
(　　)
(　　)
(　　)

IV. ソーシャルサポート（友達や家族による支え）についておたずねします。

1. あなたは困った時支えてくれる友達がカナダにいますか。 1 はい 2 いいえ

2. その様な親しい友達を何人持っていますか。＿＿＿＿＿＿人

3. 次の枠内に2で上げた友達の5人までをあてはめ、a. 友達と出会った場所（例；英語学校、趣味の教室、日系会等） b. それらの友達の背景（日本人、カナダ人、日本人以外の移住者）c. 友達と会ったり話す頻度（少なくとも週に1回、少なくとも月に1回、少なくも年に1回）を記入して下さい。

友達	a 友達と出会った場所（書込み）	b 友達の背景（○付け） 日本人	カナダ人	その他	c 会ったり話す頻度（○付け） 少なくとも週1回	月1回	年1回
1の友達	＿＿＿＿＿＿	1	2	3	W	M	Y
2の友達	＿＿＿＿＿＿	1	2	3	W	M	Y
3の友達	＿＿＿＿＿＿	1	2	3	W	M	Y
4の友達	＿＿＿＿＿＿	1	2	3	W	M	Y
5の友達	＿＿＿＿＿＿	1	2	3	W	M	Y

V．以下の文章があなたの状況に合うかどうかを次から選んで下さい：1　全然合致しない、2　合致しない　3　あまり合致しない、4　何ともいえない、　5　やや合致する　6　合致する　7　全く合致する

	全然合致しない						全く合致	不該当
1　病気をしたら見舞に来てくれたり、薬や食事を持ってきてくれる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2　私の近くには、日本料理の材料の工夫や購入の方法について教えてくれる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3　足のない時車を借りたりピックアップしてとたのめる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4　引越しの時には手伝ってくれる人がいると思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5　もしパーティをわたしの家で計画したら、準備を手伝ってくれる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6　病気をして治療のため通院が必要だったら、車で送ってくれる人がいると思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7　私には活動（コミュニティ、日系関係、趣味等）を共にする仲間がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8　私には定期的に連絡を取合う友達がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9　私には、私のことを気ずかって電話をくれたり慰めてくれる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10　私は定期的に集まるグループのメンバーである。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11　もし週末にマージャンやパーティーを計画したら招く人はすぐに思い浮かぶ。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12　私の所には人が週日や週末にしばしば訪ねてくる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13　私にはカナダでの生活適応のストレスについて気兼ねなく話せる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14　もし夫とひどい口論をしたとしても訪ねて行って相談できる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
15　子育ての悩みについて安心して話せる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
16　私は何か悩みがあったらそれを心の中にしまっておかず、話せる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
17　私には、結婚問題や男女関係の問題について話せる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
18　私には子供との葛藤について話したりアドバイスを受けられる人がいる。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
19　友達の多くは私を魅力的だと思っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
20　私は友達の多くと比べてより社交的だ。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
21　友達は私のことをこの国に来て成功した人の一人だと考えている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
22　友達は私を努力家だと思っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
23　友達は、私のことを話し上手聞き上手と思っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
24　私は友達の多くよりも幸せで満足している。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

5． 深刻な問題が起こったり気持ちが落込んだりした時御主人以外のだれに相談しますか。３人上げて下さい。例：女の友達、男の友達、日本の姉、カウンセラー、牧師、主人以外になし等

1＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿ 2＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿ 3＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

6ａ．ご主人に深刻な問題や悩みを話しますか。 1 全然話さない 2 話さない
3 あまり話さない 4 どちらでもない 5 たまに話す 6 話す 7 いつも話す 8 不該当

ｂ．ご主人が相談相手として不適当な問題は？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

7ａ．あなたは時に専門家の助けを得たいと思うような問題に遭遇しますか。1 はい 2 いいえ

ｂ．どんな問題ですか。＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

VI. あなたは下記のように感じた日が先週１週間の内どれだけありましたか。１から４の内から選んで下下さい。1 ほとんどなし(1日以内) 2 たまに（1-2日）3 時々（3-4 日）4 たびたび(5−7 日）

		(1日以内)	(1-2日)	(3-4日)	(5-7日)
1．	いつもなら気にならないことが妙に気になった。	1	2	3	4
2．	食欲がなかった。	1	2	3	4
3．	家族や友人が助けてくれても落込んだ気分から抜け出せなかった。	1	2	3	4
4．	自分はほかの人と同じ位にすぐれていると思った。	1	2	3	4
5．	集中力がなかった。	1	2	3	4
6．	落込んだ気分だった。	1	2	3	4
7．	すること全てが骨折りだと感じた。	1	2	3	4
8．	将来に希望が持てると感じた。	1	2	3	4
9．	私のこれまでの人生は失敗だと思った。	1	2	3	4
10.	恐怖を感じた。	1	2	3	4
11.	ぐっすり眠れなかった。	1	2	3	4
12.	幸せだと感じた。	1	2	3	4
13.	いつもより無口だった。	1	2	3	4
14.	寂しいと感じた。	1	2	3	4
15.	友達が親しみを持って接してくれなかった。	1	2	3	4
16.	人生が楽しいと感じた。	1	2	3	4
17	泣けてしかたがなかった。	1	2	3	4
18.	悲しいと感じた。	1	2	3	4
19.	私は人々から嫌われていると感じた。	1	2	3	4
20.	家事や仕事に取掛かるエネルギーが出なかった。	1	2	3	4

VII. ここでの生活の満足度についておたずねします。次の１−７の内から選んで下さい。

		全く不満	不満	少し不満	ふつう	少し満足	満足	大満足	不該当
1	カナダへの移住の決断には	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2	カナダで得た様々な機会に対して	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3	カナダで作った友人には	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	家族関係には	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5	結婚には満足していますか	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

以上です。御協力ありがとうございました。