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**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION
IN CHINESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN AND THEIR DAUGHTERS**

by Ting Lan Chin

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACTAN INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION IN
CHINESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN AND THEIR DAUGHTERS

by

Ting Lan Chin

Advisor: Professor Diana Diamond

There is little research that studies the psychological effects of political persecution experienced by Chinese before immigrating to the United States and the possible transmission of trauma to the second generation. This study includes interviews of Chinese immigrant women who fled China because of the Communist takeover, describing their memories of that time period and how they have integrated their experiences. It also includes interviews with daughters of these Chinese immigrant women to determine to what extent the trauma of the years of upheaval affected the next generation.

The main hypothesis of this study is that a mother's ability to manage her own negative affective states is directly related to her ability to regulate her daughter's negative affective states as well and to help her daughter to learn how to self regulate. The quantitative measures in the study include the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire, the Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale, and the Differentiation-Relatedness Scale. In the quantitative findings there is a significant relationship between the mother's self regulatory functioning and the daughter's self regulatory functioning. Where a mother is able to articulate, in her interview, a detailed, multi-layered depiction of the trauma she experienced in China not only in factual detail but also to express clearly how she and her

family and friends were affected emotionally by the traumatic experience, her daughter is also likely to describe her own childhood experiences in as rich and detailed a fashion, which manifests as a high EARS score for both mother and daughter. This study also includes a qualitative exploration of the following topics: experiences associated with political and economic turmoil, difficulties of immigration and acculturation, familial communication patterns and separation-individuation.

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to delineate the psychological effects of political persecution experienced by Chinese before immigrating to the United States, and the transmission of trauma to the second generation. In this study, I will interview Chinese immigrant women who fled China because of the Communist takeover to explore their memories of that time period and how they have integrated their experiences. I will also interview daughters of such Chinese immigrant women, to determine to what extent the trauma of the years of upheaval affected the next generation.

This question is particularly interesting in the Chinese context because most Chinese immigrants do not discuss these experiences with other people, particularly their children, many believing that it is better to leave painful memories behind them and forget about them. Many second generation Chinese-Americans are unaware of the past experiences of their parents, and there is an implicit sense not to inquire about the past. As I will discuss further, there is evidence in the literature on Holocaust survivors and their offspring indicating that even with little discussion about Holocaust experiences there is transmission of trauma to the second generation. However, there has not yet been a full study of this issue in the Chinese context.

This study is intended to explore the following topics, from the following perspective: Chinese refugees who came to this country during the Maoist years face the same potential difficulties in assimilation as the immigrants who arrived in previous decades, but they also

have a different experience in terms of trauma in their homeland. Parenting will be affected by the trauma experienced by the mother in her homeland, as well as by the fact that the child is being raised by an immigrant with different customs and language from the other children. Both of these elements may be transmitted in various different ways to the second generation.

CHAPTER II - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A General Overview. Until 1911, China was ruled by emperors; some were Chinese, and some were northern invaders, but all basically employed the same government structure. From 1911 through 1949, China was ruled by weak and corrupt republic governments. The continuing poverty of the countryside permitted the Communist party to commandeer a rural revolution. Although the revolution was born in the countryside, the incompetence and corruption of the Nationalists, and the chaos of that era, ultimately turned perhaps a majority of the people to the Communist cause (Fairbank, 1987), which ultimately led to Communist success in 1949. The history of China during its first thirty years - ruled by Mao Zedong, who had originally conceptualized the military success - was of struggle and chaos. Since the Chinese Communist Party rose to power, there have been multitudes of political campaigns in which persecution played a part (Fairbank & Reischauer, 1989).

One of Mao's initial attempts at modernization, which he named The Great Leap Forward, resulted in woefully unsuccessful rural policies, declining harvests, and, in the end, the deaths of millions of people. This was one of the earliest periods of mass mobilization against Mao's political enemies; brief periods of political liberation (such as the "Hundred Flowers" campaign) were followed by militant periods of oppression (such as the succeeding "Anti-Rightist" period).

Though power passed somewhat from Mao's hands after this failure, the power struggle simmered between Mao and his supporters and more conservative leaders (whom Mao branded as "rightists"), and ultimately exploded as a radical Maoist campaign entitled The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which closed schools and severed China from the outside world. The Cultural Revolution, as it is commonly known, lasted for nearly a decade, from 1966 to 1976, and resulted in great personal upheaval and disillusionment.

Some of the most notable elements of this decade were

- Mao's creation of a corps of youths known as "Red Guards." In early Spring 1966, Mao asked students in the cities to participate in a campaign against his party critics, and encouraged attacks on the university administration. This led to general student attacks on school authorities, and ultimately escalated until the Red Guards launched the "Destroy the Four Olds" movement, which took them out of the schools and into the streets, intended to destroy culture, ideas, customs and habits of the "exploiting classes." The Red Guards (and, later, a competing faction known as "Rebel Red Guards") destroyed traditional art, Buddhist relics and texts, and traveled through the country ransacking "bad class" homes, and temples and museums. (Siu & Stern, 1983)
- Mass Struggle. During this period, the Maoist fight against alleged "rightists" extended throughout the country, and average citizens denounced and struggled against one another.
- The "sending down" of youths. En masse, 17 million youths of China, including Red Guards, were sent to the countryside, (Siu & Stern, 1983) ostensibly to learn the simple ways of the peasantry, but perhaps in reality to punish political enemies of one faction or another.

As discussed in more detail in "Loss of Confucian Values as Structure," below, throughout these Maoist decades, including the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, average citizens resorted to distortions and lies repeatedly to prove their activism.

Still, some sincerely clung to Communist ideology out of a hope for a better life and out of fear of the widespread chaos under the previous government (Fairbank, 1987). Under

extreme duress, the self can attempt to cope by closing off and relying on constricted ideology in an effort to control the uncontrollable (Lifton, 1993). The intensive political activism required in order to conform and avoid being condemned as an "enemy of the people" necessitated a severe constriction of the self. Former aspects of the self had to be abandoned or repressed in order to follow Mao Zedong Thought. This constriction was heightened by the debunking of traditional values and the socialization of anti-humanitarian values.

This entire period signified a downward spiral of social order that disrupted the social structure of China, turned colleagues against each other and even ruptured the traditional Chinese family unit. A discussion of the political philosophy underlying these phenomena follows below.

The Concept of Self in Chinese Culture. One of the most notable aspects of the country before Communism was its long cultural history. The Chinese people shared a common culture longer than any other group on Earth, had the same style of dynastic imperial government from 221 B.C. to 1911 A.D., and during that period inhabited roughly the same area of land. For 2,000 years, perhaps the most important governing philosophy was that of Confucianism, first articulated by K'ung-fu-tzu, meaning Master K'ung (known in the West as "Confucius"), a sage who lived between 551 and 479 B.C., and later refined by others. Essentially, Confucianism was a strictly hierarchical system of moral conduct that tried to bring people to a virtuous way of life through a respect for the teachings of the wise men of elder generations, for one's own parents and older relatives, and for the Chinese emperor. (Wei-ming, 1985).

Confucianism had a major impact throughout Chinese history on family dynamics and the role of the individual within society, centered around the concept of "filial piety." Filial piety is the Confucian value of being loyal to your family and obedient and respectful to your parents and elders. The value of the whole family's needs supersedes any individual interests (and, indeed, continues beyond the grave - Chinese tradition emphasized ancestor worship). Traditionally, the son was expected to fulfill the principle role of continuing the family traditions and was relied upon to take care of family affairs. In fact, the son's primary allegiance is to his family of origin above his obligations as husband and father. In contrast, the daughter traditionally was expected to marry, becoming part of her husband's family. These traditions were observed to varying degrees, but, nonetheless, had implications on Chinese culture at many levels, and, as discussed below, sometimes affected the way a traditional Chinese individual behaved in groups beyond the family unit.

The family system in China is traditionally interconnected in terms of encouraging interdependency between and among its members, exemplified by the strong cohesiveness of the family unit, and by the fact, as discussed in more detail in the next section, that an individual's actions and identity are deemed to reflect on family honor. The Chinese familial self is supported by a *narcissistic configuration of we-self regard* which closely links a Chinese individual's sense of self-esteem to the family's status, honor and self-respect. Indeed, the Chinese familial self, as molded by centuries of Confucianism, has traditionally operated on a model of what has been described [by Roland (1996)] as *reciprocal selfobject relationships* that requires flexible boundaries between self and other, intense empathic

attunement, and a receptivity to others which includes an awareness of one's own and others' reciprocal responsibilities (Roland, 1996).

Loss of Confucian Values as Structure. In remaking China according to his own vision, Mao attempted to eliminate much of the country's cultural structure. Part of the Communist ideology held that the old ways of Confucian values needed to be dismantled because its hierarchical nature was in conflict with Maoist-Communist egalitarianism (Fairbank, 1987). In other words, the Communist government attempted to shift the individual's loyalty from the family to the state (Kinkead, 1992). Though it was ultimately impossible to eliminate such ingrained and deeply felt traditions, the attempt itself had a significant impact on its people, who found the cultural basis of the last few thousand years ruptured seemingly overnight. Mao's philosophy differed from Confucianism in that it defied the notion of hierarchical society, and Mao's governance in general was dedicated to eliminating old cultural notions. His "Four Olds" campaign was intended to eradicate old ideas, habits, customs and culture. The "Three Antis" campaign was directed against officials, while the "Five Antis" campaign attacked businesspersons and bourgeoisie. In an effort to do this, many policies were geared toward undoing the traditionally strong family structure, with negative ramifications on both a social order level and a personal identity level. Where Confucianism would have put loyalty to family above all or most other virtues, Mao made a hero of a little boy who turned his parents in to the state. Many of his policies as carried out required sons and daughters to turn on their parents, spouses to turn on each other. Furthermore, the sudden starts and stops of

his style of governance created vast uncertainty and ultimately chaos, which is an important element to any psychological study of Chinese immigrants and refugees.

Mao's new social construct and philosophy was not capable of fulfilling all the functions of the formerly entrenched Chinese value system. The devaluation of the traditional ways, to the extent it succeeded, led to a void in which human malice and aggression found rich soil in which to flourish unchecked. Many lost the traditional sense of self and relationships to others and were left searching for a new formation of the self and relationships.

Lifton has noted that when change of this magnitude is too rapid, it impairs the internalization of symbol systems having to do with the most wide reaching aspects of society, such as family, religion, and political authority (Lifton, 1993). It may be further extrapolated that, as a result, individuals feel a schism between how they experience themselves and how society expects them to be, which can lead to feeling separation or fragmentation.

Qiu Yehuang, one of the interviewees who discusses personal experiences during the Cultural Revolution in Enemies of the People (Thurston, 1987), considered the costs of debunking Confucianism. On the one hand, Confucianism advocated discrimination against women and a notion of filial piety that requires children not to question parents even when they are wrong. The positive aspects of Confucianism include emphasizing loyalty, honesty, and respect for others. Qiu speculated that once Confucianism was officially discredited, many Chinese no longer taught or adhered to even the more positive aspects of Confucianism, which contributed to the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, creating a general sense in the Chinese population of dislocation and loss of humanitarianism, connection, and integrity.

Narratives depicting the period support the view that the structure of Confucian thought was dismantled but not replaced with a new sufficient structure, thus leaving a fragmented social fabric (Jicai, 1991; Thurston, 1987). For example, many women were taken from the protection of the family structure and sent to the countryside to work. This policy was a result of Maoist emphasis on the individual as an activist who needs to be reeducated by the proletariat. Activism took precedence over the former familial and filial piety expectations. These women were more vulnerable without a family network to impose sanctions against wrongdoing.

The breakdown of traditional Confucian authority is exemplified dramatically in the training and behavior of Mao's dreaded Red Guards, who were discussed above, and who used shame as a political tool against their teachers and other authorities, initially to advance Mao's policies. (Xinxin & Ye, 1987). This process took several steps. First, while still in school, Red Guard youths learned to dissociate their true feelings in order to comply with the rigid conformity their teachers required of them. The combination of dissociation and being immersed in an institutional culture of such opportunistic deception generated a numbness to the plight of others, which led to the sort of unchecked avarice and ambition that could culminate in atrocities such as those committed during the years of the Cultural Revolution. Students, in stiff competition to be activists, eventually even turned on their own teachers, whom they began to target and denounce. The more severe the accusation, the more militantly activist the accuser seemed to others. Students felt pressure to fabricate or distort facts about teachers in order to create new counterrevolutionary actions, to root out "ghosts"

and "demons" (Chan, 1985). Teachers also served as scapegoats for frustrations the students had felt under the oppressive educational program.

One middle-class student recalled when party cadre work teams were sent to educational institutes to control the struggle campaign:

The work team organized orderly struggle meetings and discussions, but we were all tired of doing that every day - digging up dirt and making accusations against the 'ghosts and demons'. They entirely ran out of new things after a while. So the work team organized study classes, to discuss why there was this feeling of having nothing more to write about. The conclusion was that our class feelings were not deep enough. They said that we should intensify our class feelings and never let up on the class enemies. They made you wrack your brains thinking up new counterrevolutionary statements and acts to tag teachers with. It was meaningless; the exercise had no passion to it. Of course, the red-class students were enjoying themselves very much. Every single thing was to their advantage. What they were doing was in reality sinister and perverted. The only thing they did was to dream up accusations to work on (Chan, 1985 p.129-130).

The teachings that class feelings transcended all humanitarian feelings and that class enemies should never be shown any sympathy was prevalent throughout the educational program. This dissociation between ideology and humanitarianism made it easy for people to numb themselves to the pain of their victims of persecution.

The breakdown of Confucianism led to the breakdown of the family, and to the destruction of traditional means of protecting the individual, which was a major component in the widespread chaos. For example, in Jicai's book of oral histories, Voices from the Whirlwind (1991), one man told of his sister's experiences during the Cultural Revolution. She was sent to the countryside and, without the traditional family structure to protect her, when she was fifteen years old she was raped by the bookkeeper. The bookkeeper was never punished, which the narrator attributes to the fact that bookkeepers control the finances. The

sister after being transferred to her brother's area continued to be very distraught to such a degree that she lost weight, and she screamed and cried in her sleep. She was ostracized because rumors spread that she had questionable morals; people viewed her transfer as evidence that she had done something wrong. Her problems lasted for two to three years before the rumors abated.

When the narrator later worked in the Department of Organization and was responsible for discipline and policy implementation, he investigated many cases of rape, although he believed that many women remained silent about such experiences. In one of his cases, the woman did not admit she was raped when her case was reopened for investigation because she did not want to ruin her college career (Jicai, 1991).

In another oral history, a cadre spoke of how his father's family and his maternal aunt's family lived together in spite of the animosity between his father and his aunt (Jicai, 1991). His father warned the family to watch what they said in public, and the aunt then wrote an anonymous letter to the father's work unit claiming that he had said there was no freedom of speech, which led to his father's banishment to the countryside to do manual labor.

Indeed, it was commonplace in the Cultural Revolution for family members to turn in other family members for fabricated or distorted reasons because of old personal grievances and resentments. Within the constraints of an old, traditional cohesive family network in a small village, where, before 1949, it was most important to uphold family unity, there would have previously been familial and social pressure not to behave in such a way and punishments for doing so.

Some individuals abandoned family members who were under attack as if there were a contagion effect, and they would be attacked as a class enemy simply by association with the accused family member. This belief was not without merit because whole families were punished for one person's status or actions. Some people would try to counter the contagion by joining in with the attackers against the family members in order to save themselves. The social fabric and level of human connectedness were so damaged during the Cultural Revolution that people were numbed to the plight of abandoned, little children. In many cases, relatives turned away children whose parents were taken away to the cowshed or reeducation camps for fear of also being attacked. A generation of children was left to fend for themselves as if they were orphans because people were too afraid to help. The abandoned boys from these families often formed gangs and engaged in mischievous or criminal behavior until they were eventually picked up and put into "study classes" which were more akin to prisons (Thurston, 1987).

Another example of how the Cultural Revolution destroyed genuine family unity was spouses and children of individuals under attack being pressured from cadres to "draw a clear line of demarcation" from the family member to avoid implication. Women were more often in this position, and they would sometimes agree to do so against their own wishes in order to protect their children from being attacked (Thurston, 1987).

In many ways, the most dominant element in the Chinese citizen's life was no longer his family; now, he answered first to the Communist Party and, more immediately, to his work unit and team leader. In these work units, a "comrade" could easily become a persecutor and tormentor, and, to achieve their own goals, and consolidate their own power, "comrades"

were often willing to get rid of those in immediate power and replace them through accusations of counterrevolutionary beliefs or activities. An ex-cadre in charge of production recounted how he was a novice at his job because he did not know about "greasing palms." He inadvertently alienated his workers by sticking to the rules too much. When the Cultural Revolution began, he made a mistake on a poster, and he was immediately attacked. His tormentors were his workers seeking revenge (Jicai, 1991).

Shame as Political Tool. As part of my investigation, I will pay close attention to the effects of shame used as a political tool. My reference to "shame" for these purposes is in the context of a cultural Chinese norm. The Western, psychological definition of "shame," is discussed by Michael Lewis in the following perspective:

Shame is related to guilt, pride and hubris.... Shame bears on narcissism; indeed, the narcissistic personality is the personality of the shamed.... Shame guides us into depression or antisocial behavior... Responses to shame can be varied: anger, depression, or withdrawal. (Lewis, 1992).

The Chinese concept of "shame" is related to the Western concept. The Chinese concept, however, is more generalized and arguably less generally damaging, and can have positive results in its intricate interplay with what is referred to in everyday Chinese "lingo" as "face," and which is used traditionally in Chinese society, and in Chinese families, to control behavior. (Uba, 1994; Hong & Chiu, 1991). Indeed, it is incorporated into the social fabric of Chinese society itself:

Face has been defined as 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' Face is a concept which has universal applicability and significance, but it may be argued that it has particular salience for the Chinese. One could perhaps relate this salience to the

greater collectivism of Chinese cultures and to the greater focus on 'shame' as a method of social control (Kirkbride, Tang & Westwood, 1991, citing Goffman, 1955).

The importance of "face" has been noted not only by sociologists, but also in popular writing (Salzman, 1986).

From the historical writing, it is clear that the Chinese Communist leadership and those implementing their policies used this traditionally Chinese sense of "shame" as a political tool. By making their enemies lose "face," they eliminated the power that those enemies might believe themselves to possess. The Chinese citizen robbed of "face" was deflated in his own eyes. Furthermore, the Chinese version of shame is family-wide - the shame of the father is the shame of the family, and the shame of the wife is the shame of the husband. Shaming the *relative* of an enemy was therefore also a political tool used in Maoist China (Thurston, 1987).

Michael Lewis (1992) described how shame might underlie much of the violence seen in society, also playing a big role in dissociative processes, child abuse, and effects of racism. Shame, Lewis wrote, is produced by self blame following an important failure of the self, which when left unacknowledged can be substituted with anger or more maladaptive rage because the self has suffered an injury. Chronic exposure to shaming experiences heightens the levels of maladaptive substitutions, creating a spiral effect that necessarily influences sense of self and interpersonal interactions.

The Chinese leadership and its followers imposed a political atmosphere in which average citizens engaged in "struggle sessions" which were designed by Mao and his colleagues to root out "class enemies" from the roots of society. In these sessions, the

leadership, assisted by average Chinese citizens who might have been ideologically driven, or might have actually sought to protect themselves by currying favor with the leadership, created an atmosphere in which prolonged periods of shame were imposed upon people chosen to be punished as "class enemies" as a furtherance of the stated goals of Mao's revolution. These sessions often resulted in acts of violence directed at those individuals, who were frequently little more than convenient scapegoats. Over the years, many average Chinese found themselves redefined as "class enemies." The constant fluctuations in who was so defined, and the institutionalized pressure for denunciations, perpetuated the atmosphere of shame, distrust, and constriction of the self.

This prevalent, institutionalized shaming also, I believe, affected the intergenerational transmission of these memories. For a Chinese woman to discuss this with her daughter requires the revisiting of her shame. The absence of these recollections might affect the daughter, who does not know much of her mother's past history. On the other hand, the silence might speak for itself - the daughter may believe there is something in her mother's history that makes the mother ashamed. Might this "shame" be transmitted to the daughter?

This potential transmission of shame is one of the factors that I will seek to measure in my study. The methods for measuring this phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the "Methods" section, below.

EFFECTS OF TRAUMA

Overview. When an average Chinese citizen witnessed the political upheaval described above, she feared for her own well-being and position in the Party as well as her family. People had

to cope with the dispersal of family members and the loss of family members who were taken away for reeducation or killed. Those who decided to emigrate had to contend with the anxieties associated with leaving their homeland, the loss of family members and friends who chose not to emigrate, and adjusting to an unfamiliar country and culture.

Any of these experiences might be traumatic and create lasting negative psychological states. For example, refugees sometimes exhibit guilt for leaving other people and aggressiveness from displaced guilt onto others (Uba, 1994). The traumatic events that precede fleeing generally involve threats of violence, which incur feelings of helplessness and fear. Finally, dimensions of traumatic events may include threat to life and limb, severe physical harm or injury, receipt of intentional injury or harm, exposure to the grotesque, violent or sudden loss of a loved one, witnessing or learning of violence to a loved one, learning of exposure to a noxious agent, and causing death or severe harm to another person (Green, 1993).

During traumatic episodes, individuals have an acute physical response in which the sympathetic nervous system is aroused (Herman, 1992). In this state, the individual is fearful, angry, alert, highly attentive, and ready to react to the threat. As traumatic episodes extend into a perpetual inescapable threatening situation, the initial nervous system response becomes overwhelming and disorganizing, which may persist long after the danger has passed but in an altered and fragmented form disconnected from the original source.

In some extreme cases, such fragmentation manifests itself as dissociation in posttraumatic stress disorder, the symptoms of which can be organized into three categories: hyperarousal, intrusion and constriction (Herman, 1992). "Hyperarousal" refers to the

appearance of generalized anxiety in individuals and an elevated baseline of physical arousal. "Intrusion" reflects fixated thoughts on trauma. Part of the power of these thoughts is a result of the preverbal nature of the experiences and their indelible imprint in the form of sensations and images. The nature of the traumatic memories may be a function of changes in the central nervous system (Pitman, 1989). High levels of adrenaline and stress hormones may cause memory traces to be deeply imprinted. The individual constantly relives the trauma with these fixated thoughts in an attempt to master the situation and complete the healing process.

"Constriction" occurs when the individual escapes these fixated thoughts by entering an altered state of consciousness. They dissociate the traumatic experience and numb themselves to all the fear and anxiety. This constriction pervades not only their thoughts and memories but also the scope of their lives in terms of action and initiative. There tends to be an oscillating pattern between intrusion and constriction. The amount of intrusive thoughts diminishes over time and constrictive symptoms become dominant. The symptoms become so removed from the original experience that they may appear to be characteristics of an individual's personality.

Herman (1992) contends that people suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder continue to have a sense of disconnection and alienation that permeate their relationships. The trauma damages their sense of self and others. Developmental conflicts are reactivated leaving the person open to shame, guilt, inferiority and doubt. These feelings compel individuals alternately to withdraw from intimacy with others and to seek solace desperately. This pattern is inevitably conducive to unstable relationships that make it even more difficult for the individual to heal and rework their conflicts. As Purcell (1996) has written:

The tonus of well-being and security that is necessary for normal day-to-day functioning is built upon the experience of being with the magically potent and nurturant parent, and is sustained in the parent's absence by the internalized parental object, the ghost of the missing parent. The traumatic event pierces that tonus, and in so doing abridges the magical security derived from early relatedness. It is as if our early primary objects and their symbolic analogues have failed us, and there may ensue in the adult [posttraumatic-stress-disorder] victim a surprising and seemingly irrational anger at significant others, a sense of disappointment in family and friends that is often suppressed because the victim himself regards it as irrational and shameful.

The prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder in the North American general population is significant. In a review of studies by Briere (1997), there was evidence that 7% to 12% of Americans have had posttraumatic stress disorder at some point in their lifetimes (e.g., Breslau, Davis, Andreski, & Peterson, 1991; Kessler, Sonnega, Bromet, Hughes, & Nelson, 1995; Norris, 1992). Although studies with apparently less sensitive methodologies or assessment instruments indicate rates as low as 1% (e.g., Davidson & Foa, 1991; Helzer, Robins, & McEvoy, 1987). Most studies suggest a pattern of gender difference; women are approximately twice as likely to have signs of posttraumatic stress disorder as men are (Briere, 1997). According to the National Vietnam Veteran's Readjustment Study, the lifetime prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder in Vietnam veterans is 30%, with 15.2% currently diagnosed with posttraumatic stress disorder (Kulka, Schlenger, Fairbank, Hough, Jordan, Marmar, & Weiss, 1990).

Whereas posttraumatic stress disorder is potentially a more severe reaction to trauma, the study of posttraumatic stress goes beyond just examining this phenomenon. Posttraumatic stress is directly associated with acute stress disorder, dissociative disorders, brief psychotic

disorder with marked stressors, and is likely related to a vast array of other disorders (Everly, 1995).

History of the Trauma Concept. Although Freud's earliest formulations were of neuroses as manifestations of traumatic experiences during childhood development, in a subsequent revision he theorized that traumatic memories originated instead from childhood fantasies and distortions of childhood events (Wilson, 1995). Thus, Freud's later writings (1920) postulated that trauma occurs when the intensity of external stimuli exceeds the threshold at which the stimulus barrier is overwhelmed, resulting in a surge of unmanageable impulses and disorganization in the aftermath to the failure of modulation. This definition leaves unanswered whether there is a difference between infantile and adult trauma, and whether trauma from infantile conflicts differs from trauma from catastrophic stressors (Brett, 1993).

From his later observations of the repetitive return of traumatic material in nightmares of World War I soldiers, Freud extended his stimulus barrier concept and developed his repetition and defense model of trauma, which observed that the overwhelming of the barrier might lead to a regression and the use of the primitive defense repetition compulsion (Freud, 1939). The individual tries to master the trauma by reexperiencing it in the hopes of not being overwhelmed again.

Kardiner offered an extreme position in opposition to Freud's classical model and, instead, emphasized that pathogenesis arises primarily from the nature of the traumatic event itself and the individual's difficulty with coping with it (Kardiner & Spiegel, 1947; Brett, 1993). It is only in the aftermath of the trauma and its psychic damage that associations are

made to infantile conflicts. Based on his work with World War I soldiers who suffered from combat neurosis, Kardiner was the first to describe the clinical outline for posttraumatic stress disorder, as it is diagnosed today, and proposed that the symptoms are the result of a chronic arousal of the autonomic nervous system (Herman, 1992).

Krystal was critical of Freud's economic stimulus barrier model because of its inability to explain how individuals decide that they are helpless in a situation and how they experience this helplessness (Krystal, 1985; Brett, 1993). Krystal described affective development as a process of affects being increasingly desomatized and verbalized, which allows them to serve as signals of danger. Infantile trauma occurs when an infant is overwhelmed by excessively high levels of intense affects. Adult trauma occurs when affects signal a sense of helplessness from being unable to avoid a danger and there is an effort to block the affects to prevent being overwhelmed by unbearable levels of emotion. This constriction of affect progresses to inhibiting all cognitive functioning, called catatonoid reaction, and has the potential to escalate to life threatening levels. Although there is impairment in tolerating and managing affects, there is successful prevention of a further regression to more primitive, infantile states.

Persecution Literature. In the specifically Chinese context, the traumatic events of political persecution may have lasting effects on some individuals. Although the degree and nature of trauma's effect on an individual are influenced by the presence of traumatic stressors, including but not limited to age, position in Chinese society, level of education, economic losses, exposure to destruction and violence, separation and loss of significant others, and their circumstances upon arrival in America (Lee & Lu, 1989).

Furthermore, a Chinese immigrant's scope of adaptation to American life may be constricted because of her traumatic experiences in her homeland and this may be evident in the depth of relationships with close family members, including daughters. Moreover, any permanent disruptions of affect regulation in the form of hyperarousal will affect the first generation's ability to perceive accurately interactions with others and would influence their responses to others. More specifically, they may have difficulty in meeting caretaking demands which would directly affect their children's resolution of developmental conflicts.

Although there have been first person accounts of the traumatic experiences of Chinese under the Chinese Communist Party, there has not been much focus on the intergenerational effects of these experiences. Since there has been more literature exploring the effects of trauma intergenerationally in Holocaust survivors and their children, this literature will be reviewed here. Underneath the variations in experiences of different persecuted groups, there is a commonality of human experience in suffering in overwhelmingly dangerous situations. In each of the following areas, I will examine first the general topic, then the Holocaust literature on that topic, and then finally I will discuss possible areas of similarity and delineation in the Chinese intergenerational context.

The sections that follow below explore the following topics:

- * *Communication Patterns*
- * *Identification with Unresolved Mourning.*
- * *Sense of Unsafe World and Isolation.*
- * *Socialization Processes*
- * *Use of Daughter as Self-Object*

- * *Affectivity*
- * *Separation-Individuation Difficulties*

Communication Patterns. There are various theories on the vehicle for transmission of trauma. One perspective emphasizes the process of identification with the parent. This may involve pathological identification with the parent and a reenactment of aspects of the parent's experience (Mor, 1990; Klein & Kogan, 1986; Freyberg, 1980). Some offspring take a step further and attempt to rectify wrongs made against their parents.

Some clinicians focus on the impairment of parenting skills as a possible means of transmitting trauma. Experiences of trauma may have lasting effects on self regulatory functioning which may culminate in psychopathology in both generations. Depression in parents has been widely found to contribute to symptomatology in children of Holocaust survivors (Shoshan, 1989). High levels of anxiety or preoccupation with their own emotions have been found to interfere in parents' ability to parent sensitively (Mor, 1990).

An important variable that influences the transmission process is the manner in which parents communicate these experiences to their children. The level of communication within families about these experiences varies greatly across a continuum. Indirect, experiential (nonverbal) and guilt-inducing communication about Holocaust experiences by survivor parents to their children has been found by one study to be related to anxiety, paranoia, hypochondriasis and low ego strength in the children of the survivors. In that study, the mothers played a particularly significant negative role in transmitting a sense of victimization in the recounting of their experiences, while the fathers' factual style of retelling experiences

tended to portray an image of the fighter, which had a positive effect in the children (Lichtman, 1984).

A compelling part of the experience that some children of Holocaust survivors have is a sense of trapped silence in which the traumatic past cannot be spoken about for fear of hurting their parents more (Fresco, 1984). There forms an implicit agreement of silence in which the children do not ask and the parents do not explain. Children of survivors are at times drawn to discover what is hidden and look through their parents belongings for answers, and, at other times, they need to forget what they have learned and ignore the pain of the past. They inherit a fear of that which they have not experienced themselves. This fear sometimes translates into a need to hide their Jewish heritage. The silence not only masks the pains of the Holocaust but also envelops the past before the destruction of the war. "One remembers only that one remembers nothing" (Fresco, 1984).

Communication in Chinese family relationships tend to be more nonverbal than Western counterparts, as Uba writes,

Asian American values emphasize anticipating the needs of others so that those people do not have to verbally express what they need, and can thereby avoid seeming demanding or selfish. Asian American children learn to be ashamed of themselves when they are not insightful. Members of Asian American families may verbally communicate less than members of other families verbally communicate, because the former are more adept at perceiving the needs of others. (Uba, 1994, pg. 35, citing Toupin, 1980).

For Chinese American immigrants and their families there may also be a conspiracy of silence about experiences in the past while living in China. There may have been nonverbal communication in the Chinese families that experiences in China were traumatic. Such communication might take the form of gestures, facial expressions, intonations and speech

volume (Uba, 1994). The children might realize that their parents' history before immigration is a topic they are encouraged to avoid.

This silence may also be accentuated by a language barrier and the differences from the daughters being raised in American culture (Uba, 1994). The Chinese daughters may not have exposure and knowledge through the educational system, since recent Chinese history is often not explored in the school system. This lack of information may compound the past's status as an unmentionable subject.

Identification with Unresolved Mourning. The term “unresolved mourning” is used herein to refer to the phenomenon wherein an individual finds the loss of loved ones so painful that he tries to repress such feelings, which results in those feelings lingering and never being sufficiently resolved. This can occur in all loss situations, and is a notable pattern among Holocaust survivors.

Shoshan (1989) writes of the unresolved mourning of the Holocaust survivors that is frozen in incomplete form. The central issue in psychotherapy of survivors is identification with the dead appearing in the form of pathological mourning and depression (Klein & Kogan, 1986; Fogelman, 1988). They throw themselves into thinking about the future of their children and saving the Jewish legacy.

The avoidance of mourning is transmitted to the children of Holocaust survivors by means of projective identification (Klein & Kogan, 1986). The second generation children internalize their parents' sadness and excessive concern about the unsafeness of the world or their emotional absence. They are acutely sensitive to their parents' moods and seem to take

on their parents' continuous mourning in the form of inborn nostalgia that is very similar to a depressive state. However, this inborn nostalgia is for something they have never known. In the "conspiracy of silence" of the family, the second generation does not learn many of the painful or happy memories of their parents. This nostalgia causes them to be increasingly interested in family history and their culture.

Clearly, because the Chinese traumas were not in the racial context, Chinese parents would not be concerned with saving the Chinese race from extinction. On the other hand, there are different and very specific Chinese traditions in dealing with the death of loved ones, in the form of ancestor worship. In this tradition, the deceased is viewed in a specific physical plane, in need of money and food, and able to affect the lives of his/her descendants for the better or for the worse. In many ways, this view of death might eliminate ambiguities found in other cultures. How this affects unresolved mourning – whether it would make its occurrence more or less common – is something that my dissertation might explore, where relevant.

Sense of Unsafe World and Isolation. Victims of political trauma in some cases have the custom of withdrawing from the world at large, and congregating with others like them; this might pass on to their children the view that the world itself is a dangerous place, increasing the sense of isolation of both parent and child.

Winik (1988) describes how Holocaust survivors have tremendous expectations of their children, and the children are very aware of this great pressure to excel. They feel apart from and different from their "carefree" peers because of their European Jewish heritage.

Children sense something dangerous about being Jewish and that the world is a dangerous place to be in. The parents are often wary of others and congregate with other Jewish people. They are overprotective of their children which accentuates the continuous fear they feel. In such a close-knit family environment in which there is such a reliance on the children and an avoidance of causing any more pain, when the children become angry with their parents, this emotion causes anxiety and guilt.

Children of Holocaust survivors perceive their parents as discouraging independence, assertive behavior and self-sufficiency in decision-making (Rose & Garske, 1987). Emotional expressions and direct communications of thoughts and feelings are not encouraged. The parents place a strong emphasis on moral and religious values.

On the other hand, personality factors, like high achievement and strong moral and religious values, which are often attributed to children of Holocaust survivors may be more related to their being children of immigrants rather than children of Holocaust survivors.

With respect to Chinese immigrants, the racial aspect is missing, and the Chinese community itself may be a place of divided loyalties. For example, in the Chinese community, some immigrants remain loyal to the Communist Party, while others are allied with family members who fiercely oppose the Party (Kinhead, 1992). Therefore, it may be surmised that Chinese survivors of political trauma do not necessarily feel safe or secure simply congregating with others of their own race. How this plays out with respect to intergenerational effects is an interesting question worth exploring.

Socialization Processes. The second generation - the children of survivors of political trauma - may have difficulty handling aggression and may consequently turn anger and aggression inwards.

One study concerning this topic is Nadler, Kav-Venaki and Gleitman (1985). They make the assumption that the experience of the Holocaust has also affected the socialization process of the second generation, which influences the second generation's attitudes toward themselves and the world they live in. Children of survivors show less externalization of aggression than a control group whose parents were in Israel during World War II and did not suffer directly. This repression of aggression is associated with guilt, depression, unexpressed anger and general passivity. Children of Holocaust survivors also have a general anxiety which reflects a sense of approaching disaster. Nadler et al. (1985) emphasize that their parents' experiences affect the psychological makeup of the second generation, but this does not indicate a correlation with the development of psychopathology.

I am unaware of any literature describing the extent to which such phenomena occur in the Chinese second generation.

Use of Daughter as Self Object. In some parent/child relationships, the parent may attempt to fulfill her narcissistic needs through her child, or may want the child to accomplish in her own life things that the parent was unable to accomplish in hers. Many studies have been done on this subject across the spectrum, and Holocaust survivor studies often examine this aspect of the immigrant experience.

In one Holocaust study, many survivor mothers were obsessed with anxieties about their children's bodily intactness which was an indication of how their children came to be symbolic representations of their damaged self (Klein & Kogan, 1986). A symbiosis with the daughter by the mother may have the function of decreasing the mother's overwhelming self-destructiveness. One of the aims of therapy with children of survivors is to help differentiate between the mother's traumatic experiences and the child's infantile fantasies of destruction and loss (Klein & Kogan, 1986).

The common pattern among Chinese American immigrant families is that parents - especially the mother - will devote a substantial amount of effort to ensure her child's success (Shon & Ja, 1982). Moreover, across all Chinese culture, the continuation of the family line is of paramount importance (Uba, 1994). The success or failure of the children is deemed by the parent to reflect on her own "face" within the community, and on the honor of the family as a whole (Uba, 1994; Sung, 1987).

Traditionally, the encouragement to strive was reserved for sons, specifically the oldest son (Uba, 1994). However, success is valued for daughters as well in immigrant families to an extent not notable in traditional families in China. Thus, it is likely that a similar phenomenon may be measurable in my study of Chinese families.

Affectivity. In my study, I will measure affect regulation and affect expression. Subjects who have experienced trauma in their past have more difficulty managing negative affective states, such as anger, sadness and anxiety, than do average subjects who have not experienced

trauma. This has been noted in survivors of sexual abuse, child abuse, and has also been detected in Holocaust survivors.

Survivors of the Holocaust often experienced a psychic numbness from their experiences which resulted in withdrawal and depression in more severe cases (Lifton, 1993). Their ability to express their affect was impaired and their object relations were disturbed (Krystal, 1968).

With respect to Asian Americans, a few studies demonstrate that in non-clinical samples, American born Asians exhibit more psychological manifestations of life difficulties than European-descended counterparts do. Research on American born Chinese college students show them to be more anxious, lonelier, and less socially extroverted than the non-Asian control group (D.W. Sue & Frank, 1973; D.W. Sue & Kirk, 1972 & 1973). It is unclear whether this is an immigrant phenomenon, a second generation phenomenon, or a Chinese phenomenon, and more testing is necessary (Uba, 1994).

Separation-Individuation Difficulties. In an average mother-daughter dyad, the initial symbiotic state of the child ultimately develops in adulthood to full individuation, in which the daughter develops a sense of identity that is separate from the mother (Mahler, 1975). In some cases, this separation-individuation process can be interrupted, based on a number of factors, including but not limited to: the mother experiencing separation as threatening to the self; the mother becoming too anxiety ridden about the child's safety and well-being; or the mother's over reliance on the child for narcissistic needs (as discussed under *Use of Daughter as Self Object*, above).

The offspring of Holocaust survivors in psychotherapy were noted to show a pattern of "weak and permeable ego boundaries in otherwise reasonably well functioning individuals who have achieved some actual separation from their mothers and families" (Freyberg, 1980). They harbored an intense rage toward their parents for unmet emotional needs and showed boundary blurring when these extreme affects were heightened.

Such blurring of ego boundaries has been related to difficulties in the rapprochement subphase of the separation-individuation process (Mahler, 1975). The survivor mother may have difficulty responding effectively to the child's needs, which may affect the child's ability to separate and become autonomous from the mother. Furthermore, her child's move toward separateness may also be threatening to a mother who experiences it as a loss. This feeling of loss may in turn activate her unresolved feelings of loss for those killed. The child subsequently reacts to the mother's emotional unavailability with a sense of abandonment. Through regressive identification with the mother, the child gains gratification, but this will ultimately impede development of a sense of self. As Green (1993) has noted in a broader context, if a mother has been left feeling chronically empty and depressed after a traumatic experience, she may neglect or not be emotionally available to her child, who may consequently try to cling to her out of a fear of abandonment. If this emotional neglect occurs frequently, the child may consequently experience repetitive loss.

From the literature, it seems that individuation is differently emphasized within the Chinese family. Chinese American mothers generally desire that their children become independent at a later age than their non-Asian counterparts (D. Sue, D.W. Sue, & D. Sue, 1983). This attitude seems intended to protect rather than smother the child (Chiu, 1987).

There is some debate in the literature on the extent of this aspect of the Chinese family. One study concludes that traditional Chinese values emphasize interdependence with the family but do not discourage other types of independence. (C-Y Lin & Fu, 1990). This conclusion is based on a study of seven-year-old Chinese Americans. Uba concludes,

Taken together, these studies suggest that Chinese American parents may be more restrictive of the independence of their children than other American parents are, particularly in social activities and, perhaps, occupational choices, but they may encourage independence in areas that facilitate academic achievement (Uba, 1994, pg. 40, citing Yao, 1985).

In the specifically Chinese context, a mother who has immigrated to America, leaving behind forever her country of birth, will likely experience feelings of loss which she may never have fully resolved, and which may in some cases impede her ability to encourage her child's separation. At any rate, any study of individuation in Chinese American families should examine and try to make sense of these cultural differences.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY

SUBJECTS

The sample consisted of 15 Chinese-American women who emigrated from mainland China between the years of 1947 and 1969. All of the 15 women immigrants eventually immigrated to the United States. Two of the women came directly to the United States. Four lived in Hong Kong before immigrating. The range of years in Hong Kong was between 6 and 20. Nine lived in Taiwan, generally for an extended amount of time (range of years: 9 to 18) prior to moving to the United States. One lived in England for 15 years. Their ages at interview ranged from 47 to 77 with a mean age of 60. Their age at first emigration ranged from three to 25 with a mean of 11 (See Table 1 for ages). The ages for when they immigrated to the United States ranged from 17 to 37 with a mean of 24 (See Table 1). The occupations of the immigrant women varied from factory work, waitress, lab work, business, health care, law, accounting, graphic design, research related fields, teaching, and independent business owners. The highest level of education reached in this group had a wide range but was predominately high; six completed graduate degrees, four completed college, two completed high school, and three had less than a high school level education.

Each of the women immigrants had a daughter interviewed as well. The daughters varied in age from 22 to 38 with a mean age of 29. With the exception of three daughters

born in either English- or Chinese- speaking third countries, all the daughters were born in the United States. The daughters' level of education was quite high; each had a college education, and seven out of 15 (46.67%) daughters had advanced graduate degrees. The daughters' occupations were diverse, including lawyers, business professionals, administrators, and homemakers.

During the process of recruitment, I found that the most prevalent and most accessible immigrants who most closely fit the required criteria had immigrated earlier than the initial immigration period I had aimed for. Many had left as the Communists were coming into power. I decided to include families who fled during the early period of the Communists taking control of China since their coping with this time of political turmoil is relevant to the focus of this study. These experiences primarily cluster around 1949, but such experiences began as early as 1947 in this sample. I also widened the scope of the criteria to include women who did not immigrate directly to the United States, since a common pattern was to immigrate to Taiwan at that time and this difference in the immigration pattern did not deflect from the desired experiences focused on in this study.

Subjects responded to flyers posted in academic settings and in Chinatown, or they contacted me after hearing about the study through word of mouth. Initial contacts were by phone or e-mail to set up the interviews. Participation in the interviews was voluntary and with written consent by the subjects (See Appendix A). Subjects received \$25 as compensation for their time at the end of the interview. Four subjects declined this payment, saying that they did not need it.

PROCEDURES

Our interviews were in locations chosen to insure the privacy of the subject during the interview, such as the subject's home, an academic interview room, or a private office.

One mother wished for her husband to be present because he had some experiences with the Communists that he considered sharing of his own initiative if there was time. We did not have sufficient time to speak to him. We conducted interviews in person unless the subject lived out of state or otherwise could not meet, in which case we conducted the interview over the phone. Twenty-seven interviews were conducted in English. Three interviews were conducted in Chinese by a clinically experienced psychology graduate student, while I was available to answer questions and monitor the process of the interview. Nearly all interviews were audio-taped, except for subjects who declined to be taped. Two of the interviews were conducted in two sessions rather than one session. One interview was shortened due to the subject's time constraints.

Following the interview, subjects described how they felt about the interview and had the opportunity to work through any distress that may have been experienced in a debriefing period. Subjects were offered the opportunity to meet with the interviewer again or speak by phone if there was further debriefing and processing of the interview experience necessary but no subjects required this. If subjects wished to have a referral for psychological services, this was available but no one requested any referrals.

The transcriptions of these interviews include verbatim transcripts of the interviews and descriptions of non-verbal behaviors evident from the tape, including tone of voice, silences, laughing, sighing, and crying. Such descriptions of non-verbal behavior can indicate shifts in affectivity throughout the narrative. The transcriptions were evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis is described extensively below. The qualitative analysis includes examination of patterns within groups for more subtle differences and trends which do not quite reach significance.

MATERIALS AND INSTRUMENTS

Mother Semi-Structured Interview

The interview began with questions about various demographic issues, including age, education, mother's occupation and the occupation of her husband. (For a full list of demographic items, see the interview questionnaire in Appendix B.) Due to the cultural reticence concerning self-revelation, these sorts of questions served as a "warm up" before more in depth questions.

The subject next gave an uninterrupted five minute speech sample description of her mother (based on Blatt, Wein, Chevron, & Quinlan, 1979). Due to cultural differences in native Chinese women, there was the possibility that she would have difficulty talking with little prompting during her speech sample. Nevertheless, the speech sample at the beginning

of the interview prevented it from being influenced by other questions in the interview. This was followed by three questions about memories of pre-immigration experiences and two questions about recent experiences, which served as projectives to be scored.

- Describe what was the worst experience for you while living in the People's Republic of China.
- Describe what was the best experience during this time.
- Describe a memory of dealing with the Communist Party.
- Describe the best experience you had in the past month.
- Describe the worst experience you had in the past month.

The semi-structured portion of the interview that followed focused on several broad categories: the circumstances of her life before immigration, experiences immigrating and in the United States after immigrating, her communication to her daughter about her past, general mother/daughter communication patterns, and separation-individuation issues (parts are based on instruments from Adelman, 1993; Diamond, 1990). Partial descriptions of these different sections are below (see Appendix B for full interviews).

Pre-Immigration Experiences

In the second stage of the interview, I explored her life in China, and her level of trauma and political persecution.

Specifically, I discussed with her:

- Her decision to immigrate to the United States, and to what extent it was influenced by the political situation in China
- The way in which her family's life changed after the Communists came into power in China, and her thoughts and feelings at that time
- Experiences dealing with the Communist Party

Life After Her Immigration

The interview went on to cover the next phase of her life. If she spent time in another country before immigrating to the United States - *i.e.*, many immigrants spent months or years in Hong Kong prior to American residency - she discussed that period as well. I asked the mother to describe:

- How it felt for her to leave her homeland
- Who immigrated with her to the United States, and who she knew here when she arrived
- How much she has remained in contact with friends and family China
- What her life was like five years after immigration

Mother and Daughter Communication about Mother's Past

In discussing her communication with her daughter, I first asked the mother to describe how much she told her daughter about her life in China, about immigration experiences, and about the nature and location of these conversations. I also explored:

- Whether the mother ever initiated discussion with her daughter about her past experiences
- Whether there was anything she wanted her daughter to know about
- Whether there was anything she felt she could not mention
- Whether the daughter ever asked about her mother's experiences

General Mother-Daughter Communication

I then explored how the mother and daughter communicated on a day-to-day basis, *apart* from examination of the mother's past experiences in China and immigration. I asked:

- Whether the relationship was open, where things were discussed and shared, or whether it was more private, on both sides of the relationship

- What sorts of discussions with her daughter make her angry, happy, or uncomfortable

Separation-Individuation Issues

In this next section, I asked the mother about issues relating to her daughter's separating from the family and becoming independent. I asked specifically about:

- Her daughter's entering school as a child
- Early childhood separations from her daughter
- Her daughter's moving away from her parent's house (if applicable)
- Her reaction to her daughter's relationships with non-family people
- Her response to her daughter's career and education
- When her daughter began to seem like her own person
- How she handled dependence versus independence
- Her encouragement of her daughter's independence
- Her husband's encouragement of her daughter's independence (if applicable)
- If her daughter ever wanted to be more independent than she wished

Daughter Semi-Structured Interview

The daughter's interview began with demographic questions and a five minute speech sample description of her mother (based on Blatt, Wein, Chevron, & Quinlan, 1979). The semi-structured portion of the interview that followed encompassed several areas: the daughter's early childhood memories (based on Mayman, 1969), recent memories, the daughter's knowledge of her mother's past, and mother/daughter general communication patterns, and separation-individuation issues (parts are based on instruments from Adelman, 1993; Diamond, 1990). Partial descriptions of these different sections are below (see Appendix C for full interviews).

The Daughter's Early Childhood Memories

I asked her to recall:

- Her earliest childhood memory
- Her next earliest memory
- Her earliest memory of her mother
- Her earliest memory of her father
- Her happiest or most special memory
- Her unhappiest or most unpleasant memory

The Daughter's Recent Experience

- Her best experience in the past month
- Her worst experience in the past month

The Daughter's Knowledge of her Mother's Past

I asked her about her knowledge of her mother's past:

- Her mother's experiences in China after the Chinese Communist Party came into power
- Her family's and her experiences dealing with the Communist Party
- Her mother's decision to immigrate to the United States, and to what extent it was influenced by the political situation in China
- How it felt for her mother to leave her homeland
- How her mother felt being in a different culture
- What her mother's life was like five years after immigration
- Whether the mother ever initiated discussion with her daughter about her past experiences
- Whether there was anything her mother wanted her to know about
- Whether there was anything she felt she could not mention
- Whether the daughter ever asked about her mother's experiences

General Mother-Daughter Communication

I then explored how the mother and daughter communicated on a day-to-day basis, *apart* from examination of the mother's past experiences in China and immigration. I asked:

- Whether the relationship was open, where things were discussed and shared, or whether it was more private, on both sides of the relationship
- What kinds of topics do they discuss

Separation-Individuation Issues

In this next section, I asked the daughter about issues relating to separating from her family and becoming independent. I asked specifically about:

- Her entering school as a child
- Early childhood separations from her parents
- Her moving away from her parent's house (if applicable)
- Her parents' reaction to her relationships with non-family people
- Her parents' response to her career and education
- When she began to feel like her own person
- How her family handled dependence versus independence
- Her mother's encouragement of her independence
- Her father's encouragement of her independence
- If she ever wanted to be more independent than her parents wished

HARVARD TRAUMA QUESTIONNAIRE (HTQ)

The HTQ is a self-report scale that was developed by Richard Mollica and colleagues (1992, 1995) as part of an effort to assess a variety of trauma events and symptoms within the Indochinese clinic population. This scale was administered after the mother's semi-structured interviews described above because the level of detailed questions about painful experiences

may have skewed the responses to the open-ended questions of the semi-structured interview and may have been too distressing if given too early in the interview session. The HTQ consists of four sections with the first having seventeen items describing a range of stressor events experienced by refugees, such as lack of food, forced separation from family, sexual abuse, murder, and torture. The subject responded to each item with whether he or she had 1) personally experienced, 2) heard about, 3) witnessed, or 4) not experienced that event. The second section has two open-ended questions calling for a personal description of the most traumatic event that the subject experienced in both her countries of origin and resettlement.

The third section includes a few questions focusing on traumatic events that may have involved injury to the head and loss of consciousness. The fourth and last section contains thirty items, sixteen of which are derived from DSM-IV criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder which fall into three dimensions: re-experiencing traumatic events, avoidance and numbing, and physiological arousal. The other fourteen items address specific aspects of distress related to traumatic life events experienced by refugees. Subjects rated how much she experienced these symptoms on a scale of 1) not at all, 2) a little, 3) quite a bit, and 4) extremely.

Reliability & Validity: Mollica et al. (1992) assessed the reliability and validity of the Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese versions of the HTQ in a sample of 91 Indochinese refugees which was composed of 34 men and 57 women. The ethnic composition of the subjects was 55 Cambodian, 20 Laotian, and 16 Vietnamese. Inter-rater reliability was .93 for

the trauma events and .98 for the trauma-related symptoms. Pearson product-moment correlations for test/retest reliability with a one week interval was .89 ($p < .0001$) for the trauma events and was .92 ($p < .0001$) for the trauma-related symptoms. Cronbach alpha coefficients were .990 for the trauma events and .96 for the trauma-related symptoms revealing internal consistency of the scale.

Criterion validity was demonstrated by the distinction between the mean scores of subjects who fell within PTSD group ($N = 65$, mean = $2.948 \pm .65$) and those in the non-PTSD group ($N = 26$, $2.23 \pm .697$). On average, the PTSD group scored significantly higher on the trauma-related symptoms than did the non-PTSD group ($t = -4.6672$, $df = 89$, $p < .0000$).

A cutoff score of 75 (or a mean score of 2.5) was found to maximize classification accuracy. The sensitivity of the HTQ for correctly classifying PTSD was found to be 78%. Specificity or the accuracy of classifying non-PTSD was 65%. The overall hit rate of the scale was 75%.

Pearson product-moment correlation showed scores on the trauma symptoms were positively correlated with scores on the trauma event checklist ($r = .53$, $p < .0001$). The Hopkins Symptom Checklist-25 was less accurate than the HTQ in identifying PTSD. Discriminant analysis demonstrated that only % of PTSD patients and 84% of non-PTSD patients were accurately classified with the HSCL-25.

The HTQ has been successfully applied to numerous settings including non-patient Cambodian refugees in the Boston area, Burmese dissidents in Thailand, and newly resettled Vietnamese prisoners of war.

SCORING

Following completion of the interviews, I utilized two scales to evaluate the raw data, the Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale (EARS - Wilson, Turner, Passik, Kuras, & Morral, 1989) and the Differentiation-Relatedness Scale of Self and Object Representations (DRS - Diamond, Blatt, Stayner, & Kaslow, 1993).

The speech sample descriptions of her mother by both the immigrant subject and the daughter subject were scored using the DRS. For scoring purposes, I pre-selected specific memories from the mother's interview and from the daughter's interview to be scored using the EARS along the dimensions of Affect Tolerance, Affect Expression, Centration-Decentration, Threats to the Self, and Defensive Operations. The EARS pre-selected memories for the mother were the following: 1) Describe a memory of yourself or your family dealing with Party Officials; 2) Describe what was the unhappiest experience for you while living in the People's Republic of China; 3) Describe what was the happiest experience during this time; 4) Describe the best experience you had in the past month; 5) Describe the worst experience you had in the past month. The pre-selected EARS memories for the daughter

were the following: 1) Describe your earliest memory; 2) Describe your happiest memory; 3) Describe your unhappiest memory; 4) Describe the best experience you had in the past month; 5) Describe the worst experience you had in the past month.

The Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale

The EARS (Wilson, Turner, Passik, Kuras & Morral, 1989) is based on psychoanalytic concepts and epigenetic principles, and is ideal for capturing the fluctuations in individual modal functioning across different types of narratives as represented in memory.

This epigenetic approach is characterized by four underlying principles:

- The predominant mode of personality organization is a result of the successive interactions between the individual and the environment
- The form of each mode of personality organization is based upon the outcome of each previous mode
- Each mode integrates the previous modes, which creates more differentiated levels of organization and regulation
- Each mode is defined by its own emergent properties

With respect to these four principles, it is also important to note that, as an individual attains more differentiated modes, he or she may regress to more archaic modes as an adaptive or maladaptive strategy.

The EARS utilizes these principles in measuring the progressive and regressive shifts in functioning that occur in response to intrapsychic and transactional factors along ten dimensions. These dimensions include the following: 1) affect tolerance; 2) affect expression;

3) personal agency; 4) centration-decentration; 5) threats to the self; 6) defenses and defensive operations; 7) empathic knowledge of others 8) use of an object; 9) adaptive needs; 10) temporality. For statistical purposes, the number of dimensions employed in this study was limited. Only the dimensions affect tolerance, affect expression, centration-decentration, threats to the self, and defensive operations were used in this study.

Affective tolerance and *affect expression* are affective dimensions. Affect tolerance is the individual's characteristic way of dealing with affect. Affect expression is the individual's capacity to integrate emotions into communications to other people. The intensity and differentiation of expressed affects are indicators of an individual's modal affective ties to objects.

The EARS also contains various dimensions measuring object representation. *Centration-decentration* is the individual's ability to gauge one's place in the world in a realistic way by having an understanding of the importance of others. *Threats to the self* is what internal and external dangers the individual perceives as threats.

Defensive operations is among the EARS dimensions that characterize ego functioning. Defensive operations modify or ward off displeasure, anxiety or any threat to the integrity of the self. Defensive modes can range from developmentally earlier action-oriented operations to more sophisticated verbal/symbolic operations.

Every one of the dimensions described above is scored along five scale points, representing five modes of personality organization. The five modes are defined specifically

for each dimension but have the following general features, as described in the instructions to the measure:

Mode 1 is to be understood as a pre-subjective period of human development. There is a limited distinction between self and other. Information is encoded in sensorimotor or action-oriented forms. The primary feeling states are pleasure and unpleasure. Over stimulation is the primary danger.

Mode 2 is understood as a transitional period between sensorimotor representation and representations encoded in imagistic forms. Others, especially significant others, are represented as "separate but attached" because they provide for basic needs, such as soothing. This leads to the other being represented in a polarized fashion -- good/bad. Intense attachment and/or extreme avoidance of others are prominent. Separation and issues of autonomy and intrusiveness are the primary danger situations.

Mode 3 is a period in which the proper positioning of the self in the object world is the superordinate developmental task. Self-enhancement and the maintaining of self-esteem are key concerns. A powerful need is the protection of these wishful illusions about one's capabilities and capacities that support and bolster one's self-esteem. Lexical representational capacities develop and with it a mature communicational ability.

Mode 4 is a period of Oedipal level conflicts. Moral anxieties and derivatives of castration fears are the main sources of threat. Intrapsychic conflict, especially around competition and self-assertion, is the principle danger. There is guilt over sexuality, but sexuality is also desired. The fears and threats of Modes 1, 2 and 3, have been successfully traversed and integrated.

Mode 5 is a period characterized by the benevolent resolution of conflict. Creativity and generativity are the basic needs. Aggression is well contained; competition is not a major threat. There is a sense of containment deriving from one's appraisal of a realistic place and role in the object world.

These modes roughly correspond to levels of personality functioning that include psychotic, borderline, narcissistic, oedipal and post-oedipal.

This scale is useful for my study, because it can demonstrate clearly the fluctuations in functioning across different arousal states between recall of unintegrated traumatic memories

and recall of non-traumatic memories. Specifically, more high arousal experiences - *i.e.*, more traumatic memories - are represented in the scale by a lower modal functioning; low arousal experiences, or non-traumatic memories, are represented by higher functioning (Wilson, Passik, & Kuras, 1989; Wilson & Passik, 1993). As subjects recall more traumatic memories that have remained unintegrated they will show a temporary regression in the narrative or regressive trends in their functioning as measured by the EARS.

Each individual's personal narrative of her experiences may be viewed as a window to her various modes of organizing experiences and emotions. A parent whose memories remain fragmented and unintegrated may find her ability to modulate negative affect compromised when affects associated to these memories are activated. When the parent does not effectively help the child to regulate negative affect, the child's self regulatory functioning may be hampered.

Reliability and Validity: In initial studies of EARS being used with TAT stories, inter-rater reliability was high, ranging from .85 to .92 (Wilson et. al., 1981), contingent upon clinical training and an understanding of the theoretical base of the instrument by the scorer. Wilson et al. (1989) demonstrated a normal sample scoring significantly higher than inpatients do across all ten dimensions and a downward shift in performance for both groups from low arousal to high arousal conditions. In a study of adolescent suicidality and conduct disorders (Feldman & Wilson, 1997), conduct disorder diagnosis was related to lower modal EARS scores. Lower modal EARS scores were associated with greater reactivity to

separation as measured by the Adolescent Separation Anxiety Test (SAT), a semi-projective measure of reactions to separation experiences.

In this study, two raters scored the five pre-selected memories using the Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale. One rater was a seasoned clinician and psychodiagnostician with a doctorate in Clinical Psychology who was blind to the specific hypotheses of the study and coded the entire sample in item-by-item randomized order. I was the other rater and had trained with Arnold Wilson, Ph.D., the principal creator of the EARS scale, in a coder training group to achieve expert rater status as well as code for other research projects. In this study, I served to establish initial reliability with the other rater. Inter-rater reliability was established separately for each of the five EARS dimensions. Criteria for reliability were 1) at least 90% of judgments were within +1 and -1 scale point and 2) a minimum of 50% exact matches. Kappa scores of significance were good or better. I monitored for drift as well during the scoring of the data with periodic inter-rater reliability checks.

Differentiation-Relatedness Scale

Based primarily on the theories of Mahler & Bergman (1975) and Kernberg (1966, 1976), the DRS is a global object relations scale for assessing the level of differentiation, integration, and relatedness of representations in open-ended descriptions of self and significant others (Diamond, Blatt, Stayner & Kaslow, 1991). The scale also incorporates Urist's (1977) conceptualization of a developmental progression toward increasing mutuality

and empathic relatedness and Stern's (1985) depiction of the development of increasingly mature modes of intersubjective relatedness. The DRS is composed of ten scale points that range from self/other boundary confusion at the more primitive levels, through various levels of separation-individuation corresponding to early differentiation, practicing/narcissism, and rapprochement, to higher levels of object constancy, identity and intersubjectivity.

Reliability & Validity: In an initial pilot study of representations of four severely impaired inpatients in long-term inpatient treatment, two judges rated 20 descriptions using this scale and reached an inter-rater reliability of .86 (Diamond, Kaslow, Coonerty, & Blatt, 1990). Inter-rater reliability of this scale was further established in an investigation (Stayner, 1994) in which five judges rated 90 descriptions of mother, father, therapist, self, and a significant other person given by seven adolescent and young adult in-patients at various times over the course of long-term treatment. Although the judges varied considerably in clinical experience and knowledge of the theoretical underpinnings of the scale, they achieved an adjusted intraclass correlation coefficient of .83. Test-retest reliability of ratings was examined by comparing ratings of descriptions of mother and self given by 10 adult, day-hospital patients over a five day period. Ratings of the differentiation-relatedness were within one point of each other for 18 of the 20 descriptions (Stayner, 1994).

In a study investigating the relations between attachment styles in young adults and the content and structure of their parental representations (Levy, Blatt & Shaver, 1993), the inter-rater reliability was greater than .75 Pearson correlation coefficient, and the scale was instrumental in distinguishing adults with secure attachment from adults with insecure

attachment. Furthermore, in another study utilizing this scale, borderline out-patients who dropped out of treatment in the Cornell Borderline Psychotherapy Research Project showed a lower level of differentiation-relatedness in their DRS scores than out-patients who completed the psychotherapy project (Horner & Diamond, 1996). In the Horner/Diamond study, subjects who continued treatment all scored at the semi-differentiation level in which rapprochement themes are prevalent. On the other hand, those who terminated treatment tended to score at the self/other idealization or denigration level which indicates a predominance of narcissistic themes.

In a study of 40 seriously disturbed in-patients (Blatt, Stayner, Auerbach, & Behrends, 1996), there was found to be a highly significant relationship between increased differentiation-relatedness in the descriptions of mother, father, therapist, and self and the degree of clinical improvement, as measured by the Global Assessment Scale (GAS – Endicott, Spitzer, Fleiss, & Cohen, 1976).

In this study, two raters previously trained and experienced with coding the Differentiation-Relatedness Scale in prior studies coded the speech sample descriptions of mothers. One rater coded the entire sample. The other rater coded fifty percent of the sample as a reliability check. Discrepant scores were averaged.

DATA ANALYSIS

In tests of the major hypotheses, generation, type of memory, and degree of trauma are independent variables. Differentiation-relatedness level and epigenetic assessment rating scores (affect tolerance, affect expression, centration-decentration, threats to the self, and defenses and defensive operations) are the dependent variables. Given the number of dependent variables, I used Pearson correlations to measure differences among these groups on the dependent variables.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

Pre-Immigration Experiences

Chinese women who emigrated after the Communists took power were frequently fleeing life-threatening situations. The extent to which these women have succeeded in integrating their experiences symbolically is based in part on their ability to self regulate and maintain self-cohesion when disturbing memories are activated. Therefore, I hypothesized:

- The mother's current ability to regulate affect when recalling negative memories of living in China as assessed on the Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale (EARS) will correlate with her current sense of self-other differentiation as assessed by the Differentiation-Relatedness Scale (DRS). That is, her EARS modal level score of her unhappiest experience while living in the People's Republic of China will be positively correlated with her DRS scores. A key part of coping with traumatic memories is being able to regulate negative affects and integrate them into the rest of one's experience in order to maintain a coherent sense of self.

- Immigrants with lower levels of self-other differentiation, as shown by lower DRS scores, will show greater positive discrepancies between recent and past memories (recent - past = difference score), indicating lower tolerance for affects evoked when traumatic memories are heightened.
- Mothers who have a high degree of trauma as assessed by the HTQ are more likely to show regressive trends in their object relations, ego functioning, and affective regulation as assessed by the EARS. It is expected that subjects who have high HTQ scores will have low EARS scores on their pre-immigration memories. Such extreme experiences of trauma are necessarily more difficult to integrate than less disturbing experiences and are more likely to remain in unintegrated, encapsulated form. When these encapsulated experiences are tapped or reactivated, there is a reemergence of distressing, raw affect.

Intergenerational Effects

The major focus of the dissertation is on how the nature of a mother's memories may affect her tolerance for negative affects that evoke these memories. In addition, however, I am also interested in exploring whether mothers who are found to have difficulty tolerating negative affect associated with early pre-immigration memories may in turn have difficulty in helping their child to regulate affect, thus influencing the child's development. My hypotheses with respect to this area of the study were as follows:

- If the mother has preexisting difficulties with negative affects of her own, then she will be handicapped in aiding her child's regulation of similar affects. In light of this, it is predicted that the mother's ability to self regulate influences her parenting, which in turn has an impact on her daughter's self regulatory capabilities. As measured on the EARS, there will be a positive correlation between the mother's modal level of self regulatory functioning and the daughter's modal level of self regulatory functioning.
- The mother's ability to self regulate will influence the separation-individuation process with her child. It is expected that there will be a positive correlation between the mother's affect tolerance and affect expression as assessed by the EARS scores and the daughter's self-other differentiation as measured on the DRS and the centration-decentration EARS dimension. A mother with a higher affect tolerance in the face of

heightened affective states will be better prepared to handle her child's separating and becoming more autonomous.

CHAPTER IV- RESULTS

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

This chapter includes the quantitative findings followed by the presentation of the qualitative findings, which include case presentations in order to amplify the quantitative results. Presentation of the quantitative results is organized as follows: 1) analyses of pre-immigration experiences, and 2) intergenerational correlations.

1) PRE-IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCES

Hypothesis 1: I hypothesized that mothers with lower levels of self-other differentiation (score < 6) would show greater positive discrepancies between recent and past memories, assuming that negative memories of living in China were more traumatic than recent negative memories. This would indicate a lower tolerance for affects evoked when traumatic memories are recalled. EARS scores were compared for 1) unhappiest memory while living in China (past) and 2) memory of dealing with a Communist official (past) with 3) worst memory in the past month (present) using a Paired Samples t-test.

Mothers' Differentiation-Relatedness scores ranged from 4.00 to 6.50 with a mean of 5.25 (See Table 2). Two thirds of the mothers scored within the self/other idealization or denigration level (level 4) or the semi-differentiation level (level 5), which indicates a pattern of idealization with primitive splitting and/or adherence to concrete properties. There was no significant difference between the means ($t = 0.62$, $df = 11$, $p = .55$).

Hypothesis 2: I hypothesized that a mother's current ability to regulate affect when recalling her worst memory of life in China (Memory A) would be positively correlated with her sense of self-other differentiation, because an essential part of coping with traumatic memories is being able to manage the distressing emotions associated with such experiences and to integrate them into the rest of one's experience in order to maintain a coherent sense of self. I compared the different EARS dimensions scores for memory A to Differentiation-Relatedness Scale scores using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation. As seen in Table 3, there were no significant relationships, but there was a weak negative correlation for affect expression ($r = -.32$, $p = .24$), which was contrary to my original hypothesis, and a weak positive correlation for centration-decentration ($r = .35$, $p = .21$).

Hypothesis 3: I hypothesized that mothers who have a high degree of trauma would be more likely to show regressive trends in their object relations, ego functioning and affective regulation and that those mothers who have higher overall trauma scores on the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) would have lower EARS scores on memories for worst experience in China and memory of dealing with a Communist official, because more extreme experiences of trauma are necessarily more difficult to integrate than less disturbing experiences and are more likely to remain in unintegrated, encapsulated form along with the associated distressing, raw affect.

The Harvard Trauma Questionnaire scores were in general very low with a trauma

score mean of 1.01 (see Table 4). The range of traumatic events reported ranged from 0 to 9, mean = 2.36. The number of traumatic events experienced personally ranged from 0 to 4, mean = .86. There were frequent discrepancies between what mothers described in the extensive semi-structured interview and the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire with underreporting in the latter. Therefore, the low scores may not be truly representative of what they experienced. It was unclear why there was this discrepancy. Perhaps the labeling of the experiences in the HTQ as traumatic or the direct nature of the measure may have increased defenses and prevented identifying experiences. When taking experiences described in the extensive semi-structured interview but not in the HTQ into account, the mean of traumatic events reported was 4.50. The mean of traumatic events experienced was 1.79. There was no clear way to reevaluate the trauma scores. This issue will be taken up further in the discussion section.

As seen in Table 5, there were significant relationships, but they were contrary to my expectation. There was a moderate positive correlation between HTQ trauma score and both affect tolerance ($r = 0.53$, $p = .04$) and defensive operations ($r = 0.59$, $p = .02$) for the memories of the worst experience in China. There was a strong positive correlation between HTQ trauma score and both affect expression ($r = 0.77$, $p = .001$) and centration-decentration ($r = 0.65$, $p = .01$) for memory of dealing with a Communist official. These findings may be arbitrary given the small range of overall trauma scores, which vary from 0 to 1.53.

2) INTERGENERATIONAL CORRELATIONS

Hypothesis 1: I hypothesized that if a mother has difficulties managing negative affects of her own then she will be handicapped in helping her daughter to develop the ability to regulate negative affects as well. This would manifest in a positive correlation between the mother's modal level of self regulatory functioning and the daughter's modal level of self regulatory functioning as measured on the EARS for the mother's worst memory in China and her memory of dealing with the Communist Party and the daughter's unhappiest memory from childhood. This hypothesis was supported by a *significant relationship* in a Paired Samples t-test ($t = -2.51, df = 14, p = .025$).

In order to further delineate the patterns seen in the EARS findings, the results are presented separately for each EARS dimension in the following sections. See Tables 6 through 17 for all of the following EARS dimensions.

Affect Tolerance

There were no clear regressive trends for either the mothers' or daughters' group.

Affect Expression

Within the mothers' group, 60% of mothers received a modal level score of 2 for the worst memory of living in China (Memory A) and 40% of mothers had a modal level score higher than level 2 for worst memory of living in China; in contrast, 40% of mothers received modal level score of 2 for the best memory of living in China (Memory B) and 60% of mothers had a modal level score higher than level 2 for best memory of living in China. This is evidence of a regressive trend for the worst memory of living in China. There was greatest consistency among frequency scores on the happiest memory of the

month (Memory D), with a modal score of 3. There was a regressive shift in the mothers' unhappiest memories of the past month (Memory E), with a modal score of 2.

Among the daughters, there was a regressive shift from the happiest early memory (Memory G) with a modal level score of 3 to the unhappiest early memory (Memory H) with a modal level score of 2. The earliest memory (Memory F) had the highest frequency for modal level 2. Similarly there was a regressive shift from the happiest memory of the month (Memory D) to the unhappiest memory of the month (Memory E), with modal level scores of 3 and 2 respectively.

There has been some evidence that the affect tolerance and affect expression dimensions are the more robust dimensions of the ones used in this study and were the most powerful predictors for distinguishing members of suicidal, conduct disorder and control groups (Feldman & Wilson, 1997).

Centration-Decentration

Among the mothers, there was a regressive shift from the best memory of living in China with a modal level score of 3 to the worst memory of living in China with a modal level score of 2. There was the greatest consistency among scores on the memories of dealing with Communist Party officials with a modal level of 2.

Among the daughters, there was a regressive shift from the happiest memory of childhood (Memory G) with a modal level of 4 to the unhappiest memory of childhood (Memory H) with a modal level of 3. The earliest memory (Memory F) had an even lower modal level score of 2. The daughters' scores for best and worst memory of the month

(Memory D and Memory E) were high with modal level scores of 4.

Threats to the Self

Among the mothers, the modal level scores for all three China memories were 2 with the greatest consistency for the memory of dealing with Communist officials (Memory C). There was a small regressive trend from the scores for best memory of the month (Memory D) with a modal score of 4 to the scores for worst memory of the month (Memory E) with a modal level of 2.

Among the daughters, there was a regressive shift from scores for happiest childhood memory (Memory G) with a modal level of 3 to the scores for unhappiest childhood memory (Memory H) with a modal level score of 2. The earliest childhood memory (Memory F) had a modal level score of 2. There was a similar regressive shift for the best and worst memory of the month (Memory D and E) from modal level 3 to 2.

Defensive Operations

Among the mothers, there was a regressive trend for the best memory of the month (Memory D) with a modal level score of 3 to the worst memory of the month (Memory E) with a modal level score of 2.

Among the daughters, there was a regressive shift from the best memory of the month (Memory D) with a modal level of 3.5 to the worst memory of the month (Memory E) with a modal level of 2.

Hypothesis 2: I hypothesized that a mother's ability to regulate negative affects

would influence the separation-individuation level of her daughter and that there would be a positive correlation between the mother's affect tolerance and affect expression as assessed by the EARS scores and the daughter's self-other differentiation as measured on the DRS and the centration-decentration EARS dimension. Daughters' Differentiation-Relatedness scores ranged from 5.00 to 9.25 with a mean of 7.37. Within each individual dyad, each daughter had a noticeably higher Differentiation-Relatedness score than her mother, except for one dyad in which they were equal. In an additional analysis, the Paired Samples t-test, there was a significant difference between the means ($t = -6.58$, $df = 14$, $p = .00$). There were no significant findings to support this hypothesis (for DRS $r = -0.11$, $p = .69$; for centration-decentration $r = -0.12$, $p = .67$).

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

The quantitative findings partially support the hypotheses and provide a foundation for understanding the complexities of the relationships seen. The limitations posed by a small sample and self-report measures compromise how much can be accessed through quantitative methods. A closer examination of the data and the dyad profiles can show aspects of the relational patterns not captured by the quantitative approach. In this section, the qualitative findings are organized with two purposes in mind. One is to look at recurring themes that ran across many or most of the dyad interviews, and the other is to present in greater depth the profiles that emerged.

Where necessary to protect the confidentiality of the subjects, some of the following may be composites of different dyads, details may have been changed or rearranged, and I have also changed some of the identifying features of the dyads. For easier comprehension, and to improve readability throughout this section, I have adopted Chinese surnames for each of the mothers, and American first names for each daughter.

HISTORICAL, INTERPERSONAL AND INTRAPSYCHIC THEMES

The recurring themes in the interviews fall into two general categories: 1) historical background and 2) mother and daughter themes. The first category covers the historical context of the Communists taking power in China in terms of the effects on families of the socioeconomic stressors and the political situation. The second category covers interpersonal trends in the dyads between the family of origin and the family of procreation.

Part I: Background and History

Poverty and Illness in China

Many of the mothers in the study recounted vivid stories of poverty and illness in China, either personally experienced, or experienced by family members left behind after the mother-subjects immigrated, such as, memories of the family going hungry during a traditional Chinese festival after the Revolution or being so hungry that the family was forced to search for undigested food in dung found by the side of a river or children in the

Chinese home village dying from malnutrition and lack of medical care under Communism.

One subject said:

I couldn't say it was the best experience but I think [it] was very, how do I say, realization of life and the death. And I was a very unhealthy child. And I remember all the other children my age they were just kinda dying of diarrhea, typhoid or whatever disease, you name it. Sometimes we didn't even know what the problem was. And I remember clearly, one of my father's best friends' boy was my age. We played together. And both of us, we were having diarrhea bad. It was full time sitting on, you know, a little container. And we were talking to each other, but we were just having [laughs] diarrhea, you know. Around the clock. And next thing I knew, that he didn't make it, he died. And at the time, nobody told me anything. But I think it was afterwards, and I as a child overheard conversations, like my parents and all my father's friends. We used to call him uncle. Everybody was uncle and auntie you know in your family, friends. Saying that they didn't really expect me to make it. And because I was skin [and] bones and I was having diarrhea really bad. And they would try to feed me, but they didn't feel - they did not know how useful it would be. But I survived. I did not die. I was very, I mean, very sick. And I remember, I recall I didn't have any energy, and there was no medication of course as you know and no forget about doctor or shots or anything. I don't believe I got any kind of immunization shots as a baby. But that was an experience I think afterwards I thought about it, I didn't know whether I was going to die or live. And later on when my energy bounced back, I felt very happy. It was a very, very confused - I was a very confused [laughs] child I guess you can say.

Many stories showed how adaptable children had to be to cope with such living conditions while preserving their childhood and their ability to play, as described by another subject:

I remember at my very young age I had to write letters to say we need some help, we don't have any money, to my cousins. I think my father brought [my cousins] out of [their home] province to Beijing. At that time they were able to have jobs, and they were making money. And mother knew probably I can get some help, we can get some help from them. At my very young age, I have to, I think I started writing letters when I was 7 years old. My mother tell me how to write. Just say what to say. That my mother said just to help us with a few dollars so we can survive.

And also my mother tell me to go pick up the coal... People after they burn coal, some not completely burn. They're dumped in this pile of garbage. I go to pick up some are not burned. I pick it up and bring it home where we can reuse it. I think at the same time there are a lot of children doing the same thing. We seem to have been in a contest to see who pick up the most and having fun.

Furthermore, in spite of the severe economic and political turmoil described by these mothers, they frequently engaged in a certain denial of the extent of upheaval they experienced and also downplayed their negative experiences. Significantly, the daughters generally did not recount stories of hunger or truly severe economic troubles, except as a memory recounted by parents or other relatives, where such memories had, in fact, been described to them.

Experience of Political Persecution

Many of the mothers described persecution that their families experienced in China or that they witnessed or heard about, stories of families ostracized and maltreated because of their economic status; homes frequently searched and belongings confiscated; villagers forced to observe people being punished to set an example, which ranged from watching people ingest bodily wastes from the village toilets to beatings and killings.

Said one subject:

We were made to go see the punishments . . . people had to kneel and were made to drink urine. You know the country toilets . . . it is not a toilet . . . it is a huge basin with feces and urine that does not get cleaned for months and the contents used for fertilizing flowers and vegetables . . . it is not fresh feces and urine . . . it was in the basin for weeks and months ... and they spooned it out for people to drink. It was very tragic. There was one old man in his 80's who was wealthy and he could not even walk and they took him to be shot. As he was walking to the

shooting site, he died of fright. There was another man who was beaten.... His urine flew all over ... it was so cruel ... and we kids had to watch it. We were only in the teens. They were beating people and some just could not die.

"No freedom," said another subject of life in China after the Revolution. "[You] had to watch your words, no friends, no good food, all the good things were gone." The effects of persecution were far-reaching and often colored the experiences of small children. One subject described her experiences:

My worst experience was when I was 7 when my father returned to China around 1948. He built a large house. And when the revolution came, they said that we were 'bad hoarders'. It led to us children not being able to play with other children... Really those people were wrong. My father worked hard to send money to us to build a house and buy land... and they say he was a bad hoarder. They have a huge bell like those in the temple. We can only open our doors when they ring it, and then when they ring it at night around 6, we have to go home. In the morning when the bell rings we have to open the doors. If there is no bell, we cannot open the doors or go out. It became that the children did not play with us. They send people to come to our house to search and take our gold and jewelry and anything of worth. So my mom and grandmother made a garment for me with pockets and sewed a lot of the gold and jewelry into it and told me to run and go outside and not come back. I go to the hills to play but not play with anybody. So I sat alone and watched the birds and wait till they finished searching the house in order to go back. So if they found stuff, we would not have anything. So it became very lonely because no one would associate with us. But it was not for so long... maybe close to a year... and then they claimed us not as 'bad hoarders' and landowners... and so I could tell people that I am not.

Many families who had fled to other countries had the heartache of hearing years later what painful experiences of persecution their family members who stayed behind had to endure. Because of the delay in hearing about the death of loved ones (often for years), they sometimes had to mourn their loss without the comfort of rituals to give them closure and ease their grief.

According to one subject who described this experience:

And that was years later, I guess after President Nixon probably opened communication, my father realized through correspondence with my uncle [that] my grandparents died a very, well brutal [death], and the Communists I think basically they you know not only physically took away all their possessions and their house became a commune, and stripped them of all cash and everything. Literally some brutal story I heard, boiling hot water poured on them and tied together. And my grandfather basically died from the brutal physical abuse. And then my grandmother died of a heart attack from that brutal experience.

Acculturation to United States

Yet, as bad as life in China up to and after the Revolution had proved to be for many subject families, the mothers in my study also very consistently described encountering new economic difficulties when reaching the United States. Many of the mothers struggled with insufficient (or nonexistent) English language skills, and feelings of isolation. They felt overwhelmed by their long working hours. They coped with sadness about separation from their families in China and fears that they would never see them again.

Said one mother in my study:

It was the worst time for me. I didn't know one word of English. They put me in a little adult education class where they teach us the ABC's...I didn't learn anything. All the other people were born here. I felt awful. Every day I cried, because I thought, 'What am I doing here?'

Another mother said:

It was hard to make money, and, when we first arrived, everything was so different for us, and we had to work so hard to adapt. So coming home I hardly saw my husband, and then when I sew, there were these old ladies talking and talking and I'm just not used to it. I would say, 'My goodness those women have too many

problems and they're constantly talking!' ... When I come back home I would be crying, because I was feeling like I was sitting there all day, and it was really hard working.

The subset of mothers who immigrated from Taiwan as adults to get a higher education experienced fewer difficulties in adjusting to the new culture, because their circumstances when they arrived in the United States were so different from that of my other subjects. The Taiwan women generally had more knowledge of English, better living conditions, more stable economic situation, and a ready support network of other Chinese immigrant students, which sometimes included peers they knew before immigrating.

Communication or Non-Communication about Mother's History

Mothers and daughters varied in how much they considered their relationship to be open in communication in general. Even when a relationship was depicted as open, there would often be a fair amount of concealment about the mother's past from the daughter.

One mother said:

There's nothing we don't say to each other. I'm not like the older folks who say don't talk about the bad things. I just give her some pointers from time to time. There really are no secrets. I'm not like the older folks who say it's shameful, it's taboo, to talk about problems or concerns.

Another mother said:

Our relationship is very open, very good. Sometimes maybe it's too open and we say anything we think about, and then sometimes we hurt each other. The whole family is open and direct but maybe it's easier to hurt each other then.

One daughter said:

I feel my mother keeps things from me and my sister. She's not one to share information to be protective of us. So we won't know the ugly stories of the family. I would find out through stories my aunt and uncle told me. My mother is not a gossip.

Another daughter described her relationship with her mother:

I don't think it's very open. Part of it is my mother wouldn't want to know about something, and we filter out information...My mother believes what she wants to believe. We let her believe it. She doesn't ask, we don't tell. We're not open because I feel she'd rather not know. She may know what's going on and wants to pretend she doesn't...If she doesn't talk about it then she won't have to think about it.

Another daughter described her mother's communication with her:

I don't think she tells me everything to protect me or maybe to save face for whatever reasons. She won't think I will understand...We mirror each other in not telling each other everything.

Part II: Mother and Daughter Themes

Female Authority in Families

Daughters often depicted their mothers as having much authority within the household, which is consistent with literature describing Chinese women as overseeing the household and family while the fathers are more hands-off traditionally. The women immigrants tended to manage the transition made from one culture to another culture for the family.

One mother said:

In my family one is a black face and one is the white face. The black face is strict. I always play that. I emphasized discipline. He would let them do anything. He supported them financially and emotionally. He was very supportive.

Another daughter described her parents:

My mother is not a typical Asian woman. She undermines my father's authority in every way. In fact, in the open, in public, my father carries the authority, but in private my mother has all the authority, she controls everything. She is in fact the one who advises all my decisions, my career decisions. She's the one who writes out the checks to cover my college tuition, my father has nothing to do with that because he doesn't even know how to write a check. She takes care of everything in the household from top to bottom. For as long as I can remember. Which is a lot of the reason why when it comes to personal questions, I would ask my mother over my father. If I ever wanted to undermine my mother's authority, I'd ask my father, but that rarely rarely ever happens.

Independence and Autonomy

Many of the daughters and mothers agreed that the daughters naturally were independent, and, while not *actively* encouraging and teaching this, the mother-subjects were flexible enough to allow this to flourish, and might have nurtured this as well.

One mother said:

I tell them don't do things that are bad because if you do you'll have to take on the consequences and be responsible for it. I really let them be very free. I just want to know what they're doing, and sometimes if they go out just to let me know where they're going, what they're up to so if I need to find them at least I know where they are. As long as they let me know where they're going, even if they're not coming back home, just let me know. I never say no. That's how I am. I'm not like my parents. If I said I'm not coming home to sleep I'd be beaten up. I say the more you beat them and the more you prevent them from doing things the more they don't trust you and the more they're going to do those things. And I tell my mom that she didn't know how to bring kids up. So by preventing them from doing things they're going to lie and they're going to do it.

Another daughter described her mother:

So I believe she's not strict. I said that before but I think that's the main thing that brings out that I think of when someone asks me about my mom, and I see how other parents are to their children. And I'm just grateful that she was caring and

gave me my freedom because now I'm an independent child or I'm grown up now [laughs]. I'm independent in life. I don't like to see when other kids or other children are very dependent on their parents.

Separation from Family for Mothers and Separation-Individuation for Daughters

Another recurring theme, told by both mothers and daughters in the dyads I interviewed, involved separation from family – the separation was more literal in the case of the mothers, many of whom lived for extended periods in a different country from one or both parents, but this also applied to the daughters as well, who experienced a less severe form of separation being raised by parents who overworked and were therefore frequently absent; many of the daughters, as a result, took on the responsibility of caretaking of their siblings, or whose upbringing was greatly influenced by siblings or other relatives.

One mother described being separated from her family and friends:

It was really, really tough. So whenever I had free time I would sit and think about my parents, about my friends in Hong Kong and then I would cry or feel like I want to cry. Here even if I was sick, no one would ever know, whereas if I were in Hong Kong, my mother would ask me how I was feeling that I should be pitied.

The mothers in these dyads frequently idealized their own mothers, especially in the case of absent or long-dead mothers, while the daughters had more realistic, balanced views of the absent parent. Many daughters also went through a process of emotionally separating further from their mothers and individuating during adolescence, which created an emotional distance between them as well as increased secrecy and sometimes a rejection of their cultural background. In many cases, both mother and daughter would

describe an effort in adulthood to achieve a better closeness and connection with their mothers which included a renewed appreciation of whom their mothers were and of their cultural heritage.

One daughter said:

I went through that whole phase of why can't I be white. Why can't I have a Betty Crocker mom who stays home and take care of me. Like grandma wasn't good enough because grandma was so Chinese... In college I became interested in Chinese history and how my family fit into that whole thing... Of course now my viewpoint is totally different. Now I really wish much more that I was like my parents and had this very foreign experience, but it wouldn't be foreign because at least I would look like whatever experience I am supposed to be having. Whereas in America, I always feel very weird because I feel like... I would much rather be 100% Chinese... like my parents are instead of the way I am.

Filial Piety and Debt to Parents

Still, mothers and daughters, with a certain level of uniformity, all described an appreciation of the sacrifices that each generation had made for the next. Both mothers and daughters each felt, perhaps as a result, a pressure to excel and, with respect to the daughters, to achieve a solid career.

One mother described the sacrifices she made for her children:

I did not know anybody. We had planned to go back to Hong Kong eventually. My husband first went to live with a friend and then someone recommended him and he got a job... the commute by car and boat was long, two to three hours... the work hours were very long because he worked in a restaurant. He had to stand all day and his feet hurt... I cried. It was tough for the two of us. It was lonely. It felt like making a living was really hard... When we left Hong Kong, we gave away all of our stuff so we did not have anything. We wanted to go back to Hong Kong but my friends said to my husband when our children turns 17 or 18 or 20, that's when Hong Kong will revert back to China. Then who knows, maybe it will be the same as we experienced in China where there is little freedom. So because of the kids we had to stay in the US.

Another daughter spoke about this topic:

I don't have pressure to do well. She doesn't give me pressure. I give myself pressure. Because I feel like it's my duty to her after she's gone through so much trouble, she had to marry a man she didn't love but she eventually came to love. She had to marry him out of her duty. Most recently ... she told me like I never give you any pressure I don't understand why you feel stressed. I said do you understand I feel this pressure only because I know you work so hard and I know that you will never want whatever happened to you in life to ever happen to me. You want to give me a better opportunity, and I understand that; I appreciate that. But sometimes I feel as if you don't know that I appreciate it. That was a huge bonding moment for us because we'd never cried together and I think we finally needed to....

CASE EXAMPLES IN STUDY

CASE OF LOW – MEDIUM DRS DYAD

This dyad is an example of a relationship in which the mother has never communicated her experiences in China to her daughter, except for brief fragments intended to teach a lesson. The mother, Mrs. Woo, scored low on the Differentiation-Relatedness scale, and the daughter, Mabel, scored medium on the Differentiation-Relatedness scale.

MOTHER, Mrs. Woo:

When I asked about her own mother, Mrs. Woo described an idealized vision of a teacher who mothered her students and pampered and was always fair to all her children. She was very close to her brother, which was a model to her children. To this day, Mrs.

Woo carries with her a sense of guilt over her mother's death, which occurred many years later in America: she didn't take her mother to the doctor when she developed a severe cold, and she later died of pneumonia. Mrs. Woo believes that if she had responded more quickly, her mother would still be alive.

At the time of the Revolution, when she was 5-years-old, she immigrated to Taiwan with her parents and cousin; her father used a Mainland connection who had since emigrated to help him find work. Mrs. Woo thought that living in the small company town, where her educated parents found work, was like a small village where everyone knew everyone and had a lot of close friends, and where she idealized life as simple and safe. Her family was very poor for a while, but the company supplied them with basic needs. She always saw her mother crying because she missed her own mother, who was still in China. She also remembers, when she was eight, her mother and uncle crying as they burned incense for her paternal grandmother, who had died destitute on the Mainland.

In fact, both sides of the family suffered because her cousin had been in the Guomindang before the Revolution, and because they had left for Taiwan; one relative was sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution and became very ill - unable to get medical attention, he suffered a great deal; another, paralyzed and unable to walk, was sent to Mongolia, never to return; another son suffered brain damage after being tortured during the Great Leap Forward. While she avoided the trauma suffered by her relatives in China, Mrs. Woo was quick to relay to me a variety of vivid, frightening stories, occurring

in China and in America, in which she and her immediate family were placed at risk of bodily harm or death. She told a highly superstitious story about narrowly escaping an accident here in the United States, and a dramatic tale of an immediate family member's narrow rescue back on the Mainland when they were children; and a terrible image of a death she witnessed in China. She also described to me threatening dreams that also played on this theme.

She immigrated to the United States, where she attended college in her mid-20s. Living in America was a struggle for her because her English was very poor, and she didn't approve of the way American children behaved with their bad manners and the disrespect they showed their parents. She was convinced that Americans think of their parents as an emotional burden; if her own mother were still alive, she told me, she would insist today that she live with her. When it came time to raise her own family, she tried to teach her children to be kind to each other, as she was taught as a child, but she was unsuccessful, because, she told me, they were influenced by their selfish American friends.

“They don't like to listen to what I told them,” Mrs. Woo said. “They think my thoughts are too old-fashioned. They don't care about my life in Taiwan. They don't care. The children now they care for only themselves or their environment, what the other kids are wearing rather than your own parents' life. ... If you talk about yourself to them it's like chattering, and they don't care. They don't want to listen.”

Still, Mrs. Woo recognized that the permissive American culture also gave good

children fearlessness, and the courage to express themselves freely. She viewed her children as being very independent, which would protect them from feeling defeated in life. Mabel, her youngest daughter, was so smart that she became the teacher's pet, and so pretty that everyone loved her. Mrs. Woo tried to let Mabel make her own decisions and do things on her own and describes her daughter as "open, but she's a very independent person. Since I was so dependent, so timid I seldom go out myself to shop to buy things. I have no desire for anything. So whenever if I ask [her] to go out to shop I will always choose things and ask her if [she] approves. [She] is more independent than me."

In contrast to her children, when she was young, Mrs. Woo felt afraid of her elders, and she said that her own mother never let her make any decisions for herself. Even today, she says that she lacks self-confidence, does not trust her own judgment, and is timid and dependent.

"I let her do everything on her own," Mrs. Woo says about Mabel, "make all her own decisions. I never try to control her say you didn't do this right, you shouldn't do that. That was my experience. My mother always when I made any decision or anything she's not giving me any suggestion. She says, 'No, this is no good. This is good.' My mother is a very capable person. So, that makes me become more dependable because my mother never let me have the chance to make my own decision or tell me how to appreciate one thing. What is goodness of that. So it become no self-confidence. I cannot trust myself, my own judgment. Always thinking something else is better. So, I

don't want my children to be like me. I think of myself as being very weak-minded. I always think about what the other people will think."

She thought her children did not care to hear her stories about her experiences in Taiwan, or even to hear her talk about herself in general, because they just thought she was chattering. She considered herself to be open with Mabel, but she did not know how open her daughter was with her. She believes her eldest daughter is open with her, but that Mabel is not.

DAUGHTER, Mabel:

Mabel had a very quiet speaking manner and was matter-of-fact in her delivery. She said her mother was loving, caring and hard-working (she often worked late, while her children played at her job), always helped with homework, and let Mabel do whatever she wanted to do. As a result, Mabel felt independent as a child – she was confident early on and performed well in elementary school – and became independent as an adult. Mabel said, "I think they always knew I was independent...performing in front of a crowd showed them I wasn't a shy person ... I think my mother is proud that her kids are very independent and can do stuff on our own. I think my parents supported the fact that we were independent." While they did not actively encourage this, her parents supported her once she demonstrated her independence.

When describing what it might have been like for her mother to immigrate, Mabel said, "I think it was very difficult, and she did a good job. She went to [college] to get her

bachelors degree. I think that was a great step for her and a very difficult step, being that I don't believe she knew English very well. I think she was here less than ten years before she married my father. And having to start the business and run the business basically on her own because my father was very irresponsible doing that. She had to learn Cantonese because that was what the people in Chinatown spoke mainly. She's a very quick learner, so I think that's how she got through her immigration here."

Mabel began to feel like her own person when she went to junior high school, which was more diverse than her elementary school. She began to spend more time at her friends' homes. As a teenager, Mabel became very closed and never spoke to her mother about boys, which hurt her mother's feelings, and which Mabel now regrets. She was eager to leave home when it was time to go to college, because she felt she really needed to get away from her parents. She says that she now appreciates everything her mother did for her.

Mabel tries to make up for being so closed when she was an adolescent by being more open now. "I'm short-tempered," she said, "and that's a result of my father being very short-tempered as well, even having a shorter temper. ... My mother's ... calm and ... she's become very strong throughout the years with living with my father.... I can see she's developed, she can stand up to my father a lot better than before. Also, my father has changed; instead of being more harsh and mean he had become softer and nicer and more patient. And I think, because I've matured, I know that anger doesn't solve everything."

In Mabel's opinion, her mother is more communicative with her now, sometimes to a fault. "When she had problems with my father," Mabel said, "she told me what was going on but it wasn't until after the situation was settled. She wouldn't bring it up in the beginning to ask for my opinion. She's pretty open. Sometimes she has way too much detail."

Mabel's earliest memories emphasize the concrete, physical world; when I asked her for her earliest memory of her mother, she described being a three-year-old, waiting for her mother, and worrying; she also described the fear she experienced when her mother dropped her off at day-care for the first time.

Mabel never thought that she and her mother had open communications; as a child, she felt it was hard to sit and listen to her mother. She added that when her mother told her about herself, "sometimes it would be interesting. Sometimes I would get pretty annoyed, because I would want to do something else. But it was hard for me as a child, hard for me to relate. I would sit there and listen to her." In general, her mother was so busy working that her aunt took care of her, and so Mabel learned most concrete details about her mother's life that way. For example, Mabel's impression was that, as a child, her mother was always the one who took care of her own siblings.

Her mother, on the other hand, recounted mostly vague stories about her past as a way to teach her daughter to appreciate life in America, without much detail: Mabel does not know why her mother's family went to Taiwan; she believed they had a hard time in Taiwan because they did not have enough money, and that they immigrated to the United

States for more opportunity and to get a better education.

Mabel wishes to teach respect for family as part of passing on her culture to her children.

General comments: Mrs. Woo's interview was an effusive, unstructured narrative with many digressions, giving the sense that she was overflowing. Her stories and dreams relayed a vivid sense of danger and fears of bodily harm; the significance to her of these stories and dreams, most of which also involved a close relative, might be viewed as a metaphor for her unresolved mourning for her mother as well as "survivor's guilt" about escaping from China and avoiding the bad fate that befell so many members of her family. Separations from family and losses were particularly negatively charged.

She felt powerlessness with her mother, as a result, she said, of Chinese culture, and powerlessness with her daughter, Mabel, that, similarly, she blamed on American culture. To a certain extent, therefore, she viewed cultural factors as creating a relationship with Mabel that parallels her relationship with her mother, but that, in both scenarios, Mrs. Woo plays the subservient, daughter-role. While Mabel never describes it this way (and in fact directly contradicts such a conclusion), Mrs. Woo views her daughter as somewhat parentified.

Mabel, in her interview, was distant and constrained, and she appeared to shrink away from being overwhelmed by her mother. Interestingly, she credits her mother – an educated professional, and a kind, nurturing figure – with encouraging by example as well as by deed the independence that Mrs. Woo instead credits to (or blames on) American

culture.

Certain of Mabel's memories describe various levels of anxiety about her mother being unavailable to her, or somehow missing; this appears to be a result of her mother's emotional unavailability due to the ruptures that she experienced throughout her life, and Mrs. Woo's refusal to communicate openly with her daughter about her anxieties and their origin, and is also demonstrated in the lower scores that both Mabel and Mrs. Woo received on the scale.

CASE OF LOW - HIGH DRS DYAD

This dyad is an example of the mother scoring low on the Differentiation-Relatedness scale, and the daughter scoring high (see Table 18 for distribution of DRS scores). In this dyad, the mother, whom I will call Mrs. Lee, has devoted a great deal of time and energy in describing her life in China to her daughter, referred to as Helen, although her representations were polarized in an idealized, unrealistic fashion.

MOTHER, Mrs. Lee:

This mother, Mrs. Lee, had a warm and open manner when she described her past experiences to me. Both her parents came from wealthy families, and both were property owners. Nevertheless, during her early childhood, Mrs. Lee's father moved to the United States to earn money for his family as a sojourner to send to his family in China. Mrs. Lee's mother and oldest sister followed him to America in the mid-1920s. Three years

later, Mrs. Lee's brother was born in the United States. At the birth of the next child, Mrs. Lee's mother realized that she needed more help with her two children, so she left her husband behind and moved to Hong Kong with the children. Mrs. Lee was born eight years later in Hong Kong, where she lived until she was 5, when her father instructed her mother to move with the children to a small town on the Mainland in order to escape the invading Japanese. She stayed in this town until the age of 7, when she moved to a larger city in southern China, where she lived until shortly before the Revolution.

When she was 7-years-old, she remembers running from the house where she lived with her family when the Japanese came to her home city, and she also remembers the fighting all around her on that day. This she described as her worst memory of her life on Mainland China.

With Communist forces nearing the family home, Mrs. Lee's parents returned to the United States (losing their property to the Communist takeover), while Mrs. Lee, only 11 years old, relocated with her older sister to Hong Kong, where they were both to complete their Chinese education. Mrs. Lee's parents told her neither why they were moving nor what their plans were for the future. While she expressed deep gratitude towards her older sister, whom she said was like a mother to her during the years they spent together in Hong Kong, Mrs. Lee also said that she was heartbroken that her mother would leave her, because they had been so close.

She and her sister lived alone in Hong Kong for four years, after which they both were reunited finally with their parents in the United States. Even after she rejoined her

family, however, Mrs. Lee continued to face hardships; she says that in America she cried every day. It was very overwhelming and alienating to be put into an American high school as a teenager without even a kindergarten understanding of English, and when she was not at school she worked long hours at the family restaurant.

Even after the Revolution, some of Mrs. Lee's relatives remained on the Mainland. Other than the loss of their property, Mrs. Lee believes that their conditions did not undergo an extreme change. For example, her father sent his brother's relatives money over the years. Years later, after her uncle's family immigrated to the United States, they told her that their lives in China had not been too bad.

When she had children of her own, and when they grew into teenagers, Mrs. Lee says that she let them make their own decisions about their lives. Once in a while, she told me, she gave a little advice about what to do, and what not to do. With respect to her daughter, Helen, Mrs. Lee says that she encouraged her to be independent and to make her own decisions, but that Helen was naturally independent from a young age. Mrs. Lee felt a certain amount of sadness when Helen left home for college, but then she adjusted to it. Mrs. Lee stated that the only thing she wanted was for all of her children to have a college education, because she was not well-educated.

As of the date of the interview, Mrs. Lee told me that she believes she and Helen have open communications with each other. She said, "We [are] always very honest with each other, with my children. Well you see what you get like that. That's how we always [are] with each other. No secrets.

“All my children if they have problems ...” she said, “or they have to tell me something, they just come to me. Tell me exactly what it is.”

When her daughter was an adolescent she took the following approach: “I know that children when, they different from each other especially when you grow up in the United States, when you grow up like teenage, they have their own idea to do things. Up to that point when they are teenage, they have their own idea. What to do with their future, what school they’re going to take, and what kind of friends they are going to take, and what kind of clothes they’re going to wear. They are not going to wear the clothes that you want them to wear or what kind of shoes or what kind of hair-do. So, I don’t really care but once in a while I give them a little advice. Don’t overdo that don’t overdo this..... I say you should think what you should do, what you want to do Not always as my opinion right? That’s what I always tell them.”

They most often discuss health and work issues. Mrs. Lee said, her daughter does conceal things from her. Still, Mrs. Lee feels close to her daughter, and she says that she counts her blessings. She said, “My parents are very open. So I’m brought up that way, so I am the same way.... The bottom line is if [my children] are happy I am happy whatever they choose.”

DAUGHTER, Helen:

Though stressing her strong love for her mother, Mrs. Lee’s daughter, Helen, described herself as a “parentified” child, which to her means that she was given parental

responsibilities over her mother from an early age and continuing today. For example, while Helen does not turn to her mother for advice, she believes that her mother does not have a high sense of self-esteem, and as a result, her mother asks Helen for advice about family dynamics and work situations. (Helen now wishes she had been more open with her mother sooner; she might have confronted her mother about her self-deprecating remarks to try to get her to stop.) She is emotionally moved when her mother tells her about unfulfilled wishes in her life. Helen recognizes that her mother looks to her children to achieve her own lost dreams, and she is sorry to see her mother's regret and sadness. She also worries about her parents, their health, and how she will take care of them in the future. Helen told me a childhood story about an inexplicably strict action that her mother took against her, which made sense to Helen only years later when she learned certain details of the traumas of her mother's own childhood. In context, the anecdote demonstrates Mrs. Lee's difficulty with negative affect, the older woman's feelings of both helplessness and fears of her own inability to protect Helen from the dangers of the world. It also demonstrates Mrs. Lee's inability to explain her feelings and fears to her daughter.

Helen remembers being left alone frequently as a small child, the pain she felt when she saw her parents fight – for example, Mr. Lee was angry when Mrs. Lee returned to work; he believed this put shame on him, and they also had conflicts over their extended family – and the resentment Helen felt over the way her aunt treated her mother. According to Helen, Mrs. Lee's sister, along with the rest of her family, thought that Mrs. Lee – who in her youth was considered a pretty girl with many suitors – could have

chosen a better husband, and as result, after Mrs. Lee married, her sister would not permit Mrs. Lee to call her unless she called first. Mrs. Lee's tense relations with her in-laws, who made her work hard and thought she was spoiled, also troubled Helen.

Her happiest memory of childhood was of the whole family going on excursions together, and she also has positive memories of her maternal grandmother. Helen understands why Mrs. Lee was so close to her mother; Helen felt close to her too, and considered her generous and big-hearted with a positive attitude that Helen loved. She had rebelled against Chinese tradition by refusing to marry the suitor her own parents had arranged for her, and Helen considered her a role model. After the older woman's health deteriorated, the family hired a part-time nurse to look in on her several times a week. Mrs. Lee felt guilty, and later criticized this decision, in which she herself had played a role, as "too *lo-fan*" (a derogatory Chinese term for white people).

Helen didn't play with other children until she was school age, she rarely spoke, and she would just watch the adults. When she first went to kindergarten, she did not talk or play with anyone, and her teacher, who was worried that Helen might have learning disabilities, spent a lot of time talking to her until she opened up; she soon grew more socialized. Still, she was the only Chinese child in class, which Helen says had a certain alienating effect. Perhaps as a result, she did not circulate in the elementary school's most popular cliques.

Mrs. Lee encouraged Helen to be independent, but not her siblings, and Mrs. Lee told Helen that she was self-sufficient since the moment she was born. Helen was always

active in extracurricular activities in school, which helped her feel more independent as well. Still, Helen worked at her family's business from age 10, she felt a lot of responsibility for her siblings, her parents always pressured her to excel in school, she thought she could not explore and try out new things at home.

She felt very stifled by her parents by the time she was in her mid-teens; it was liberating to leave for college. When asked about what it was like when she first moved away from home, she answered, "I was sixteen, seventeen, I was beginning to feel very stifled by my parents. And I think what shocked them was that I was a very good student, and I was a very good daughter. Then all of the sudden I left home. And they didn't understand what happened. To this day I regret that. I wish I could have said to them what was going on. But I couldn't tell them." She made a college choice that was not her parents' first choice, and she told them only at the last minute. She said, "I always felt pressured to excel in school. But there was a side to me that wanted to try so many different things. And I felt like I couldn't try anything if I still lived at home. Also I started to get interested in men."

While Helen as a child was more private and unable to talk to her mother, and in her own mind particularly radical and rebellious during college, she now has a better, more open relationship with her mother and says she can tell her mother almost everything. One exception, however, has always been dating. She and her parents disagreed about whether she should date non-Chinese men, and so she delayed introducing them to her non-Chinese boyfriends, although she eventually was forced to admit that her parents are more tolerant

than she once thought.

Helen believes she has a more honest relationship with her mother than her siblings do, who, perhaps sensing a certain emotional fragility in their mother with respect to certain topics, are intimidated, and always fear their mother will get mad and avoid talking to her about certain topics. As a result, Helen will sometimes intercede with her mother on behalf of Mrs. Lee's other children.

In spite of the generally good level of communication that Helen claimed to have with her mother, she admitted that her mother was vague when describing her life in China – neither Mr. nor Mrs. Lee was very talkative when Helen was little, and while they both relayed experiences from their past, they did not include the background. Some of this might have been a result of their difficulty with the English language. Helen did not know why her mother and aunt were left behind in Hong Kong for a few years while the rest of the family moved on to America, but Mrs. Lee's stories of life on the Mainland were like a Broadway musical-comedy that ended in tragedy, vague and idealized and ultimately sad: her childhood in China was permeated by riches and wealth and dominated by a flawless, wonderful and loving mother; the wealth was stolen by the Communists after the Revolution, and, likewise, the relationship with the beloved mother was disrupted by the victorious rebels and cut short. Helen suspects her mother wishes her life were the same as it had been in China, when she was the happy, pampered baby of the family. Mrs. Lee told her children that, as an adult, she was being punished for the perfect beauty of her childhood in China, which made Helen very sad to hear.

Helen thinks the transition to the United States was scary for her mother; Mrs. Lee hated to be separated from her friends and family, was alienated by American culture and food, and felt discriminated against. As a result, Mrs. Lee encouraged Helen to be as American as possible and discouraged her daughter from learning Chinese, believing it would impede the process of Americanization and interfere with Helen's chances of success in their adopted country.

There were always family secrets, which Helen blames on Chinese culture; sometimes, Helen didn't hear about things her siblings had done until months or sometimes years later, because the actions of her siblings, which Helen considered perfectly reasonable, would have been considered shameful in her parents' homeland.

She hopes to carry on traditions of food, hard work, self-sufficiency, reliability, responsibility, and the importance of family.

General comments: Mrs. Lee demonstrates great strength in her ability to have survived the jarring experiences of her youth and early adulthood and to have created out of whole cloth a life of such normality and a family of such soundness and strength; indeed, the importance of family is one of the things that her daughter intends to pass on to her own children. Still, like many women in this study, Mrs. Lee has not been able to erase scars from the ruptures she experienced. For example, she certainly has unresolved mourning for her mother and sadness about losing an idealized youth. For her, forced separation at such a pivotal age of separation-individuation curtailed the natural process of

rebellious and separating that would have typically occurred around the age 11. Mrs. Lee described generally to me the pain she felt when her loved ones and friends, and especially her mother, left her, and of not knowing whether she would ever see them again. As a result, instead of rebellion, Mrs. Lee tried to pull her mother closer, to hold onto her mother, the lost object, in her memory. She appears to have developed a very idealized view of her mother to preserve her memory during the period she spent alone in Hong Kong with her overbearing sister who was an auxiliary maternal figure, and, later in life, sought to rely on her own parentified daughter as another auxiliary maternal figure, although, while she freely admits that her own sister became a foster mother-figure, she cannot admit that her daughter now has filled this void. For example, while Mrs. Lee describes her relationship with Helen as open, and a relationship of mutual advice, her daughter has a significantly different view.

Helen rates high in self-other differentiation, but if one were to evaluate just the content, one would have to factor in the extent of relational blocking out that Helen engaged in with respect to her relationship with her mother. As a child and young adult, Helen seemed to show rapprochement-like dynamics with her mother, but more recently as an adult achieved greater integration and acceptance of whom her mother is, and of their own relationship, particularly Helen's own parentified role in the relationship, evidenced by her desire to advise and care for her mother. Perhaps in an attempt to fill her desire for a strong maternal figure, and perhaps partly as a result of the idealized vision Mrs. Lee has of her own mother, Helen has also turned to her maternal grandmother as a

role model and authority figure; perhaps significantly, although eagerly citing many aspects of Chinese culture as admirable, and wishing to pass them along to her own children, when asked for a positive memory of her maternal grandmother, Helen chooses an example of the grandmother's rebellion against Chinese culture.

In this dyad, it might be hypothesized that the mother's openness about her feelings with respect to China and the traumas of her life has resulted in Helen's relatively high score on the Differentiation- Relatedness scale, although one might also argue that Mrs. Lee's openness about her childhood has contributed to the parentified nature of her daughter.

CASE OF MEDIUM - MEDIUM DRS DYAD

This dyad is an example of a relationship in which the mother has never communicated her experiences in China to her daughter, except for brief fragments that both mother and daughter viewed as intended to teach a lesson (like the memories of Mrs. Woo). Both the mother and the daughter scored medium on the Differentiation- Relatedness scale.

MOTHER, Mrs. Lu:

Mrs. Lu described her own mother, very briefly, as easygoing, generous, and helpful to many of her friends, not a pushy type and very active. Proud of her children, she allowed them their independence, worked hard to get them into the best schools, but

then left them alone. Still, she was strong-minded, with a temper.

After 1949, Mrs. Lu's father was able to use a business pass to leave the country, but his family stayed behind. She said, "I remember all the time at midnight she [her mother] would go out. She had to go to the education meetings. My mother normally did not work but was forced to work. I thought something was missing with a father figure being gone. We got used to just living with my mother. I think it was tough raising three kids on her own. Money was tight living month to month. We were always short on money. She was not good at budgeting and was not able to plan well."

Mrs. Lu said, "I was too young [at age five]. I remember I had to take care of my brother and sister because the government took everything away. I had to cook, take care of my younger brother and sister. I was too young. I heard my mother and her friends talk there [about what was going on from the political situation]. I thought it must be horrible. I had to do a lot of things actually."

Along with the hardships of coping with financial difficulties, her mother became very ill, and everyone believed that she would die soon. Party officials permitted her family to go to Hong Kong for her mother to receive medical treatment. Mrs. Lu was only six years old at the time and feared the early loss of her mother. Mrs. Lu said, "She was dying after her third operation. So finally the doctors gave the recommendation for the kids to see her for the last time. We went to the hospital, and she was crying and telling me to take care of the kids. I remember it clearly. Then it was a miracle, and she survived."

Due to the stringent immigration laws of the United States, Mrs. Lu and her family were not allowed to immigrate here to join her father for fourteen years during which they remained in Hong Kong. Mrs. Lu described the hardships of being in the United States in the early years. She began college in America immediately after immigrating, which was very difficult because of the language barrier. Her immediate family was her only source of support.

She thought she and her daughter, Adrienne, did not have very in-depth conversations about her life in China. Adrienne knew that Mrs. Lu had immigrated, and maybe she picked up a little more information as she grew up, but Mrs. Lu never tried to share her experiences of immigration with her daughter. She hoped her daughter knew not to take life in the United States for granted. She said, "Our relationship is not as open as I wish. I think that's the way we are. Basically we are not open people. We understand each other but are not very verbal. I think everyone has their own private things. I know in general what happens [with her] but I don't get into detail. ... Your personality and character you're born with. She is very independent and not the clinging family type." She gave her advice on practical matters and not so much on more personal issues. She wanted to check up on her a great deal after she moved away to college, because she was afraid that something would happen to her daughter. She thought her daughter did not check in enough, but she was resigned to the fact that she could not change this.

"You can't be friends when she's growing up" she said. "Maybe when she's

grown up, I hope we will be closer by her calling every day to say she is safe. She doesn't. I change myself and don't call every day. There's no reason for me to worry every night. If something happens it will happen. I don't anticipate that anything will happen. ... Sometimes I lose my cool. I don't like it when she says she will call home and then she doesn't. I think consideration is not there. To me I think it is a little selfish. Maybe she's having fun and forgetting about you."

DAUGHTER, Adrienne:

As Adrienne described her mother, "She's always been kind of uptight and anxious. I can only say that that's a trait of any mother and especially of any Asian mother [laughs]. ... I've always thought it was because she always had to be a mother since she was really young to her own siblings. She's always had to ... take care of others, and she kind of developed this [laughs] high anxiety about everything. It's only because she cares." She felt her mother had clear objectives in mind for her to achieve, which were founded on her own past experiences. She thought her mother was overly involved in her sister's education because she was having a harder time than Adrienne did at that age.

She described her father as immature, recalling an argument with him. In fact, when she was a child, sometimes she preferred to stay with her grandfather, who loved to pamper his only granddaughter. Her best and worst recent memories were of her boyfriend, with whom she had broken up briefly which she described as the loss of her constant companion.

She remembered that when she was younger, her mother sat at the end of her bed and talked to her. Yet throughout her childhood and adulthood, if she were curious about the past, her mother would be dismissive. For example, when Adrienne asked her mother about her father and their courtship, her mother would be particularly evasive, and when Adrienne learned of one family secret (a distant, past marriage of one relative), her mother gave her the distinct sense that this was not to be discussed openly. Adrienne said, “If I ever asked her anything she would just kind of wave me away and say it’s not important. I have basically taken cues not to ask so much anymore.”

Still, Adrienne had learned some small details of her mother’s past life, which her mother seemed to want to tell her about for her to learn from. For example, Mrs. Lu told her about her most troubling times in China before she was able to immigrate and join her father, when Mrs. Lu’s mother was always working and not at home. Adrienne said, “When she talked about being in China, she talked more about the hardships she endured when she was very young. She’d always hold it over my head that she started cooking for, she had to start taking care of her siblings and her family when she was five and learn how to cook and everything. Her mother had to go to work and support the family financially. She’d talk about being at school and taking recesses out to go pick grains of rice in the field to take home.” She added, “In the context of her telling me these stories I didn’t really want to ask her more about it. Her telling me these stories were basically used as a tool to help me appreciate, it was maybe used within an argument or used to get at a point instead of telling of the heritage simply for that sake. So it never gave me an

opportunity to ask more about it. If I did wonder about it she wasn't open to it."

Adrienne believed all of her mother's family was in Hong Kong, so she did not think the Communists affected them much. Her mother had friends in the Red Guard. She said, "The Japanese invasion affected my grandfather who was tortured by the Japanese at some point in the 1930's. They told me more stories about that period. One grandmother's sister had twin boys who were killed."

She told her mother only superficial things about herself, such as where she worked and about her friends. Mrs. Lu, who saw a lot of herself in Adrienne, was worried about her being with sickly men; she advised that Adrienne should find strong men to be with, and that Adrienne should choose a husband who would not be dependent like Mr. Lu was on Mrs. Lu.

Adrienne said that her mother varied in how she could control emotions. "She's really emotionally reclusive. She will be [ok] up to a certain point and then she will snap. And we'd all be like where did all of this anger come from? She'll just break down and we won't know why. We'll know that it's because of us and we've been like pushing her to her limits...we'll know that much but she won't have a constant warning... She'll ignore it until it really affects her." She wished she could change how she and her mother show and accept affection; they express themselves more with non-verbal communication.

She did not have difficulties with separating from her mother. She was always comfortable with school and was pleased about moving to college. She considered herself to be self-sufficient but dependent in the sense that her parents still subsidized all that she

did. Relatives were generous to her to show their gratitude to her mother for helping them. Adrienne said, “I might have gone a little further than what she would have liked. She thinks I stray too far from tradition. I don’t really consider myself like a typical Chinese girl. I don’t follow the same kind of pathways that other people have taken. It’s hard for her to understand or to be comfortable with my independence because I might go places that she might not be comfortable with, the choices that I’ve made to be with certain types of people and about my career.”

General comments: While Mrs. Lu presented herself as practical when faced with hardships and difficult situations, she recounted stories filled with a pervasive sense of danger and fear of loss, and she was, in fact, afraid to allow the interview to be taped, and even described a heightened fear for her daughter's well being upon separation, which seemed to stem from her own sense of inner danger.

As mentioned above, both mother and daughter viewed communications as minimal, especially about the mother’s past life in China, and both of them mentioned non-verbal communication. Because her mother never explained to her the basic details of her past – her mother being forced to attend reeducation meetings, for example – Adrienne was at a loss to understand her mother’s anxiety, and attributed it to Chinese culture, rather than lingering trauma, resulting in a lack of understanding of both her mother’s psychological makeup and the effects of culture on her own family relationships.

CASE OF MEDIUM – HIGH DRS DYAD

This dyad is an example of a relationship in which both the mother and daughter believe that they communicate well, and in which the mother has rather fully communicated her experiences in China to her daughter. The mother scored medium and the daughter scored high on the Differentiation-Relatedness scale, which ranks in the higher range of scores; no mother scored high on the scale.

MOTHER, Mrs. Tang:

Mrs. Tang said her own mother took good care of her and her siblings when she was growing up, meeting the needs of the family and watching over their studies, with the help of a housekeeper. Because their father generally was not involved in their care, the mother was the one who disciplined the children, and all of the children were a little bit afraid of her, but she was not really very strict, and Mrs. Tang described her mother as very gentle, nice and easy to get along with. She thought she got along with her mother best out of the other children, because they were most similar in character. Her mother helped Mrs. Tang raise her own children. As an adult, her mother continues to be a part of her life, and relies on her as an adult to take care of personal matters for her.

When she was a child, her father was a Guomindang intellectual who moved with his family from place to place to flee the Communists. She said, “We went south because it was still not safe in there [Mainland China] for my father. In the meantime, I just remembered because we were fleeing the Communists, he didn’t have any work. He had

to leave his job. And for that year and a half or something like that my mother was always with us at home.” They could not secure a pass to Taiwan for a long time until a friend realized they needed help to get out. She said, “I realized we were doing that [leaving for Taiwan] because of the Communists because of my father’s background he would be persecuted because he was a member of the Guomintang... I heard that it would be dangerous for my father to stay. I guess maybe later on I realized the real reason... At that time I didn’t know what it really means by dangerous. My father usually didn’t tell us too much about what’s going on in the outside world. So I learned it probably after I grew up.” Finally, Mrs. Tang and her family left Mainland China when she was ten-years-old.

Life in Taiwan was very different for their family. There was a strong presence of Guomintang members who had fled from Mainland China. Her father took a job that was considerably lower than the profession he had practiced in China. Then he took a job in another town, leaving his wife and children behind, while her mother took over his work.

Mrs. Tang’s father never felt safe; he feared that China would conquer Taiwan some day, so he encouraged his children and his wife to all move to the United States as soon as they were able to do so. After attending a Taiwan college, Mrs. Tang immigrated to the United States to attend graduate school. Her mother and siblings also immigrated to the United States, while her father remained in Taiwan, visiting them periodically. After he retired he joined them.

Mrs. Tang met her husband in graduate school; they had many classmates from Taiwan, and also relatives in the United States, so they had a small Chinese social circle

and support network. When they both began working after graduate school, she thought it was a smooth transition because they had a steady income and spoke English.

Mrs. Tang's parents were cut off from communicating with the family they left behind in Mainland China, and so they did not know the following stories until the 1980s. Her aunt had left the family years earlier to become a Communist, which enabled her to help the family remaining in Mainland China after the Communists came into power; still, one uncle grew so fearful of being singled out by the Party officials that he committed suicide in the 1980's. As she described another uncle, "He was a teacher during the Cultural Revolution. When the Red Guards started their riots, he was targeted by the students. They really gave him a hard time calling him names and all that, maybe beatings. He couldn't take it either, and he committed suicide too." She added, "My grandfather died maybe two or three years after the Communists took over. He didn't feel too easy too. He was a teacher most of his life. Maybe because of his connection with this uncle of mine he didn't feel too easy. He fell and passed away because of that. I was sad when I learned how my grandfather passed away. My grandfather was in fear because they had overseas connections because of us. We were in Taiwan. That's a bad connection... Those were the people I knew personally and I felt pretty sad that they had to end their life like that."

Mrs. Tang thought she communicated very well with her daughter, Gladys. Mrs. Tang said, "She always did things before we even need to tell her. I guess she kind of gained her own independence that way by taking care of her things, her studies. Gradually

she showed us that she was able to take care of herself. ... She always listened since she was young. We didn't have to worry about her studies. Even though we brought her up the Chinese way like we expect our children to listen, so I guess she understood that. So she never challenged us." Mrs. Tang described herself as being quieter, and her daughter as being very social. Her daughter always liked to tell her about what was going on in her life. "When she would come home from school, she would come to me and started telling me what was going on at school. She liked to tell things. She liked to tell people what's going on. So I didn't have to ask her. If she had trouble or anything I got to know about them." They told each other about things in their lives as friends would. The only thing Mrs. Tang no longer told her daughter about freely was when she had conflicts with her husband, because these made her daughter feel uneasy.

Her daughter went to college nearby and saw her parents regularly after she left, so Mrs. Tang described an easy transition. She said, "So because she shared with us so much, I didn't really feel like I was losing her like that." She had an initial negative reaction to her daughter's choice of husband because he was from both a different religion and culture, which she let her daughter know about, but eventually she came to accept him.

DAUGHTER, Gladys:

Gladys described her mother as being reserved, quiet, and shy. Gladys said, "In some ways she's quite logical about things like if you're going to be doing something, if

you're going to be organizing something then she's very logical about how to do it. But in some ways she's not so rational such as talking about religion. And things that she cares a lot about she gets kind of not very rational. She gets a little bit excited and then it gets hard to talk to her." Mrs. Tang, according to Gladys, was self-conscious but not very self aware - unaware of ways in which she was unusual. Gladys said, "For instance, it's hard for her to step outside of the fact that she's very religious and to talk about it and to have an idea of how she looks to other people when she is talking about religion or something like that."

Gladys thought her mother was very giving and tried to think of things to do for other people, and so most people thought she was very nice. Gladys said, "I think she feels a very strong sense of duty of what she should do. She's definitely very driven more by what she thinks she should do than what she wants to do. And I think in fact a lot of times she might not even know what she wants to do." They tended to have nice long chats with each other. Her mother was very busy even though she was retired, although she had finally started taking the time to read after years of saying she never had time. She was slightly obsessed or compulsive about things such as the right way to cook. She micro-managed whenever Gladys worked on a task with her. Each comment would be small but the cumulative effect of hearing these remarks from her was irritating, and then she did not understand when Gladys complained.

Gladys's earliest memories of her family were generally very visual images of everyday events. She thought she was sad as a child. Her parents gave her additional

schoolwork to do; she recalls frustration and inability to do this work, and also crying when her parents criticized her efforts.

Gladys knew there were people who did not like to talk about the past, but she did not consider her mother to be one of them, and she believed her mother was relatively open with her. She said, "Certain parts of it [her mother's immigration history] I have known so long that I can't remember how I came to know them." Gladys knew her mother left Mainland China when she was ten-years-old because the Communists were taking over. She said, "I think there must have been a sense of danger" in China at that time because her grandfather was a Guomindang intellectual. She also knew that her mother grew up in Taiwan and went to college there, and her mother had told her more stories about life in Taiwan than life in Mainland China. Her mother said that everybody wanted to go elsewhere in the world to work, but that student immigrants could go to the United States only with a full scholarship.

When Gladys was growing up she considered herself more private, a conflict-avoiding child. She knew what her parents wanted or did not want and would do whatever was expected of her without being told.

She and her mother began to talk as friends no earlier than high school, and recently, Gladys had made an additional effort to be more open with her mother. Gladys said, "I used to think, 'Oh no I don't want to bring this up my mother won't like that or maybe mom won't approve.' I still definitely have fears about my parents not approving of x, y, or z. I made a decision it's better to tell them things and it's better to be up front.

This was partly in reaction to... where they used to be a little naggy, a little bit micromanaging as parents when I was growing up. Never terribly strict as Asian parents go but on the strict side as parents go in America. I sense at some point they decided that, 'Well she's grown up and she seems to have turned out ok.' So they kind of have backed off a little bit on the unnecessary stuff. I realized that and said well then I should stop behaving as though they are still nagging me."

Still, Gladys admitted that her new open communication with her mother had its limits. For example, she did not talk about religion with her mother anymore, because she sensed her mother was disappointed that she was not practicing anymore. She was reluctant to know how her mother really felt about her marrying someone who was of a different religion. There were some health issues she did not talk to her mother about, but she was reconsidering doing this because she wanted her mother to be honest with her about her health. Her parents used to fight a lot and it upset her to hear her mother talk about it, and Gladys thought her mother realized this and stopped talking about it to avoid upsetting her. There was a long period when she was a child when she was afraid of her father because he had a bad temper. Gladys wished she were able to calm down a little bit more before she reached the point where she snapped at her mother, and she also wished that she could make her mother less anxious in general.

Gladys described one example of honesty from her mother, "She has actually told me that she feels bad about certain things that she did as a parent. She thinks that she and my dad might have been too hard on us, too strict and demanding and not enough praise.

... My response to her has been kind of mixed. I think she first mentioned that a few years ago....and at the time I think I still felt I remembered those incidents very clearly and they had hurt and I hadn't quite got over them. Of course I wanted to reassure my mom but I didn't think I, I wasn't completely sincere. And I think that might have showed. Whereas now I think I have gotten over it more and I would be better about it."

Although Gladys did not recall her independence being an issue, and they trusted her to do her homework and to see friends, her parents did not want to give their children the chance to make mistakes in order to learn on their own. "My parents," she said, "especially my dad, were the sort of parents who didn't want to see you make any mistakes, and so it wasn't so much that they would do things for you but they would be very, very specific about how you should do it. I've always felt that maybe that wasn't a good choice, or maybe they went too overboard. We could have made a few little mistakes. That would have perhaps been a better way to learn."

When she went to a nearby college, she and her parents had a fight about how often she would visit, and she disregarded their wishes. She believed her parents approved of her life choices for the most part. She began to feel like her own person in her 20's. She felt more secure and happy and more comfortable with the idea of being more interested in her own happiness and more comfortable with her own opinions, which came with becoming a better communicator and able to handle disagreements with people better without getting into a fight. She used to just avoid disagreements.

Whenever she found some way in which she was being very different from the

majority of other people, she tended to attribute the difference to being Chinese-American or to having immigrant parents.

General comments: This epitomizes a relationship where there is high communication. All of the mothers in the study tended to score low on the DRS. Therefore the mother's score of medium in this dyad is high compared to the average mother. It should also be noted that the level of trauma suffered by the mother was relatively low; separation was minimal; and memories of physical danger quite low.

CHAPTER V - DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this final chapter I intend to discuss the findings in general and to put them into context by comparing them to previous research summarized in the earlier chapter. Finally, I will discuss how my findings have demonstrated not only the success and limitations of the study itself, but also how future studies examining Chinese assimilation might be designed and organized.

DISCUSSION OF KEY RESULTS

1) INTERGENERATIONAL EFFECTS FOR SELF REGULATION

This study's most notable significant finding was the pattern of self regulation in the two generations as measured by the Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale. I hypothesized that a mother's ability to manage her own negative affective states would be directly related to her ability to regulate her daughter's negative affective states as well and to help her daughter to learn how to self regulate, and in the quantitative findings there was indeed a significant relationship between the mother's self regulatory functioning and the daughter's self regulatory functioning. Indeed, where a mother was able to articulate, in her interview, a detailed, multi-layered depiction of the trauma she experienced in China not only in factual detail but also to express clearly how she and her family and friends were affected emotionally by the traumatic experience, her daughter was also likely to

describe her own childhood experiences in as rich and detailed a fashion, which manifested as a high EARS score for both mother and daughter.

The moderate positive correlation between the EARS and the HTQ trauma score, which was contrary to expectation, may be consistent with the other significant EARS findings. It may indicate that mothers who had higher HTQ scores were better able to articulate their experiences of trauma because they were more successfully able to regulate the negative affects associated with such trauma. The underreporting on the HTQ measure as compared to the extensive qualitative interview is an important finding that serves as a caution against relying solely on self-report questionnaires as a measure of trauma.

Findings in Context of Attachment Theory

The significant finding of a relationship between the mother's and daughter's self regulatory functioning is also consistent with findings in the attachment literature that tend to support the hypothesis that a woman able to articulate and integrate her past experiences will show higher functioning without regard to the specifics of her life history (Main, 2000). The attachment literature provides a context for understanding the process of developing self regulation. For example, in recent studies, parents of securely attached children tend to describe their life histories in a clear, coherent, and collaborative fashion regardless of whether their recalled childhood attachment-related experiences were generally positive or not (Main and Goldwyn, 1982- 1998), a correlation that proves significant even where the interviews are conducted prior to the birth of the child (van

Ijzendoorn, 1995). In other words, the manner in which parents organize their past childhood experiences prior to parenthood already sets the stage for the manner in which they parent their children (Main, 2000). According to Ainsworth:

This internalized something that we call attachment has aspects of feelings, memories, wishes, expectancies, and intentions, all of which... serves as a kind of filter for the reception and interpretation of interpersonal experience and as a kind of template shaping the nature of outwardly observable response [Ainsworth 1967, p. 429].

Furthermore, in narrative descriptions of both pictured parent-adolescent separations (Kaplan, 1987) and free-form sandbox play (Rosenberg, 1984), children who are securely attached more so than children who are insecurely attached tell stories that include traumatic situations that have occurred and then work at solving them constructively until a positive outcome is achieved.

The literature also demonstrates that parents who have had some early history of traumatic experience may transmit their early trauma through the way in which they meet inchoate needs of their child. They may be normally sensitive and attuned to their infant but may sporadically act out aspects of these traumatic experiences by alarming the infant with frightened, dissociated, or anomalous forms of threatening behavior, which can lead to infant disorganization (Hesse and Main, 1999). Infant D insecure attachment may stem from a second generation effect of a parent's persistent unresolved responses to trauma in the past (Hesse and Main, 2000). This level of disorganization puts them at the greatest risk for psychopathology out of the different attachment statuses (Main, 2000).

Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target (2002) write extensively about a theory of

mentalization that extends attachment theory of how parents transmit to children the ability to regulate affect and regulate the self and propose a social biofeedback model depicting the importance of contingency-detection as the mechanism underlying the effectiveness of parental affect-mirroring and biofeedback training between parent and child.

While many previous researchers have made reference to this process, they write, an explicit, more specific description of these processes in a more moment-to-moment depiction of what occurs between parent and child has been more elusive. They begin by clarifying the definition of affect regulation itself in distinguishing two levels: the first level encompasses the basic processes necessary to maintain the homeostatic state; while the second level charts the emotional processes that occur in one's interpersonal interactions. They then theorize about how these processes might occur: a mother might, for example, mirror her child's experiences of negative affect, such as anxiety, and this might help her child organize the affective experience and begin to understand her own internal states. The child, it turns out, gives more attention to her parent when the parent mirrors her affect just slightly imperfectly (as opposed to identically or radically differently). Therefore, the parent learns to mark her responses in a slightly exaggerated fashion to make it clear that she is mirroring the child, rather than just expressing her own affective state. Over time, this theory goes, the child learns to perceive this distinction and to use this information to develop a mental representational mapping of her own affects and an understanding of how they differ from the emotions of her mother (or caregiver) and

others. “The combination of the representation of self-experience and the representation of the reaction of the caregiver,” they conclude, “elaborates the child’s teleological model of the mind and ultimately enables him to understand affective displays in others, as well as arriving at the regulation of his own emotions.” (Fonagy, et al., 2002; p. 36)

The child thus develops independent representational models for each significant attachment figure based on the history of her interactions with her own caregiver, which are heavily influenced by the caregiver’s preconceived representation of her own attachment history. A caregiver’s secure attachment history will help her modulate her own child’s affects and contain overwhelming negative affective states. On the other hand, where a caregiver has an insecure attachment history, her child may identify with the caregiver’s defensive behavior, which might impede the child’s reflective function. And, furthermore, as Fonagy, Steele, Moran, et al. (1991) concluded ten years earlier, the “caregiver’s capacity to envision the mental states of her own parents” translates into a capacity to envision the mental state of her child and the development of higher levels of mind-reading abilities in the child, and, ultimately, “the infant’s security of attachment to each of his caregivers.”

During the process described above, one’s mind may use cognition to organize affect while preserving in some fashion the affective state. “The concept of ‘mentalized affectivity’ marks an adult capacity for affect regulation in which one is conscious of one’s affects, while remaining within the affective state.” (Fonagy, et al., 2002; p. 96) This level of consciousness allows an individual to avoid acting in an impulsive, unconscious

manner, and instead to gain a more complex understanding of her own affects and how she chooses to respond to such emotions. In the same way, the mothers of this study varied in how much they held onto the original affects associated with difficult experiences as they organized their affective experiences. This influenced how much they shared with their daughters when recounting their past. Ideally, successful parental affect-mirroring will lead to the development of sufficient affective regulation capabilities and mentalization of affects, although such biofeedback processes may also involve deviant affect-mirroring styles, which might result in distorted self-representations.

Findings in Context of Holocaust Literature

The Holocaust literature provides a context for understanding transmission of trauma between generations and is useful for understanding the implications of this study's findings. While there are numerous conflicting findings in the Holocaust literature, some researchers in that area do in fact seek to support the contention that trauma may be transmitted between generations both directly and indirectly (Weiss & Weiss, 2000). Indirect general transmission of trauma refers to a phenomenon by which a parent's trauma diminishes her ability to parent effectively, which may damage her child's psychological development (Schwartz, Dohrenwend, & Levav, 1994); when a child has experienced direct, specific transmission of trauma, she has learned to think and behave in ways that are similar to the way that her parent thinks and behaves, which reflects her parent's history of trauma. The Holocaust literature has more recently shifted in focus to

include positive human traits and reactions: resilience, hardiness and coping (Suedfeld, 2000) and the process of healing after trauma (Kestenberg, 1998).

In my study, I found no clear pattern of a mother's anxiety being passed on to the next generation in the form of direct specific transmission, and my results did not show a high level of lasting effects of trauma, or clear transmission of trauma. For example, many of the mothers in my study often stayed within Chinese social settings, not out of their need to be isolated from other cultures, but because they wanted to connect with the familiar, while the daughters in my study, in contrast, did not isolate themselves from non-Chinese culture; furthermore, while some mothers whom I interviewed directly expressed their own anxiety to their daughters, warning them to be cautious in an unpredictable world, and worrying to themselves about their daughters' well-being, the daughters did not necessarily internalize that anxiety. This is consistent with the more recent trends in the Holocaust literature discussed above. Nevertheless, my finding of linkage between a mother's ability to manage her own negative affective states and her daughter's own ability to self regulate does also suggest a method by which trauma might be transmitted *indirectly* between generations.

2) INTERGENERATIONAL EFFECTS OF SELF – OTHER DIFFERENTIATION

This study did not substantiate my main hypotheses involving the Differentiation – Relatedness Scale, for which there are three possible explanations. First, the original hypothesis may have been flawed in its basic assumptions; second, the measure used may

be problematic for this particular study (perhaps differences were not evident with the DRS because the measure is not sufficiently fine-tuned to detect the relationship between the variables); or, third, there may be no transgenerational effects to measure.

The first explanation is not the most probable result, because it is likely that the representational world is affected by affect regulation, given the wealth of literature that substantiate object representation theories linking self and affect regulation development (Fonagy et al., 2002; Kernberg, 1982). The third explanation is also unlikely. While in my study, the two generations were interlinked, there were ways in which they differed, which might have resulted in broad variation in how daughters separated from their mothers, diluting the transgenerational effects in a sample of this size.

The second explanation is the most likely; this measure is culture-bound and was probably inappropriate for this particular sample, given the pattern of differences between the generations that was quite probably a function of cultural generational shifts in patterns between mothers and daughters, a phenomenon I explore further below.

The DRS scores for the mothers as a group were significantly lower than the daughters as a group, and with only one exception, this trend remained true when looking within individual dyads. Two-thirds of the mothers scored within the self / other idealization or denigration level (level 4) or the semi-differentiation level (level 5), which indicated a pattern of idealization of their mothers. From analyzing the transcripts, and from my experience speaking with these women, I came to the conclusion that these differences were culturally and generationally derived, rather than based upon a general

pattern of psychopathology.

Given that it is, after all, culturally normative in China to respect one's parents and to speak well of them, especially (given the Chinese tradition of ancestor worship) if the parent is also deceased (Kao & Lam, 1997; Gee & Ishii, 1997), the widespread pattern of mother-idealization shown by the mothers in this sample is unsurprising. The subsequent introduction of American culture to the Chinese family structure, however, might dilute the parent-glorifying influence of Chinese Confucianism, and so it is to be expected that this phenomenon would decrease in the second generation.

The mothers also showed a pattern of repressing negative affect and denial. While the interviews were filled with depictions of the severe economic hardships and political turmoil that these mothers and their families experienced in China, the mothers frequently downplayed these negative experiences. Sometimes they even seemed to imply (through perhaps disingenuously vague descriptions) that some experiences occurred to people outside of their family, when, in fact, according to their daughters, they actually happened to close family members. The propensity towards denial could also be seen in how the mothers might discuss a delicate topic in the semi-structured interview but then not talk about it when asked on the HTQ whether they ever experienced certain traumatic experiences.

They did this often to protect their daughters from the burden of knowing dark family secrets. For instance, a mother might protect her daughter from knowledge about her mistreatment at the hands of her husband. Sometimes the daughters described family

secrets that they had learned through relatives other than their mothers, and their mothers did not describe these experiences in the interview. Or the daughters described secrets that their mothers had told them but the mothers did not reveal in the interviews. Such secret experiences included parents being kidnapped or beaten for extortion of money, or a mother being forced by her family not to marry the man she loved but to marry a suitor with greater prospects who was more agreeable to her family.

Some mothers were more communicative with their daughters about their pasts than others, but in most instances either the daughters did not know the full extent of their mothers' past hardships or had defensive reasons for not remembering stories they had been told. Communication patterns varied across the interviews from open, detailed communication about past experiences to little discussion about past experiences. Some daughters felt very comfortable talking to their mothers about the past, while other daughters sensed that it was better not to ask about such matters because they knew it would make their mothers unhappy, even though the topics may never have been broached. My interviews suggest that the level of anxiety or associated negative affect that has not been successfully regulated by a mother affects her ability to communicate her experiences to her daughter. This is consistent with the Holocaust literature regarding second-generation children who sense from their survivor-parents that the experiences of the Holocaust are too overwhelming to recount, and who learn to collude with their parents in their secrecy about the past (Fresco, 1984; Lichtman, 1984).

In my mother interviews, I found no unusual level of unresolved mourning, and,

where there was some unresolved mourning, I found no one clear pattern in a mother's ability to communicate with her daughter across the dyads. Nevertheless, the effect of family secrecy and unresolved mourning on family dynamics was evident in the interviews and depicted in the case studies. In the Holocaust literature there is evidence that unresolved mourning plays a part in how families respond to political trauma and affects what they pass on to their children (Shoshan, 1989; Klein & Kogan, 1986; Fogelman, 1988). An example of such dynamics in the Chinese context is depicted eloquently in Amy Tan's Bonesetter's Daughter (2001). In this novel, a middle-aged Chinese woman, LuLing, is anguished to learn that the woman who had raised her, and whom she believed was her natural mother, was not; that in fact her "Precious Auntie" was her real mother. When she subsequently betrays Precious Auntie, the older woman commits suicide, leaving LuLing torn between her shame over the true identity of her mother and an urge (based on both the culture of filial piety and genuine love) to hold on to what was dear to her about her "Auntie"-mother. Indeed, she ironically grows to fear curses and bad fate as her punishment for not observing filial piety towards Precious Auntie, even for actions she took when she had not yet learned that the woman was, in fact, her mother.

In struggling with these overwhelming feelings LuLing herself has suicidal thoughts and wishes to save her own daughter, Ruth, to protect her by concealing the truth of a shameful family past, but in spite of LuLing's refusal to communicate this past, the anxiety is transmitted to Ruth nonetheless. Living with the anxiety with which she had grown up manifests in Ruth's inability to move ahead in her life and define herself, and

according to Ruth, is emotionally akin to living in a neighborhood with shooting all the time. She has difficulties in separating, conflicts in intimate relationships, and miscommunications with other people. Both mother and daughter have difficulty accepting love from others, and their shared, unspoken shame makes them hide from others. Only after their family past is integrated and accepted by both mother and daughter can they achieve a better understanding of each other and an enriched relationship.

3) SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION

As described in more detail in Chapter IV, in my interviews, both generations often described experiences of separation from their parents. The mothers often lived for long periods apart from their own parents, due to immigration or for economic reasons. The daughters had a less pronounced separation, in which their parents worked for long hours away from their children, but these daughters, in every case, still maintained strong family ties, and, despite such separations, both mothers and daughters described an appreciation for the sacrifices that their parents had made for them which, in turn, seemed to add to the pressure for them to achieve success. The mother's sense of her own success is deeply connected to her ability to support success in the next generation. This relates to the Chinese concept of how the individual's achievements and identity reflects upon the family as a whole (Uba, 1994). It is particularly notable how highly educated the subject sample for this study was both for mothers and daughters which may have skewed the level of

expectations felt by the daughters.

The mothers in my study often described their daughters as having been naturally independent as they were growing up, and interviews with the daughters usually tended to support this assertion. This could be interpreted as supporting some aspects of the literature reviewed that discussed separation-individuation in Chinese families; while most of the studies support the old cliché that Chinese parents give their children much less freedom than Western parents, they nevertheless have been shown to encourage independence in their children where it is necessary for achievement, but no further (Uba, 1994). Indeed, the daughters in my study were both independent and high-achievers. Nevertheless, the mothers tended to express frustration that their daughters had taken their independence further than their mothers might have liked, showing a perhaps-significant distinction between the dyads in this study and the traditional Chinese mother-daughter relationship. The lack of a clear pattern of difficulties in separation-individuation in this sample is consistent with the finding that there was no indirect transmission of trauma in this sample.

The lack of transmission of trauma in these women is, arguably, testimony to the strength of the Chinese immigrant women culled from the protective factors culturally built into their personalities, perhaps primarily the Chinese cultural traditions that promote strength in women through autonomy as they fulfill their roles within the family. While the Communist ideology was aimed at undoing the long history of Confucian and other traditional norms, the strong cultural traditions that bind the family still were largely intact

in the Chinese families viewed in this study. While the results of the study show that mothers less open with their daughters about their experiences had daughters who less able to describe their childhood experiences openly, it is nevertheless remarkable that in all the cases I examined, even those in which the mothers interviewed were relatively closed about their experiences, both mothers and daughters had gone on to live productive lives in American society.

PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The main problem with this study is the limited sample size which does pose certain pitfalls in terms of how results may be interpreted as well as hindering the likelihood of finding significant results, even where a real pattern might exist. Furthermore, my sample consists of a self-selected group of women, which, from the perspective of the mothers, may have been skewed towards women who had integrated their difficult past experiences and desired to share their stories because they were no longer overwhelming. On the other hand, in many cases the selection process was initiated by the daughters, not the mothers, creating a greater likelihood of finding mothers who had not yet integrated their experiences than a study that emphasized selection only through the mothers would have. Might a purely daughter-selected study tend not to access young women excessively protective of their secretive mothers? In any event, both daughters and mothers volunteered for my study, which I hope leveled the issue and

rendered this question basically academic.

I hypothesized that mothers with lower levels of self-other differentiation would show greater positive discrepancies between recent and past memories, assuming that negative memories of living in China were more traumatic than recent negative memories. There was an inherent problem with this hypothesis because if a person has a lower tolerance for negative affect, she should have lower tolerance both for negative affects associated with past memories as well as for recent memories.

The DRS scores were based entirely on how the mother, and then the daughter, each described her own mother. The scores were, therefore, greatly influenced by the cultural differences between the generations in how they would describe a parent; for example, a woman of the mother's generation would be much more likely to praise her own parents, particularly in a meeting with a stranger, regardless of what she actually thought, than would a woman of the daughter's generation. A different type of speech sample (i.e., a different question, without cultural-generational baggage) might have led to a different outcome in the findings, which might have more clearly demonstrated intergenerational effects.

Another possible problem is that some of the mothers had significant maternal objects other than their biological mother, whom I did not ask about in the speech sample. As I discussed extensively in Chapter IV, some women considered themselves to have been raised by their grandparents or other relatives during their early formative years. In the same way that different caregivers may yield different attachment status, a description

of these significant caregivers may have yielded different DRS scores and more significant findings of intergenerational effects.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The goal of this paper was to take an early step in illuminating the psychological aspects of a period in history on which many mountains of books and papers have been written from the political perspective, and to devote to the survivors of China's tragedy some of the psychological analysis that has been granted the survivors of the Holocaust. This study was a forum in which this population had a chance to voice some of their past traumatic experiences and have others bear witness to the impact of these events on individuals. In doing so, there was also an opportunity to explore why these experiences may not have been shared more vociferously and why being more so may have positive benefits for them and their families. In the end, I have been able to show how a Chinese mother's ability to self regulate affects the daughter's self regulation, as well as to demonstrate, by first-hand observation, some additional parallels among the women who generously agreed to participate in my study.

Furthermore, while the previous section outlined some possible limitations of my study, I believe that these limitations can be used to lead the way toward worthwhile future research. For example, I believe that it would be worthwhile to access more women who had lived in China for longer durations after the Communists took power and

explore how their experiences differed from those I interviewed; the level of trauma they experienced would likely be significantly greater. As more women who lived in China during the Cultural Revolution grow older and their children become of adult age, there will be a greater potential sample population of adult daughters to recruit from. This particular sample would likely have very different experiences.

An interview sample of both men and women immigrants and daughters and sons would be helpful to explore gender differences in the types of experiences people went through in China and during the immigration transition as well as settling in a new country. It would also be of interest to look for gender differences in coping with these experiences.

Another area of interest would be to explore further how the adult developmental level of the daughters influences how they have integrated the mother's experiences. For instance, women in their twenties are still separating and forming their adult identity. Women in their thirties may be more prepared developmentally to see their mothers from a different perspective and form an integrated view of their mother as an adult and understand what their life choices meant to them.

TABLES

Table 1 Age of Mothers Interviewed

Subject	Age when first emigrated	Age when entered the U.S.
1	17	17
2	6	26
3	8	24
4	12	25
5	12	18
6	6	24
7	14	37
8	4	19
9	17	26
10	25	35
11	8	24
12	17	17
13	8	21
14	8	22
15	3	21

Table 2 Frequency Distribution of Differentiation Relatedness Scores

Scores for Mothers:

Score	Frequency	Percentile
4	1	6.67
4.75	1	6.67
5	6	40
5.25	2	13.33
5.50	2	13.33
6	2	13.33
6.50	1	6.67

Mean = 5.25

Median = 5.00

Skewness = .253

Scores for Daughters:

Score	Frequency	Percentile
5	1	6.67
6	1	6.67
6.25	1	6.67
6.50	2	13.33
7	1	6.67
7.25	1	6.67
7.5	3	20
8	1	6.67
8.50	1	6.67
8.75	1	6.67
9	1	6.67
9.25	1	6.67

Mean = 7.37

Median = 7.50

Skewness = -.150

Table 3 Correlation of Differentiation-Relatedness Scores with Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scores for Memory A

	Memory A Affect Tolerance	Mem A Affect Expression	Mem A Centration- Decentration	Mem A Threats to the Self	Mem A Defensive Operations	Mean of Mem A Variables
DRS Scores- Pearson Correla- tion	$r = -.095$	-.322	.347	.000	.286	.022
Sig. (2- tailed	$p = .737$.242	.205	1.000	.301	.939
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Table 4 Frequency Distribution for Harvard Trauma Questionnaire Scores

Number of Trauma Events	Events Directly Experienced	Trauma Score
0	0	1.17
1	0	1.33
1	0	1.23
0	0	1
0	0	1.17
4	1	1.13
2	1	1.1
1	0	1.03
1	1	0
4	3	1.17
7	4	1.23
1	0	1.10
9	0	1.53
2	2	0
Mean = 2.36	Mean = .86	Mean = 1.01

Table 5 Pearson Correlations for Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) Scores and Epigenetic Assessment Rating Scale (EARS) Scores for Mothers

Memory A Affect Tolerance	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.534 .040 15	Moderate Positive correlation
Memory A Affect Expression	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.364 .182 15	
Memory A Centration- Decentration	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.390 .151 15	
Memory A Threats to the Self	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.425 .115 15	
Memory A Defensive Operations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.594 .020 15	Moderate Positive Correlation
Memory C Affect Tolerance	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.411 .144 15	
Memory C Affect Expression	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.768 .001 15	Strong Positive Correlation
Memory C Centration- Decentration	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.650 .012 14	Strong Positive correlation
Memory C Threats to the Self	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.410 .145 14	
Memory C Defensive Operations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.483 .080 14	

Table 6 Frequency Distribution for Affect Tolerance: Scores for Mothers

Legend for Memory Types:

Memory A = the worst experience while living in mainland China

Memory B = the best experience while living in mainland China

Memory C = a memory of dealing with the Communist Party

Memory D = the best experience in the past month.

Memory E = the worst experience in the past month.

Memory F = the very earliest memory

Memory G = the happiest memory of childhood

Memory H = the unhappiest memory of childhood

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
A	1	0	0
A	1.5	1	6.67
A	2	3	20
A	3	6	40
A	3.5	2	13.33
A	4	3	20
A	5	0	0
B	1	1	6.67
B	1.5	1	6.67
B	2	5	33.33
B	3	4	26.67
B	4	2	13.33
B	5	2	13.33
C	1	0	0
C	2	7	46.67
C	3	7	46.67
C	4	0	0
C	5	0	0
C	NONE	1	6.67
D	1	0	0
D	2	7	46.67
D	3	5	33.33
D	3.5	1	6.67
D	4	2	13.33
D	5	0	0

E	1	2	13.33
E	2	7	46.67
E	2.5	1	6.67
E	3	3	20
E	4	2	13.33
E	5	0	0

Table 7 Frequency Distribution for Affect Tolerance: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
F	1	0	0
F	2	2	13.33
F	3	7	46.67
F	4	5	33.33
F	5	1	6.67
G	1	0	0
G	2	5	33.33
G	3	5	33.33
G	4	4	26.67
G	5	1	6.67
H	1	0	0
H	2	4	26.67
H	2.5	1	6.67
H	3	4	26.67
H	3.5	1	6.67
H	4	5	33.33
H	5	0	0
D	1	0	0
D	2	10	66.67
D	3	3	20
D	4	1	6.67
D	5	1	6.67
E	1	0	0
E	1.5	1	6.67
E	2	7	46.67
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	3	20
E	5	0	0

Table 8 Frequency Distribution for Affect Expression: Scores for Mothers

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
A	1	0	0
A	2	9	60
A	3	4	26.67
A	4	2	13.33
A	5	0	0
B	1	0	0
B	2	6	40
B	3	4	26.67
B	4	4	26.67
B	5	1	6.67
C	1	3	20
C	2	5	33.33
C	3	5	33.33
C	4	1	6.67
C	5	0	0
C	NONE	1	6.67
D	1	0	0
D	2	2	13.33
D	3	11	73.33
D	4	1	6.67
D	5	1	6.67
E	1	2	13.33
E	2	6	40
E	2.5	1	6.67
E	3	2	13.33
E	3.5	1	6.67
E	4	3	20
E	5	0	0

Table 9 Frequency Distribution for Affect Expression: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
F	1	0	0
F	2	8	53.33
F	3	4	26.67
F	4	2	13.33
F	5	1	6.67
G	1	0	0
G	2	2	13.33
G	3	7	46.67
G	4	4	26.67
G	5	2	13.33
H	1	0	0
H	2	9	60
H	3	5	33.33
H	4	1	6.67
H	5	0	0
D	1	0	0
D	1.5	2	13.33
D	2	2	13.33
D	3	8	53.33
D	4	3	20
D	5	0	0
E	1	0	0
E	2	10	66.67
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	1	6.67
E	5	0	0

Table 10 Frequency Distribution for Centration-Decentration: Scores for Mothers

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
A	1	0	0
A	2	8	53.33
A	3	7	46.67
A	4	0	0
A	5	0	0
B	1	1	6.67
B	1.5	1	6.67
B	2	2	13.33
B	3	7	46.67
B	4	2	13.33
B	5	2	13.33
C	1	1	6.67
C	2	11	73.33
C	3	0	0
C	3.5	1	6.67
C	4	1	6.67
C	5	0	0
C	NONE	1	6.67
D	1	1	6.67
D	2	2	13.33
D	3	8	53.33
D	3.5	1	6.67
D	4	2	13.33
D	5	1	6.67
E	1	0	0
E	1.5	1	6.67
E	2	5	33.33
E	3	5	33.33
E	4	4	26.67
E	5	0	0

Table 11 Frequency Distribution for Centration-Decentration: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
F	1	0	0
F	2	6	40
F	2.5	2	13.33
F	3	4	26.67
F	4	3	20
F	5	0	0
G	1	1	6.67
G	2	1	6.67
G	3	5	33.33
G	4	7	46.67
G	5	1	6.67
H	1	0	0
H	2	5	33.33
H	3	6	40
H	3.5	1	6.67
H	4	3	20
H	5	0	0
D	1	1	6.67
D	2	2	13.33
D	3	5	33.33
D	4	7	46.67
D	5	0	0
E	1	0	0
E	2	4	26.67
E	2.5	1	6.67
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	6	40
E	5	0	0

Table 12 Frequency Distribution for Threats to the Self: Scores for Mothers

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
A	1	1	6.67
A	2	8	53.33
A	3	6	40
A	4	0	0
A	5	0	0
B	1	0	0
B	1.5	1	6.67
B	2	6	40
B	3	5	33.33
B	4	1	6.67
B	5	2	13.33
C	1	1	6.67
C	2	9	60
C	2.5	1	6.67
C	3	2	13.33
C	4	1	6.67
C	5	0	0
C	NONE	1	6.67
D	1	0	0
D	2	4	26.67
D	2.5	1	6.67
D	3	4	26.67
D	4	5	33.33
D	5	1	6.67
E	1	1	6.67
E	1.5	1	6.67
E	2	5	33.33
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	4	26.67
E	5	0	0

Table 13 Frequency Distribution for Threats to the Self: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
F	1	0	0
F	2	10	66.67
F	2.5	1	6.67
F	3	3	20
F	4	1	6.67
F	5	0	0
G	1	0	0
G	2	1	6.67
G	3	6	40
G	3.5	1	6.67
G	4	5	33.33
G	5	2	13.33
H	1	0	0
H	2	7	46.67
H	3	6	40
H	4	2	13.33
H	5	0	0
D	1	0	0
D	2	1	6.67
D	3	9	60
D	4	5	33.33
D	5	0	0
E	1	1	6.67
E	2	6	40
E	2.5	1	6.67
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	3	20
E	5	0	0

Table 14 Frequency Distribution for Defensive Operations: Scores for Mothers

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
A	1	0	0
A	2	8	53.33
A	2.5	1	6.67
A	3	5	33.33
A	4	1	6.67
A	5	0	0
B	1	0	0
B	2	6	40
B	3	4	26.67
B	3.5	1	6.67
B	4	1	6.67
B	5	3	20
C	1	0	0
C	2	5	33.33
C	2.5	2	13.33
C	3	6	40
C	3.5	1	6.67
C	4	0	0
C	5	0	0
C	NONE	1	6.67
D	1	0	0
D	2	3	20
D	3	8	53.33
D	4	4	26.67
D	5	0	0
E	1	1	6.67
E	1.5	1	6.67
E	2	5	33.33
E	3	4	26.67
E	4	4	26.67
E	5	0	0

Table 15 Frequency Distribution for Defensive Operations: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Frequency	Percentile
F	1	0	0
F	2	3	20
F	3	7	46.67
F	4	5	33.33
F	5	0	0
G	1	0	0
G	2	2	13.33
G	3	7	46.67
G	4	4	26.67
G	5	2	13.33
H	1	0	0
H	2	4	26.67
H	2.5	1	6.67
H	3	5	33.33
H	4	5	33.33
H	5	0	0
D	1	0	0
D	2	2	13.33
D	2	2	13.33
D	3	5	33.33
D	4	5	33.33
D	5	1	6.67
E	1	0	0
E	2	7	46.67
E	3	2	13.33
E	3.5	1	6.67
E	4	5	33.33
E	5	0	0

Table 16 Percentile Scores for EARS Dimensions: Scores for Mothers

Memory Type	Score	Aff. Tol.	Aff. Exp.	Cent Decent.	Threats Self	Def. Op.
A	1	6.67	0	0	6.67	0
A	1.5	6.67	0	0	0	0
A	2	20	60	53.33	53.33	53.33
A	2.5	0	0	0	0	6.67
A	3	40	26.67	46.67	40	33.33
A	3.5	13.33	0	0	0	0
A	4	20	13.33	0	0	6.67
A	5	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	6.67	0	6.67	0	0
B	1.5	6.67	0	6.67	6.67	0
B	2	33.33	40	13.33	40	40
B	3	26.67	26.67	46.67	33.33	26.67
B	3.5	0	0	0	0	6.67
B	4	13.33	26.67	13.33	6.67	6.67
B	5	13.33	6.67	13.33	13.33	20
C	1	0	20	6.67	6.67	0
C	2	46.67	33.33	73.33	60	33.33
C	2.5	0	0	0	6.67	13.33
C	3	46.67	33.33	0	13.33	40
C	3.5	0	0	6.67	0	6.67
C	4	0	6.67	6.67	6.67	0
C	5	0	0	0	0	0
C	NONE	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67
D	1	0	0	6.67	0	0
D	2	46.67	13.33	13.33	26.67	20
D	2.5	0	0	0	6.67	0
D	3	33.33	73.33	53.33	26.67	53.33
D	3.5	6.67	0	6.67	0	0
D	4	13.33	6.67	13.33	33.33	26.67
D	5	0	6.67	6.67	6.67	0
E	1	13.33	13.33	0	6.67	6.67
E	1.5	0	0	6.67	6.67	6.67
E	2	46.67	40	33.33	33.33	33.33
E	2.5	6.67	6.67	0	0	0
E	3	20	13.33	33.33	26.67	26.67
E	3.5	0	6.67	0	0	0
E	4	13.33	20	26.67	26.67	26.67
E	5	0	0	0	0	0

Table 17 Percentile Scores for EARS Dimensions: Scores for Daughters

Memory Type	Score	Aff. Tol.	Aff. Exp.	Cent Decent.	Threats Self	Def. Op.
F	1	0	0	0	0	0
F	2	13.33	53.33	40	66.67	20
F	2.5	0	0	13.33	6.67	0
F	3	46.67	26.67	26.67	20	46.67
F	4	33.33	13.33	20	6.67	33.33
F	5	6.67	6.67	0	0	0
G	1	0	0	6.67	0	0
G	2	33.33	13.33	6.67	6.67	13.33
G	3	33.33	46.67	33.33	40	46.67
G	3.5	0	0	0	6.67	0
G	4	26.67	26.67	46.67	33.33	26.67
G	5	6.67	13.33	6.67	13.33	13.33
H	1	0	0	0	0	0
H	2	26.67	60	33.33	46.67	26.67
H	2.5	6.67	0	0	0	6.67
H	3	26.67	33.33	40	40	33.33
H	3.5	6.67	0	6.67	0	0
H	4	33.33	6.67	20	13.33	33.33
H	5	0	0	0	0	0
D	1	0	0	6.67	0	0
D	1.5	0	13.33	0	0	0
D	2	66.67	13.33	13.33	6.67	13.33
D	2.5	0	0	0	0	13.33
D	3	20	53.33	33.33	60	33.33
D	4	6.67	20	46.67	33.33	33.33
D	5	6.67	0	0	0	6.67
E	1	0	0	0	6.67	0
E	1.5	6.67	0	0	0	0
E	2	46.67	66.67	26.67	40	46.67
E	2.5	0	0	6.67	6.67	0
E	3	26.67	26.67	26.67	26.67	13.33
E	3.5	0	0	0	0	6.67
E	4	20	6.67	40	20	33.33
E	5	0	0	0	0	0

Table 18 Distribution of DRS Scores in Mother–Daughter Dyads

Dyad #	Mother's Score	Daughter's Score
1	5 – low	7 – med
2	5 – low	7.5 – med
3	4 – low	8.5 – high
4	5 – low	6.5 – med
5	5.5 – low	7 – med
6	6 – med	7.5 – med
7	6.5 – med	6.5 – med
8	6.5 – med	8.5 – high
9	6 – med	9 – high
10	4.5 – low	6.5 – med
11	6.5 – med	7.5 – med
12	5 – low	6 – med
13	5 – low	5 – low
14	5.5 – low	7.5 – med
15	5 – low	9 – high

APPENDIX A



Letter of Consent for Mothers

Please read the following carefully before signing in the space provided.

This is an interview study of Chinese American immigrant women and their daughters, which explores family relationships, cultural and political experiences in China, immigration, and the experience of raising children and growing up in the United States.

I understand that I will be audiotape-recorded during the interview and all of my responses will be completely confidential, and will never be associated with my name. The last four digits of my Social Security number will serve as an identification code and will be the only way in which my responses are identified. If I wish, I may review the tape after the interview, and I will have the option that it not be used. The complete interview audiotape and written records will be privately stored in a locked cabinet which is only accessible to the principal investigator, Lan Chin, M.Phil. If the interview is in Chinese, it will be translated by an interpreter. Only non-identifiable written parts of the interview will be made available to other members of the research team. The audiotapes will be disposed of no later than three years following the end of the project.

I understand that I may enjoy sharing my experiences and find it rewarding, but I also understand that some questions may concern memories that may make me uncomfortable, and that I may choose not to answer any questions I do not wish to discuss. A part of the interview includes exploring whether there were past negative experiences, including whether I had specific experiences of persecution before immigration such as experiences of abuse or maltreatment. This is in order to get a sense of the range of experiences participants had in China. Some individuals may find it difficult to deal with the distress associated with remembering such experiences. I may choose not to answer any of these questions. This study does not include treatment for the distress I may have regarding my earlier experiences, but if I become upset by the research experience I may, if I wish, request immediate psychological help and/or a referral for psychological services. This service would be continued until I find a counselor or therapist to work with. I understand that I am free to end my participation at any time during the study. If I wish to stop before the end of the study, I will be provided part of the fee, up to the point of withdrawal. I also understand that no fee will be paid unless both mother and daughter participate in an interview.

母親們的同同意書

請在簽名之前仔細閱讀以下內容：

這是一項有關美國華裔女性移民及其女兒們的訪問研究。其內容包括探討家庭間的關係、在中國的文化和政治經歷、移民經歷、還有在美國養育孩子及其在美國成長的經歷。

我明白在訪問的過程中我將會被錄音。但我所作的一切回答將被保密，絕不會與我的名字聯系在一起。我的社會安全卡號碼的最后四位數字將作為我的身份代號，並用作標記身份的唯一方式。訪問結束之後，我可以復聽訪問的錄音帶，也可以選擇要求不採用錄音帶內的資料。一切訪問的錄音帶和筆記記錄將會存放於私人保險箱內。有首席研究員陳蘭碩士能直接採用。如果訪問用中文進行，將會有翻譯員將其翻譯成英文。只有不具體標記的筆記部分才會讓研究小組的其他成員使用。所有錄音帶將在研究完畢後的三年內銷毀。

我明白我也許會覺得訪問很有意義，也樂意和別人分享個人經歷。而我也明白有的問題或許會勾起一些不愉快的回憶而令我不安，而我可以選擇不回答任何我不願意討論的問題。訪問的一部分是調查我過去是否有過一些消極的經歷，包括我在移民之前是否曾有被迫害(如辱罵或虐待)的經歷。這是為了大致了解被訪者在中國不同經歷的範圍。對有些人來說，回憶這樣的痛苦經歷可能會很困難。我可以選擇不回答任何這樣的問題。本項研究不包含對我以前經歷引起痛苦的治療。但如果我被這項研究弄得心煩意亂，我可以立即要求心理幫助和(或)心理服務方面的諮詢。這項服務將一直延續到我找到一個法律顧問或治療專家。我明白在任何階段我都可以終止參與研究。如果我想在研究結束之前終止合作，我將會獲得到此時為止那部分的報酬。我也明白必須母親和女兒同時參與訪問才能獲得報酬。

結束訪問之後我隨時可以提出與研究有關的問題。我明白我可以要求得到反饋信息。如果我聯系陳蘭碩士：

Lan Chin, M. Phil. of the Department of Psychology, City College, City University,
Convent Ave. at 138th Street, New York, New York, 10031 (電話 212-631-5877)

陳蘭碩士將寄給我一份簡單的研究結果的摘要。

我也可以聯絡這項研究的學術顧問 Dr. Diana Diamond (電話 212-650-5662)

如果我有任何關於參與者權力的問題都可以致電學院復查部門 (IRB office) 電話 212-650-7903。

我已經仔細閱讀並明白以上所有內容。我很樂意參與此項研究。

簽名

社會安全卡號最后四位數字

日期

首席研究員或訪問人員

日期



Letter of Consent for Daughters

Please read the following carefully before signing in the space provided.

This is an interview study of Chinese American immigrant women and their daughters, which explores family relationships, cultural and political experiences in China, immigration, and the experience of raising children and growing up in the United States.

I understand that I will be audiotape-recorded during the interview and all of my responses will be completely confidential, and will never be associated with my name. The last four digits of my Social Security number will serve as an identification code and will be the only way in which my responses are identified. If I wish, I may review the tape after the interview, and I will have the option that it not be used. The complete interview audiotape and written records will be privately stored in a locked cabinet which is only accessible to the principal investigator, Lan Chin, M.Phil. If the interview is in Chinese, it will be translated by an interpreter. Only non-identifiable written parts of the interview will be made available to other members of the research team. The audiotapes will be disposed of no later than three years following the end of the project.

I understand that I may enjoy sharing my experiences and find it rewarding, but I also understand that some questions may concern memories that may make me uncomfortable, and that I may choose not to answer any questions I do not wish to discuss. I understand that I am free to end my participation at any time during the study. If I wish to stop before the end of the study, I will be provided part of the fee, up to the point of withdrawal. I also understand that no fee will be paid unless both mother and daughter participate in an interview.

Once I have completed the interview, I am free to ask questions regarding the study. I understand that I may request feedback and that, if I choose, Lan Chin, M.Phil. of the Department of Psychology, City College, City University, Convent Ave. at 138th Street, New York, New York, 10031 (212-631-5877) will send me a written summary of the basic results of the study. I may also contact the faculty advisor of the research, Dr. Diana Diamond, at 212-650-5662. If I have questions about my rights as a participant, I may call the Institutional Review Board office at 212-650-7903. If I wish a referral for psychological services, it will be provided at my request.

APPENDIX B

Mother's Interview
對母親的訪問部分

We'll start with a few questions about you and your background. [This section before the speech sample should be kept brief and strictly factual in order to avoid affecting the speech sample content. Redirect if necessary.]

我們將從幾個關於你和你的背景的問題開始。[在語音樣本前的這一部分要盡量做到簡明並且絕對真實，這樣做是爲了避免影響其後語音樣本的內容。如果必要的話可以進行重復詢問。]

-How old are you?

請問您的年齡是多少？

-What kind of educational background do you have?

請問您具有什麼樣的教育背景？

-What is your occupation?

請問您的職業是什麼？

-Do you participate in any Chinese organizations or religious activities?

請問您是否曾經參加過任何中國的宗教團體或活動？

-What is your primary language and other languages that you speak?

請問您主要使用的語言和其他會講的語言是哪些？

-Are you married or in a relationship?

請問您是否已婚或者處於一種穩定的關係中？

How long have you been in a relationship with your husband/your daughter's father?

在這個關係裏，請問您和您的丈夫或者您女兒的父親已經相處多長時間了？

What ethnicity is he?

請問他的種族是什麼？

How old is he?

請問他的年齡是多少？

What kind of educational background does he have?

請問他具有怎樣的教育背景？

What kind of occupation does he have?

請問他的職業是什麼？

-How many children do you have? What is/are the first name(s), gender, and age of your child/children?

請問您有幾個孩子？您的孩子的名字，性別和年齡分別是什麼？

-What was your city/country of origin?

請問您出身地所在的城市和國家是哪裏？

-What is/was the education and occupation of your mother?

請問您母親的教育背景和職業是什麼？

-What is/was the education and occupation of your father?

請問您父親的教育背景和職業是什麼？

-What is the ethnicity of your parents?

請問您父母的種族是什麼？

-What is the ethnic/religious background of your family?

請問您家庭的種族/宗教背景是什麼？

-Who was in your immediate family household as you were growing up? (siblings, parents, grandparents)

請問在您成長過程裏，誰是您的直接家長？(兄弟，父母，祖父母)

-How many brothers and sisters do you have, and how old are they?

請問您有多少兄弟姐妹，他們的年齡分別是多少？

Five minutes speech samples about your mother-
 下面我們要記錄幾個關於您母親的五分鐘語音樣本-

Now I'd like to hear your thoughts about your mother in your own words and without my interrupting with questions or comments. When I ask you to begin, I'd like you to speak for 5 minutes, telling me what kind of person your mother is/was, and how you got along together in your childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

現在我想聽聽在沒有我的提問和評論的幹擾下，您用您自己的話說出的對於您母親的想法。當我說開始以後，我想請您連續說五分鐘，告訴我您母親是怎樣的人，您和您母親相處如何，分別在您童年，青春期以及成人以後。

Note: If subject should stop before the five minutes are up, wait 30 seconds and then state once only, "Please tell me anything about your mother for a few more minutes."

注：如果受訪者在五分鐘到時前停止，在等候30秒鐘后就祇提示一次，“請再用幾分鐘的時間告訴我一些關於您母親的其他事情。”

Pre-Immigration Memories

移民前的回憶

- Describe what was the worst experience for you while living in the People's Republic of China.
請您描述一下當您在中華人民共和國時遇見的最壞的經歷。
- Describe what was the best experience during this time.
請您描述一下您在那段時光裏面最好的經歷。
- Describe a memory of dealing with the Communist Party?
請您描述一段在您記憶裏和共產黨打過交道的經歷。

Present Experiences

目前的經歷

- Describe the best experience you had in the past month.
請您描述一下您上個月裏最好的經歷。
- Describe the worst experience you had in the past month.
請您描述一下您上個月裏最壞的經歷。

Pre-Immigration Experiences Continued
移民前經歷(繼續)

Now I'd like to ask you more about the circumstances of your life just before you immigrated.
現在我想問您更多一些關於您移民前生活環境的問題。

-Please describe your experiences leading up to your immigration and what made you decide to immigrate to the United States in as much detail as possible?

請您盡可能詳細地描述一下導致您移民的經歷以及是什麼使您決定移民美國的。

-In what way was your family's life changed after the Chinese Communist Party came into power?

當中國共產黨當政以後，您的家庭生活發生了怎樣的改變？

Could you give me an example?

您能給我舉個例子么？

-Can you describe your experiences during that time?

您能給我描述一下您那段時間的經歷么？

-Can you tell me more about your family's and your experiences with the Communist Party?

您能告訴我更多一些的關於您和您的家庭和共產黨之間發生的經歷么？

-In what way did the political situation at the time in China influence your decision to immigrate to the United States?

那段時間中國的政治形勢是怎樣影響您關於移民美國的決定的？

-How often do you think about your experiences in China?

請問您有多經常地想到您在中國的經歷？

-Do you ever talk about life in China with anyone else? (husband, family, friends)

請問您是否曾經和別人說起過在中國的生活？(丈夫，家人，朋友)

-Have you gone back to visit since you left? What was that like for you?

請問您在離開後是否回去訪問過？感覺如何？

Immigration Experiences
移民經歷

[If the interviewee lived in another country for more than a year before moving to the United States inquire further about this time period]

[如果被訪者在移居美國前曾第三國居住過一年以上的時間，對那段時間要進行進一步的詢問]

-How long have you been in this country?
請問您在這個國家多長時間了？

-How old were you when you immigrated?
請問您移民時的年齡是多大？

-Could you describe your experiences while immigrating and getting settled in the United States in as much detail as possible?
您能盡可能詳細地描述一下您移民美國并在美國安定下來期間的經歷么？

-Who did you come here with? Did you know anyone here?
請問您是和誰一起來的？您在這裏認識什么人么？

-Who was in your family before your immigration? After your immigration? (how family changed)
在您移民以前家裏有哪些人？移民以後呢？(您的家庭經歷了什麼樣的改變)

-What general areas have you lived in since coming to this country? (urban? ethnic makeup?)-
Could you describe what was it like for you the first year in the United States? Thoughts and feelings? Examples?
您到這個國家之後在什麼樣的地區居住？(都市？華人聚居地？)您能描述一下您在美國第一年感覺怎樣么？思想上和情感上的？能舉些例子么？

-What was it like to be in a different culture?
置身一個不同的文化中的感覺是怎樣的？

-What was it like to be separated from family and friends in China?
和在中國的家人朋友分開的感覺是怎樣的？

-Did you keep in touch with those people? How did you keep in touch?
您和那些家人朋友保持聯繫了么？您當時是怎樣保持聯繫的？

-Did you have a support network here? If yes, who was in that network? How did they help with the transition? If no, were you able to develop a support network here? How long did it take?
您當時在這裏有能支持您的關係網么？如果有，都是誰在這個網絡裏面呢？他們怎

么幫助你完成過渡的？如果沒有，您當時有能力發展出這樣一個支持關係網么？您花了多長時間去發展。

-What was it like five years after you immigrated? Thoughts and feelings?
 在您移民五年以後，您的感覺怎樣？思想上和情感上的？

Family Communication 家庭交流

I'd like to get a sense of how you discussed things with your daughter, both things about your life in China and in general. I'm interested in how you talked to each other.
 我想了解一下您是怎樣和您的女兒談論事情的，關於您在中國的生活以及一般的事務。我感興趣的是您們之間如何相互交談。

-Did you tell your daughter about your pre-immigration experiences in China? Why or why not?
 您對您的女兒講您移民以前在中國的經歷么？為什麼講或為什麼不講？

-Your experiences with immigration? Why or why not?
 您對您的女兒講您移民的經歷么？為什麼講或為什麼不講？

-If you did discuss your experiences with her, when would these discussions take place? How did they begin?
 如果您曾經和她談論過您的這些經歷，您們通常在什麼地方談？這些談話一般是如何開始的？

-What was it like for you to talk to her about these things? Thoughts and feelings?
 您和她談論這些事情時的感覺是怎樣的？思想上和情感上的？

-What do you imagine it was like for her?
 您能想象一下她的感受是如何的？

-Were there specific things you wanted her to know about?
 有沒有什麼特定的事情您想讓她了解？

-Were there things you felt you could not bring up with her?
 有沒有什麼事情您不想和她提起？

Now I'd like to discuss your general communication with your daughter.
現在我想和您談論一下您和您女兒的一般意義上的交流。

-How open is your relationship with her?
您和她的關係有多坦率呢？

-Was your relationship one where things were discussed and shared, or were you more private?
您們的關係是一種共同討論和分享事情的關係，還是個人有更多隱私的關係？

-How open do you feel your daughter was/is with you?
您感覺您女兒對您有多坦率？

-Does she ask your advice? Give you advice? Confide in you? Conceal things from you?
她向您征求意见么？給您建議么？信任您么？對您隱瞞一些事情么？

-What kinds of things do you most frequently discuss? (personal, political, intellectual, general)
您們經常討論的是怎樣的事情？(私人的，政治的，知性的，一般的)

-If you could change anything in your relationship with your daughter, what would it be?
如果您能改變您和您女兒關係上的任何方面，您願意做出什麼改變呢？

Separation-Individuation 分離-個性化

-Were you ever separated from your daughter for any significant length of time during childhood or adolescence? If so, what were the circumstances, and what was it like at the time?
在您女兒童年和青春期期間，您和您女兒是否曾經分開過很長時間？如果有，是在什麼環境下，當時的情況是怎樣的？

-What was it like when your daughter was weaned? When she first walked?
您女兒斷奶的時候是怎樣的？她第一次走路呢？

-What was it like when your daughter first went to school as a child?
您女兒第一次去上學的情形如何？

-If your daughter previously lived or currently lives away from home, when did she leave home?
Under what circumstances? What was that like for you?
如果您女兒曾經或現在不在家住，她是什麼時候離開家的？在什麼情形下？您當時的感受如何？

-How have you felt about your daughter's life choices to this point? Career choices? Relationship choices? (If first generation w/ higher education: What is it like for you to have a daughter with a college education?)

至今為止，您覺得您女兒的生活選擇如何？職業選擇？男女關係上的選擇？(如果第一代是受過高等教育的：對有一個大學本科畢業的女兒您會有什么感受？)

-Was there a point when you can remember your daughter beginning to act like her own person? How did you respond to this?

您是否能回想起從某一時起您的女兒開始以獨立的自我去做事情了？您當時的反應是怎樣的？

-As your daughter was growing up, how did you handle her becoming more independent as she got older? Probe: For example, did your daughter do things on her own, make her own decisions, choose her own friends, clothes, etc.? Could you give some specific examples?

在您女兒成長的過程中，對於隨着年齡增長她變的越來越獨立，您是怎樣處理的？進一步調查：比如說，您女兒是否曾經獨立幹一些事，自己做一些決定，自己選擇朋友，衣服等等？您能具體舉些例子么？

-Did you encourage your daughter to be independent when she was a child? During her adolescence? Could you give some specific examples?

在您女兒童年時您是否曾鼓勵她變得獨立？青春期呢？您能具體舉些例子么？

-Did your husband encourage your daughter to be independent when she was a child? During her adolescence? Could you give some specific examples?

您的丈夫是否曾在您的女兒童年時鼓勵她變得獨立？青春期呢？您能具體舉些例子么？

-Did your daughter ever want to be more independent than you or your husband wanted her to be? What happened when she did something that you didn't want her to do? How would you react?

您的女兒是否曾想變得比您和您丈夫所期望的更加獨立？當她做了您們不想讓她做的事情的時候，會發生什么事？您們如何反應？

APPENDIX C

Daughter's Interview

We'll start with a few questions about you and your background [This section before the speech sample should be kept brief and strictly factual in order to avoid affecting the speech sample content. Redirect if necessary.]

-How old are you?

-What kind of educational background do you have?

-What is your occupation?

-Do you participate in any Chinese organizations or religious activities?

-What is your primary language and other languages that you speak?

-Are you married or in a relationship?

How long have you been in this relationship?

What ethnicity is he/she?

How old is he/she?

What kind of educational background does he/she have?

What kind of occupation does he/she have?

-Do you have children? What is/are the first name(s), gender, and age of your child/children?

-What was your city/country of origin?

-Are both of your parents still living?

-How old are they?

[Note If father is dead substitute the following:

How old was he when he died?

What was the cause of death?]

-What is/was the education and occupation of your mother?

-What is/was the education and occupation of your father?

-What is the ethnicity of your parents?

-What is the ethnic/religious background of your family?

-What was the primary language of your parents?

In what language did they speak with you? Each other?

-Who was in your immediate family household as you were growing up? (siblings, parents, grandparents)

-How many brothers and sisters do you have, and how old are they?

-Did you immigrate to the United States or were you born here? (If native born then skip to speech sample in next section.)

-How long have you been in this country?

-How old were you when you immigrated?

-Did you immigrate alone? Who came to America with you?

-Who was in your family before your immigration? After your immigration? (how family changed)

-What general areas have you lived in since coming to this country? (urban? ethnic makeup?)

Five minute speech samples about mother-

Now I'd like to hear your thoughts about your mother in your own words and without my interrupting with questions or comments. When I ask you to begin, I'd like you to speak for 5 minutes, telling me what kind of person your mother is, and how you got along together in your childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

Note: If subject should stop before the five minutes are up, wait 30 seconds and then state once only, "Please tell me anything about your mother for a few more minutes."

Early Memories

-Think back as far as you can and try to recall your very earliest memory. (Urge subject to come up with a specific incident rather than some general descriptive remarks) Your age at the time?

-Now, tell me your next earliest memory? Your age at the time?

-What is your earliest memory of your mother? Your age at the time?

-What is your earliest memory of your father? Your age at the time?

-What is your happiest or most pleasant memory of childhood? Your age at the time?

-What is your unhappiest or most unpleasant memory of childhood? Your age at the time?

Present Experiences

- Describe the best experience you had in the past month.
- Describe the worst experience you had in the past month.

Knowledge of Mother's Experiences

Now I'd like to ask you more about your knowledge of your mother's experiences in China just before she immigrated. Please tell me as much as you know for each question.

- Please describe your mother's experiences leading up to her immigration and what made her decide to immigrate to the United States in as much detail as possible?
- In what way was her family's life changed after the Chinese Communist Party came into power? Could you give an example?
- Can you describe her experiences during that time?
- Can you tell me more about her family's and her experiences with the Communist Party?
- What do you imagine were her thoughts and feelings during those times?
- In what way did the political climate at the time in China influence your mother's decision to immigrate to the United States?
- Are there any particular moments of your mother's experience that stand out for you? What are they?

- How often does your mother discuss her experiences in China with you?
- Does she ever talk about life in China with anyone else? (husband, family, friends)
- Have you gone to visit China? With your family? What was that like for you?

- What do you imagine it was like for your mother to immigrate and get settled in the United States? (If mother lived in another country for more than a year before moving to the United States inquire further.)
- Who did your mother come here with? Did she know anyone here?
- What was her first year in the United States like for her? How do you think she felt at that time?
- What was it like for her to be in a different culture?

- What was it like for her to be separated from friends and family in China?
- Did she keep in touch with these people?
- Did she have a support network here?
- What was it like for her five years after immigrating?

Family Communication

I'd like to get a sense of how you discussed things with your mother when you were growing up, both about your mother's life in China and things in general. I'm interested in how you talked to each other.

- Does any specific memory stand out for you about when you learned about your mother's life in China, or when you first wondered about it?
- Did your mother tell you about her experiences in China? Her experiences immigrating? What do you think her reasons were for telling you?
- If she did discuss her experiences with you, when would these discussions take place? How did they begin?
- What was it like for you to talk to her about these things? Thoughts and feelings?
- What do you imagine it was like for her?
- Were there specific things you wanted to know about?
- Were there things you felt you could not bring up with her?

Now I'd like to discuss your general communication with your mother.

- How open is your relationship with her?
- Was your relationship one where things were discussed and shared, or were you more private?
- How open do you feel your mother was/is with you? Does she give you advice? Does she ask your advice? Confide in you? Conceal things from you?
- What kinds of things do you most frequently discuss? (personal, political, intellectual, general)
- If you could change anything in your relationship with your mother, what would it be?

Separation-Individuation

-Were you ever separated from your parents for any significant length of time during childhood or adolescence? If so, what were the circumstances, and what was it like at the time?

-What was it like when you first went to school as a child? What felt different between life at home and at school? (ie feeling bicultural)

-If you previously lived or currently live away from home, when did you leave home? Under what circumstances? What was that like for you?

-How have you felt about your daughter's life choices to this point? Career choices? Relationship choices? (If first generation w/ higher education: What is it like for you to be the first generation with a college education?)

-Was there a point when you can remember beginning to feel like your own person? How did your parents' respond?

-When you were growing up from the time that you were a young child, until the time that you left home (or until now if still living at home), how would you describe what went on in your family around dependence versus independence? Probe: For example, did your parents let you do things on your own, make your own decisions, choose your own friends, clothes, etc . or did they try to control most aspects of your life? Could you give some specific examples?

-Did your mother encourage you to be independent during your childhood? During your adolescence? Could you give some specific examples?

-Did your father encourage you to be independent during your childhood? During your adolescence? Could you give some specific examples?

-Did you ever want to be more independent than your mother or father wanted you to be? What happened when you did something that they didn't want you to do? How would your parents react?

General Questions

I'd like to finish with some questions about yourself.

-What aspects of Chinese culture and traditions have you learned from your parents? If you plan to have children or have children already, what do you wish to pass on to them?

-How do you see your family's experiences affecting your current life? Is there any specific area of your life that it affects the most?

-What would you like your own children to know or remember about your family's history?

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