

Running head: EXPERIENCES OF FUJIANESE IMMIGRANTS

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS
OF FUJIANESE DESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF APPLIED AND PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY
OF
RUTGERS,
THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
BY
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 2016

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Abstract

This exploratory study investigated the intersection of psychological, legal, cultural, and immigration issues in the acculturation process of Fujianese immigrants in the United States, in order to provide psychologists and other professionals with the knowledge and the insight to work successfully with Fujianese clients. Thirteen Fujianese immigrants participated in interviews discussing different aspects of their psychosocial experiences, and a qualitative analysis of the interviews was conducted using a grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). Results revealed themes consistent with preexisting literature, including a common belief that coming to the United States is a means to prosperity, freedom, and honor; as well as an awareness that diverse challenges impact Fujianese immigrants' acculturation. Other key themes highlighted social connection as a source of emotional and pragmatic support; identified living in America as an experience that fostered growth in skills and perspectives; and revealed that stigmatized perceptions of mental health hinder help-seeking behavior. The current study revealed notable gaps in the Fujianese immigrant mental health literature with regard to culturally sensitive therapy when working with the Fujianese, including a lack of attention to themes such as dismantling the stigmatized perception of mental illness, and bridging the barriers between knowledge, access, and service delivery. Implications for future research and clinical practice included designing replication studies that investigate a more diverse spectrum of Fujianese demographics, as well as offering suggestions for ways in which clinicians can implement culturally sensitive interventions. Additionally, suggestions for community mental health programs, psychologists and other clinicians, policymakers, and lawyers included developing community outreach through psychoeducation,

collaborating with churches, training attorneys to provide empathic counsel, and advocating for funding to train and recruit more bilingual Fujianese therapists.

Acknowledgements

As I approach the end of my training at GSAPP, I am deeply thankful for the inspiring, loving, and supportive people who have made my journey meaningful. First of all, I would like to thank my committee members and mentors who have been tremendously committed to my learning and growth. Dr. Nancy Boyd-Franklin, I am so thankful for your words of encouragement, steadfast guidance, and helpful advice in my dissertation journey. With warmth and kindness, you have helped me reflect on my professional development and navigate complex decisions that reflected my authentic values and professional identity. I would also like to thank Dr. Brenna Bry for her guidance, advice, and support throughout my doctoral training. With caring and wisdom, you have encouraged me to diversify my clinical experiences, find unique directions in my research studies, and create space for self-care. To Dr. Jamie Walkup, thank you for your mentorship, words of wisdom, and dedication to my professional growth. Your integrity, scholarship, and compassion for social justice have inspired my special interest in working with individuals who are struggling with thin threads of hope. To my awesome GSAPP cohort, thank you for your friendships, accountability, sense of humor, and empathy. A special thank you to Traci, for constantly inspiring me with your heart of gold, courage, and counsel. Finally, to my family, thank you for ceaselessly believing in me, rooting for me, and spurring me on in the past five years as I transitioned careers, discovered my calling in psychology, and worked toward numerous milestones. Mom and Dad, thank you for devoting your love and resources to helping me realize my dreams. Hsing, I am lucky to have your support throughout this dissertation journey. Thank you for enriching my life with fun, love, and soulfulness.

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Introduction

Despite the significant growth of the Fujianese immigrant population in the United States (U.S.) over the past two decades, a comprehensive review of the literature indicates that few studies to date have specifically addressed the psychological challenges of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent. Through in-depth semi-structured interviews with thirteen Fujianese immigrants, this study attempted to fill the gap in preexisting literature by exploring the psychosocial experiences of Fujianese immigrants living in the United States. Utilizing a qualitative research methodology, this study aimed to further discover, understand, and elucidate the poignant and unique concerns of this population.

The purpose and objectives of the study were multifaceted. A qualitative study design using the grounded theory methodology was used to explore common themes experienced by Fujianese immigrants in their psychosocial process. This study explored the following research questions in order to better understand the experiences of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent in the U.S.:

- 1) What are some of the most salient factors motivating Fujianese immigrants' decisions to emigrate to the United States?
- 2) What type of acculturation and adjustment challenges do Fujianese immigrants face while living in the United States?
- 3) What type of coping mechanisms do Fujianese immigrants employ while dealing with the psychosocial challenges of their immigration experience?
- 4) What are some of the barriers to accessing and receiving mental health treatment when Fujianese immigrants face psychological concerns?
- 5) How do Fujianese immigrants conceptualize their goals and future prospects in

the United States?

Literature Review

The Growing Trend of Fujianese Immigration to the United States

The rise of Fujianese immigration to the United States is an interesting phenomenon that is best investigated within the context of recent migration patterns from East Asia. While often misused as seemingly equivalent or interchangeable words, the terms “emigrate,” “immigrate,” and “migrate” have distinctively different meanings and implications. While emigrate is defined as leaving one’s country of origin to live in another country, immigrate is construed to mean coming into another country to live permanently (Scott, 2009). In contrast to the words “emigrate” and “immigrate” which have narrower implications, the word “migrate” is used more broadly and generally refers to moving out of, into, or within different localities or regions in the world (Scott, 2009). While epidemiological data revealed a gradual slowdown of emigration from Latin American and European countries, it shows that there has been a noticeable increase in migration activities from East Asian countries (Pumariiega, Rothe, & Pumariiega, 2005). Data from the U.S. Census Bureau indicated that nearly one in three of the 9.2 million foreign-born East Asian Americans, currently living in the US, entered the country between 2000 and 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Despite the rapidly rising representation of the foreign-born East Asian immigrant population in the United States, scholars specifically noted a lack of a robust body of research on risk factors, help-seeking behavior, and mental health access for these immigrants (Lee, Lei, & Sue, 2001).

With an estimated population of 4.3 million, Chinese Americans are the largest Asian American subgroup in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2013). Although earlier waves of Chinese immigrants mostly came from Guangdong province in southern

China, anthropologists observe that since the early 1980s, there has been a remarkable growth of an undocumented group of immigrants from Fujian province (Guest, 2004; Liang & Ye, 2001). While previous statistics from the U.S. State Department of State estimated that 100,000 Fujianese individuals resided in the Greater New York area in 1994, more recent estimates reported that approximately 30,000 Fujianese immigrants enter the U.S., each year (Wu, 2003; Zhang, 2008). Many scholars have cautioned that because a lack of legal immigration status is highly prevalent within the Fujianese Chinese immigrant subgroup, population estimates from multiple sources likely provide an underestimate of the exact number of Fujianese immigrants who presently live in the U.S. (Lai, Lo, Ngo, Chou, & Yang, 2013). While Fujianese individuals share many linguistic and cultural similarities with other Chinese subgroups, mental health professionals and researchers have identified them as a uniquely vulnerable at-risk group of immigrants due to the significantly disadvantaged immigration context and psychological challenges (Lai et al., 2013).

Although definitive demographic information on Fujianese immigration to the United States was not available, Liang (2001) utilized Chinese census data and found that in 1995 the Fujianese comprised the largest group of emigrants from China (28.1%). Liang's (2001) research showed that Fujianese emigrants varied from Chinese emigrants from other regions in China in important ways. First, two-thirds (65.6%) of Fujianese emigrants were rural residents as compared to only 17.6% of the other Chinese emigrants (Liang, 2001; Liang & Morooka, 2004). Second, the Fujianese emigrants were less educated, with only 5% having had any college education as compared to 46.6% of the other Chinese emigrants (Liang, 2001). Liang observed that this limited education likely

contributes to this population's inability to participate in China's economic boom and their need to seek employment elsewhere (Liang, 2001; Wang, 2001).

Salient Factors Stimulating Emigration from Fujian

Scholars have also analyzed how the notable shifts and developments in U.S. and Chinese migration laws have spurred the Fujianese migration movement (Yoshikawa, 2011). The rise of the Fujianese migration movement could be accounted for by two mutually reinforcing changes in policy: China's loosening of emigration restrictions in the 1970s and less restrictive immigration policies in the U. S. in the late 1980s. Historians and anthropologists have noted that the Chinese Communist regime had far-reaching implications on the history of Chinese emigration (Liang, 2001). After the Chinese Communist Party became the dominant political force in 1949, a tight political control of individual freedom and intellectual expression during the Cultural Revolution resulted in extensive restrictions on emigration (Zhou, 1992). However, when progressive leaders rose to political power in the late 1970s, China increasingly began to endorse laws that loosened its restrictions on emigration policies. In 1986, the People's Congress of China passed a law that stipulated emigration as a basic human right of Chinese citizens, which allowed a large wave of aspiring migrants from the coastal regions of China such as Guangdong and Fujian to begin charting the course of their emigrations to the U.S. (Liang, 2001). Furthermore, following the enactment of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which offered amnesty to millions of undocumented immigrants in America, and President George H.W. Bush's asylum program in 1989, emigration from Fujian province to the U.S. rapidly surged within a more forgiving climate on illegal immigration (Liang, 2001).

Migration experts identified several factors that stimulated the increase of emigration from Fujian province. Among many important factors, Liang and Ye (2001) noted Fujian's unique geography as one of the most salient factors that contributed to emigration patterns in the country. As a coastal province located in the southeastern tip of China, within close proximities to prosperous Asian cities such as Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, in many ways Fujian is ideally situated as a hub and springboard of emigration activities. Citing the lasting influence of China's post-1978 economic reforms, Guest (2003) noted that the post-1978 economic reforms in China also played a pivotal role in transforming Fujian into a bustling mecca of emigration. As a result of the Chinese government's active endorsement of market-based economy, the Fujian region as a whole has experienced a vibrant growth of independent businesses, which further created the financial resources and incentives supporting the supply and demand of emigration (Guest, 2003).

In addition to geographic and economic factors, ethnographic fieldwork has also identified important political factors that have contributed to the rise of emigration from Fujian (Chin, 1999; Guest, 2003). Investigating emigration patterns among the younger generation of Fujianese immigrants, Leung (2002) posited that a lack of religious freedom and the strict imposition of the one-child policy are significant motivators that compel the younger Fujianese cohort to live abroad. As a one-party communist nation that has traditionally ruled with an "iron fist," China had a longstanding history of human rights violations and a notable reputation for arresting, ostracizing, and detaining members of the Falun Gong and Christian churches, often resorting to egregiously punitive measures (Leung, 2002; Guest, 2003). Furthermore, even though families with

financial resources and government affiliations had the luxury of raising multiple children while escaping the radar of the one-child policy enforcement, families without such resources often faced harsh consequences such as coerced abortion or sterilization (Lai et al., 2013).

While the constellation of geographic, legal, historical, and political factors often served as powerful contributors to Fujianese emigration, researchers consistently cited the allure of higher wages in the United States as the single most significant factor that motivated the Fujianese to live in the U.S. When analyzing the myriad factors that compelled Fujianese emigration to the U.S., Chin (1999) posited that at the heart of the migration decision was the desire to attain higher economic standing, financial and personal liberties, and self-actualization opportunities in America. In addition, Guest (2011) noted that Fujianese individuals from rural communities immigrate to the U.S. because of the powerful and seductive pull of the lucrative labor market. While the annual income from working in a farming or fishing village in Fujian might range from \$500 to \$750 U.S. dollars, a newly arrived immigrant who worked as a busboy in a busy Chinese restaurant in the U.S. might make approximately \$1,500 a month (Guest, 2011).

Illegal Immigration and Circuitous Journeys from Fujian to the U.S.

While the passage of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 has triggered the dramatic growth of Chinese immigration to the United States (Guest, 2011), due to bureaucratic barriers and strict legal thresholds, it remains difficult for individuals from the People's Republic of China to obtain visas that would support longer-term trips in the U.S. While an auspicious minority of immigrants have had access to legal migration options through family- or employer-sponsored visas, the vast majority

resorted to illegal means (Zhang & Chin, 2002). Motivated by the desire to vastly improve their lives and livelihood, Fujianese immigrants who planned to have a longer stay in the U.S. utilized a wide range of methods to enter the country. Chin (1999) provided a detailed account of clandestine immigration via the human smuggling network or “snakeheads” (p.56). Typical smuggling routes entail a combination of air, sea, and land travels (Chin, 1999). Smuggled immigrants usually landed in the Central or South American coasts, then proceeded to cross the U.S. border by land (Kwong, 2002).

Anecdotal reports from Fujianese immigrants indicated that the costs of smuggling can at times exceed \$80,000 and frequently entailed multiple payment installments (Zhang, 2008). Informants also reported that in the event that payments were not received on time, debt collectors might resort to threat, intimidation, and coercion (Zhang & Chin, 2002). These intense pressures of paying off large sums of smuggling debts, while protecting oneself from harm and coercion, often caused the newly arrived Fujianese immigrant to juggle long work hours while rapidly adjusting to the unfamiliarity of a new community (Chin, 1999).

The Dual Impact of Fujianese Immigration on Immigrant-Sending and Immigrant-Receiving Communities

Scholars have observed that the surge of Fujianese migration has noticeably reshaped cultural norms in both immigrant-sending regions in Fujian and immigrant-receiving communities in the U.S. (Guest, 2011; Liang & Ye, 2001). Scholars have also noted that the impact of emigration has significantly revamped the financial culture and standard of living in Fujian (Guest, 2011; Liang & Ye, 2001). Field studies have shown that remittances from Fujianese abroad have sponsored impressive reconstructions of

ancestral temples, new roads, schools, and libraries in Fujianese villages (Guest, 2011). Furthermore, scholars have also studied the impact of remittances through changes in consumption patterns. Analyzing data from the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey and controlling for other important sociodemographic characteristics such as age, education, and occupation, Liang and Zhang (1999) found that families with emigrants are more likely to live in larger houses, have private bathrooms, and use pricier cooking fuel. Accounting for the active influx of remittances and the lavish patterns of Fujianese emigrants who visit their home communities, Liang and Ye (2001) also noted that unequal income distribution and feeling deprived when compared to friends and relatives abroad might create further impetus for Fujianese facing financial struggles to go abroad. While the influx of remittances provided funding to tangibly revamp local infrastructures, the opportunity to make one's family and community proud with generous donations also provides meaningful incentives for Fujianese immigrants to work doubly hard in the United States.

When examining the impact of Fujianese migrations on immigrant-receiving communities in the U.S., scholars have investigated ways in which the emergence of Fujianese immigrants has substantially transformed the socioeconomic demographics in New York's ethnic Chinese enclaves. With regard to economic changes, Liang and Ye (2001) observed that as "new blood" in Chinatown, Fujianese immigrants were increasingly rivaling the "old-timers" from Guangdong and had taken control of the majority of the Chinese takeout restaurants, as well as the garment industry (Liang & Ye, 2001; p.202). In addition, the surge of Fujianese immigrants has also shifted the transnational political dynamics between the Fujianese and Cantonese communities in

Chinatown (Liang & Ye, 2001). Recent immigrants from Fujian who are more politically inclined to support Mainland China might find themselves ideologically at odds with immigrants from Guangdong who espouse the political views of Taiwan (Liang & Ye, 2001).

With regard to how religious life has impacted the Fujianese immigration experience, Guest (2011) studied 12 Chinese religious institutions in New York's Chinatown and Brooklyn serving the Fujianese population exclusively. The largest religious institution out of the 12, The Church of Grace, currently serves more than a thousand Fujianese members in their regular congregation. Drawing extensive data from a combination of participant research and in-depth interviews, Guest found that in addition to serving as a center for spiritual renewal, organized Fujianese religious communities in New York provide powerful avenues for the mobilization of social capital, constructing social ties among undocumented immigrants, and providing the opportunities to live out alternative identities beyond the identities of the undocumented working poor (Guest, 2011). In addition, religious communities also allowed for the construction of alternative roles in church congregations that provided counterpoints to the Fujianese experiences of marginalization and dislocation, and the discourses of illegality and otherness associated with the Fujianese ethnic enclaves in the U.S. (Guest, 2011).

Immigration and Identity Transformation: Psychosocial Variables Associated with Immigration

The experience of immigration almost always entails a “culture shock,” generating anxiety and challenging the immigrant’s psychic organization (Zhou, 2008). Drawing from extensive clinical work with immigrants of diverse cultural backgrounds in psychodynamic psychotherapy, Akhtar (1999) cogently described immigration as a complex psychosocial process with a powerful and lasting impact upon an individual’s identity. Akhtar’s insightful conceptualization of the psychosocial challenges commonly experienced by immigrants of varying backgrounds is not only instructive for clinical work with the general immigrant population, but also has direct relevance to understanding the unique challenges of Fujianese immigrants. According to Akhtar (1999), because the immigration experience entails the coexistence of culture shock and mourning for the familiar, which can severely disorient and dismantle an individual’s identity and sense of self, he recommended that therapists intervene with a heightened sensitivity and flexibility. In addition, Akhtar emphasized the importance of helping immigrants experience “emotional refueling” through therapy, maintaining contact with [the] home community, and establishing new bonds in the new country (Akhtar, 1999; p. 79).

Of specific relevance when studying the psychosocial experiences of Fujianese immigrants is appreciating the impact of legal status on the psychosocial experiences of immigrants. Akhtar (1999) observed that the psychological outcome of immigration is often closely affected by the nature of immigration status. Undocumented immigrants who entered the country in clandestine and perilous ways often continued to suffer from post-traumatic effects of their distressing journeys long after their arrival (Akhtar, 1999; Chin & Yoshikawa, 2011). Moreover, Akhtar indicated that immigrants who came via

disruptive migration pathways may be especially vulnerable to exploitation, live with imagined and perceived threats to their safety and survival, and suffer from deeply ingrained shame and unworthiness (Akthar, 1999).

The Impact of Migration and Core Lived Values on Treatment Seeking Behavior Among Fujianese Immigrants

Based on in-depth analyses of ethnographic texts on the Chinese social organization, Yang and Kleinman (2008) identified several interconnected “core lived values” that are deeply embedded within Chinese social norms: the maintenance of moral dignity (“upholding face”), the perpetuation of family lineage through marriage and children, the deepening and expansion of social exchange networks (“guanxi”), and the continuous striving for social status through financial and vocational success (Kleinman, 1998; Yang & Kleinman, 2008; Yang et al., 2007; p. 1528). In addition, Yang and Kleinman (2008) further posited that the building of a social network enables one to access and mobilize social capital to achieve more financial success, which in turn, represents social status within one’s community and contributes to one’s sense of “personhood” (Yang & Kleinman, 2008, p.1527). Clinicians who have worked extensively with Fujianese clients in community mental health, hospital, and social services settings observe that the “core lived values” that Yang and Kleinman (2008) have depicted are not only very much aligned with the Fujianese worldview, but also significantly impact treatment and help seeking behavior (Lai et al., 2013).

Based on extensive analysis of over ten years of combined clinical experience with the Fujianese immigrant group, Lai et al. (2013) identified salient clinical concerns and treatment recommendations for the Fujianese immigrant population. The authors

discussed ways in which sociocultural forces interact with post-migration stressors to impact the onset, manifestation, diagnosis, and treatment of symptoms in this group of immigrants (Lai et al., 2013). According to Lai et al. (2013), the pursuit of four social goals such as paying off immigration debt, improving social standing through marriage, the accumulation of wealth, and the acquisition of immigration documents constituted the core social motivations of the Fujianese immigrant group. Furthermore, migration stressors and the avidness with which Fujianese immigrants pursue these social goals were often critical factors in both exacerbating psychiatric symptoms and interfering with treatment adherence (Shea, Yang, & Leong, 2010).

Model Minority Myth

While some research has explored the mental health challenges Chinese American immigrants face in the context of the *model minority* myth, few studies to date have specifically explored the psychosocial and mental health concerns of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent. At the core of the *model minority* myth is the assumption that East Asian Americans are industrious, modest, deferent to authorities, and high-achieving. Despite validating the veracity of some of these attributes, research has also shown that the model minority conceptualization often undermines the mental health challenges Asian Americans face and generates a façade that Asian Americans have fewer psychological struggles than other groups as a result of their relative educational, occupational, and financial achievements. (Sue, 1994; Sue & Sue, 2012). In addition, research has also indicated that the media's depictions of the *model minority* stereotype is doing a disservice to this population group, which has resulted in Asian Americans as a group not getting enough resources and attention in regards to critical issues such as

acculturative stress, intimate partner violence, lack of a social support network, intergenerational relationships, and mental health (Xia, Do & Xie, 2013).

Psychological Health, Perceptions of Mental Health Treatment, Barriers to Seeking Help

Because the Fujianese experience traumatic migration journeys, social isolation, and arduous work hours, many health problems often arise and exacerbate the challenges they already experience in their acculturation process (Lai et al., 2013). In working with immigrants, expert clinicians recommend being aware of the complexities brought up by immigration and the cultural forces that provide motivation for individual behaviors and attitudes (Shouler-Ocak, Reiske, Rapp, & Henz, 2008). Research has shown that not attending to the clients' unique cultural and immigration history in therapy could lead to therapeutic ruptures and misalliances (Rapp, & Henz, 2008).

Based on an integrative chart review and clinical survey of social, clinical, and service use characteristics among all Fujianese patients at a mental health clinic in New York from 1998 through 2000, Law, Hutton and Chan (2003) observed that in contrast to Fujianese patients who have legal status in the United States, undocumented Fujianese patients report a higher rate of hospitalization, lower treatment compliance, and less insight into illness. In addition, the study also noted that undocumented Fujianese immigrants also experience poorer mental health outcomes in comparison to the documented Fujianese individuals. Law, Hutton and Chan's (2003) findings suggested the need to examine ways in which social disadvantages such as uncertainty in immigration status can create barriers to mental health treatment and serve as stressors that impair their psychological health.

While primarily focused on depicting the arduous migration journeys of Fujianese individuals who were smuggled into the United States, Chin (1999) also discussed ways that adjustment difficulties, stressful working conditions, traumas of migration, and language barriers often cause Fujianese immigrants to be especially vulnerable to mental health challenges. Furthermore, Chin (1999) observed the lack of social services and mental health programs that appropriately meet the needs of Fujianese immigrants and suggested the strong need for future research in psychology to investigate the psychological vulnerabilities of the Fujianese population.

Although no research to date has specifically examined the mental health utilization patterns for Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent, the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS) found that foreign-born Asian Americans tend to underutilize mental health services (Le Myer et al., 2009). Furthermore, studies have found that the long-term mental health service underutilization patterns of Asian Americans result in more severe and chronic symptom manifestation when treatment is finally sought (Durvasula & Sue, 1996; U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2011). The reasons for such underutilization include cultural beliefs and values about the nature of mental illness, lack of culturally appropriate mental health services, and the stigma attached to mental illness (Mak et al., 2009; Lee & Mock, 2005). While the specific roles of shame and stigma on the help-seeking behavior of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent is yet to be investigated by researchers, experts on Asian American psychology have underscored how shame and stigma hinder Chinese Americans from seeking professional help to address their mental health issues (Kung, 2004). Specifically, Confucian values such as shielding the family from shame, preserving one's dignity, and

introspection were often perceived as salient factors that cause Chinese Americans to defer seeking mental health care for longer periods than other ethnic groups (Okazaki et al., 2014).

In sum, prior research on the Fujianese immigrant population has identified salient ways in which this group's demographic and sociocultural background place them at a significant disadvantage when compared to other Chinese immigrant groups (Chin, 1999; Lai et al., 2013). Nonetheless, in contrast to a wealth of psychology literature that addresses the acculturation challenges experienced by Asian Americans and culturally competent ways to help them navigate these problems in psychotherapy (Sue, 1994; Sue, 2010; Kung, 2004), there is a significant lack of literature to date that has investigated the therapeutic needs, treatment seeking behavior, and barriers to mental health treatment as experienced by the Fujianese population.

Undocumented Fujianese Parents Raising American-Born Children

Through a series of in-depth interviews and field observations of twenty-four Fujianese Chinese, Dominican, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and African American immigrant mothers, Yoshikawa (2011) conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study that explored the ways in which the undocumented status of immigrant parents influences the development of their U.S. citizen children. Yoshikawa (2011) maintained that being without legal papers shapes the everyday interaction of young parents with institutions, affects their young children's learning, and impacts the relationships within the households. In addition, Yoshikawa (2011) posited that even though undocumented parents employ a resourceful range of survival strategies to provide for their children's learning, health, and development, their status as undocumented parents still represents a

risk, not a source of resilience, in the development of these children. Furthermore, Yoshikawa's (2011) study also revealed that the fear of deportation in undocumented mothers was directly related to lower child cognitive skills. Depressed, anxious, and withdrawn parents were less likely to talk and interact with their children, to respond quickly to communications, or to show warm affect with them. These lower levels of responsiveness in undocumented immigrant parents further lead to lower levels of early language and cognitive skills. Results from Yoshikawa's study suggested that a lack of access to stimulating childcare and fewer financial resources to invest in children, harm the early development of children by increasing parental stress and reducing the amount of stimulation that parents can provide and purchase for young children.

While studying Chinese American immigrant families, Sue and Sue (2008) observed that acculturation gaps within Chinese American families may also present as a source of conflicts as children in immigrant families often learn English and acculturate faster than their parents. Sue and Sue (2008) noted that these differential rates of acculturation may sometimes render parents excessively dependent on their children for translation, pragmatic tasks, and social interactions. While this type of role-reversal has been observed to negatively affect the quality of parent-child relationships, children may also eventually adopt American values such as individualistic goals that are divergent from their collectivistic family orientation, which in turn triggers discord, disagreement, and disappointment within the family (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Sue & Sue, 2008). As undocumented Fujianese parents strive to provide nurturance, guidance, and financial resources for their children, it is likely that conflicts resulting from differential rates of

acculturation within the family may add an additional layer of stressors to their challenging circumstances.

Acculturation and Post-Migration Stress as Experienced by Fujianese Women

Acknowledging that Fujianese immigrants' acculturation process and post-migration stress have been understudied, Yu, Han and Tseng (2012) utilized a quantitative analysis to investigate the predictors of post-migration stress for Fujianese immigrant women. Results from the study's bivariate analyses suggested that having a Fujianese cultural and immigration background was a significant predictor of a higher level of post-migration stress after controlling for acculturation and demographic characteristics (Yu, Han & Tseng, 2012). Furthermore, the study revealed that the acculturation process, as measured by the difference in embracing the Chinese culture and American culture, was a significant predictor of the post-migration stress for all Fujianese women, and that embracing both cultures increased the level of post-migration stress (Yu, Han & Tseng, 2012). The authors concluded that this paradoxical finding might indicate that the more Chinese immigrant women immersed themselves in American culture, the higher their awareness of cultural differences (Yu, Han & Tseng, 2012). In contrast, by remaining marginal to the new culture, less-accultured women were temporarily protected from the stress associated with these differences and thus experienced a lower level of post-migration stress (Yu, Han & Tseng, 2012).

Method

Participants

Participants for this study were recruited via network sampling. Initially, the researcher contacted personal and professional contacts to identify potential participants who might be interested in taking part in the study. This type of sampling involved asking each person interviewed for new contacts, an approach Patton (2002) describes as conducive to “locating information-rich key informants or critical cases” (p. 237). Four volunteers who agreed to participate in the study recommended Fujianese cultural informants and other Fujianese immigrants who might be interested in participating in this study.

Regarding the subjects’ demographic background, thirteen Chinese individuals (age 21-65), who identified as immigrants of Fujianese descent, were recruited for this study. All of the subjects recruited were individuals born and raised in Fujian, China and who had lived in the U.S. for at least one year at the time of the interview. This one-year criterion was chosen based on the assumption that subjects who have resided in the U.S. for one year have spent some time engaged and immersed in their new life experiences prior to the interview. Furthermore, considering the potentially disorienting and distressing psychosocial challenges that new immigrants encounter upon immediate entry into a new country, these exclusionary criteria also served as a means to protect more recent immigrants from possible psychological harm as a result of their participation in the study. Of the thirteen participants, the average number of years since arriving in the

U.S. was 7.5 years (range: 2-13 years). While the majority of the subjects resided in New York (n=11, 85 %), two subjects (n=2, 15%) resided in North Carolina and Virginia.

The sample recruited for this study was predominantly female. Three participants identified as male (23%) and ten participants (77%) identified as female. The average age of participants was 39 years old, with a range of 23-55 years old. The majority of the participants identified as married (n=11, 85%), and two subjects reported as single (n=2, 15%). All of the married participants indicated that they had children in the household.

In terms of education and training, two subjects (15%) graduated from college, three subjects completed high school (23%), and eight subjects (62%) finished middle school. While two subjects identified as homemakers (15%), eleven (85%) subjects identified as currently employed. Of the eleven participants who indicated that they were currently employed, nine subjects worked in the restaurant industry, one subject worked in the financial sector, and one identified as a self-employed investor.

With regard to the participants' religion and spirituality, ten subjects identified as Christian (77%) and three subjects (23%) identified as agnostic. In terms of the subjects' level of language competencies, only one subject identified as fluent in English (7%), while twelve subjects (93%) reported having a basic command of conversational English. All thirteen participants indicated that they spoke and read Mandarin fluently. While Fujian is well-known for its diversity of spoken dialects such as Minnan, Hakka, Fuzhou, and Mandarin, consistent with other provinces in China, Mandarin is the official language that is commonly used for communication between people of all localities in Fujian (Chin, 1999). For these reasons, all interviews were conducted in Mandarin by this

researcher and subjects were also provided with Mandarin versions of all questionnaires and informed consent protocols.

Measures

This study utilized a demographic questionnaire and a semi-structured interview to collect data from the participants. McCracken (1998) suggested using a biographical set of questions to start the interview and to gather an overview of the descriptive details of the respondents' lives. An instrument, The Fujianese Immigrant Questionnaire (See Appendix A), which consisted of 10-questions, was developed by the principal investigator of this study to gather initial background information. This questionnaire requested information from the participants regarding their demographics (including age, gender, marital status, education attainment, family composition, birth place), English proficiency level, and a brief description of their current location in the United States.

After receiving a description of the study in Mandarin and signing the informed consent in Mandarin (see Appendix C), The Fujianese Immigrant Questionnaire was provided to the participants at the start of the meeting prior to the semi-structured interview. After participants completed the questionnaire, a semi-structured interview, the Fujianese Immigrant Interview Protocol (see Appendix B), was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' immigration experiences. The Fujianese Immigrant Interview Protocol was constructed using concepts of qualitative research (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) as well questions and themes raised in previous research (Chin, 1999; Lai et al., 2012; Law, Hutton & Chan, 2003). The protocol included a series of open-ended questions, close-ended questions, and prompts related to seven primary areas: 1) the immigrant's migration history and experience, 2) the ways in which the immigrant

maintains and preserves ties to China, 3) the nature of the immigrant's current relationships (including experiences of social support, community building, and stigma), 4) the immigrant's employment experiences, 5) the immigrant's conceptualization of his or her new life in the United States (including subjective experience of adapting to new cultural norms and lifestyles, available coping mechanisms, and use of community resources, 6) the immigrant's conceptualization of core lived values (including self-concept, strengths, and the pursuit of social goals), and 7) the immigrant's experiences of psychological health, perceptions of mental health treatment, and barriers to seeking help.

Procedures

Individuals who contacted the principal investigator about their interest in the study were informed about the purpose and procedures of the study. The principal investigator assessed the individual's eligibility for the study. Once eligibility was determined, an in-person interview, at a location of the subject's choosing, or a phone interview was arranged. Individuals not considered eligible for the study, due to the exclusion criteria, were provided with an explanation of why they were ineligible and thanked for their time and interest.

Participants were informed that the principal investigator was a Chinese doctoral level student in clinical psychology at Rutgers University, who hoped to study the experiences of Fujianese immigrants in the United States. At the beginning of each in-person interview, the investigator asked the participant to sign a written informed consent form (See Appendix C). The investigator encouraged the participant to raise any questions about the study, provided informative answers to their questions, and asked the participant to sign the consent form and the permission for the interview to be audio-

recorded (see Appendix D). For interviews conducted over the phone, the script for oral assent form (see Appendix E) was read to the participant and the participant's agreement was recorded before proceeding with the interview. Although none of the participants who were interviewed indicated any signs of emotional distress during the interview, the principal investigator was prepared to provide referrals to Fujianese-speaking mental health professionals as needed.

The principal investigator conducted all in-person interviews in settings that were private, comfortable and convenient for the interviewees. For phone interviews, the primary investigator informed the participant of the importance of finding a setting that ensured comfort, privacy and confidentiality. All participants were assigned a case number prior to the interview. The measures contained no identifying information beyond the participant case number. The interviews were audiotaped for later review and transcription, with accompanying field notes to ensure the accuracy and integrity of the data collected. No identifying information was attached to audiotapes or transcriptions. Each interview lasted approximately one and one half hours.

Treatment of the Data

All signed consent forms were kept separate from participant interview responses and held in a locked file to which only the primary investigator had access. Participants were given a copy of their signed consent form for their records. All participants were interviewed using the Fujianese Immigrant Questionnaire (See Appendix A) and the Fujianese Immigrant Interview Protocol (See Appendix B), developed by the principal investigator. All data were used to answer the research questions listed above. In order to ensure utmost confidentiality, all participants were told that they would have the option

of using a pseudonym when signing the informed consent form. In addition, their statements were collapsed with other participants' statements in the results section of the write-up of the study. In order to protect participant confidentiality, all data will be managed and stored in accordance with IRB rules and regulations.

Data Analysis

Based on the administration of the semi-structured interviews described above, the data collected were predominantly qualitative in nature and described the psychosocial experiences of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent who have spent at least one year in the United States. The primary goal of the data analysis was to identify common themes among the participants interviewed and determine the “categories, relationships and assumptions that inform [participants'] view[s] of the world in general and the topic in particular.” (McCracken, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2014; p. 257)

Data were analyzed using Corbin and Strauss' (2014) Grounded Theory Methodology. Distinguishing and synthesizing responses from all participants, the grounded theory approach accounts for similarities and differences between the responses to build salient themes (Morse & Richards, 2002). In working with the data, the focus was on facilitating a “continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Corbin & Strauss, 2014).

The grounded theory analysis for this study unfolded over three sequential phases: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). During the open coding phase, the principal investigator reviewed each transcript for both micro- and macro-level themes and thoroughly scrutinized the data for similarities and

differences. While micro-level themes were extracted by analyzing each transcript line by line, broader themes were developed from examining each transcript as a whole.

The second phase of the data analysis, axial coding, focused on relating concepts to one another and linking the various levels of concepts to build themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). The goal of the axial coding phase of the analysis was to examine the causal relationships between the various concepts and categories that were identified in the open coding phase. Axial coding equips the researcher to identify, connect, and understand patterns that appear in a given model (Corbin & Strauss, 2014).

In selective coding, the final phase of the data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2014), the researcher focused on integrating and synthesizing data. In addition, this phase also aimed to further finesse and validate any connections between categories previously identified (Strauss & Corbin, 2008). This process linked categories with a core model that composed the theory that was grounded in the data itself. In this final stage, the researcher combined results across research questions to develop general themes and concepts that were significantly substantiated by the responses of the Fujianese participants.

Results

This section outlines participant responses to a semi-structured interview divided into five major sections. These sections included subjects' 1) reflections on their migration experience to the United States; 2) conceptualization of their social support within and outside of their immigrant communities; 3) choice of coping mechanisms while engaging with and adapting to their new lifestyles and cultural norms; 4) conceptualization of their core lived values, self-concept, strengths, and social goals in America; and 5) understanding of their psychological health, perceptions of mental health treatment, and barriers to seeking help. Each of the five main sections of the interview are further subdivided and discussed below.

Reflections on the Migration Experience to the United States

Reasons for coming to the United States. At the beginning of the interview, participants were asked to discuss factors that motivated their decision to come to the United States. Nine of the thirteen participants (69%) cited their hope for better financial opportunities as an important reason for coming to this country. One subject acknowledged the financial allure of working abroad, "I came here to make money. China is densely populated and highly competitive. You have to get past too many barriers to make a good living in China." Another subject described the materialistic appeal of earning higher wages in the U.S., "...easier to make a living, materialistically it's better...In the US, we can get designer brands, gadgets for a much cheaper price. Plus, wages are much higher in the USA."

Two participants (18%) indicated that they sought to establish themselves in the U.S. to fulfill parental or cultural expectations. As one subject put it, “America was known as the Land of Gold, so my parents assumed life in the U.S. would be very prosperous.” Another participant noted that the trend of immigration in Fujian impacted his decision to migrate, “It is part of our culture and custom to establish better lives abroad. Most able-bodied young people in Fujian would not waste their lives away in their hometowns.”

Two subjects (18%) also considered the challenge of dealing with adverse political climates in China as a compelling factor that encouraged them to leave their country. As one subject described:

I was a teacher in China and worked closely with bureaucrats. They were very uncivilized and corrupted. They used brute force and bribery to resolve conflicts.

Everything relied on having personal connections with the Chinese officials.

Even getting re-certified for my job or finding a good doctor required connections.

Similarly, another subject noted her desire to seek to break free from the boundaries of governmental restrictions, “At least America is a free country, my kids will not be brain-washed by the local government. They will be able to obtain a bright future for themselves based on their own merits and not be bullied by the Chinese government.”

Hopes, expectations, and the reality of living in the United States. Participants were also asked to reflect on their initial hopes and expectations of living in America and contrast them with their current impressions of living in this country. While six out of thirteen (46%) subjects indicated that their new lives in the U.S. either met or exceeded

their expectations, seven subjects (54%) reported that the harsh realities of living in this country drastically differed from their original hopes and expectations.

Subjects discussed their difficulties coping with the living conditions and lifestyles in their new immigrant communities. As one subject stated, “I did not expect to live in such squalid living conditions. I used to dream of living in a floor to ceiling apartment in America. Little did I know that I would become a waitress and share a tiny apartment with my cousin.” Similarly, another subject described being hindered by not having access to a car, “Life is 108,000 miles from what I expected. I did not expect life to be so dull and bland. It is hard to get around without a car. I feel stuck most of the time.” Another subject noted her challenge of adapting new social class structures within her immigrant community,

Leaving my established life in China and starting from scratch in America meant that I had to descend from a white-collar society to blue-collar community. It took me a while to adjust to people whose education levels were lower than mine. I work closely with people who can barely read and write in Chinese, it was something I needed to get used to when I moved here.

Subjects also shared candidly about positive aspects of living in the United States. One subject asserted her perception of experiencing enhanced liberties and dignities in this country, “The US government seems to treat people better than the Chinese government. They respect human rights and offer better social benefits here.” In the words of another subject, “At the very least, there is freedom here. In China, I was always brainwashed, but now I can exercise my own willpower.”

The remaining responses to this question included subjects who indicated that their sole expectation of making more money abroad has been met since working in the United States, and subjects who spoke positively about their appreciation of the clean and orderly suburban environments in this country. As stated by one subject who indicated that he was very pleased with meeting his financial goals in the United States:

My initial financial goals were very modest, I just wanted to pay off my immigration debts and send some extra money to my parents in Fujian.

But I am pleasantly surprised that my earnings have allowed me to not only meet those initial goals but also begin saving up for luxury items such as a car, an air conditioning unit, and a flat-screen television.

In the words of another subject who remarked on how living in the suburbs of New York has improved her health, “I used to have chronic asthma in Fujian because the air was so dirty and toxic. The suburbs here are neater, cleaner, and more spacious. My health has improved immensely since coming to this country and I no longer have asthma attacks.”

Conceptualization of Social Support, Community Building, and Stigma

Subjects responded to a set of questions related to the nature, quality, and types of social support they sought, built, or received within and outside of their Fujianese ethnic communities.

Social bonds within the Fujianese immigrant community. Ten of the thirteen subjects (77%) indicated that they lived in a predominantly Fujianese neighborhood. In discussing their relationships with other Fujianese immigrants, while most subjects expressed an appreciation for the amount of support they received, a few individuals experienced fellow Fujianese immigrants as less welcoming and supportive than they had

hoped. One subject observed a culture of good will among the community of Fujianese immigrants, “The Fujianese I have met have been extremely helpful. Fujianese people like to help newcomers because we believe that good will begets good will.” In contrast, two subjects (15%) reported that they experienced an absence of support and generosity in the Fujianese community,

When I first arrived and reached out for help, everyone avoided me like plague.

Fujianese people are selfish. The tough lives we have lived forced you to be more self-interested. When there is a lot of pressure to succeed, make money, and send money home, helping others becomes a low priority.

Similarly, another subject noted instances in which conflicts of interests prevented opportunities for bonding and cohesion within the Fujianese community, “We are all underprivileged, so we have to fight for resources and put food on the table. We are selfish even toward people of our own clan, it is about survival for the fittest.”

Interactions with Chinese immigrants of non-Fujianese descent. When reflecting on their experiences with local Chinese individuals who are not from Fujian, twelve subjects (92%) reported recalling varying degrees of negative experiences. When discussing his interactions with Cantonese coworkers, one participant noted:

Cantonese people especially treat us with animosity. They tend to look down on newly-arrived Fujianese immigrants. They think we are uncouth and lack hygiene.

I think they must be envious of us because we earn higher wages in restaurants than they do.

Two subjects (15%) described feeling especially disconnected from Chinese individuals who were born and raised in the United States. According to one individual, “Chinese Americans treat us very badly. It makes me sad that our own people would look down on us.” Similarly, in the words of another subject who worked in a garment shop where many of the employees are Chinese Americans:

Chinese Americans treat us poorly. People from the working class treat one another very well, but the more privileged America-born Chinese think that we are low-brow, inferior, and lack manners. They call us “villagers” and tend to ignore us in supermarkets or restaurants.

In contrast to the majority of subjects who had mostly negative experiences when interacting with non-Fujianese Chinese individuals, one subject offered a more nuanced interpretation of her mixed feelings,

I am proud of my Fujianese heritage but try to get along with Chinese people from different groups. I call myself the “Venn Diagram.” I speak Mandarin, Fujianese, Cantonese, and English. My language, backgrounds, and social circles overlap. I feel like an outsider who does not belong to any particularly group at times, but I cherish my diversity.

Interactions with non-Chinese groups and experiences of stigma and discrimination. When asked about their experiences with non-Chinese ethnic groups, the subjects reported a mix of positive and negative experiences. When recalling positive interactions with non-Chinese individuals, two subjects (15%) praised their American neighbors as “courteous, helpful, and civil” and expressed an appreciation for how Americans are “resourceful and good at helping me solve problems.”

One subject recalled an unpleasant encounter in which he was assaulted and insulted:

I was waiting at a bus stop and a white man came to punch me twice on my face.

He told me to “Go back to China.” My non-Chinese coworkers laugh at my table manners and call me the “Chinese pig.”

Another subject described feeling embarrassed when he felt teased and judged by his non-Chinese coworkers:

People make fun of us all the time. They think we are from a lower-class, they complain that we eat too loudly. They came up with a term to describe the way we eat, “Chinese Doggy Style.” I feel embarrassed and ashamed but I do not want to get into trouble by retaliating. I just smiled and move on.

Similarly, another subject expressed a sense of helplessness when he experienced judgment and discrimination:

I have experienced subtle discriminations here and there. The non-Chinese I have met have always assumed that I don’t understand a single word of English. Yes, I sense prejudice everywhere but I just try not to think about it too much because there is nothing I can do about it.

Religious involvement as a coping mechanism. Six of the thirteen participants (46%) reported that they became born-again Christians in the United States. All six of the Christian Fujianese interviewees identified as keen participants in the Fujianese Church of Grace in New York City and regarded their church congregation as an integral avenue of practical resources and social support. One subject expressed his appreciation

of the practical help he received from his church which help to ease his initial transitions in New York:

When I first arrived in New York, I felt completely overwhelmed and helpless in my new environment. I could not speak a word of English and was too scared to take the subway. For months and months I lived a hermit life, until my neighbor invited me to church. In China I was taught to be suspicious of organized religions, but what I experienced in the Christian church completely changed my life. For the first time in my life, I met a group of people who [were] genuinely kind and warm-hearted. They taught me how to use the subway, helped me find a job in a restaurant, and even paired me up with a free English tutor. Without their help, I could not have survived my first year in New York.

Two participants who struggled immensely with loneliness during their initial months in the United States noted the role of church as an important source of social networking. In the words of one subject:

When I first arrived in America, my lonely life solely revolved around work and I had no social outlet. My coworkers were kind to me, but they were much older and we did not have much in common. My life became richer and more colorful when I started going to church. I started fellowshiping with a few people my age and very soon we formed a group and enjoyed group activities such as karaoke, hiking, and board games.

One subject also discussed the ways that Christianity reshaped her values and helped her find meaning as a new immigrant:

My life was meaningless until I got to know God. I was just busy working day and night, aimlessly saving every penny I could as a new immigrant who was trying to pay off immigration debts. Life was bleak and hopeless. I felt that my sole purpose in America was to pay off my debts and put food on the table for my family. When I got to know God, my values and outlooks changed radically. I began to realize that because there is hope for eternity in heaven, my current struggles are not in vain. I began to experience joy amidst my difficult circumstances.

Unique Challenges While Engaging with New Lifestyles and Cultural Norms

Subjects were asked to reflect on the learning, challenges, opportunities, and changes they have experienced while being immersed in the new lifestyles and cultural values in this country.

Overcoming language barriers. One of the most difficult adjustments subjects faced while adjusting to life in the United States was the challenge of learning English. Several participants indicated that managing responsibilities such as a demanding work schedule, childcare, providing care for the in-laws, and housekeeping tasks often hindered their goal of learning English. In the words of one subject who felt discouraged by not having sufficient time in her schedule to learn English:

After getting home from my twelve hour shift at the restaurant, I am just utterly exhausted. I still need to cook for my children, put them to bed, and get ready for the next day. On nights when I could not fall asleep right away, I study English vocab cards, but my mind is too tired to absorb anything. On weekends I have to spend time with my husband who I barely see during the week and do grocery

shopping for my in-laws. I want to improve my English and maybe enroll in an ESL English class, but I just do not have time.

Other participants noted that living in a Fujianese ethnic enclave does not leave much room for opportunities to learn, use, or practice English:

I live in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Within a two-mile radius, there are more than twenty Fujianese restaurants and grocery stores. The local clinics and barber shops are also operated with Fujianese speaking staff. All my friends and neighbors are from Fujian. The church I go to offer[s] a Fujianese service. I get most of my needs met without having to speak or understand too much English. I am very comfortable where I live, I do not feel especially motivated to learn English right now.

Despite the different schedules and circumstances each participant has, the majority of the subjects appeared to share the perception that becoming proficient in English would positively impact their quality of life in the United States in numerous ways. In the words of one subject:

Mastering English would help me feel like a true member of the American society.

Instead of learning about what is happening in this country from Chinese newspapers, I can simply turn on the radio or television and let the English information wash over me. I could make friends with English-speaking Americans and not restrict my social life to the homogenous Fujianese community.

One subject also noted how learning English would help foster a closer relationship with her children:

My kids are struggling with their homework and interacting well with teachers and peers. I feel helpless whenever they bring worksheets or newsletters home and ask me to read over them. I feel so embarrassed to tell them that my reading comprehension level is too low. If I know English better, I can be so much more effective and supportive as a parent. Not knowing English creates a cultural rift between my kids and I. It pains me to know that one day when my kids grow older and become more acculturated in this country we will grow apart, simply because I cannot watch the shows they enjoy, talk to their American peers, or communicate with their English-speaking significant others.

Similarly, another subject identified not having a strong command of English as a barrier to supporting her children's educational and personal development:

My son is having a rough time in school. They are good kids and do well in classes, but they tend to get pushed around a lot by kids who have louder personalities and are more sturdier built. I want to meet with the teacher and try to find out how the school could help my son better, but my English is so limited. I know that they can probably find a translator to help me express myself so that I can communicate with the teachers, but I feel embarrassed to let them see that even my son speaks better English than I do. I also considered switching my son to a better school, but I have no idea how to do the research. There is very little material translated into Chinese.

The fears and perils of being undocumented. When asked if they might be willing to discuss their immigration status, all thirteen participants offered candid responses despite the sensitive nature of the topic. Of the thirteen subjects in this study, five (38%) identified as green card holders and eight (62%) indicated that they currently do not have a viable legal status to reside in the United States. Responses from subjects who were in green card status consistently pointed to the significant tangible benefits and psychological peace of mind that resulted from being legal permanent residents in this country. In the words of one subject who had just received his green card a few months prior to this interview:

The day I became a permanent resident of the United States, I was ecstatic. It is better than winning a lottery. With a green card, I am now free to switch jobs, do something I enjoy, and not be tied to my horrible restaurant job. I also look forward to being eligible to all sorts of government benefits. Before getting my green card, I was undocumented for many years and felt like an unwanted guest in this country who had to be under the radar. Now, I finally feel like a legitimate member of this country.

Similarly, another subject spoke about experiencing a sense of safety and permanence after receiving her green card:

For many years, I did not have legal status to remain in this country and felt that the government could seize me at any time. I would keep on hearing stories of undocumented immigrants being detained by immigration and eventually sent back to China. Whenever I heard loud noises at my door, I would feel very paranoid and stay up the whole night out of the fear that I might be seized by the

government. Receiving my green card was the best thing that has ever happened to me. With legal status and its protections, I can finally start laying down my roots in this country.

All of the eight subjects who are undocumented immigrants perceived having legal status to remain in the United States as an important goal and expressed a strong motivation to seek different ways to attain permanent residency. One subject shared that she has applied to obtain legal status through seeking asylum based on the grounds of potential religious persecution and fears of returning to China:

Since coming to America, I have become a born again Christian. I have devoted my life to walk with Jesus Christ and nothing can change that. I know that one day if I return to China with my strong Christian convictions, the Chinese government will punish me because organized religion is not permitted in China. I have applied for asylum status to remain in this country so that I can continue to experience religious freedom. I am hoping to hear good news soon. Once I receive asylum, I am considered a legal permanent resident in this country.

Another participant candidly discussed his unsuccessful attempts to obtain a marriage-based green card:

For the past two years, I have been trying to meet many women in the Fujianese community. Perhaps I am too frank and direct about what I am looking for, I tend to scare them away. I would like to marry a woman who is a U.S. citizen so that I can obtain legal documents to remain in this country. As soon as I share this intention with the women I am dating, they seem to question if I am truly sincere

about wanting a relationship with them. I do not understand why they feel this way. I am a pragmatic man, I believe that a marriage is based on having shared goals and respect, not romance.

Challenging work environments. Of the thirteen interviewees, eight (62%) identified as holding full-time jobs, four (31%) are homeworkers, and one (7%) is currently unemployed due to work-related injuries. Out of the eight subjects who are currently employed, one works as an accountant, and seven are employees in Chinese restaurants. While most of the subjects who work in Chinese restaurants acknowledged the perk of making a good living through high wages and tips, they unanimously expressed concerns about the long hours and a lack of a work/life balance. In the words of one subject who works over twelve hours a day as a busboy in a Chinese restaurant:

Working twelve hours a day has been really tough. I am expected to get in before sunrise and leave after sunset. I am indoors all day; it is almost like I never get to see the daylight and I am greeted by the moon when I leave work. Working in restaurants is a very boring and monotonous endeavor for me. After working here for a while, you can no longer envision any hope for the future, restaurant workers get depressed easily.

Another subject noted how the monotony of working in restaurants has negatively impacted her mood and attitude:

Working in the restaurant industry is incredibly monotonous and tedious. This type of work lacks challenges, I don't learn anything new, and I have become less motivated to want to make changes to my life. This kind of work environment

has made me become a pessimistic person. I used to have a sunny disposition and real ambitions, but now I can no longer see the light at the end of the tunnel.

Similarly, one subject discussed his struggle with not experiencing room for personal growth in his role as a restaurant sous-chef:

I just washed dishes, cut things into small pieces, and simmer them in pots. It is so repetitive, I never learn anything new. All my co-workers are Chinese, so I have had not had a chance to improve my English at work. I barely have any contact with Americans. I feel that my entire life is confined to the Chinese restaurant, it is as if I have not left China at all.

Struggling with childrearing and long-distance marriages. Of the four participants who identified as homemakers, all of them are females and reported that their husbands work out-of-state. While the four participants described the challenges of maintaining a long-distance marriage, they also acknowledged that even though such a living arrangement is not ideal, it is quite common for Fujianese immigrants to work away from home due to the appeal of higher wages in other states. When commenting on the challenges of her long-distance marriage, one subject noted:

I live in New York and my husband works in North Carolina. For the past five years, I only see him on the weekends. He does not have a car and travels for over five hours each way in a bus that is packed with other migrant workers. He is completely depleted from a long week at work when he gets home, he barely has any energy left to interact with the kids. I used to miss him terribly but I have learned to be strong without him. I have learned to fix stuff around the house and handle most heavy tasks on my own. But what scares me the most is

the fact that my kids are now used to not having him around. They no longer ask when he is coming home and I have noticed they are shy and inhibited around him. It makes me sad to think that my children barely know their father.

One subject reflected on the negative impact that a long-distance living arrangement has on her marriage:

We used to be really close emotionally. After two years of only seeing each other on the weekends, we are beginning to run out of things to say on the phone. When we see each other on the weekends, we are often running errands, spending time with our in-laws, or taking the kids to medical appointments. We no longer know how to spend quality time with each other. My husband is beginning to feel like a stranger to me.

Another subject discussed the perils of infidelity in a long distance marriage and the challenge of recovering from an extramarital affair:

Two years into our long-distance marriage, I found out that my husband has been fooling around with several female staff at his workplace. I felt very betrayed and hurt, but I did not want to give up on my marriage. It took me a whole year to convince my husband to let go of his mistresses for the sake of our family and marriage. He was reluctant in the beginning and he admitted that it is very difficult and lonely for him to not have [his wife] close by. The risk of infidelity is very real in long distance marriages. I am slowly learning to trust my husband again, but it is difficult to mend a broken commitment. I felt very alone when working to repair my marriage. I could not turn to my friends and family for support and counsel because I was deeply ashamed.

Conceptualization of core values, self-concepts, and goals

Subjects were asked to take an inventory of their core values, personal goals, and self-concepts and consider the ways those constructs have been shaped, informed, or changed by their immigration experiences.

Living abroad as a growth experience: Acquiring values, attitudes, and skills.

Several subjects indicated that moving to the United States and being immersed in the immigration experience has helped them become more self-aware and open-minded about new values and worldviews. In the words of one subject:

Since coming to America, I have experienced a new desire for self-improvement.

I realized that for way too many ways I have been brainwashed and tricked by the Chinese government. I am treated like a human being here, not just as someone [who] needs to absorb government propaganda in order to be unthinking robots.

Because I am allowed to have room for self-expression here, I am able to think hard about what I really want in life.

Other subjects spoke of the new attitudes they adopted or assimilated while being exposed to a democratic environment. While one subject observed a growth in positive outlook “Americans are so optimistic about life. I have learned to look on the brighter side while living here,” another subject shared that he has become more self-reliant while living in this country, “I used to live with my extended family and we relied on one another for tasks and chores. Since coming here, I have become more independent and learned the “DIY” (do it yourself) approach to solve problems on my own.” One subject who has been actively involved with a Fujianese cultural networking group asserted that he has developed a new awareness of his role in the society:

Living in America and going to church has encouraged me to break out of my self-protective shell. Back in China I was always just looking out for myself and my immediate family. Here, because the country protects our basic human rights, I feel more motivated to be civil-minded and responsible for other members of the society at large.

Another subject who identified as a keen participant in a Fujianese church congregation remarked on how being in this country has made him become more aware of the importance of social justice:

The U.S. society offers warmth and compassion to the vulnerable and poor. I feel that social justice is more emphasized here than it is in China. I used to ignore the socially marginalized and just minded my own business. But I have received so much help from churches and non-profit groups during my hard times in this country, I would like to find a way to give back.

Using skills and values acquired in China. When subjects were asked to reflect on whether or not the skills and values they learned in China have helped or benefited their adjustment to living in America, nine subjects (69%) struggled with coming up with a response and indicated that they could barely think of anything at all. In the words of one subject:

Nothing I learned in China was helpful to life in the U.S. In fact, many of the things we were taught at school put us at a disadvantage in this country. For example, we were taught to be deferent to the authorities and not express opposing opinions, but here not speaking up means losing out on good opportunities.

Four subjects (31%) reflected on the ways traditional Chinese virtues such as frugality, filial piety, respect for the elderly, and industriousness have enriched and enhanced their experiences in the U.S. In the words of one subject:

One thing growing up in China and a communist society has taught me well is to never take any person or resource for granted. I was taught to save for the rainy day and to do everything I can to protect the honor and integrity for my family. I believe that these virtues have made me a stronger person and gave me the strength to take on new challenges in this country.

Another subject considered how an upbringing that focused on the Confucian values of harmony and tolerance helped him navigate various interpersonal conflicts in America:

I was the firstborn out of a family of eight children. We value the teachings of Confucius that focus on peace and non-confrontation. My mother taught me how to refrain from confrontations and conflicts and how to put the needs of others before my own. This attitude has served me well in America. Even though I get [taken] advantage of sometimes, I am well-liked and never get into conflicts.

The pursuit of personal goals. With the exception of two subjects (15%) who indicated that they could not identify concrete goals in their lives, the rest of the subjects (85%) were able to identify personal goals and articulate their rationales for committing to those goals. One subject expressed her desire to utilize education and community resources in the U.S. to ensure that her children could thrive in an optimal learning environment. In her words:

I want to raise my children to become outstanding people. I want them to have the capacity for originality, to follow their dreams, and to not let mainstream and

traditional expectations and standards dictate what they do in life. Here in America, they can become free thinkers and be completely unencumbered by Communist doctrines.

Four subjects (23%) noted the salience of wealth building as an important personal goal. In the words of one subject, “The main reason why I risked everything I had to come all the way to America is the hope that I can become rich and prosperous here.” Another subject connected the importance of being financially established to his desire to bring honor to his family and hometown:

In Fujianese culture, it is very important to honor your family and community. Many immigrants who have become successful in America were able to eventually make huge contributions to their hometowns in Fujian. With the hard-earned wealth they accumulated in the U.S., they were able to build new schools, renovate libraries, and install water filtration tanks in their home communities. I have been wiring money home to my parents every month, I know I do a good job taking care of them, but I want to do more. I want to build a new community center in my village and do my family proud.

Finally, six of the thirteen subjects (46%) who identified as Christians discussed deepening their spiritual commitment as an important personal goal and how being able to pursue religious freedom has helped them attain the goal:

Even though Communist teaching dulled my mind and hardened my heart in more ways imaginable, I am so grateful that I was able to start my Christian walk in the U.S. Christianity has changed me from the inside out. I used to see the world as the Chinese textbooks saw it, but now I can see things through the compassionate

eyes of a Christian. Christianity has taught me that happiness is more than an accumulation of wealth, I want to commit more time to studying the Bible and serving my church.

Understanding of psychological health, mental health treatment, and barriers to seeking help

Towards the end of the interview, participants were asked to reflect upon their understanding of psychological health, discuss any prior experiences with mental health treatment, and identify potential barriers that might hinder their willingness or ability to seek help from a mental health professional. Participants were asked a number of questions involving personal experiences of psychological disorders or emotional distress, distinctions between physical well-being and psychological health, common perceptions of mental health in Fujianese culture, and anticipated barriers to seeking and receiving mental health treatment.

Experiences of psychological problems since arriving in America. When asked about whether or not they have experienced psychological problems, all thirteen participants provided an answer to the question in varying degrees of depth and candor despite the delicate and potentially stigmatizing nature of the topic. Three subjects (23%) endorsed having experienced significant psychological distress since coming to this country. According to one subject (7%), who suffered from stressors related to childbirth and family conflicts:

After giving birth to my second daughter, I became very depressed. My husband and in-laws were disappointed that I gave birth to two daughters in a row when they really wanted me to have a son. I understood that Fujianese culture values

sons more than daughters, but I just could not accept how cold and critical they were to me. I felt punished for giving birth to two girls. For several weeks, I had insomnia and I would lie in bed all day feeling all the self-blame. I became passively suicidal, I was very angry at the whole world, and I felt hopeless. I would cry, scream, and have emotional fits. No one understood my situation, my friends and family could not help me. I had no one to talk to. My in-laws even took my daughters away from me because they felt that I could no longer care for them. Eventually I went to see my family doctor who referred me [to] a psychiatrist. I was diagnosed with post-partum depression and prescribed antidepressants. Being diagnosed and treated for a psychological problem was an entirely new phenomenon for me, I have been strong all my life. I did not know my mind could be so fragile.

Another subject reflected on how a combination of work stressors, failed relationships, and struggles with sexual orientation led her to become depressed:

I went through a very dark period in my life when I first arrived in this country. I was working long hours in a very hostile environment. My coworkers would get into fist fights over small things and my boss was verbally abusive to us. On top of the stressors at work, I was finding a hard time with the women I dated. My emotional and love life have always been complicated. I am a lesbian. In China, I am seen as an anomaly and freak of nature. I cannot help who I fall in love with, but every time I date a girl, I had to hide the relationship from my family and friends. I always picked the wrong women too, girls who would expect me to spend all my money on them. I felt like a complete loser during

my first year in America, I had no money, love, or dreams. In the midst of my despair, I started isolating myself. At times I would strike the walls and cry for hours at a time. I had no one to turn to and I did not know who could help me. I was depressed but I did not want to find treatment for it because I was worried that others will find out and gossip about me and alienate me.

One subject who had navigated significant difficulties in her marriage talked about how she and her husband struggled with managing their conflicts and emotional pains:

When my husband had an affair with a co-worker from his restaurant, I was devastated and felt that my marriage is doomed. I did not know how to cope with my intense sadness and hopelessness. My husband and I would yell at each other in front of our children and sometimes even smash dishes in the kitchen. Our fights were turbulent and we did not know how to repair our marriage. We turned to leaders at church for guidance and counsel, but we felt ashamed and judged. They pointed us to the Bible, prayed for us, and pointed us to the wisdom of God, but all I wanted was someone to just listen to me and comfort me.

Understanding the roles of mental health professionals. Participants presented with varying degrees of knowledge, sophistication, and depth with regard to understanding the role of mental health professionals. While three subjects (23%) had a basic understanding of how a psychologist, clinical social worker, or psychiatrist could help a person in psychological crisis, ten subjects (77%) provided responses that indicated confusion and misconception of the roles of mental health professionals.

In the words of one subject who articulated a basic understanding of the roles of mental health professionals:

I know that there are different types of mental health professionals. Some of them

are able to prescribe medications, others ...cannot. Most of them are trained to provide counseling and help to people who are struggling with mental illness, depression, and suicidal thoughts. Some mental health workers are employed by hospitals, others work in clinics, and in some cases, they do treatment or consultation in the patients' homes.

While many subjects had a piecemeal understanding of the mental health profession, they generally did not appear to have a solid understanding of the roles of mental health professionals. When asked to consider in what ways does seeing a doctor for mental health services differs from seeing a doctor for physical ailments or illness, subjects had varying degrees of understanding. In the words of one subject:

Based on what I see in the media, it seems like psychotherapists will analyze your problems and tune into your feelings. They are perceptive and observant. When you have something you cannot solve on your own, you turn to them for consultation. Other than that, I really don't know. I must admit that I am not really familiar with this modality.

Knowledge of existing local mental health services. When queried about their familiarity with, and awareness of the available mental health services in their local communities, participants presented with varying degrees of knowledge. Four subjects (31%) indicated that they were aware of free suicide hotlines, three subjects (23%) mentioned that they knew several bilingual mental health professionals in their neighborhoods, and six subjects (46%) held the assumptions that mental health services were unaffordable and unavailable to undocumented immigrants.

One subject described experiencing hesitation and inhibition when she attempted to reach out to a hotline after experiencing a romantic breakup. In her words:

I am aware that there is a Chinese mental health hotline. In fact, I occasionally dialed the hotline when I was feeling sad or down. I remember that one time after a very bad breakup, I was trapped by my own darkness and felt that I would never be loved again. I saw a hotline number from the Chinese newspaper, so I started dialing the number. I felt so nervous and so overwhelmed that I had to hang up before the phone call went through. I saved the hotline number in my cell phone and attempted to dial the number again a few days later, but hung up each time before I reached someone. Why did I do that? I felt so ashamed. I wanted someone to help me and support me, but I did not want to feel emotionally naked in front of a stranger on the other side of the line.

Prior or current experience with mental health services. With the exception of one subject who indicated that she saw a psychiatrist for the treatment of postpartum depression, all twelve subjects reported that they had no prior or current experience with mental health services.

Sources of support for psychological or emotional problems. Participants were asked to identify various avenues of support when they experience psychological or emotional problems. While three subjects (23%) indicated that they preferred to solely keep to themselves in times of emotional trouble or discomfort, the remaining ten subjects (77%) maintained that they relied on friends, family members, or religious leaders in times of distress. In the words of one subject who resorted to solo activities and self-reliance in times of emotional distress:

I prefer to play online computer games when I am feeling lonely and down.

Reaching out to acquaintances and coworkers from the restaurant make me feel worse, because they incessantly complain about their own loneliness and troubles.

It makes me hate my life here all the more.

Of the seven subjects who preferred to reach out to other people in times of distress, one subject spoke fondly of the value of connecting with people while living in a foreign country:

In Fujian, I lived in a fishing village with my parents, siblings, and dozens of extended relatives. Although I wished I had more privacy in my life back then, I was never lonely and knew that the people nearby were instantly available to help me in times of need. I would like to establish a similar support network here in the U.S. I believe that having solid support network here will help me endure tough and lonely times as I adjust to living in a new country.

Likelihood of seeking or recommending mental health services. Five subjects (38%) indicated that they are likely to seek and/or recommend mental health services when appropriate in the future, and seven subjects (62%) expressed various reasons that would deter them from seeking or recommending mental health services. In the words of one subject who maintained that it is unlikely that she will consider reaching out to a mental health professional:

I am disappointed in psychologists. I used to have a psychologist friend who seemed to be very repressed and disillusioned about her life. She would confide in me about the messy relationships in which she was entangled and she was clueless about how to make those relationships and her own life happier. If she could not

help herself, how is she qualified to help others? There might be effective psychologists out there, but it is unlikely that I will seek out mental health services. I would much rather go to church or practice Chinese meditation to make myself feel better.

Another subject maintained that he prioritizes the practical components of his life before emotional well-being:

I am not opposed to therapy if my basic needs like food, shelter, and a healthy cash flow are present. If it is just financial stressors I am going through, I think I am better off sorting things out with my spouse first. If people are impoverished, they should address their financial needs first, otherwise they won't have the patience or mental energy to receive therapy. They won't be receptive or find therapy relevant to their lives.

Another subject who took pride in her self-reliance reported considering the severity of her psychological distress as a measure of whether or not she would reach out to mental health services in the future, "I will not go see a shrink unless I become severely depressed or suicidal. My distress has never gotten that far yet. I have suffered from setbacks, but I have always been strong enough to pull myself out of the emotional quagmire."

While one subject did not endorse the value of psychological services for herself, she reported seeing value in recommending services to others:

I don't think I will need psychological services in the future, but I think they should be made available to other people, especially the ones who are super

religious. There are people who are mentally unstable but they do not even realize it. Psychologists are more trained and professional than missionaries and pastors. At least they won't brainwash and bombard you with religious doctrines when you are your weakest, which is like giving you drugs when you are vulnerable. The church thinks they can cure you, but they cannot. Sometimes when you are really sick, you need a real doctor, religion is not really a cure.

One participant indicated that her desire to uphold the dignity of her family is a compelling reason that discourages her from connecting with mental health services in times of distress. In her words:

I have a very large extended family in New York and Fujian. News and rumors travel very fast. I cannot risk discussing my problems with a professional and trust that he or she will keep things confidential. Gossip is part of Fujianese culture. Even the kindest and most trustworthy people find gossip entertaining. I cannot risk shaming my family. My parents will be devastated and become the laughing stock of the community if they hear about my problems from their neighbors.

Three participants also indicated the lack of free time and funding as major deterrents to connecting with mental health services. According to one subject who worked gruelingly long hours in a restaurant, "I hardly have the time and luxury to even stock up my fridge and take care of my family, why would I even consider going to a professional to talk about my problems?" Similarly, in the words of one subject who reported seeing money as a main hindrance to receiving mental health services:

Healthcare is very expensive in this country. As an undocumented immigrant, I am not eligible for health insurance. I need to save every penny I have to pay off my immigration debts. Of course, I am under a whole lot of stress and could benefit from some talking to someone. But unless I can find free counseling services somewhere, I will not be able to afford to see a counselor any time soon.

Factors preventing Fujianese immigrants from seeking and receiving mental health services. While three subjects (23%) stated that they did not have any opinion or knowledge on what factors might prevent Fujianese immigrants from seeking and receiving mental health services, ten subjects (77%) offered observations and input on the topic. Nine subjects (69%) indicated that a lack of time, money, and free time are salient factors that hinder Fujianese immigrants from seeking psychological services. In the words of one subject who summarized the combination of reasons that reduced the likelihood of Fujianese immigrants from seeking therapy:

Most of my Fujianese friends in the U.S. work non-stop. They are under a lot of pressure to make money, pay off their debts, find a legally viable way to remain in this country, provide for their family, and just to survive in this country. They do not have the time to think about their psychological problems, let alone find time to solve their problems.

Similarly, another participant indicated that not having financial resources, health insurance, and legal status are important factors that prevented her from seeking mental health services:

When I was suffering from depression, I really wanted to see a psychiatrist for consultation and medications, but I did not have health insurance to cover my

expenses. I considered paying out of pocket, but I found out that it would cost an exorbitant amount of money which I did not have saved up. My friends suggested that I go see the doctor and ask for a discount anyway, but I was afraid that the clinic would ask to see my legal documents and find out that I am an illegal immigrant in America. I had to choose between depression or deportation, I chose being depressed.

Another subject offered his observations on the role of preserving one's dignity and pride as an important factor that makes confiding in a professional about private issues an unappealing way of help-seeking:

Fujianese people are not forthright. They tend to hide and cover their problems and pretend as if nothing has happened. In our culture, it is very important to "save face," in order to preserve one's dignity, pride, and esteem. There is a motto we live by in our culture: keep your family's disgrace and dishonor within the locked gate of your family; thou shall not dishonor your family name. Unless the therapist is also a family member, it is almost unthinkable for a Fujianese person to confide in and seek help from a stranger, regardless of how many impressive professional licenses and degrees this person has.

One subject was concerned that a lack of open-mindedness to new knowledge or practices might prevent Fujianese immigrants from getting the help and support they needed:

I have seen way too many Fujianese immigrants bring their Chinese ways to the USA and refuse to be open-minded to new knowledge or way of life. It makes me really frustrated when I see neighbors and friends who are mentally deluded or manic use acupuncture or herbal medicine to calm their minds. Clearly, they need

to see a mental health practitioner to address their problems, but they are fearful of anything that is new and unfamiliar to them.

Two subjects (17%) maintained that a lack of general education and psychoeducation are salient factors that hinder Fujianese immigrants from seeking mental health services. In the words of one subject, “Most Fujianese immigrants are uneducated. Some of them do not even know the difference between a dentist and a medical doctor, so they are clueless about what a psychologist can do for them.” Another subject offered his reflections on a lack of awareness of mental health in Fujianese culture:

Fujianese people are very pragmatic. We do not focus on cultivating our emotional lives. We are more concerned about our immediate goals and less concerned about intangible worries. Fujianese people do not appreciate psychological health. There is a general lack of awareness in what it means to be mentally healthy unless things go south.

Conceptualizations of mental health treatment and mental health

professionals. As described in the previous section, participants were asked to operationalize and elaborate on their ideas, perceptions, and conceptualizations of what mental health treatment and the mental health profession entail. Participants were also asked to share their thoughts on what comes to mind when they envisioned being in therapy with a mental health service provider.

One participant illustrated her conception of the function and role of psychologists with the use of a metaphor, “I think of humans as machines. Sometimes they break down. I think of psychologists as technicians that can help fix the machines so that you can continue to function properly.” Another participant perceived psychologists

as doctors who are skilled problem solvers, “The doctor can help me sort through my problems, the doctor can help guide and navigate my relationships.”

While one subject described mental health professionals as “helpers who are kind and have a lot of love for others,” another subject perceived therapists as professionals who are “non-judgmental, kind, benevolent who listen carefully before intervening.” In contrast to subjects who held a more positive perception of mental health professionals, one subject spoke candidly of her skepticism and doubts:

Mental health professionals are just ordinary people. Therapists are just like fortunetellers or hypnotists they (?) try to guide you to an answer with the clues you give them. Talk therapists are not that cool or useful. Who doesn’t know how to comfort others? I can do that too. The most that therapists can do is to listen and comfort, but they cannot change anything for us.

When imagining herself being in therapy, the following images came to mind for one subject, “I will express my problems and feelings in words. The therapist can help me relieve my feelings and I will become emotionally healthier.” Another participant stated that she perceived psychotherapy as a long-term commitment:

I think of therapy as a long journey of healing. It is not a one-time event and it is a long process that builds up over time. Most people certain[ly] would not open up about their feelings and fears when they first meet someone. A therapist takes time to allow the client to open up. Therapy requires patience.

Salient Problems Potentially Affecting the Psychological Health of Fujianese Immigrants. When asked to reflect on problems that might affect the mental health of Fujianese immigrants, participants offered a range of different hypotheses and observations.

While one subject noted that the habit of gossiping might be deleterious to the psychological health of Fujianese immigrants, “People from the rural area and farmlands like to gossip and backstab others, gossip poisons the mind,” another subject stated that the intense drive to accumulate wealth might prevent individuals from attaining happiness and good health, “Fujianese immigrants go above and beyond to become rich, usually at the expense of their physical health, marriage, and peace of mind.”

Two participants surmised that parent-child relationships might be a significant problem that hampers the emotional wellness of Fujianese immigrants. In the words of one participant,

Fujianese parents don’t spend enough quality time with their children, so they generally have poor interactions with their kids. I often see children act up in the streets and their parents become extremely frustrated and start yelling at them. Fujianese parents are too pragmatic- they put food on the table, make sure their kids go to school and pass exams, but they do not place enough emphasis on bonding with their kids through conversations, play time, and outings. Problem parents raise troubled kids.

Similarly, another subject expressed concerns about how parents with very negative attitudes toward their children might be destructive to their children’s emotional health:

Fujianese immigrants are unaware of how their attitudes and behaviors affect their children. My husband and I learned this lesson the hard way. A few years ago when our marriage was in trouble, we screamed at each other and threw things in front of my daughter. After a while, she started having nightmares and losing a lot of weight. We eventually realized she was depressed, scared, and very affected by being

witness to our stress and turmoil. My husband and I started monitoring ourselves and fought less in front of our daughter and she has been doing much better. I am glad I changed my ways before it was too late, but I see many Fujianese parents still fight ferociously in front of their children and sometimes even take out their anger on their children. These families need help.

Culturally Sensitive Therapeutic Characteristics When Treating Fujianese

Immigrants. When reflecting on what type of therapeutic characteristics might be congruent to a successful therapy with Fujianese immigrants, participants in this study offered different viewpoints. The majority of the subjects (n=9, 70%) pointed out the importance of cultural sensitivity in working with Fujianese clients. In the words of one subject:

It is important for the therapist to be immersed in Fujianese culture, to see and understand how Fujianese immigrants live so that they are familiar enough with the Fujianese way of life. Fujianese people are slow to trust people who are outside of their culture. To build trust and not appear completely off base in their approach, therapists have to demonstrate to the Fujianese clients that they at least have a basic familiarity of the family structure, moral values, economic realities, and history of Fujianese immigrants.

Similarly, in addition to highlighting the importance of establishing a sense of trust, another subject noted the importance of therapeutic tact and pace when working with Fujianese immigrants:

If you ask Fujianese immigrants about their problem directly, they won't respond to you too well. You need to invest the time to befriend them first and slowly get to know them. Fujianese immigrants are reserved and not open about their

feelings and thoughts. You need to take baby steps to get to know them, so that incrementally, they will gradually open up to you. You need to be really patient when working with Fujianese clients.

One participant reflected on the importance of reaching out to the younger generation of Fujianese immigrants in order to improve the overall mental health wellness of Fujianese families:

I might be pessimistic, but perhaps for the older generation of Fujianese immigrants, it is too late to help them, so I think it is more important to educate the second generation- the children and future of our world. Perhaps through therapy or other types of mental health education outreach programs, children can be taught how to get along with their peers, how to manage their academic stress, how to communicate effectively, and how to find a suitable vocation. I believe in striking the iron while it is hot. Besides, kids can influence their parents too. Kids who have learned good social skills in therapy and be a good role model to their parents too.

Another participant considered sensitivity to the practical realities of the work life of Fujianese immigrants as a foundational quality to an effective treatment:

Most Fujianese immigrants work long hours and barely have any time off during the weekend. It is important for the therapist who is working with the Fujianese immigrant to be attuned to these practical hurdles. Fujianese immigrants may have to miss an appointment because they cannot find childcare or are kept at work late. They might have to pay the professional counseling fees in installments because they have to use their work earnings to pay off their immigration debts.

A good therapist who succeeds with Fujianese clients must be flexible to and understanding of these circumstances.

One subject suggested a number of character traits in a therapist that she felt might be helpful to treating Fujianese clients:

I feel that it is important for the therapist to have a lot of positive energy and love for others. Most Fujianese immigrants I know have gone through much suffering, it is important for them to feel genuine warmth and kindness from their therapist. It is important for the therapist to be trustworthy and discrete, otherwise it is impossible for the Fujianese immigrant to feel safe enough to self-disclose anything important in the session. Lastly, I also think it is important for the therapist to be psychologically healthy.

Discussion

This study explored the multifaceted experiences of Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent in the United States. The results of this study make a meaningful contribution to understanding the struggles, triumphs, and growth that Fujianese immigrants experience after they immigrate to the U.S. Five research questions were originally proposed by this study. The present chapter will discuss the prominent themes that emerged from the results of this study, including (a) coming to the United States as a means to prosperity, freedom, and honor; (b) diverse challenges that impact Fujianese immigrants' adjustment to life in the United States; (c) social connection as a source of emotional and pragmatic support; (d) living in America as a growth experience in values, goals, skills, and perspectives; and (e) limited knowledge and stigmatized perceptions of mental health hinder help-seeking behavior. In addition, limitations of the study, directions for future research, and recommendations for psychologists and other mental health practitioners, community organizations, and policymakers were also discussed.

Themes

Coming to the United States as a means to prosperity, freedom, and honor.

Throughout the interview process, the majority of the participants discussed the economic appeal of living and working in the United States and cited financial incentives as chief factors that initially motivated their decision to emigrate to this country, which confirmed the research findings (Chin 1999; Guest 2011) that highlighted the desire to attain higher economic standing in the lucrative U.S. labor market as compelling motivators for Fujianese emigration to the United States. When reflecting on the vast wage differentials between their jobs in Fujian and the jobs they have held since moving to the United

States, many subjects indicated that their financial gains in this country exceeded their original expectations and provided them access to consumer goods and financial goals that were previously unfeasible.

While their improved economic prosperity and financial standing were usually the first topic the participants discussed when they reflected on their reasons for immigrating to the United States, many participants in this study also indicated that the hope for living with more political and civil freedom was a strong motivator for coming to this country. Consistent with research findings of anthropologists and historians who noted adverse political and bureaucratic stressors as triggers of the Fujianese migration movement (Guest, 2003; Leung, 2002), many participants in this study indicated that their desire to break free from the bondage of bureaucratic red-tape, rampant corruption in the local Chinese municipalities, and unedifying political propaganda made immigrating to the United States a rational and attractive choice. One participant described her respect for the culture of meritocracy in the U.S. workforce whereby each individual is evaluated on the basis of his abilities and experience when striving for professional development. The same subject expressed her dismay at how engaging in and complying with bureaucratic politics at her workplace in Fujian prevented her from receiving promotions and professional recertification. When reflecting on their decision to come to the U.S., several participants also expressed confidence that they felt optimistic that their children would benefit from growing up in a democratic society where there is freedom of speech and self-expression.

Corroborating research studies that discussed the rising trend of Fujianese migration, many subjects acknowledged that the trend of migration in Fujian impacted

their decisions to immigrate abroad. One participant noted that since Fujianese culture and customs underscore the importance of seizing opportunities to establish prosperous lives abroad, young people in Fujian would almost feel inadequate if they choose to remain in their hometowns. Although research to date has not discussed the salience of familial honor as a motivator for Fujianese emigration, several respondents reported that fulfilling parental expectations and bringing honor to the home community by going abroad were important factors that influenced their decision to emigrate to the United States. Several research findings discussed that in addition to sending money home to support their immediate and extended families, Fujianese immigrants in America have been observed to remit a large amount of money to renovate and revamp local infrastructures in Fujian (Guest, 2003; Liang & Ye, 2001). One participant who identified as the firstborn son in his large Fujianese family maintained that the opportunity to make his family and community proud through donations and contributions represented a meaningful incentive for him to work long hours in the United States.

Diverse challenges impact Fujianese immigrants' adjustment to life in the U.S. Research studies have shown that because immigration imposes a culture shock and involves a departure from familiar cultural norms, it is often a jarring and disorienting experience for new immigrants (Athkar, 1999; Zhou, Jindal-Snape, Topping & Todman, 2008.) Immigration entails a complex psychosocial process that often has a lasting impact on an individual's identity and well-being (Athkar, 1999). Confirming insight from research findings on acculturation complexities, a prominent theme that emerged in this current study involved the significant ways in which Fujianese immigrants are

impacted by diverse acculturation and adjustment challenges. All thirteen participants reported that they have experienced problems, obstacles, or difficulties while adjusting to their new lives in America. The majority of the participants indicated that the quality of their lives has been challenged and complicated by varying degrees of difficulties.

Throughout the interview, the majority of the participants in this study reported experiencing different types of tension and conflicts while engaging with various ethnic groups in the United States. When reflecting on their interactions with Chinese immigrants of non-Fujianese descent, the majority of the respondents reported feeling surprised by the unexpected level of negativity they have encountered. Several subjects noted that they have been treated with varying degrees of animosity, coldness, or contempt by American-born Chinese or Chinese immigrants of Cantonese descent and have experienced being criticized by these individuals due to differences in hygiene, etiquette, manners, and language. One subject acknowledged that when perceiving slights and invalidations from Chinese immigrants of non-Fujianese descent, he felt confused and hurt because while he expected to feel at odds from individuals from other racial groups, he did not expect to be treated so hostilely by “people of his own kind.” While research on multicultural psychology has conceptualized microaggressions as the pervasive impact of overt or subtle forms of indignities that communicate racial slights and insults toward people of color in interracial encounters (Sue et al., 2007), research to date has been silent on the insidious impact of microaggressions, stigma, and discrimination that occur within homogenous racial groups. Feedback from participants of this study on their negative experiences with Chinese individuals of non-Fujianese descent suggested that within-group microaggressions could be a meaningful area for

future research, field study, and clinical interventions as scholars continue to consider factors that challenge Fujianese immigrants' adjustment to life in the United States.

Corroborating existing research on stigma and interracial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007), many subjects reported a mix of positive and negative experiences since coming to the United States. While subjects appeared reluctant to classify their perceived experiences of insult, assault, or critical judgment as examples of racial aggression from members of other racial and ethnic groups, they generally expressed feeling helpless, embarrassed, and alienated whenever they were invalidated or criticized due to characteristics of their race and culture. While one subject acknowledged feeling helpless and marginalized whenever non-Chinese individuals assumed that he could not speak English, another subject reported feeling ashamed when coworkers teased him about his "Chinese table manners." Both subjects indicated that they preferred to respond to instances of stigma and discrimination by quietly letting go of their anger and avoiding confrontation because they felt that any type of confrontation or retaliation would either be futile or invite negative outcomes.

The challenge of adverse work environments is also an important area of concern when participants reflected on challenging aspects of adapting to life in this country. With the exception of one subject who reported her positive experience of working at an accounting firm, seven of the subjects who were employed indicated experiencing various types of hardships while working as service staff in Chinese restaurants. While the seven subjects who worked at restaurants acknowledged an appreciation of the high wages, they unanimously shared their concerns about the grueling long hours, interpersonal stress, monotonous nature of the job duties, and lack of personal growth or

learning inherent to working in the Chinese restaurant industry. Newly arrived Fujianese immigrants' penchant for laboriously devoting their time to working long hours at stressful jobs to pay off debts has been well-documented in research literature (Chin, 1999; Lai et al., 2013; Yoshikawa, 2011). In addition, research has noted the pursuit of wealth as one of Fujianese immigrants' core social values and discussed concerns on how Fujianese immigrants' dogged persistence at working hard to improve their financial standing could potentially impair their mental and physical health and interfere with treatment seeking (Lai et al., 2013)

For all subjects, maintaining satisfying relationships with their spouses and children, while navigating the difficulties of adapting to their new immigrant lives, presented challenges that impacted the quality of their relationships. While existing literature has not addressed how immigration stressors might complicate marital relationships in Fujianese households, research has investigated the difficulties that Fujianese parents might experience while raising children as undocumented parents. Yoshikawa's (2011) study has found that Fujianese parents who were in the midst of experiencing the stressors of being undocumented immigrants were more likely to be depressed, anxious, and withdrawn and less likely to communicate warmth and affection to their children. In contrast to Yoshikawa's study, undocumented parents in this study reported generally positive relationships with their children in terms of affection and amount of time spent together; however, they expressed specific concerns about whether or not they were sufficiently competent to mentor and guide their children's learning and academic development within the competitive education system in the United States. Several of the respondents reported that they felt inefficacious whenever they were

unable to communicate with their children's teachers and due to language barriers. Moreover, many participants also felt worried that the about the gaps in language, knowledge, and worldviews that could potentially widen between their children and themselves, if their children became increasingly more acculturated in the United States. As seen from the participants' reflections on their commitment to being supportive and exemplary parents in the midst of their own immigration struggles, they were aware of how their language challenges and lack of resources as undocumented immigrants could become potential hindrances to their relationship with their children and limit their role in helping their children navigate the complex paths to academic and personal success in this country.

The majority of the participants in this study indicated that they lived apart from their spouses because one partner worked out-of-state to maximize earnings and one partner remained local to provide childcare and remain close to the support network within the Fujianese community. All of the participants who had such a domestic arrangement spoke of the disadvantages of long-distance marriages and how this could potentially challenge the integrity of the marriage, create communication barriers between partners, and impair the quality of parent-child relationships. While one participant spoke of the pains of recovering from an extramarital affair, another subject acknowledged that she felt helpless about her husband's gradual estrangement from herself and her children. Both participants attributed living far apart as a couple and family, while juggling the stressors of work, child-rearing, and acculturation, as the most significant factor that negatively impacted the quality of their marriages.

The literature on Fujianese immigrants in the United States has consistently conceptualized their psychosocial struggles within the context of their status as undocumented immigrants (Chin 1999; Law, Hutton & Chan, 2003; Guest, 2011). According to existing literature, while the experience of immigration itself is already an inherently disorienting and psychologically stressful experience for most newly arrived immigrants, being in limbo with regard to their legal immigration status exacerbates their challenges (Law, Hutton & Chan, 2003). Of the eight participants in this study who indicated that they were residing in the United States without legal immigration status, all of them perceived the attainment of immigration status as a vitally important goal. All of the undocumented subjects reported that they were actively seeking ways to acquire immigration status through spousal green card sponsorships, political asylums, diversity green card lotteries, or student visas. Respondents in this study consistently alluded to living in constant anxiety due to the fear of deportation, feeling hopeless because they felt stuck in an immigration limbo, and feeling disconnected from the resources available to U.S. citizens and immigrants with viable statuses. These accounts suggested that uncertainty in immigration status could potentially impose risk factors that make undocumented immigrants psychologically vulnerable to experiencing poor mental health outcomes.

Social connection as a source of emotional and pragmatic support.

Throughout the interviews, as participants reflected on the different types of support they utilized while navigating their immigration stressors, they consistently identified their social networks as salient avenues of emotional and pragmatic support. The three main modalities of social networking that Fujianese immigrants reported relying upon for

emotional and pragmatic sustenance were religious involvement, participation in Fujianese community activities, and maintaining close-knit relationships with friends and family.

Of the six participants who reported that they had become born-again Christians since coming to the United States, all of them regarded their church congregation as a vital source of spiritual renewal, emotional outlet, and practical resources. Several subjects indicated that their church participation was the gateway experience that alleviated their loneliness and sadness when they first arrived in New York. In addition, the friendships they developed with church members who were more advanced in their acculturation process also became a helpful pragmatic avenue for legal advice, cultural consult, and language interpretation. This is consistent with the literature that described Fujianese religious communities in New York as instrumental avenues for mobilizing social capital and constructing social ties among undocumented immigrants (Guest, 2011).

In addition to identifying their social connections within the church as a salient outlet of emotional and practical support, the majority of the respondents in the study discussed the central role of the Fujianese immigrant community in helping them adapt and adjust to the challenges of acculturation. Research has shown that immigrants are more likely to live in neighborhoods with a high concentration of immigrants from the same country of origin and ethnic group (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; Suro & Tafoya, 2004). By offering access to cultural goods, social networks, and lower communication costs for non-English language speakers, studies have shown that immigrant enclaves play a salient role in facilitating successful immigration adaption and easing the sense of

alienation, disorientation, and helplessness immigrants might experience during their initial transitions in the United States (Kandula, Kersey, & Lurie, 2004; Logan & Lewis Mumford Center, 2003).

Although research to date has not specifically investigated the function of Fujianese immigrant enclaves as platforms for developing social capital and social ties, research has studied the impact of immigration enclaves on the health behaviors of foreign-born Asian and Latino immigrants, and indicated that while immigrant enclaves reported higher access to cultural goods and food availability, they are associated with lower social cohesion and neighborhood-based civic engagement (Osypuk, Roux, Hadley & Kandula, 2010). In contrast to prior research findings that cited negative impact of living in immigrant enclaves, responses from the participants in this study suggested that Fujianese immigrant enclaves represented a powerful avenue that offered Fujianese immigrants myriad leadership, financial, recreational, and relational opportunities. As one subject reflected on his leadership role in a Fujianese cultural club, he described his involvement as a meaningful opportunity to help new Fujianese immigrants open bank accounts, budget their finances, and strategize ways to pay off their immigration debts through small lenders affiliated with the club. The same subject described his interactions with other Fujianese immigrants in the cultural club as a way to help support the new immigrants and generate social cohesion within the Fujianese immigrant community. Another subject who reported that he had met his current wife through a Fujianese poker club regarded participation in the club as not only a viable social and recreational outlet for socializing and playing games, but also a fruitful resource for single members to be introduced to potential life partners.

Research has identified multiple mechanisms through which perceived social isolation and lack of social support negatively impacted mental health and created barriers to acculturation (Chin, 1999; Hurtado-de-Mendoza, Gonzales, Serrano & Kaltman, 2014;). Studies have shown that social isolation is correlated with poor mental health outcomes and decreases motivation for language mastery and attaining new practical skills that help ease acculturation transitions (Law, Hutton & Chan, 2003). Consistent with these preexisting research findings, relative to the majority of subjects who reported experiencing a heightened sense of emotional and pragmatic support via their social and religious networks, the three participants who reported preferring solitary modes of self-care such as meditation and solo recreational activities also reported more intense struggles with loneliness and depression. In addition, these three participants who spent the bulk of their time alone also reported a larger perceived barrier to establishing new friendships within and outside of the Fujianese immigrant enclave, learning English, and becoming adept at troubleshooting the practical challenges of the immigrant lifestyle.

Living in America as a growth experience in values, goals, skills, and perspectives. While the existing research literature on Fujianese immigrants in the United States has focused predominantly on discussing the difficulties and stressors that the immigrants have encountered in this country, there has been a lack of studies that have specifically discussed and conceptualized the extent to which Fujianese immigrants' journeys in America could represent an opportunity for growth, learning, and meaning making. Throughout the interviews, participants were asked to take an inventory of their values, goals, self-concepts, and skills, and to consider the ways in which those constructs have been transformed by their immigration experiences. Candid and

insightful reflections from participants in this study shed light on this interesting component of the Fujianese immigration experience that has not been fully investigated by preexisting research studies.

Prior literature has conceptualized the core values of Fujianese immigrants as deeply embedded in Chinese social norms and inherently rooted in the Confucian worldview (Okazaki et al., 2014; Yang & Kleinman, 2008). According to Yang and Kleinman (2008), as influenced by the Confucian values of filial piety, industriousness, and pursuit of dignity, the four prominent core values that the majority of Fujianese immigrants uphold are the preservation of moral dignity, the perpetuation of family lineage, the maintenance of social networks, and the commitment to financial success (Kleinman, 1998; Yang & Kleinman, 2008; Yang et al., 2007). While the reflections and experiences of the Fujianese participants in this study suggested that their choices and pursuits were strongly motivated by the four core values, the majority of the participants acknowledged that their triumphs and struggles while establishing themselves in the U.S. have broadened their awareness of new values and perspectives. One participant maintained that living in America has allowed him to break free from the bondage of Chinese Communist propaganda and remove himself from the restraints of archaic bureaucracy, which in turn, has encouraged him to experience a desire for self-improvement, self-care, and self-expression in different aspects of his life. While another subject reflected on the significant ways her career as an elementary school teacher in China was thwarted by nepotistic practices that were condoned by the local bureaucracies, she remarked on the culture of self-help, web-based social networking,

and adult learning in the United States that has motivated her to earn a master's degree and potentially establish a second career in this country.

Another aspect of personal growth that many subjects identified as they reflected on their immigration journeys was the development of positive new attitudes and perspectives while being immersed in a more democratic and liberal environment. As subjects reflected on how their perspectives and attitudes in life have shifted, they noted the contrasts between the collectivist and individualistic worldviews in China and America, which significantly differed in values, communication styles, and interpersonal etiquettes. While one subject reported that her upbringing in Fujian instilled the importance of modesty and courtesy in social interactions, she maintained that, since coming to America, she has been challenged to be more outspoken and forthright in social situations. She indicated that this in turn helped increase her self-perceived confidence and competency while interacting with non-Fujianese individuals in different contexts.

Other perspectives and attitudes that Fujianese participants in this study underscored as being helpful and beneficial to their acculturation journeys were optimism, independence, and social justice. One subject discussed her appreciation for how optimistic Americans appear to be when experiencing uncertainties in life and contrasted this attitude with her slightly pessimistic outlook on life. She indicated that her views had been shaped by her Fujianese working class community where individuals tended to weather difficulties in life with a highly risk-averse, conservative, and pragmatic approach.

In addition to taking note of the new values, perspectives, and goals that they have acquired in the United States, while reflecting on their experiences as new immigrants, participants often marveled at the extent they have developed new skills and competencies since arriving in this country. Prior research literature has expressed concern for Fujianese immigrants' tendencies to live fairly insular lives with a disproportionate emphasis on wealth building and attaining legal immigration status (Lai et al., 2013). In contrast, however, many participants in this study appeared motivated to allocate time and resources in their busy schedules to learn how to drive, expand their English vocabulary, assume leadership roles in church settings, and explore self-study methods that would help them develop more marketable skills. One subject discussed how he took advantage of free tutorials on YouTube to teach himself how to trade penny stocks, assemble furniture, and start a second hand clothes-trading store on Facebook. He maintained that the media censorship in China greatly hinders independent learning and the free exchange of ideas and resources between individuals.

Limited knowledge and stigmatized perceptions of mental health hinder help-seeking behavior. Despite the sensitive and personal nature of the subject of psychological health and the potential stigma associated with discussing mental health related topics, participants in this study were open and willing to engage in varying degrees of reflection and self-disclosure while discussing their experiences and perspectives in this domain. Throughout this section of the interview, it appeared that the majority of the participants reported a very limited and often misinformed understanding of both the nature of psychological health and the function of psychologists. It is worth noting that of the three subjects who acknowledged having experienced emotional

struggles such as depression, anxiety, and marital problem since arriving in the United States, all of them indicated that they did not seek mental health treatment when symptoms were at their most acute because they were unaware both of the gravity and longstanding repercussions of their symptoms and that psychological problems are best treated by professionals with mental health expertise. Because a clear understanding of what constitutes mental health and mental illness is the quintessential first step to increasing the likelihood of seeking appropriate, Fujianese participants' unfamiliarity with the domain of mental health clearly calls for a strong need for culturally appropriate psychoeducation and mental health outreach within Fujianese immigrant enclaves.

Corroborating a wealth of existing research on the role of stigma in the help-seeking behavior, most of the participants in this study reported a number of misconceptions and biases on what the roles, functions, and interpersonal characteristics of mental health professionals entail. Research has shown that shame and stigma decreases the likelihood that Chinese Americans seek professional help for their mental health issues (Kung, 2004). Furthermore, studies have also indicated that Confucian values such as protecting one's family from shame and indignities also cause Chinese Americans to defer seeking mental health care for longer periods than other ethnic groups (Okazaki et al., 2014). Although no literature to date has addressed the role of stigma in Fujianese immigrants' treatment seeking behavior, Law, Hutton and Chan's study (2003) found that in contrast to Fujianese immigrants with legal immigration statuses, undocumented Fujianese immigrants reported lower treatment compliance and poorer mental health outcomes, possibly due to the doubly stigmatizing identities of being both undocumented and mentally ill. Of the three participants who had experienced mental

illness, considered seeking mental health services, but refrained from connecting with a provider, all of them cited embarrassment about self-disclosure, discomfort with divulging personal information to a third party, and the fear of judgment from mental health professionals as important factors that stopped them from seeking help. The impactful ways that the fear of being perceived as weak, incompetent, and mentally ill impedes respondents from connecting to a therapist or counselor is consistent with a wealth of literature that discusses the stigmatizing roles of mental illness in Chinese culture (Sue, 1994; Yang et al., 2007).

The responses from participants in this study also demonstrated that very often substitutes and alternatives to mental health services such as talking to friends, family, or religious staff were regarded as less costly, easier, more accessible, and more reliable sources of support and guidance for Fujianese immigrants who struggled with emotional challenges. The preference for talking to people within preexisting family, social, and congregational networks for troubleshooting emotional problems was cited as a common reason that hindered Fujianese immigrants from considering the possibility of seeking professional help from a mental health service provider. Many participants appeared to have a distorted understanding of the accessibility and affordability of psychotherapy, as they perceived therapy as an excessively expensive service that is only accessible to wealthy people or individuals with private insurance coverage. In addition to the perceived unaffordability of psychotherapy, Fujianese respondents also indicated that their hectic work schedules and pressing need to work long hours to pay off immigration debts greatly limited their capacity and willingness to invest in self-care procedures such as dental work, mental health services, and physical exams. This is consistent with

research findings by Lai et al. (2013) which posited that immigration stressors and the avidness with which Fujianese immigrants pursue their goals often interfered with both treatment seeking and treatment adherence behavior. Indeed, one subject described prioritizing his goal to save money and remit money to Fujian before his need to address his anxiety problem, as he felt that being mentally and emotionally healthy was a secondary need to being financially stable.

As Fujianese study participants reflected on their conceptualizations of mental health and mental health service providers, many respondents provided somewhat simplistic views of the role and function of mental health professionals. However, they were able to identify many fundamental features and characteristics of psychotherapy and therapists. While one subject described psychologists as “skilled problem solvers,” another subject perceived mental professionals as “non-judgmental helpers.” While one participant described the process of psychotherapy as “a long commitment to healing,” another subject perceived therapy as a “way to relieve feelings in order to become emotionally healthier.” Although none of these perspectives alone represent a holistic and integrated understanding of psychotherapy or therapists, they are nonetheless important initial impressions that reflect some basic understanding of the mental health profession, which can be further developed and informed by psychoeducation with the goal of increasing help-seeking behavior.

Limitations of the Current Study

When analyzing, conceptualizing, and applying the results obtained from this study, a number of limitations were addressed and considered. Firstly, considering the exploratory nature of this study and the relatively modest sample size of thirteen

participants, the ability to generalize this study's findings to the larger Fujianese population is significantly limited.

As a qualitative study, the current research did not make use of a random sample or control group, which detracts from the generalizability of the results. The sample of the current study was derived from a networked sample of Fujianese individuals identified through their connection to the principal investigator's personal and professional affiliations, with most being predominantly connected to Chinese American mental health professional networks and Christian churches. Based on the nature of this sample, it is important to recognize the possible impact that selection bias may have had on the results obtained. Specifically, subjects identified by mental health professionals or church leaders as appropriate candidates, and ultimately selected to participate, might be individuals who a) had markedly positive or negative immigration experiences and were especially interested in disclosing salient aspects of their accounts; b) had already acquired and/or were in the process of receiving legal immigration documentation; and c) had relatively forthcoming presentations and increased comfort with or history of reflecting on issues of psychosocial challenges in their immigration experience. Current findings based on the network referral-based recruitment method, therefore, might not be representative of experiences of the average Fujianese immigrant navigating a spectrum of psychosocial stressors in the United States.

A number of demographic characteristics of the thirteen participants also limited the representativeness of the sample and generalizability of the findings. The average age of the current sample was 39 years old (range of 23-55 years old) and the average number of years since arriving in the United States was 7.5 years (range of 2-13 years). Thus, it is possible that the findings did not reflect the experiences of the newly arrived Fujianese immigrants

and elderly Fujianese immigrants who might have been especially vulnerable amidst their struggles with lifestyle transitions. In addition, the majority of the participants were females who identified as Christians. Because the sample is somewhat skewed in terms of gender and religious affiliation, it is possible that present findings are not reflective of the experiences of male and non-religious Fujianese immigrants. Since recruitment chiefly targeted Fujianese individuals living in the immigrant enclaves in the Greater New York area, results obtained might not be geographically generalizable to the groups of Fujianese immigrants who resided in other parts of the country.

As a qualitatively based study, hypotheses developed were exploratory in nature, data analyzed and theories developed might not necessarily be used to support or challenge research conducted by others in this area of inquiry. Similar to most existing qualitative research, the current study used cross-sectional data and did not address the ways in which the psychosocial experiences of Fujianese immigrants changed over time. A further limitation of the study pertains to potential linguistic gaps between the principal investigator and the interviewees. The fact that all of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin might have detracted from the nuances and depth of the disclosures and reflections of the participants. Even though all of the participants in this study identified as fluent in Mandarin and engaged in the interview with observable openness and curiosity, it is possible that if the interviews were conducted by an investigator who was fluent in the participants' home dialect, such as Fuzhou, Minnan, or Hakka, the participants would have been able to communicate their reflections with additional colloquialisms, slang, and proverbs, which would have further enriched the interviews with layers of nuance and texture.

Notwithstanding limitations in terms of recruitment methodology, sample

characteristics, and linguistic hindrances discussed above, this study has contributed to the scarce amount of research on the Fujianese immigration experience. It is hoped that it will stimulate future qualitative and quantitative research and help mental health professionals learn how to intervene more effectively, based on a deeper understanding of the experiences of this population.

Implications

Implications for future research. The results of this study clearly indicate that, as Chinese immigrants of Fujianese descent continue to grow and expand as an immigrant group in the United States, there is a significant need to understand the unique psychosocial experiences and challenges that hinder their participation in mental health services.

Considering the limited number of research studies on the psychosocial struggles of Fujianese immigrants in America, future research studies that aim to replicate, verify, and expound on the findings of this study could potentially add richness and insight to current findings. In addition, to attain more diversity across the data and wider generalizability of the results, while testing the themes of the current studies, a fruitful avenue of future research might entail quantitative studies that recruit a larger sample size, thus incorporating input from Fujianese participants with diverse demographic backgrounds from across different geographic locations in the United States.

As suggested by one of the Fujianese participants in this study, Fujianese immigrants have the tendency to interact somewhat guardedly at an initial stage of contact but incrementally open up as the professional or personal relationship deepens. Thus, a study that is primarily interview-based might be limited with regard to producing

observational data that would naturally unfold within the interviewer-participant dyad as the relationship becomes more familiar. A future study that investigates the experiences of Fujianese immigrants through ethnographic field studies or focus groups would be a productive avenue of inquiry. While in-depth interviewing and the participation of keen participants yielded meaningful findings in the current study, getting to know the Fujianese immigrants over a longer time span in field studies and observing how respondents interact with one another in focus groups might yield interesting and in-depth participant observation data that semi-structured interviewing alone could not discover.

Based on the findings of the current study, two areas warrant further study in the future. First, the current study indicated that a salient area of concern for Fujianese immigrants in American pertains to the relational and pragmatic challenges imposed by long-distance marriages, an arrangement that participants in this study identified as a common practice among Fujianese immigrant families in the U.S. To help investigate this area of concern further, when recruiting subjects for future studies, investigators could place a stronger emphasis on recruiting husband/wife interviewee dyads or incorporate the use of key informants in the Fujianese community such as pastoral counselors, social workers, and community leaders who might be able to provide their perspectives on the common struggles within Fujianese marriages. In addition, due to the private and delicate nature of disclosing sensitive marital issues, the use of anonymous questionnaires that directly taps into deeper areas of marital struggles might provide participants with the opportunity to discuss and divulge their struggles more freely.

Based on the current findings, another area that deserves greater scrutiny in future research lies in further studying the extent to which Fujianese individuals' statuses as

undocumented immigrants impact their acculturation competencies in the United States, such as language acquisition, social engagement, work performance, and community participation within the context of their mental health. While findings from this study helped shed light on these issues, due to the stigmatizing and emotionally distressing nature of discussing immigration statuses, the interview questions were designed to only address them to the degree that the participants were comfortable. Qualitative research that interviews pro-bono immigration attorneys or mental health professionals who have close contact with undocumented Fujianese immigrants might yield enlightening data that undocumented Fujianese interviewees were uncomfortable disclosing openly.

Implications for clinical interventions. Results from this study provided significant implications for clinicians working with Fujianese immigrants with respect to the clinician's cultural sensitivity, therapeutic techniques, therapeutic attitude, and knowledge of the Fujianese immigrant culture. The majority of the subjects who reflected on what type of therapeutic characteristics might be congruent to a successful therapy with Fujianese immigrants underscored the importance of cultural sensitivity. One participant maintained that to be perceived as a trustworthy and competent therapist by Fujianese immigrants, Fujianese clinicians have to be fairly immersed and well-versed in Fujianese culture and their way of life and have an awareness of the economic, legal, and familial realities of Fujianese immigrants. To further develop their sensitivity in and knowledge of the Fujianese immigrant culture, it is recommended that clinicians who are working with Fujianese immigrants engage in cultural immersion experiences such as reading widely on Fujianese history and culture, volunteering in community settings where there will be high exposure to Fujianese immigrants, informally engaging in

conversations with Fujianese staff and clients at restaurants, and where logistically feasible, participating in ethnographic field trips to sending communities in Fujian (Guest, 2011).

Reflections from participants in this study also shed light on the importance of therapeutic attitude and technique when working with Fujianese immigrants in clinical settings. In addition to the importance of building trust through a warm and accepting therapeutic alliance, the use of tact, and being aware of the optimal therapeutic pace are important foci when providing therapy and counseling to Fujianese immigrants. Many of the issues that Fujianese immigrants present in therapy might involve highly confidential matters such as immigration status, debt and loan repayment, and marital difficulties. As such, it is imperative that clinicians begin therapy by providing ample information on the confidentiality and safety of the therapeutic frame. Doing so could reassure Fujianese clients that the ethical and professional boundaries of the therapeutic relationship protect therapy as a safe space for self-disclosure. In addition, participants also highlighted the importance of respecting and attending to the emotional reserve and guardedness of Fujianese immigrants when beginning therapy. Because many Fujianese immigrants who come to therapy might have been exposed to distressing events such as traumatic events during their transit to the United States, stressful experiences while seeking legal immigration statuses to remain in this country, and substandard living conditions, it is possible that it would take a longer time for them to develop trust in therapeutic or professional relationships in which there is a marked powerful differential.

Additional implications of this study involve the importance of clarifying and establishing the role and function of the psychotherapist during the initial phase of

therapy while building therapeutic alliance with Fujianese immigrants. Based on the information gleaned from the media or reports from acquaintances, the majority of the respondents were able to describe their general impressions of the role and function of a therapist. While some subjects perceived therapists as professional listeners or benevolent counselors, other subjects perceived therapists as active problem solvers, consultants, or technicians to troubleshoot ailments of the human mind. To ensure that Fujianese clients do not harbor inaccurate or unrealistic expectations that would adversely affect treatment outcome, clinicians would need to work collaboratively with Fujianese clients and invite them to discuss how their specific needs could best be met by the therapist's intervention styles.

Implications for community mental health. The current study highlighted the importance of mobilizing, developing, and advocating for appropriate community mental health resources in order to dismantle the help seeking barriers that Fujianese immigrants in America currently experience when faced with mental health needs. Responses from participants in this study identified the main obstacles that hinder Fujianese immigrants from seeking appropriate mental health services as the following: (a) a stigmatized perception of mental illness, (b) lack of knowledge in the field of mental health, and (c) lack of time, money, and transportation to access available mental health services. To address the obstacle of access that Fujianese immigrants experience due to their exhausting work schedules, community mental health clinics could consider utilizing mobile crisis teams, home visits, or virtual therapy as modes of initial service delivery to help reach out to Fujianese immigrants who could not otherwise access services with ease. It is also recommended that resources in the form of bilingual mental health

pamphlets, business cards of providers, and free books on the fundamentals of emotional health be widely distributed to restaurants, stores, and community centers in Fujianese immigrant enclaves.

To help dismantle the stigmatized perceptions of mental illness and treatment that Fujianese immigrants have internalized through their culture, upbringing, or personal biases, it is recommended that practitioners and administrators of community mental health programs consider incorporating creative and non-threatening ways to expose Fujianese immigrants to culturally-sensitive psychoeducation. A series of free bilingual or monolingual psychology workshops that are designed to introduce Fujianese immigrants to the topic and language of mental health could be a key resource in normalizing Fujianese immigrants' perception and understanding of mental health. For example, such workshops could discuss ways to cope with pertinent psychosocial stressors that are relevant to their experiences, help them identify ways to self-assess symptoms of depression and anxiety, and disseminate Chinese mental health literature that is concisely written and accessible to the laymen. A target goal of community mental health outreach would be to ultimately increase Fujianese immigrants' buy-in for mental health services so that they are not only aware of what resources are available, but could also be self-motivated to reach out to providers as needed.

Considering that a large number of Fujianese immigrants identified their church congregation as an accessible and preferred mode of support in times of emotional hardship, an interdisciplinary collaboration between religious staff and community mental health service providers could potentially represent a vibrant avenue that might help connect Fujianese immigrants with appropriate services. While many pastoral

counselors are trained in mental health counseling and knowledgeable in general psychological issues, meaningful open dialogues between the pastoral counseling team and community mental health providers could help both parties come to a better understanding of how to help Fujianese immigrants with their psychological issues within the context of their religious worldviews and how to counsel Fujianese immigrants to seek timely and appropriate help when their symptoms are acute without compromising their trust in their faith.

Implications for policymakers, advocates, and lawyers. When reflecting on barriers to accessing mental health services, the majority of the participants also noted the lack of financial resources and insurance coverage to help offset the costs of treatment and therapy. For Fujianese immigrants in the United States, the lack of resources for accessing healthcare, when compounded by their legal and social statuses as undocumented immigrants, places them all the more at risk of being treated in denigrating ways, and as disempowered and marginalized members of society. It is recommended that additional funding and advocacy to help provide resources for and give voice to this struggling group of immigrants can be prioritized to (a) the provision of free pro-bono psychotherapy and counseling to individuals with acute psychiatric needs; (b) subsidizing the costs of long-term individual, couples, and family therapy; (c) the implementation of diverse modes of service deliveries such as remote therapy, in-home therapy, mobile crisis interventions; (d) provision of free childcare for parents who are in need of mental health services; (e) publicity of workshops, events, and classes in local newspapers; and (f) the hiring and training of clinicians who are proficient in Fujianese dialects and culturally sensitive techniques.

In the midst of the current political climate of fluctuating opinions and policies regarding reforms on illegal immigration in the United States, policymakers continue to debate legal and moral views on what types of privileges and protections should be granted or denied to illegal immigrants. Given the nature of this political ambivalence, Fujianese immigrants will likely experience setbacks, uncertainties, and disempowerment with regard to the future of their legal standing in the United States. To help empower undocumented Fujianese immigrants while they commit to finding viable ways to acquire legal immigration status to live productively in this country, it is recommended that policymakers continue to inform their decisions with the most recent and rigorous research on the Fujianese immigration experience while considering policies that are supportive to Fujianese immigrants.

To help undocumented Fujianese immigrants navigate their legal conundrums, it is recommended that lawyers and legal advocates consider adopting an empathic and pragmatic approach when providing their legal advice. Considering the fears, anxieties, and distress concerning their legal status that undocumented Fujianese participants consistently identified in the present study, it is recommended that immigration lawyers, who are in the process of working with Fujianese immigrants, especially attune to the psychological conditions of their Fujianese clients when navigating legal complexities that involve a high degree of risk and uncertainty. Considering the fact that undocumented Fujianese immigrants could potentially perceive that contact with legal professionals could put them at risk of being exposed to further investigation by immigration enforcement, it is possible that Fujianese immigrants would prefer to stay under the radar of their undocumented status instead of proactively seeking ways to

advocate for their cases. To help Fujianese immigrants overcome the stigma and fears that hinder their access to legal services and increase their insight into the ramifications of their legal standing, it is recommended that immigration lawyers provide pro-bono workshops that provide concise and accessible legal information in a bilingual or monolingual format.

Conclusion

Through an in-depth analysis of the Fujianese immigrants' experiences in the United States, this study hoped to stimulate mental health awareness and advocacy at the community level, discover directions for immigration policy reform, and generate considerations for best clinical practices when working with Fujianese immigrants in clinical settings.

Although many of the participants offered reflections that corroborated findings in preexisting literature, the current study revealed significant gaps remaining in the research related to mental health issues pertaining to Fujianese immigrants, research on how to leverage community resources to help Fujianese immigrants cope with their struggles, and research on clinical practices that could help Fujianese couples, parents, and children. While participants cited a desire to honor their families, seek financial prosperity, and freedom as compelling motivators for coming to this country, they also offered candid insights on a diverse spectrum of struggles in the realms of work, language, marriage, racial dynamics, child-rearing, and immigration status that challenge and complicate their experiences in this country. For Fujianese immigrants, when faced with a dearth of resources for accessing healthcare and being undermined by their phantom status as undocumented immigrants, they become all the more at risk of being

disempowered and marginalized members of the society. Nonetheless, even in the face of these struggles, participants allowed themselves to be transformed by their acculturation experiences so that they could engage in growth and hope through new values, goals, self-concepts, and skills. This is an interesting component of the Fujianese immigration experience that has not been investigated by prior research studies.

This study shed light on the intersection of psychological, legal, cultural, and immigration issues in Fujianese immigrants' acculturation process in the United States in order to provide psychologists and other clinicians, policymakers, immigration attorneys, community advocates, educators, and clergy, with the knowledge and the insight to work successfully with Fujianese clients. As the population of Fujianese in the United States increases, it will become more and more important for mental health practitioners to be educated to the specific dynamics of their culture as well as their experiences in adjusting to life in the United States. Doing so will give voice to this under-served population that could benefit immensely from culturally-sensitive mental health and social services, psychoeducation, and empowerment.

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Appendix A**Fujianese Immigrant Demographic Questionnaire****閩籍移民人口調查問卷**An Exploratory Study of the Experiences of Chinese Immigrants of Fujianese descent in the United States中國福建移民在美經歷之探索性研究探討

Participant Identification Number (to be filled out by the principal investigator after the interview): _____

參與者識別號碼 (必須由主要研究者於面試後填寫): _____

Part I.**第一部分:**Demographics:人口統計學:

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Where in China do you come from?
4. Where in the US do you live (town)? * Do not provide address *
5. How many years have you been living in the United States?
6. Marital status:
 - a. Single
 - b. In a relationship
 - c. Married
 - d. Separated
 - e. Divorced
 - f. Widow/Widower
7. Are you a parent? If so, how many children do you have?
8. Do your children live with you?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No. If not, where are they? Who takes care of them?
9. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
10. How well do you speak English?

1. 年齡
2. 性別
3. 您來自中國的哪個地方？
4. 您生活在美國的哪個地方 (鎮)? *不需提供地址*
5. 您已住在美國幾年？
6. 婚姻狀況：
 - a. 單身
 - b. 交往中
 - c. 已婚
 - d. 分居
 - e. 離婚
 - f. 寡婦/鰥夫
7. 您是家長嗎？若是，您有多少孩子呢？
8. 您的孩子和您住在一起嗎？
 - a. 是的
 - b. 否。若否，請問他們住在哪裡？有誰照顧他們呢？
9. 您已完成的最高教育程度為何？
10. 您的英文程度如何？

Appendix B**Fujianese Immigrant Interview Protocol****閩籍移民面試協議**An Exploratory Study of the Experiences of Chinese Immigrants of Fujianese descent in the United States中國福建移民在美經歷之探索性研究探討**Part I.****第一部分：**Migration Experience:移民經驗：

Provide caveats throughout this section to assure participant that the researcher will safeguard confidentiality ensure de-identification. Provide participants opportunities to refrain from answering the question if presenting with reluctance or anxiety.

此部份為對研究人員的警告，確保研究人員保密參與者身份，嚴禁透漏任何識別資訊。若問題使參與者焦慮或不情願，參與者可以拒絕回答。

1. How long have you been living in the US?
2. What are some factors that motivated you to come to the US?
3. Why did choose to come to the US as opposed to other parts of the world?
4. What did you do to prepare to come to the US?
5. How did you come to the US?
6. Who else came with you? Who did you leave behind?
7. What was it like for you when you first came here?
8. What has your experience of the US been like?
9. What did you expect/ hope living in the US would be like?
10. Have your experiences here been similar to or different from your original expectations and hopes?

1. 您已居住在美國多久了？
2. 是什麼因素促使您來到美國？

3. 相對於世界其他地區，為什麼選擇來到美國？
4. 您為了來美國做了什麼呢？
5. 您是怎麼來到美國的？
6. 還有誰跟您一起來呢？您留下誰，沒有跟您一起過來呢？
7. 當您第一次來到這裡時，對您而言是什麼感覺呢？
8. 您的美國經驗是什麼感覺呢？
9. 您期待/希望的美國生活是怎樣的呢？
10. 您在這裡的經驗與您原先的期待和希望有什麼相同或不同呢？

Relationships: Social Support, Community Building, Stigma

關係：社會支持、社區融入、偏見

11. When you first arrive in the US, who offered you support and helped you settle in?
12. Do you live in a community with a large number of Fujianese immigrants?
13. Were you able to make friends and find support in this community? If yes, how? If no, why not?
14. In your experience, are the friendships you have built in the US similar to or different from friendships in China?
15. How are you treated by other Fujianese immigrants?
 - a. How do these interactions impact your adjustment to life in the US?
16. How are you treated by other Chinese immigrants of non-Fujianese descent?
 - a. How do these interactions impact your adjustment to life in the US?
17. How are you treated by non-Chinese individuals in the US?
 - a. How do these interactions impact your adjustment to life in the US?
18. How do you think Fujianese immigrants are viewed by individuals from other ethnic and cultural groups?
 - a. How do these perceptions impact your life in the US?
19. In your experience living in the US so far, do Fujianese immigrants tend to experience any kind of stigma or discrimination? If yes, give examples.

11. 當您剛到美國時，誰給您支持並幫助您安頓呢？
12. 您住在一個擁有大量福建移民的社區嗎？
13. 您是否能廣交朋友並在這個社區找到支持？若是，情形為何？若無，為何沒有？
14. 在您的經驗中，您在美國建立的友誼相同或不同於在中國的友誼？
15. 其他閩籍移民如何對待您？
 - a. 這些互動如何影響您適應在美國的生活？

16. 其它非閩籍的中國移民如何對待您？
 - a. 這些互動如何影響您適應在美國的生活？
17. 在美國非中國人是如何對待您的？
 - a. 這些互動如何影響您適應在美國的生活？
18. 您覺得其他種族或文化群體如何看待閩南移民？
 - a. 這些看法如何影響您在美國的生活？
19. 您目前在美國的生活經驗而言，閩籍移民是否往往會遇到任何一種偏見和歧視？若是，請舉例說明。

Maintaining Ties to China: Relational and Sociocultural

與中國的關係維護：關係和社會文化

20. What do you miss the most about your life in China?
 21. What do you not miss about life in China?
 22. Do you keep in touch with family and friends in China?
 23. How do you keep in touch?
 24. Do you feel that these relationships have changed in any ways?
-
20. 您最想念中國生活的什麼？
 21. 您不想念中國生活的什麼？
 22. 您有與中國的家人和朋友保持聯繫嗎？
 23. 您如何保持聯繫呢？
 24. 您覺得這些關係在哪些方面有變化？

Professional Life:

職業生涯：

25. Were you working before coming to the US? If yes, what type of jobs did you have?
26. What jobs have you had since you came to the US?
27. Are you currently employed? If no, how are you supporting yourself?
28. What is your current job?
29. What do you like most about your current job?
30. A lot of people I have spoken with told me that it can be tough to work such long hours, what has it been like for you?
31. What are some of the challenges at your current job?

32. How are your relationships with your employer and coworkers?
33. How does your work/life balance in the US compare with your work/life balance in China?
34. How does your salary in the US compare to your salary in China?
35. Did you have expectations about how working and making a living in the US before arriving?
36. In what ways are these expectations met?

25. 您在來美國之前是否有工作？若是，是什麼類型的工作？
26. 來到美國後，您從事什麼樣的工作？
27. 您目前有工作嗎？若無，您如何養活自己？
28. 您目前的工作是什麼？
29. 您最喜歡目前工作的什麼部分？
30. 很多和我交談過的人告訴我，工作那麼長的時間是很艱辛的，您對此感覺如何呢？
31. 您目前的工作帶來什麼樣的挑戰呢？
32. 您與雇主和同事的關係如何？
33. 與您在中國的工作/生活的平衡相比較，您在美國的工作/生活的平衡如何呢？
34. 與您在中國的薪水相比較，您在美國的薪水如何呢？
35. 您在抵達前，對於在美國工作和生存有期望嗎？
36. 這些期望有在哪些方面滿足呢？

Living in the US: Adapting to new cultures and lifestyles, coping mechanisms, and community resources

在美國生活：適應新的文化和生活方式、應對機制、以及社區資源

37. Learning a new language and adapt to a different culture can often times be challenging, how has it been for you?
38. What do you think would change for you if you were more proficient in English?
39. What are things you wished you had known and anticipated before you came to the US?
40. If you could do things over again, would you choose to come to the US? If yes, why? If no, why?
41. Do you find being in the USA worthwhile? What brought you to this decision?
42. What are the challenges or obstacles to returning?

43. What are your hopes and goals for the future?
44. What is your typical week like?
45. What are the stressors of living in the US?
46. What has been helpful to you in times of stress? (e.g. Work, religious activities, social services, hobbies, recreational activities)
47. Who or what has been most helpful to you?
48. What organizations do you belong to or participate in? How did you find them?
49. Do you practice any religion in the US?

37. 學習新的語言，適應不同的文化在很多時候是具有挑戰性的，您覺得如何呢？
38. 如果您的英語比較精通，您覺得會有什麼改變呢？
39. 您在來美國之前，有什麼是您希望您已知與預期的事情呢？
40. 如果可以重來，您會選擇來美國嗎？若是，為什麼？若否，為什麼？
41. 您覺得是在美國值得嗎？是什麼造就您的這個決定呢？
42. 重來的挑戰和障礙會是什麼？
43. 您對未來的希望和目標是什麼？
44. 您平常一周的生活是什麼樣子？
45. 在美國生活的壓力是什麼？
46. 您在有壓力的時候，有什麼幫助呢？(例如：工作、宗教活動、社會服務、興趣嗜好、休閒活動)
47. 有什麼人或什麼事對您最有幫助呢？
48. 您有屬於或參加什麼組織嗎？您是怎麼找到他們呢？
49. 您在美國有任何宗教嗎？

Core Lived Values, Self-Concept, Strengths, The Pursuit of Social Goals:

核心價值觀、自我概念、優勢、社會目標的追求：

50. What are some of your core values? Why are they important to you?
51. In what ways have these values changed since coming to the US?
52. What do you admire about yourself, what achievements do you take pride in?
53. Have the ways you perceive yourself changed since coming to the US?
 - a. If yes, give examples.
54. What are some goals that are important to you?
55. Do you anticipate any hurdles or difficulties that may get in the way of achieving them?

56. What are some skills and values you learned in China that have been helpful to you in the US?
57. What are some new skills and values you acquired since arriving in the US?
58. If you could make three wishes in your life right now, what would they be?
50. 您的核心價值有哪些？為什麼他們對您而言很重要？
51. 您來到美國後，這些價值觀在哪些方面有改變？
52. 您怎麼佩服自己，您引以自傲的成就是什麼？
53. 您在來到美國後，有沒有感覺到自我的改變？
- a. 若有，請舉例說明。
54. 哪些目標是對您而言是很重要的？
55. 您在取得這些目標的途中，是否預期到任何障礙或困難？
56. 哪些在中國學到的技能和價值觀幫助處在美國的您？
57. 在抵達美國後，您獲得什麼新的技能和價值觀？
58. 如果現在可以讓您在生活中許三個願望，那會是什麼願望呢？

Psychological Health, Perceptions of Mental Health Treatment, Barriers to Seeking Help:

心理健康，心理健康治療的認知，障礙尋求幫助：

59. Have you experienced any medical problems while living in the US?
- a. If yes, have you gone to the doctor to seek help for these medical issues?
60. Have you ever experienced any psychological problem while living in China?
- a. If yes, what did you or others go for psychological help?
61. Have you ever experienced any psychological or emotional problems since you arriving in the US? * If yes, depending on the participant's willingness and comfort level, the researcher will decide whether to ask for more details.*
62. Who you turn to for help with psychological or emotional problems?
63. What do you know about what mental health services are available in your area?
64. Have you ever considered them in the past?
- a. If no, why?
65. In what ways do you think going to a doctor for mental health services is different from going to a doctor for a physical ailment or illness?
66. Have you ever sought traditional Chinese remedies, practiced Tai-Chi, or used other types of Chinese healing practices to help cope with physical or emotional concerns?

67. If you ever experience emotional stress that feels too burdensome to handle on your own, what is the likelihood that you will seek out mental health services?
68. If you have a friend who is struggling with emotional difficulties and you feel that you are unable to help him/her, would you consider recommending mental health services to them?
69. What images or words come to mind when you think of mental health professionals such as psychologists, social workers, and psychiatrists?
70. What images, feelings, or thoughts come to come when you imagine being in therapy with a mental health clinician?
71. What do you think prevents Fujianese immigrants from seeking therapy?
72. What characteristics do you think would be important for a therapist to have in order to help Fujianese immigrants?
73. If a therapist were to treat Fujianese immigrants, what kinds of problems do you think a therapist might hear?

59. 在美國生活時，您有沒有經歷過任何醫療問題？
 - a. 若有，您有向醫生針對醫療問題尋求幫助？
60. 在中國生活時，您有沒有經歷過任何心理問題？
 - a. 若有，您或其他人去哪獲得心理上的幫助？
61. 在抵達美國後，您有沒有經歷過任何心理或情緒上的問題？* 若有，研究人員依據參與者的意願和舒適程度，決定是否要求更多的細節。*
62. 關於心理或情緒的問題，您轉向尋求誰的幫助呢？
63. 您怎麼知道您的區域有心理衛生服務？
64. 您過去有沒有考慮過他們？
 - a. 若無，為什麼？
65. 您覺得因心理健康服務而看診，與因身體疾病而看診，在哪些方面有所不同？
66. 您是否曾經尋求中國傳統療法、練太極、或使用其他類型的中國療癒措施，以幫助應付身體或情緒上的問題？
67. 如果您曾經經歷情緒緊張，感覺太繁瑣以至於無法自行處理，您有多少機率會尋求心理健康服務？
68. 如果您有朋友因情緒掙扎與困擾，且您覺得無法幫助他/她，您會考慮向他們建議心理健康服務嗎？
69. 當您想到心理衛生專業人士，如心理學家、社會工作者、和精神科醫師，您的腦海中會浮現什麼圖像或文字呢？
70. 當您想像心理健康臨床醫師執行治療時，會浮現什麼畫面、感覺或想法呢？
71. 您認為有什麼會阻止閩籍移民尋求治療？

72. 您認為要幫助閩籍移民的治療師，需要有什麼重要特點呢？

73. 如果一個治療師要治療閩籍移民，您認為治療師可能會聽到什麼樣的問題呢？

Debriefing and Feedback:

聽取報告與回應：

74. Was there anything that I did not ask you that you think might be important or worthwhile for me to know?

75. What was it like for you going through this interview?

74. 有什麼事情是我沒問您，而您認為可能是重要的或值得我知道的嗎？

75. 這次的採訪經驗，您覺得如何？

Appendix C**ATTACHMENT 4 INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT****受試者同意書****“An Exploratory Study of the Experiences of Chinese Immigrants of Fujianese Descent in the United States”****中國福建移民在美經歷之探索性研究探討**

You are invited to participate in a research study. Before you agree to participate in this study, you should know enough about it to make an informed decision. The principal investigator, Cindy Feng, is a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers University. If you have any questions, ask the investigator. You should be satisfied with the answers before you agree to be in the study.

您將被邀請參加本項研究。在您同意參與本研究前，請您先了解此項研究，以做出合理的判斷。Cindy Feng為本研究主要研究者，乃是一名羅格斯大學臨床心理學研究所的博士生。倘若您對於本次研究有任何疑問，可與研究者聯絡。在您同意參與這項研究討論時，您將會得到滿意的答案。

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore Fujianese immigrants' acculturation challenges, coping mechanisms, and barriers to seeking mental health services. By understanding the experiences of Fujianese immigrants, mental health, social work, and public policy agencies may be able to support Fujianese immigrants and improve preexisting services.

目的：本研究之目的乃是探討閩籍移民的文化適應挑戰、應對機制與尋求心理健康服務的障礙。透過了解閩籍移民、心理健康、社會工作、公共政策機構的經驗，期待能解決閩籍移民問題並改善目前政策上之缺失。

Participants: This study will use a network sample of approximately 8-20 Chinese individuals of Fujianese descent (age 21-65) and interviews will be conducted on the phone, or at various settings contingent upon their geographic location. You will only be considered for face-to-face participation in the study in person if you return a signed consent form. If you choose to be interviewed by phone, you will be read an oral assent and your approval will be recorded before participating in the study. You will receive a fee of \$25 (twenty-five) dollars for your participation whether or not you complete the interview.

參與者：本研究將訪談 8-20 名具有閩南血統 (21-65歲) 的中國人做為網絡樣本。而

訪問的方式將以電話，或根據其地理位置有不同的所做出調整。訪談者需事先將同意書上簽名並繳回研究處，訪談者才會被考慮以面對面的方式參與本項研究。如果您選擇透過電話訪問，並口頭同意將以口述的方式進行，且同意將在參與研究前以錄音的方式記錄。無論您是否完成訪問，本研究中心都感謝您的支持，並且會支付您 \$25美元的費用。

Procedure: If you participate in the study, you will be interviewed individually during a designated time at an agreed upon location, or if you prefer, over the telephone. You will be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire and then be interviewed about your experiences. All interviews will be audio-recorded and notes will be taken in order to ensure the accuracy of your report. With the researcher, you will discuss some of your reasons for choosing to come to the United States; your experiences living in the United States; what type of language and sociocultural differences you have been adjusting to; what type of social support and resources you have found in the community; how the immigration experiences impacted your social relationships, family, values, and goals; your perception of mental health services, identify coping mechanisms and resources that you utilized and those that you did not utilize but would have found helpful while adjusting to life in the United States.

步驟：如果您參與研究，您將獨立非團體的方式在指定的地點與時間接受訪問，或若您傾向於透過電話訪問，我們也可以接受。之後我們會請您填寫一份簡短的人口調查問卷，然後訪問您過去的一些經驗。所有的訪問將進行錄音，同時也採取筆記的方式以確保您整個訪談的完整性。您將與研究者討論關於您選擇到美國的理由、您在美國的生活經驗、您已適應何種語言類型與社會文化差異、您已於社區什麼樣的社會福利和資源；移民經驗如何影響您的社會關係、家庭、價值觀和目標；在您適應美國生活時，您對心理健康服務的看法、識別應對機制、和您使用與沒使用但會有幫助的資源。

Research Standards and Rights of Participants: Participation in this study is **VOLUNTARY**. You may choose to withdraw at any time during the interview without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable. If you indicate at any time that you want to stop the interview, you will be thanked for your participation, receive the \$25 as an appreciation for your time, and will be free to go home. This is NOT connected with any government agency. Copies of the results of this research shall be made available to you upon request.

研究標準和參與者的權利：本研究中的皆為自願性參與。您在訪談的過程中，倘若有任何不適感，可以在任何時間點終止，且不會有任何責罰。此外，您可以選擇不

回答任何讓您不舒服的問題。若您任何時間點表明要停止訪問時，您將收到 \$25 元以感謝您的參與和所花費的時間，之後即可離開。這項研究與任何政府機構無關。本研究結果的副本將根據您請求提供給您。

Subject's Initials: _____

受試者姓名首字母: _____

Risk/Benefit: There are minimal risks associated with your consent and participation in this research study. Talking about difficult experiences may create discomfort for some participants. Again, you can indicate that you would like to stop the interview at any time. If necessary, the contact information for a local psychological clinic will be provided. Participation in this study may not benefit you directly; however you will play a major role in helping other researchers, policy makers, social workers, psychologists, and others to understand the experiences of Fujianese immigrants.

風險/效益: 本研究，與您同意和參與相關的風險為最小風險。訪談中會提及難熬的經歷，可能會讓參與者產生不適感。同樣地，您可在任何時候表明希望停止訪問。如有必要，亦將提供本地心理門診的聯繫信息。參與這項研究可能不會直接讓您受益；但是您將發揮了重要作用在幫助其他研究人員、政策制定者、社會工作者、心理學家、以及讓其他人了解閩籍移民的經驗。

Confidentiality: This research is confidential. The research records will include some information about you and this information will be stored such that some linkage between your identity and the response in the research exists. Some of the information collected about you includes: your name, age, gender, country of origin, present location, marital status, number of children, and English proficiency. Please note that we will keep this information confidential by limiting individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location at the researcher's residence. Your responses will be grouped with other participants' responses and analyzed collectively. All identifying information will be disguised to protect your confidentiality. All study data will be kept for three years after the completion of the research, and all documents with identifying information and field notes will be shredded or burned and any audio recordings will be erased by the researcher after publication.

保密性: 這項研究是絕對保密。該研究紀錄將會包含您的個人訊息，這些資料將有期限性的存儲起來。還有一些已收集與您相關的信息包括：姓名、年齡、性別、籍貫、現址、婚姻狀況、子女數目、以及英語水平。請注意，我們將藉由限制個人對研究資料的存取，且將資料保存於研究者現居的安全位置，以保持這些資料的保密

性。您的回答將與其他參與者的回答一起進行分組且集體分析。所有的身份資料會隱瞞來保護您的隱私。所有研究數據將在完成研究後被保存三年，帶有識別資料和實地記錄的所有文件，將被銷毀或毀損；研究發表後，錄音檔也會被研究者刪除。

If you have any questions or concerns or comments about the research, you may contact me, Cindy Feng, at (617)-642-1200 or email me at cindyhfeng@gmail.com. You can also contact my dissertation faculty chairperson, Dr. Nancy Boyd-Franklin, at (848)445-3924 or email her at boydfrank@aol.com.

如果您有任何關於研究的問題或疑慮或意見，可以聯繫我，Cindy Feng: (617)-642-1200 或透過電子郵件cindyhfeng@gmail.com。您也可以聯繫我的論文指導教授，Dr. Nancy Boyd-Franklin: (848)-445-3924 或透過電子郵件boydfrank@aol.com。

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at:

如果您對您身為研究受試者的權利有任何疑問，您可以聯繫羅格斯大學的 IRB 行政人員：

Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848-932-0150
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

I have read and understood the contents of this consent form and have received a copy of it for my files. By signing below, I consent to participate in this research project.

我已閱讀並理解本同意書的內容，且同意副本留存。我在下方簽字，表示同意參加這一研究計畫。

Participant Name (Print)_____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Investigator Signature _____ Date _____

受試者姓名 (以正楷填寫)

受試者簽名 _____ 日期 _____

研究者簽名 _____ 日期 _____

Appendix D**SCRIPT FOR ORAL CONSENT**

口頭同意書

“An Exploratory Study of the Experiences of Chinese Immigrants of Fujianese Descent in the United States”

中國福建移民在美經歷之探索性研究探討

I am a doctoral student at the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers and I am the principal investigator of this study. I am conducting a research study to fulfill dissertation requirements. Before you agree to participate in this study, you should know enough about it to make an informed decision. Please feel free to ask any questions about the study.

本人乃是羅格斯大學臨床心理學研究所的博士生，我是這項研究的主要研究人員。本項研究目的乃針對畢業論文的研究需要。在您同意參與本研究前，請您先了解此項研究，以做出合理的判斷。倘若對於本研究的任何問題，歡迎您隨時與我聯絡。

The purpose of this study is to explore Fujianese immigrants' acculturation challenges, coping mechanisms, and barriers to seeking mental health services. By understanding the experiences of Fujianese immigrants, mental health, social work, and public policy agencies may be able to support Fujianese immigrants and improve preexisting services.

本研究之目的乃是探討閩籍移民的文化適應挑戰、應對機制與尋求心理健康服務的障礙。透過了解閩籍移民、心理健康、社會工作、公共政策機構的經驗，期待能解決閩籍移民問題並改善目前政策上之缺失。

If you participate in the study, you will be interviewed over the telephone. You will be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire and then be interviewed about your experiences. All interviews will be audio-recorded and notes will be taken in order to ensure the accuracy. With the principal investigator, you will discuss some of your reasons for choosing to come to the United States; your experiences living the United States; what type of language and sociocultural differences you have been adjusting to; what type of social support and resources you have found in the community; how the immigration experiences impacted your social relationships, family, values, and goals; your perception of mental health services and reasons that encourage or prevent you from seeking such services, identify coping mechanisms and resources that you utilized and those that you

did not utilize but would have found helpful while adjusting to life in the United States.

如果您參預此項研究，您將透過電話方是接受訪談。我們會請您填寫一份簡短的人口調查問卷，然後訪談中主要是針對您過去的經驗。為確實訪談的完整性，所有的面試將進行錄音和筆記紀錄。您將與研究者討論關於您選擇到美國的理由、您在美國的生活經驗、您已適應何種語言類型與社會文化差異、您從社區中獲取什麼樣的社會福利和資源；移民經驗如何影響您的社會關係、家庭、價值觀和目標；在您適應美國生活時，您對心理健康服務的看法、識別應對機制、和您使用與沒使用但會有幫助的資源。

Participation in this study is **VOLUNTARY**. You may choose to withdraw at any time during the interview without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions. If you indicate at any time that you want to stop the interview, you will be thanked for your participation and receive the \$25 as an appreciation for your time over the mail. This study is NOT connected with any government agency. Copies of the results of this research shall be made available to you upon request.

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There are minimal risks associated with your consent and participation in this research study. Talking about difficult experiences may create discomfort for some participants. You can indicate that you would like to stop the interview at any time. If necessary, the contact information for a free local psychological clinic or counseling hotline will be provided. Participation in this study may not benefit you directly; however you will play a major role in helping other mental health professionals to understand the experiences of Fujianese immigrants.

本研究中，與您同意和參與相關的風險為最小風險。訪談中會提及難熬的經歷，可能會讓參與者產生不適感。同樣地，您可在任何時候表明希望停止訪問。如有必要，亦將提供本地心理門診的聯繫信息。參與這項研究可能不會直接讓您受益；但是您將發揮了重要作用在幫助其他研究人員、政策制定者、社會工作者、心理學家、以及讓其他人了解閩籍移民的經驗。

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number of children, and English proficiency. Please note that we will keep this information confidential by limiting individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location. Your responses will be grouped with other participants' responses and analyzed collectively. All identifying information will be disguised to protect your confidentiality. All study data will be kept for three years after the completion of the research, and all documents with identifying information and field notes will be shredded or burned and any audio recordings will be erased by the researcher after publication.

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If you have any questions or concerns or comments about the research, you may contact me, Cindy Feng, at (617)-642-1200. You can also contact my dissertation faculty chairperson, Dr. Nancy Boyd-Franklin, at (848)445-3924. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may also contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at: Tel: 848-932-0150.

如果您有任何關於研究的問題或疑慮或意見，請您與本人聯絡，Cindy Feng：(617)-642-1200 或透過電子郵件cindyhfeng@gmail.com。您也可以聯繫我的論文指導教授，Dr. Nancy Boyd-Franklin：(848)-445-3924 或透過電子郵件boydfrank@aol.com。對於研究受試者的權利有任何疑問，您可以聯繫羅格斯大學的 IRB 行政人員：848-932-0150。