Second-generation Chinese New Zealanders' experience of negotiating between two cultures:
A qualitative study.

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ABSTRACT

This practice research project examines the lived experiences of second-generation Chinese New Zealanders by focusing on their experiences of navigating between two cultural worlds. The research project employs the interpretative phenomenological analysis framework and draws on data collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews with four second-generation Chinese Kiwi living in Auckland. This practice research project is the first in New Zealand to examine the experiences of people with dual cultural identities and to provide an insight into their worldview.

The practice research project found that second-generation Chinese Kiwis identify as bicultural. Additionally, second-generation Chinese Kiwis can struggle with a sense of not belonging when interacting with Chinese peers, but they are able to navigate the feelings adaptively due to their strong bicultural identity. Finally, second-generation Chinese Kiwis experience the most difficulty while trying to navigate and negotiate differences between Kiwi and Chinese values and traditions, but they are able to adapt their behaviour to fit the environmental context.

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: _____

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

In today's increasingly global world, it is common for individuals to have multiple cultural and racial backgrounds. It is also common for individuals to travel to and live in ethnically diverse environments. As a result, it is common to work cross-culturally and interact with people from different cultures in many settings such as mental health and healthcare services. The 2018 World Migration Report (International Organisation for Migration, 2018) estimated that in 2015, there were 244 million international migrants around the world.

New Zealand is home to many different cultural groups, but the state officially recognises only the dominant Pākehā culture and the indigenous Māori culture as the official cultures of New Zealand (Bell, 2009). Thus, biculturalism in the New Zealand context applies to the partnership established between Māori and the British Crown by the Treaty of Waitangi. The New Zealand context will be further outlined in Chapter 2. In the international literature, biculturalism represents comfort and proficiency with both one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which one has settled (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). In the current study, 'bicultural' applies to people who have dual cultural identities.

Second-generation Chinese immigrants in New Zealand are people who were born in New Zealand with parents who immigrated from East Asian countries such as Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau. These also include Chinese diaspora; people of Chinese descent who live outside of China, such as Malaysian Chinese, and Singaporean Chinese. From the 2013 New Zealand census, 26.6% of Chinese were born in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In this research project, these individuals will be referred to as second-generation Chinese Kiwi.

Within psychological practice in New Zealand, there is an enormous emphasis on cultural awareness, competency, and sensitivity (New Zealand Psychologist Board, 2009). The code of ethics for psychologists working in New Zealand also ensures that psychological practice conveys respect for the dignity of persons and people (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002). Given the consistent increase of diversity in New Zealand society, it is not uncommon to work with someone from another culture. However, when working anyone who has two or more cultural identities, it adds another layer of complexity. Thus, it would be useful to first understand the lived experiences of navigating between two cultures amongst second-generation Chinese Kiwis in New Zealand to provide insight into their worldview.

1.2 Definition – Second-Generation

There is no universal agreement on who constitutes a first-generation, 1.5 generation, second-generation, or 2.5 generation immigrant. According to Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, first generation is defined as either an individual born in the host country or an individual who has immigrated to new country. The term 1.5 generation refers to individuals who immigrate to a new country before or during their early adolescent period (Rumbaut, 2004). The term second-generation refers to an individual who is the first to be natively born to two foreign born parents, but the second to inhabit the host country (Pew Research Center, 2018). The term 2.5 generation narrows down second-generation to refer to individuals who are the first to be natively born in the host country but with one foreign-born parent.

Despite the debate around terminology, researchers in the United States and Canada often define second-generation persons as individuals with at least one parent who was born overseas (e.g., Giguere, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010). However, there is ambiguity as to whether those with one or both foreign-born parents should be grouped together as there is some

evidence that suggests there are significant differences in identity and various outcomes between the two groups (Ramakirshnan, 2004). Thus, in this practice research project, second-generation immigrants are defined as the children born into the foreign country their two foreign-born parents migrated to, and are the second generation to inhabit the foreign country. The choice of 'second-generation' was also to align with the terminology and definition commonly used in research. Nevertheless, I recognise that the title of this practice research project is debatable and it may contribute to the debate on generational terminology.

1.3 Aims of the Practice Research Project

This practice research project aims to develop a better understanding of the lived experience of individuals who have dual cultural identities. In particularly, focusing on their experiences of negotiating and navigating between two cultures. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, this qualitative study focuses on the lived experiences of second-generation Chinese Kiwis who are exposed to both Chinese (East Asian) and New Zealand Kiwi (Western) culture. This research aims to provide insight into the internal world of these individuals; how they make sense of their experiences and themselves. The hope is also, in a small way, to provide a voice to these individuals who are often under-represented, thereby raising awareness and sensitivity of their experiences.

1.4 Position of the Researcher

I am a second-generation Chinese Kiwi. I was born in Auckland, New Zealand and am of Chinese ethnic origin. My parents are from Hong Kong, and I have permanent residency of Hong Kong as well as citizenship of New Zealand. Growing up during a time where New Zealand was not as multicultural as it is today, I struggled with my cultural identity.

There was a lengthy period of time where I did not want to identify as Chinese as I felt I was Kiwi. Reflecting back to this period, incorporating myself with predominantly Kiwi peers than Chinese peers may have been my way of not wanting to accept the Chinese part of my identity. In a sense, this has possibly contributed to a certain amount of bias behind the choice of 'second-generation' as a term to describe individuals born in New Zealand. Being second rather than first, feels there is somewhat a severing of ties or shift away from my Chinese identity.

My personal interest in this topic lies with a desire to explore the experiences of other individuals similar to myself. However, it is important to address any unconscious biases, such as assumptions that all second-generation Chinese Kiwis will share the same experience.

1.5 Structure of the Practice Research Project

Chapter 1 describes the aims and positionality of this practice research project, and provides a brief introduction to the context in which this practice research project is conducted in. Chapter 2 outlines important concepts that are important in the understanding of cultural experiences and provides further information into the background of New Zealand. Chapter 3 reviews international literature on biculturalism. Chapter 4 describes the methodology used in this practice research project and explains the data collection method and analysis. Chapter 5 presents the findings. Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the findings in relation to existing literature and concludes with consideration to the limitations and implications of this practice research project, as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

Chapter 2 presents the literature on the concepts of culture and identity with the aim to provide the reader with an understanding of the concepts that are important in the consideration of cultural experiences and bicultural identity. The first section of this chapter briefly describes the constructs of culture, cultural identity, and self-identity. The second section of this chapter presents a brief comparison between individualism and collectivism, and a background to New Zealand and Chinese culture to set the context for this research project.

2.1 Introduction to Culture

Humans are cultural species in that our beliefs, values, practices, feelings, and goals are shaped by our cultural experiences. Culture can be defined as a learned system of meaning and behaviour for a group defined by a number of factors. These include customs, values, and traditions that are learned from the environment, family members, peers, and the community or society in which people live (Heine, 2010). Individuals within a culture have common shared values, customs, beliefs, habits, rituals, social rules, and so forth. However, a common misconception of culture is that the set of beliefs or values that reside in people are fixed (Markus & Kitayama, 2010).

Social and cultural psychologists argue that culture is located in patterns of ideas, practices, institutions, products, and artefacts around the world (e.g., Adams & Markus, 2004; Atran, Medin, & Ross, 2005). From a cultural psychology perspective, culture can be used in two contexts. Firstly, culture can refer to any information that is acquired through social learning and is capable of influencing behaviour (Richerson & Boyd, 2005). Secondly, culture can refer to groups of people who exist within a shared context (Heine, 2010) and share the same cultural beliefs, values, and practices. The main principle in cultural

psychology is that the mind and culture are inseparable. The human mind and culture are mutually exclusive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is shaped by them (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). Most importantly, cultural psychologists share the key assumption that our psychological processes are flexible and not necessarily hardwired into the brain. This means that our psychological processes can become attuned to the particular meaning system within which the individual develops (Heine, 2010). Thus, the goal in the study of culture is to understand how psychological processes may be implicitly or explicitly shaped by the sociocultural context and systems that people reside in (Markus & Kitayama, 2010).

2.2 Identity Concepts

  2.2.1 Identity formation. Identity formation is the development of the distinct personality of an individual and much work has been done in the field of identity research. Early identity theory defined identity as an integrated set of self-concepts that are learned during childhood, consolidated in adolescence and resolved in adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Based on Erikson's works, Marcia (1980) proposed four categories or "statuses" concerning psychological identity development. These are identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. Identity achievement is the status in which individuals who have explored their identity will make a commitment to an identity that they have chosen. Identity foreclosure is the status in which individuals have explored their identity but adopt an identity passed on to them. Identity moratorium is the status in which an identity has been explored or reflected upon, but no commitment has been made. Finally, identity diffusion is the status in which an identity has not been explored nor committed (Marcia, 1980).

2.2.2 Culture and self-concept. Self-concept, or self-identity, is the combination of different types of identities that an individual accumulates, which contributes to their knowledge and understanding of themselves (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). These can include cultural identity, ethnic and racial identity, professional identity, religious identity, gender identity, and so forth. According to sociologists, the idea of the "looking glass self" is fundamental in self-concept, in which one's self-concept develops through interactions with others and the social environment (Kitayama, Duffy, & Uchida, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 2003). This suggests that self-concept is a product of both one's awareness of how others evaluate the self and the adoption of those others' views (Kankesan, 2010).

In relation to culture, Markus and Kitayama (2010) explain that "cultural variation across selves arises from differences in the images, ideas (including beliefs, values, and stereotypes), norms, tasks, practices, and social interactions that characterize various social environments and reflects differences in how to attune to these environments." (p. 421). Culture and self-identity are argued to be a dynamic process (Kashima, 2000; Kitayama et al., 2007) in that sociocultural ideas, practices, artefacts, economic and ecological factors that constitute culture can change over time while one's self-concept can change as a result of the different cultural context they engage in (Markus & Kitayama, 2010).

2.2.2.1 Independence versus interdependence. There are two distinct types of sociality that are theorised to be linked to divergent modes of self-concept. Sociality refers to the tendency in which individuals associate in or form social groups (Collins Dictionary, 2018). One type of sociality is labelled independent, egocentric, and individualistic. Markus and Kitayama (2010) define this type of sociality as assuming "social relations are formed on the basis of instrumental interests and goals of participating individuals." (p. 423). The other type of sociality is labelled interdependent, socio-centric, communal and collectivist. Markus and Kitayama (2010) define this type of sociality as "individuals are inherently connected

and made meaningful through relationships with others." (p. 423). These two types of

sociality also relate to the individualistic and collectivistic dimensions of culture, which are

described in section 2.3 below.

Some researchers argue that every individual will possess elements of both

independence and interdependence to varying degrees (Fiske et al., 1998; Greenfield, 2009;

Triandis, 1995). Markus and Kitayama (2010) suggest that cultural contexts can influence

how independent and interdependent schemas are developed, utilised, and how they are

considered dominant. These two types of self-concept can guide behaviour and influence

psychological functioning.

An independent self-concept refers to the view that oneself is separate and distinct

from others, which are developed through cultural interactions that encourage individual

beliefs, goals, preferences, and abilities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individuals with an

independent self-concept are more likely to express their own thoughts, feelings, and goals.

For example, people in North American settings are more likely to speak out and emphasise

their positive attributes (Kim, 2002) or celebrate one's success after a performance to

highlight one's positive attributes (Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, & Kitayama,

2006). The defining of one's goals, expressing of personal preferences and attributes, and

highlighting one's successes signals positive internal attributes and are associated with

feelings of happiness (Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, & Uskul, 2009).

In contrast, an interdependent self-concept refers to the view that oneself is connected

to or related to others, which are developed through cultural interactions that encourage

fitting in with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individuals with an interdependent self-

concept are more likely to evaluate their behaviour as contingent on the behaviours of others.

An interdependent self-concept is more complex than an independent self-concept in that

behaviour exhibited by those with an interdependent self-concept can have different

meanings (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). For example, the lack of speech does not imply a lack

of knowledge or thinking, nor does adherence to an activity chosen by someone else imply a

lack of self-efficacy (Kim, 2002; Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). In fact, these behaviours can

increase an awareness of one's role in relation to others in an interaction (Markus &

Kitayama, 2010).

Other research has demonstrated how independent and interdependent self-concepts

have significant consequences on psychological functioning (Miller & Bersoff, 1998;

Kitayama et al., 2009; Snibbe & Markus, 2005; Zhu, Zhang, Fan, & Han, 2007). For

example, there are psychological consequences on cognition, emotion, motivation, morality,

relationships, intergroup processes, health, and well-being (Markus & Kitayama, 2010).

2.2.3 Cultural identity. Cultural identity refers to the identity or feeling of belonging

to a group. It is an aspect of a person's self-concept that can be related to ethnicity, religion,

generation, social class, or any group that has its own distinct culture (Anderson & Collins,

2015). The terms cultural and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably amongst

empirical studies in psychological literature. However, emerging ideas of culture have

perceived cultural identity to be more dynamic and fluid that differs to biological constructs

of race and ethnicity (Appadurai, 1996). For instance, Appadurai (1996) suggests that culture

should be understood as a dimension of phenomena that reflects situated and embodied

differences. Appiah (2005) extends this idea to cultural identity and suggests that cultural

identities often arise from recognised difference from others.

The formation of a person's cultural identity involves making a choice about the

cultural context they choose to affiliate with and engage in shared behavioural practices

(Jensen, 2003; 2011). According to Erikson's (1968) stages of identity formation, identity

versus role confusion is the stage in which identity formation occurs. During this stage,

adolescents explore their cultural identity by recognising what elements distinguishes themselves as an individual amongst other members of a shared cultural community (Erikson, 1968). According to Jensen (2003; 2011), the process of cultural identity formation is a task that has become complex due to the increase in globalisation, which has resulted in an increased exposure to many cultural communities. Therefore, when a person is exposed to multiple cultures, the process of choosing one's cultural affiliation requires a stronger conscious process (Jensen, 2003).

Given the influence of globalisation, adolescents who grow up in societies with multiple cultures and ethnic groups are likely to develop a bicultural identity. Bicultural identity refers to the regard of oneself as a combination of two cultures and this will be explored more in Chapter 3. Jensen (2003) argues that people who identify with the same cultural community share common practices, beliefs, traditions, values, and social rules. However, the range of these elements are extremely broad, thus suggesting that not all members of a cultural community will hold identical beliefs or behave in the same way.

2.2.4 Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity refers to an identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of genealogy and ancestry. Phinney (1990) describes ethnic identity formation as a process in which members of the same ethnic and racial minority group negotiate their identifications with their own group in the context of living among other ethnic and racial groups. Ethnic identity can also be defined as the sum of an individual's feelings about the values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct member of an ethnic group (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997).

Ethnic identity can be divided into two parts. The first is an internal ethnic identity, which refers to the cognitive, affective, and moral dimensions of identity. The cognitive dimension refers to an ethnic person's (a) collection of self-images and images of one's ethnic

group, (b) knowledge of their ethnic group's heritage and history, and (c) knowledge of the ethnic group's values (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997). The affective dimension refers to an ethnic person's feelings of attachment to one's own ethnic group, and the moral dimension refers to "feelings of group obligations... [which] account for the commitment a person has to his [or her group solidarity that ensues" (Isajiw, 1990, p. 36). External ethnic identity refers to the observable social and cultural behaviours, such as ethnic language usage, ethnic-group friendship, participation in ethnic-group functions, ethnic media preference, and maintaining ethnic traditions (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997). Phinney (1990) identifies these behaviours as a functional component of ethnic identity.

The most prominent contribution to work in ethnic identity, both theoretically and empirically, has been from J. S. Phinney. Phinney (1991) suggests a few key elements of ethnic identity: "self-identification as a group member, attitudes and evaluations relative to one's group, attitudes about oneself as a group member, ethnic knowledge and commitment, and ethnic behaviours and practices" (p. 194). Individuals high on ethnic identity are conceptualised as identifying oneself as a member of one's ethnic group and are able to hold favourable attitudes towards their ethnic group, be committed to, participate in activities and traditions, and possess knowledge about one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1991). Phinney also suggests that it is possible to identify as a member of an ethnic group but not participate in ethnic activities and traditions or have knowledge about the ethnic culture.

2.3 Individualism and Collectivism

The most prominent framework used to examine culture is based on Hofstede (1980) and Triandis's (1995) distinction between individualistic and collectivistic dimensions. These two dimensions are believed to differentiate cultures of the East and West (Hofstede, 1980).

Individualism describes a society in which individual autonomy and achievements are valued (Ho & Chiu, 1994). For instance, the consequences of an individual's actions affect only the individual. Individualistic societies are most commonly associated with being Western, industrialised, and modern. Individual autonomy, individual achievements, and independence of the self from others is valued (Hofstede, 1980). The concept of the self is largely based on personal attributes, such as goals, desires, abilities, talents, and personality traits. Behaviour is viewed as a function of these personal attributes, and values that promote individual goals are emphasised (Kitayama, Markus, & Lieberman, 1995). New Zealand culture is individualistic, scoring a 79 on the Hofstede individualism dimension (Hofstede Insights, 2018).

In contrast, Collectivism describes a society that values the group and focuses on collective responsibility (Ho & Chiu, 1994). For example, the consequences of an individual's actions affect the whole group. Collectivistic societies do not value independence of the self, but rather believes in connection, cooperation, and interdependence among those within the group which one belongs (Hofstede, 1980; Smith & Bond, 1993). Emphasis is placed on the views, needs, and goals of a group (Triandis, 1990), and as a result, the interests of the group in which one belongs takes precedence over the interests of the individual. Chinese culture is collectivist, scoring a 20 for Mainland China and 25 for Hong Kong on the Hofstede individualism dimension (Hofstede Insights, 2018). This means that China and Hong Kong are highly collectivist cultures where people act in the interests of the group. Research has also shown the collectivist nature of Chinese culture, such as Leung and Bond (1984), who found that the concern of collective Chinese participants was more oriented toward in-group harmony.

2.4 Background to Chinese Culture

Chinese culture is one of the world's oldest cultures that traces back to thousands of years ago. It is historically considered the dominant culture in East Asia, with the biggest influence from China being one of the earliest ancient civilisations (Walker, 2012). Many elements of Chinese culture, such as music, language, cuisine, and philosophy have made a profound impact around the world. Chinese culture is extremely rich and diverse, with customs and practices that vary among provinces, cities, and towns. Another layer of complexity stems from the diversity of what constitutes an individual as 'Chinese'. For example, Chinese people can come from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and the mass emigration in the 19th century resulted in many Chinese diaspora. Within China itself, there are many ethnicity groups, with the main ethnic group being Han Chinese (Barabantseva, 2012). Nonetheless, there are shared characteristics that persist as a result of Confucianist influences. There are four core values of Chinese culture: duty before freedom, obedience before rights, community before individual, and harmony before conflict (Lai, 2017). Two concepts are described next to provide some insight into the values that are fundamental to know when one considers Chinese culture.

In Confucian philosophy, filial piety (Chinese: 孝, xiao) is a virtue of respect for one's parents, elders, and ancestors. The family harmony has more importance than the individuals themselves. Filial piety is often mistaken as obedience. However, obedience is merely an attitude, while filial piety is about deference; polite submission and respect (Cheng & Chan, 2006). The attitude of showing obedience, devotion, care, and respect towards one's parents and elderly is considered to be the basis of moral conduct and social harmony. Behaviourally, filial piety includes showing respect, being obedient, honouring or promoting the public prestige of parents, co-residing with parents or staying close, and taking care of parents (Cheng & Chan, 2006).

"Face" is a complex sociological concept and refers to one's own sense of self-image, dignity, or prestige in social contexts. The concept of "face" in Chinese culture involves two sets of criteria by which prestige is gained, and how different attitudes can be reconciled within the framework of the same culture (Hu, 1944). On the verbal level, the two sets of criteria are distinguished by two words that both mean "face" on the physical level. The first is mianzi (Chinese: 面子), which describes the reputation that is achieved through success and ostentation (Hu, 1944). The other is lian (Chinese: 脸), which describes the respect from a group towards an individual with good moral reputation. This means an individual should fulfil their obligations regardless of the hardships involved, and show human decency in all circumstances (Hu, 1944).

2.5 Background to New Zealand

2.5.1 Discovery of New Zealand. The history of New Zealand dates back to at least 700 years when it was first discovered by Polynesians between 1200 and 1300 AD. These Polynesians developed a distinct Māori culture centred on kinship links and land (Wilson, 2016). However, it was not until 1642 that New Zealand was named by Abel Tasman, the first European explorer to discover the land. New Zealand was later mapped by Captain James Cook, and in the following years, the country was visited by missionaries, explorers, and traders. In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi, was signed by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs (Rangatira) and is the founding document of New Zealand. The treaty aimed to give Māori sovereignty over their lands and possess the same rights as British citizens. Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand, the tangata whenua; meaning the people of the land.

2.5.2 Immigration history. New Zealand is a country that has a history of major changes to its immigration patterns and policies. After the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi, visitors were welcomed to enter New Zealand freely. However, migrants with British and Protestant Anglo-Celtic backgrounds were favoured and initial immigration policies restricted immigrants from Asia and non-British Europeans (Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain, & Carr, 2011). It was not until the 1980s that the New Zealand government made changes in immigration policy to select migrants on the basis of skills and personal merit rather than racial or ethnic origin (Beaglehole, 2015). Since then, migrants from Asia, in particularly China and India, have increased enormously.

2.5.3 Māori in New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi sets the principles of partnership, protection, and participation between members of the British Crown and tangata whenua. However, throughout the rest of the 18th century and into the 19th century, Māori's right to their land were passed to New Zealand Europeans (termed Pākehā in the Māori language) after war and the imposition of a European economic and legal system (Reid, 2015). Historically, as a result of the New Zealand government's premise of assimilating Māori into the dominant Pākehā society, Māori have suffered racist practices such as disenfranchisement of their land, and expected to navigate and succeed in a society that is hostile to their language and culture (Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, & Barnes, 2006).

2.5.4 New Zealand culture. The culture of New Zealand is predominantly a Western culture influenced by the cultural input of tangata whenua and the influx of multi-ethnic migration that followed the British colonisation (Wilson, 2016). New Zealand culture has since been broadened by globalisation and immigration from the Pacific Islands, East Asia, and South Asia (Reid, 2015). Thus, it is challenging to label what it means to be a 'New

Zealander' or 'Kiwi'. From an international perspective, New Zealand culture is portrayed

via national icons and termed 'Kiwiana' (Ward & Lin, 2005). The silver fern, the Kiwi bird,

marmite, and the haka are some examples of Kiwiana.

2.5.5 Chinese in New Zealand. From the 2013 census in New Zealand, Asians form

the largest ethnic group in New Zealand after Europeans and Māori with 471,709 people

(Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Of these, Chinese formed the largest Asian ethnic group with

171,411 people. This was an increase from 147,567 in 2006 and from 105,057 in 2001,

indicating a constant increase. 26.6% of Chinese were born in New Zealand (Statistics New

Zealand, 2013). Given the growing diversity in the population through continued immigration

and inter-racial marriage, there is naturally an increase in individuals who will be navigating

between different cultures.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the concepts of that are essential in the

understanding of cultural experiences and identity. The information has included an

introduction to culture, concepts of identity, in particularly cultural and ethnic identity, and

the difference between individualism and collectivism. A background to some important

values in Chinese culture, as well as a background to New Zealand were outlined to set the

scene for the context of this practice research project. The next chapter presents the

international literature on biculturalism, drawing on American and Canadian literature.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the international literature on biculturalism, with a focus on bicultural models of identity, the psychological impacts of biculturalism, managing dual cultural systems and the shifting between two cultures, bicultural identity integration, and Asian bicultural identity. The first section provides an introduction to biculturalism, followed by a presentation of bicultural models and a consideration of the psychological impacts of biculturalism. The second section focuses on a theory that explains how bicultural people can shift between two cultures.

3.1 Introduction to Biculturalism

    3.1.1 Definition. Biculturalism refers to the co-existence, to varying degrees, of two originally distinct cultures. Schwartz and Unger (2010) explain, "biculturalism represents comfort and proficiency with both one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which one has settled." (p. 26). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) state that biculturalism is applicable to both immigrants who have come from other countries and the children of immigrants who, despite being born and raised in the receiving country, are likely to retain their heritage culture at home with their families.

    The term 'bicultural' describes a state of possessing two or more cultures, typically one of ethnic heritage and one of the culture of the host country. Second-generation immigrants often share the feature of being bicultural (Lalonde & Giguere, 2008). They are different from their first-generation parents in that the second-generation do not have direct experience with their heritage culture and are exposed to values and norms from the heritage and dominant cultures simultaneously (Giguere et al., 2010). Traditions and norms of their heritage culture are learned through their family, while the dominant culture is learned through peers, media, and the broader social context (Giguere et al., 2010).

In this research project, the terms dominant culture and heritage culture are used. Dominant culture, also known as mainstream culture, refers to the culture that is the most prominent and held by a large number of people within a society. Heritage culture refers to the culture of a person's ethnic heritage.

3.1.2 Original conceptions of bicultural identity. Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) developed the *marginal man theory*, a sociological concept that explains how individuals who live in a society with two cultures may struggle to establish his or her identity. These individuals, whom can claim to belong to two cultures were coined "marginal people". There are two main assumptions of the marginal man theory applied to second-generation immigrants. Firstly, a second-generation immigrant will experience conflicted ethnic identity due an affiliation with dual cultures, and secondly, second-generation immigrants will lose their traditional culture by actively rejecting it, resulting in ambiguity and identity confusion (Stonequist, 1937).

Early research proposed that immigrants experience poor socio-psychological adaptation due to conflict from trying to negotiate between the demands of their heritage culture and the dominant culture. They may experience conflicted ethnic identity, psychological marginalisation, or they may become highly acculturated and lose their traditional ethnic identity (Kovacs & Cropley, 1975). The state of being living within two or more cultures simultaneously was termed *double-consciousness* by DuBois (1961) and it was originally believed to create ambivalence and psychological conflict (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; LaFramboise et al., 1993).

Colloquial expressions that highlight the status of bicultural individuals are common, such as the term "Banana" to describe someone who is 'yellow on the outside, white on the inside'. This means the individual has an East-Asian (i.e., Chinese) appearance but they

internally identify with and adopt the values, norms, and behaviours of the dominant culture
(e.g., American, Pākehā). These terms were originally used to highlight the negative
perceptions of bicultural individuals. Nonetheless, contrasting works in the literature have
provided evidence that individuals who orient towards two different cultures do not
necessarily always experience conflict and that it is often an advantage (e.g., Tadmor,
Tetlock, & Peng, 2009).

3.1.3 New conceptions of bicultural identity. There is now a large body of cross-
cultural research that provides evidence for a multitude of different psychological processes
exist for individuals from Western cultures (e.g., United States) and individuals from East
Asian cultures (e.g., China, Japan). For example, how Westerners and East Asians differ on
their self-definitions, self-related processes and how they make sense of the events they
experience in their social world (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997;
Rhee, Uleman, Lee, & Roman, 1995). For instance, North Americans are more likely to
mention abstract personality traits (e.g., I am honest) and private, autonomous self-
descriptions (e.g., I am happy) than Asians (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Cousins, 1989). Asians
are more likely to make reference to concrete, context-specific characteristics (e.g., I am
smart at school) or public, social descriptions (e.g., I am a university student) (Cousins,
1989). These findings are also consistent with the characterisation of Asian cultures as
collectivist or independent and North Americans as individualistic or independent (Markus &
Kitayama, 1991; Hofstede, 1980).

Typically, past research has examined the psychological processes of individuals who
are either Western or East Asian in their ethnicity or cultural background. This has,
unfortunately, encouraged a conceptualisation that culture is uniform and unchanging (Segall,
Lonner, & Berry, 1998). More recently, psychological research (e.g., Hong, Morris, Chiu, &

Benet-Martinez, 2000; LaFramboise et al., 1993) has shown that individuals can possess dual cultural identities, which gave rise to the concept of biculturalism. Central to this line of research is the idea that individuals have culturally specific meaning systems. These are a learned associative network of ideas, values, beliefs, and knowledge, and are shared by individuals within the same culture. These cultural meaning systems are considered "interpretative frames" that affect an individuals' affect, cognition, and behaviour (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

3.2 Bicultural Models

The concept of biculturalism originates from the acculturation literature. Acculturation refers to a process of change that occurs as a result of contact with culturally dissimilar groups or people (Berry, 1990). It was originally conceptualised as a unidimensional model that suggested immigrants would reject the beliefs, values, and practices of their heritage culture as they learned to adopt the beliefs, values, and practice of the dominant culture they had settled into (Gordon, 1964). However, since the 1980s, cultural psychology researchers believed that acquiring the beliefs, values, and practices of one culture does not automatically mean immigrants will discard the beliefs, values, and practices of their heritage culture (Berry, 1990). In regard to bicultural identity, many models have been developed to explain the different possible orientations. These will be described in the next sections.

3.2.1 Psychosocial model of intercultural contact. Henri Tajfel, the social psychologist behind Social Identity Theory, described a psychosocial model of intercultural contact (Tajfel, 1978). It draws on principles of Social Identity Theory that posits the idea that individuals and groups engage in a range of strategies to strive for a positive social

identity (Tajfel, 1981). Tajfel (1978) argued for five orientations of bicultural identity. *Full assimilation* refers to rejection by groups or individuals from one's heritage culture but acceptance of one into the dominant culture. *Partial assimilation* refers to the partial acceptance into the dominant culture while maintaining a negative social identity. The *passing* orientation refers to the exploration of one's orientation without forming an ethnic identity orientation. The *accommodation* orientation refers to maintenance of one's heritage cultural and ethnic identity while being able to adapt their behaviour to succeed in the dominant culture. Finally, *internalisation* refers to the acceptance of one's minority status without feeling the need to assimilate (Tajfel, 1978).

3.2.2 Models of bicultural identity. LaFramboise and colleagues (1993) described six models of how an individual can approach living in two cultures. These models describe the psychological processes, social experiences, and individual challenges and obstacles of being bicultural and are outlined next.

3.2.3.1 Assimilation and acculturation models. The assimilation model refers to the loss of one's heritage culture with the acquisition of a new identity in the dominant culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). The acculturation model refers to the idea that while an individual becomes competent in the dominant culture, they will always be identified by others as a member of the minority culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). These first two models are similar in that they both focus on the acquisition of the dominant culture, as well as emphasise and assume a unidirectional and hierarchical relationship between two cultures (LaFramboise et al., 1993). The main difference is that the assimilation model proposes an individual will ultimately lose and be removed from their heritage culture, while the acculturation model indicates the individual will always be identified as a member of the minority culture

(LaFramboise et al., 1993). These models align with the original conceptions and beliefs about individuals living in two cultures.

3.2.3.2 Alternation model. The alternation model suggests that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures and to alter behaviour to fit a particular social context (LaFramboise et al., 1993). The bidirectional and orthogonal relationship between two cultures that is posited by the alternation model implies that it is possible for individuals to have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising their cultural identity. Thus, the alternation model postulates that it is possible to maintain a positive relationship with two cultures without needing to choose between them, and individuals can choose the degree to which culture they will affiliate with (LaFramboise et al., 1993). As a result, it is hypothesised that one outcome of the alternation model will be lower levels of stress and anxiety, and enhanced intuitive, emotional, and cognitive experience (Adler, 1975).

3.2.3.3 Multicultural model. The multicultural model addresses the likelihood of whether cultures can maintain distinct identities when there is cross-cultural contact. Berry's acculturation model (1990) is addressed under the multicultural model. Although some may question whether a multicultural society can be maintained, Berry (1990) suggested that a multicultural society encourages all groups to maintain and develop their group identities, develop other-group acceptance and tolerance, engaging in intergroup contact and sharing, and learn each other's language.

Berry (1990) proposed four ways that individuals can acculturate: assimilation (adopting dominant culture, rejecting heritage culture), separation (keeping only heritage culture), marginalisation (rejecting both heritage and dominant culture), and integration (orienting towards both heritage and dominant cultures). These four ways are derived from the intersection of two independent dimensions: heritage culture retention and dominant

culture acquisition (Berry, 1990). These acculturation strategies can differ in different

domains. For example, bicultural individuals can reject beliefs, values, and practices of the

dominant culture in their private life (e.g., at home), but adapt to the dominant culture in their

public life (e.g., at work) (Arends-Tóth, & van de Vijver, 2004). Therefore, an individual

could display all modes of acculturation, depending on the time and context. Bicultural

identity is proposed to reflect the integration style of acculturation (LaFramboise et al.,

1993).

    3.2.3.4 Fusion model. Finally, the fusion model represents the assumptions behind

melting pot theory. The melting pot theory is the idea that different cultures and ideas will

blend together to create new hybrid social and cultural forms. This model suggests that

cultures sharing an economic, political, or geographic space will fuse together to create a new

culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993).

3.3 Managing Dual Cultural Systems and a Shift Between Cultures

    3.3.1 Culture frame switching. Many bicultural individuals report that their two

internalised cultures can alternately guide their thoughts and feelings (LaFramboise et al.,

1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Biculturalism can be associated with a mixture of

feelings such as pride and uniqueness, but also identity confusion, dual or multiple

expectations, and value clashes (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003). Hong, Morris, Chiu, and

Benet-Martinez (2000) provided a sociocognitive model for how bicultural individuals

navigate between two cultures, and this is termed *culture frame switching*.

    Ethnographies of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans have described switches

between mindsets rooted in different cultures (Padilla, 1994; Shore, 1996). The following

example suggests that switching between cultures may occur in response to contextual cues

(e.g. home or school) and symbols (e.g. language) that are psychologically associated with one culture or the other:

> "At home with my parents and grandparents the only acceptable language was Spanish; actually that's all they really understood. Everything was really Mexican, but at the same time they wanted me to speak good English…But at school, I felt really different because everyone was American, including me. Then I would go home in the afternoon and be Mexican again." (Padilla, 1994, p. 30).

Hong and colleagues' (2000) frame switching model stems from a dynamic constructivist approach, with two principles. First, culture is internalised as an overall mentality, worldview, or value orientation, and second, individuals can acquire more than one cultural meaning system despite possible conflict (Hong et al., 2000). Their study showed that Hong Kong and Chinese American biculturals can exhibit characteristically Western behaviours when primed with Western cultural cues (e.g. American Flag, U.S Capitol Building) and characteristically East Asian behaviours when primed with East Asian cultural cues (e.g. Chinese Dragon, Great Wall of China). The results support their idea that exposure to cultural cues activate cultural frame switching.

Similar results were shown in another study by Hong and colleagues (2001) where they focused on how contextual cues determined whether Chinese Americans present a Chinese self or an American self when they describe themselves. They found that participants mentioned more collective duties than individual rights when their Chinese self was activated, and more individual rights when their American self was activated. These results further support the idea that bicultural individuals can shift their mindset to adapt to the cultural context presented (Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris, & Menon, 2001).

3.3.2 Bicultural identity: dynamics and individual differences. However, due to the large variations in how bicultural people manage their identity, culture frame switching may not necessarily be uniform for all bicultural individuals (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

While some bicultural individuals can identify with both their heritage and dominant culture, past research has shown that some bicultural individuals perceive the heritage and dominant cultures to be highly distinct or oppositional (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martinez, Lee, & Leu, 2006). These individuals are aware of the discrepancies between the dominant and heritage cultures and may regard these discrepancies as internal conflict. Thus, they keep their two cultural identities separated, finding it difficult to identify with both at the same time (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). Nevertheless, these individuals will identify with both cultures, although it may not be at the same level (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

For example, in Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) study on Hispanic Americans, individuals reported "I am a Black (or a Mexican) in America," as opposed to "I am African (or Mexican) American". Differing views between their cultures were emphasised and they also felt they had to choose one culture or the other. In Benet-Martinez and Haritatos's (2002; as cited in Benet-Martinez et al., 2002) study, one second-generation participant said "Being bicultural makes me feel special and confused".

Given the literature, it was then important to examine how exactly individuals who have been exposed to two cultures negotiate between the two orientations, as well as the possible influence of external and internal factors in the negotiation process (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Thus, a theoretical construct called *bicultural identity integration* (BII) was created as a framework for investigating individual differences in bicultural identity organisation. BII also focuses on people's subjective perceptions of how much their cultural identities overlap (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). Since the construction of BII, numerous researchers have explored this concept as well (e.g. Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martinez, 2011).

The theory behind BII is that individuals who rate highly on BII are those who do not perceive their two cultures to be oppositional. Individuals with high levels of BII engage with and switch between two cultures more fluidly by reacting to external cues in culturally consistent ways (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). These individuals tend to view themselves as part of a "hyphenated culture" (e.g., Chinese Kiwi or Kiwi Asian), and find it easy to integrate both cultures in their everyday life. In parallel with the findings from Hong and colleagues (2000), high BII individuals will behave in characteristically Western ways when primed with Western cues, and characteristically East Asian ways when primed with East Asian cues. Thus, high BII individuals are described as having developed a ''compatible'' or integrated bicultural identity (Padilla, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Rotheram-Borus, 1993).

On the other hand, individuals with low levels BII are those who perceive their two cultures to be oppositional. These individuals report difficulty incorporating both cultures into a cohesive sense of identity (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Hong and her colleagues (2000) hypothesised that those with low BII may lead to an activation of one culture that spreads to the other. This means that cultural priming with low BII individuals will lead to the activation of the other culture (e.g. priming of Chinese cues activates the American sense of self). As a result, low BII individuals are sensitive to specific tensions between the two cultural orientations and view this incompatibility as a source of internal conflict (Miramontez, Benet-Martinez, & Nguyen, 2008). Nevertheless, despite high and low BII levels, bicultural individuals still identify with both their heritage (i.e., Chinese) and dominant (i.e., Kiwi) cultures.

Later, researchers (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Miramontez et al., 2008) showed that BII is not a uniform phenomenon and that it "encompasses two psychometrically independent and reliable components: cultural blendedness (versus. distance) and cultural

harmony (versus. conflict), each representing the unique and separate aspects of the dynamic intersection between mainstream and ethnic cultural identities in bicultural individuals" (Miramontez et al., 2008 p. 432). Cultural blendedness refers to the degree of overlap (versus dissociation) that is perceived between the two cultural identities. For example, one may say "I am Chinese Kiwi" versus "I keep Chinese and Kiwi cultures separate". In contrast, cultural harmony refers to the degree of harmony versus tension that is perceived between the two cultural identities (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). For example, one may say "I feel that my Chinese and Kiwi identities are compatible" versus "I feel like someone moving between two cultures" (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

3.3.3 BII: Cultural conflict and cultural distance. BII has also shown that cultural blendedness and harmony can encompass different psychological components of the bicultural experience, including associations with the Big Five personality traits (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). In Benet-Martinez and Haritatos's (2005) study, they showed that cultural blendedness was positively associated with Openness to Experience. Cultural blendedness was also shown to be negatively associated with linguistic or structural types of acculturation stress, such as self-consciousness about language fluency or one's accent. On the other hand, cultural harmony was negatively linked to Neuroticism and interpersonal types of acculturation stress (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Interpersonal types of acculturation stress include factors such as discrimination, and tension from dual cultural group expectations. Lastly, cultural harmony was shown to be independent from traditional attitudinal and performance-related acculturation variables, such as the amount of cultural exposure, acculturation attitudes, and linguistic skills (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005).

Furthermore, links between cultural harmony with Neuroticism and cultural blendedness with Openness to Experience suggests two things. First is that cultural harmony

appears to capture the more affect-driven and interpersonal elements of the bicultural experience (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This means that individuals do not feel torn between the two cultures, especially in relation to the dual cultural group expectations. This implies that when a bicultural individual high on cultural harmony state their ethnic and dominant cultural identities as compatible, they are expressing compatibility between their two cultural identities and orientations (Miramontez et al., 2008). On the other hand, cultural blendedness appears to capture the more perceptual and performance-related elements of their bicultural experience (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005).

3.4 Asian Bicultural Identity

This section presents two studies from Canadian literature that have examined bicultural identity among second-generation (i.e., Canadian-born) East and South adolescents.

Costigan and Su (2004) investigated whether there are correlations between Chinese and Canadian identities for adolescents born outside of Canada versus adolescents born in Canada. Their findings showed that there was no correlation between Chinese and Canadian identities for the adolescents born outside of Canada. In contrast, higher reports of Chinese identity were associated with higher reports of Canadian identity. In particular, for Canadian-born adolescents, the development of a strong orientation to Chinese culture via activities such as learning a Chinese language may, in fact, foster the development of a stronger Chinese identity and an adoption of Chinese values (Costigan & Su, 2004).

Furthermore, a greater orientation towards Canadian identity does not obstruct the development of a Chinese identity or the adoption of Chinese values (Costigan & Su, 2004). In fact, greater orientation towards Canadian identity may encourage greater acceptance of Chinese identity and Chinese culture. The findings of Costigan and Su (2004) suggest that

second-generation Chinese adolescents are more likely to develop bicultural identities for

second-generation adolescents, and that the development of one's heritage culture and

identity does not mean there will be a hindrance to adopting values and behaviours of the

dominant culture.

Research on South Asian individuals via qualitative methodology have further

provided evidence of bicultural identity. In these studies that have attempted to understand

how South Asian individuals in the host country describe themselves, many have articulated

a bicultural identity (Malhi, Boon & Rogers, 2009; Sundar, 2008; Warikoo, 2005). In

particular, Sundar (2008) report that bicultural identity in South Asian Canadian adolescents

tends to be fluid and can be strategically managed given the situation. Sundar (2008) notes:

> Youth identify strongly as Canadian and describe subscribing to the shared set of
> values and beliefs that characterise this nation. Further, an important part of what
> makes them Canadian is the fact that they can simultaneously 'be Canadian' while
> 'being South Asian' (p.262).

However, managing dual cultural systems is complex and Sundar (2008) highlights

the importance of situational differences. For instance, a certain individual reported he feels

more Canadian when he is abroad but more South Asian while in Canada. Other examples

include attempts to dress in cultural clothes and display culturally appropriate behaviour at

cultural events or dressing in more Canadian attire or articulating oneself in a more Canadian

way in job interviews (Sundar, 2008).

3.5 Summary

This chapter presented the international literature on biculturalism, focusing on

culture frame switching and bicultural identity integration. It also outlined bicultural models

of identity and Asian bicultural identity. The next chapter presents the methodology

employed in this practice research project.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 describes the study's research design and methodology. The first part of this chapter outlines the research question, and the philosophical underpinnings of this interpretative phenomenological study. The second part of this chapter outlines the methods adopted. These include the participant recruitment process, demographic data, ethical considerations, data collection, and analysis techniques. The chapter closes with an outline of the researcher's consideration to rigour and reflexivity.

4.1 Research Question

The primary question driving this research project is: 'What are the lived experiences of navigating between two cultures among second-generation Chinese Kiwi?' In formulating the question, the aim was to understand the perspectives of people who have been exposed to two cultures. In particular, people who were born and raised in New Zealand with a Chinese family heritage background. No other research has been conducted on second-generation Chinese Kiwi in the New Zealand context.

4.2 Research Methodology

Given the little understanding of the experiences of these individuals, qualitative research was considered an optimal approach to answer the research question. The purpose of qualitative research is to increase knowledge about a social phenomenon within a philosophical framework. Qualitative researchers are interested in the quality and meaning of experience on an individual level (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). For example, how individuals make sense of the world, how they experience events, and what meaning they attribute to phenomena. When considering the research methodology of this research project, IPA was

chosen for its ontological and epistemological underpinings, as well as the theoretical

framework to inform research. These are described in the subsequent two sections.

4.2.1 Ontological and epistemological positioning. IPA adopts an interpretative

ontological stance through its focus on investigating how individuals make sense of their life

experiences (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). This interpretative ontological stance seeks to

understand the person's own experience, the meaning they make of it, and the interpretation

that the researcher makes of the person's experience. Thus, knowledge is obtained through a

person's disclosure of the world they are situated within (Yancher, 2015). The

epistemological position of IPA relies on the person's subjective account of their

experience(s). Humans are considered to be 'self-interpreting being' (Taylor, 1985; as cited

in Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014) in that they are constantly engaged in interpreting the events

and people in their lives. In order to understand how people make sense of their experiences,

IPA draws upon the fundamental principles of phenomenology, hermeneutics, and

idiography. These theoretical influences are described in the next section.

4.2.2 Theoretical influences: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography.

Phenomenology, developed by Edmund Husserl, is concerned with identifying the central

components that make the individual's experiences unique from other kinds of phenomena or

experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The process through which the unique and

essential components of individual experiences is through eidetic reduction. According to

Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014), "Phenomenological studies focus on how people perceive and

talk about objects or events, rather than describing phenomena according to a predetermined

categorical system, conceptual and scientific criteria." (p. 8). This concept is known as

'bracketing'. Bracketing refers to the process by which the researcher attempts to put aside

their own pre-existing judgements and knowledge in order to focus on the analysis of

experience (Tufford & Newman, 2012). Husserl placed emphasis on putting aside the

researcher's assumptions in order to observe the phenomenon in its full essence (Fischer,

2009).

Hermeneutics, developed by Martin Heidegger, is the theory and methodology of

interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). Hermeneutics originates from the Greek word meaning 'to

interpret' or 'to make clear' (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). It was originally used for the

interpretation of biblical scripture with a philosophical interpretative foundation and was later

adapted for broader usage in textual works, literary works, and historical documentation

(Smith et al., 2009). In IPA, this means the researcher attempts to comprehend the mindset of

a person and make meaning of the person's experience. Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014)

explain, "the IPA study is a dynamic process with the active role of the researcher who

influences the extent to which they get access to the participant's experience and how,

through interpretative activity, they make sense of the subject's personal world." (p. 8). In

terms of the analytical process in IPA, it is often described as a 'double hermeneutic' or dual

interpretation process (Smith & Osborn, 2003). This is considered to be central to knowledge

making. IPA researchers simultaneously attempt to understand an experience from the

participant's perspective and formulate critical questions referring to the data collected

(Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The presence of both elements of interpretation is considered to

increase the richness and comprehensiveness of an IPA study. The final result of IPA is an

account of how the researcher interprets the participant's experiences (Smith et al., 2009).

Idiography, the third and final theoretical orientation which IPA relies upon, is

derived from the Greek word meaning 'private' or 'own' (Murray & Chamberlain, 1999).

The fundamental principle behind an idiographic approach is to explore every single case and

examine individual perspectives of the participants in their unique contexts (Pietkiewicz &

Smith, 2014). In contrast to nomothetic principles that underlie most empirical research in psychology, IPA's reliance on idiography means the researcher focuses on and explores every single case individually before producing general statements (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Therefore, IPA is useful in small research studies that have purposively selected participants with certain experiences that are common with one another.

Given the research question, IPA was the chosen methodology for its focus on investigating how individuals make sense of their experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The research rationale for engaging in this methodological approach was to understand how second-generation Chinese Kiwis navigate between two cultures and how they make sense of their experiences. IPA also acknowledges the researcher's role in the interpretation of the data (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Thus, IPA provided a useful methodological research approach. Interviews were considered the most appropriate method for data collection given that responses would produce rich and in-depth data in relation to the experiences of navigating between two cultures (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA studies are conducted on small sample sizes as the aim was to understand in detail the experiences of second-generation Chinese Kiwi in their navigation between two cultures rather than to make generalised claims. Furthermore, the idiographic focus of IPA allows the analysis of a single case and the movement between individual narratives by comparing and contrasting them. This is useful for the analysis as it can consider the variations of individual differences and experiences among these individuals (Smith et al., 2009).

4.3 Participant Recruitment

Participant recruitment for this research project was completed by using a non-probability homogenous purposive sampling approach. The main concern in IPA is to give

full appreciation to each participant's account, which requires a time-consuming account-by-account analysis (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Thus, a small homogenous sampling strategy is the most suitable approach. Furthermore, because this research project seeks to understand the experiences of a specific group of individuals, probability sampling methods were inappropriate.

Participants were recruited by posting an advertisement (Appendix B) on the Asians in New Zealand Facebook group. Participants were required to be between the age of 18 to 25, to have been born and raised in New Zealand, to have parents who were born overseas and of Chinese origin, and to have a Chinese heritage family background. Participants who were interested in the study were invited to contact the researcher via the email provided in the advertisement. They were then sent a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix D) and the Consent Form (Appendix C). There were five expressions of interest in total but only four were eligible to participate as one individual did not meet the full inclusion criteria. A date, time, and location that suited the participants were respectively arranged.

4.4 Demographic Data

Demographic data is an important aspect of qualitative research. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), "if we fully believe knowledge is situated, it is important to reflect on the relationship between the results and the sample" (p. 67). This means that a different sample group, such as second-generation adolescents, could potentially provide a different lived experience of navigating between Chinese and Kiwi culture. The age bracket set for this study was purposive, in that the 18 – 25 age group was chosen based on the newly proposed life stage between adolescence and young adulthood, named emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). This is considered to be the age where individuals develop an understanding of who they are, their beliefs, values, and how they fit into the society around them. It is also

proposed to be the age of identity explorations, which may include ethnic and cultural

identity. Thus, participants in this age group may have a better understanding of their self-

concept, and their ethnic and cultural identity as they have begun to establish more

worldviews and independence (Arnett, 2000).

The population of the study included four second-generation Chinese Kiwi currently

residing in Auckland, New Zealand. The demographic data are presented in Table 1.

Participant	Age	Gender	Parents' Home Country
A	24	Female	Hong Kong Mainland China
B	21	Female	Hong Kong Malaysia
C	24	Male	Mainland China
D	24	Female	Hong Kong

Table 1. Demographic data of participants

4.5 Data Collection

Semi-structured, face-to-face in-depth interviews are the primary form of data

collection to elicit rich, detailed first-person accounts of experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith,

2014). The use of semi-structured interviews has its benefits where the participant and

researcher can engage in dialogue to share and obtain information continuously. Furthermore,

novel perspectives or topics that were not anticipated may be further explored by the

researcher if the opportunity arises. Semi-structured interviews also provide the flexibility for

unexpected issues and information to arise, which the researcher may investigate in more

detail with further questions (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014).

4.5.1 The interview schedule. The interview schedule consisted of two main sections

with one open-ended instruction for each section with a following set of prompt questions for

further exploration (Appendix E). The first section aimed to explore the participant's

understanding of the two cultural worlds they live in with a focus on their identity and how they make sense of it. The second section aimed to explore participant's experiences of navigating between the two cultures and aimed to draw out thoughts, feelings, and behaviours related to their experiences.

4.5.2 The interview setting. Four second-generation Chinese Kiwi partook in individual one-on-one face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews. A location that was convenient for the participants were negotiated. One interview was in a private room at the participant's workplace, one was a study room at the AUT City Campus, while the other two were conducted in the Auckland City Library meeting room. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All interviews lasted for 60 minutes.

4.5.3 The interview process. In order to enhance the disclosure of information in a research interview setting, mutual trust and rapport must be built between the researcher the participant (Creswell, 2007). From the first contact with the participant through emailing, the rapport building process began. Participants were invited to choose a location and time that suited that they felt comfortable with and were invited to contact me if there were any concerns between the initial agreement to participation to the day of the interview. Before conducting the interview, participants were invited to read through and sign the consent form and ask any questions they had. They were informed again about their privacy and confidentiality rights. Participants were informed of the purpose of the research and reminded they were able to turn off the recorder at any time they wished.

4.6 Data Analysis

The chosen data analysis method uses the analytic approach in the IPA framework. Several papers exist to describe the analytic guidelines that underpin the IPA process (Flowers, Smith, Sheeran, & Beail, 1997; Osborn & Smith, 1998; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). However, these guidelines are flexible and can be adapted by individual researchers according to their research objectives (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). In fact, researchers are invited to be flexible and creative in their thinking. The following six-step process recommended for a novice qualitative researcher by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) was chosen. This six-step process is outlined below.

4.6.1 Step 1: Multiple reading. Transcripts were read and re-read from the first case to the fourth case. Audio recordings were listened to while reading the transcripts to capture the tone, pauses, and other non-verbal behaviours in the interview. Listening to the audio recordings helps immersion into the data and helps to recall the atmosphere and the setting in which the interview was conducted (Pietkiewicz & Smith 2014). Notes were made, if appropriate, in relation to my observations and reflections about the interview experience.

4.6.2 Step 2: Initial noting. The next step involved making notes about the descriptive language (i.e., what is actually being said), the language use, context, and initial interpretative comments. Before beginning this stage, the transcript documents were formatted with an empty right margin to allow room to make notes to record preliminary interpretations (Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1999). The space allowed for me to make comments and move through the data promptly. Although it is common to conduct this process on a Microsoft Word document or a qualitative analysis tool, I printed out the formatted transcripts and conducted the analysis via pen and paper. This worked for my

learning style as writing with pen on paper allows me to process the information better and ensures I read each line. Comments associated with personal reflexivity were made where appropriate.

4.6.3 Step 3: Transform notes into emergent themes. After gathering a comprehensive set of exploratory comments, the next step involved developing the notes into emergent themes. At this stage, I worked more with the notes that had been made, rather than the transcript. This is because the aim is to formulate a concise phrase at a higher level of psychological conceptualisation but being grounded in the particular detail of the participant's account (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). This process is one demonstration of the hermeneutic circle (Smith et al., 1999). For the emergent themes, a brief statement that summarised the content of the participant's narrative was created.

4.6.4 Step 4: Connecting the themes. The next stage involved looking for connections between the emergent themes, grouping them together according to conceptual similarities, and providing each cluster with a descriptive label (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). In the creation of emergent themes, I used different highlighters to group together any themes that had conceptual similarities.

4.6.5 Step 5: Continue with the next case. The next steps involved moving to the next case (participant) and repeating the above process for the subsequent three participants. Each transcript was treated as a unique case with its own emergent themes.

4.6.6 Step 6: Patterns across themes. The final step of the IPA analytic process was to look for patterns across all emergent themes. Fundamental questions I asked when

considering the themes were: What connections are there in all four cases? Are there any

differences in experiences that constitute the same theme? For the process, I used different

coloured highlighters to highlight the emergent themes in each case that had some connection

to each other. The use of highlights facilitated this process as it was done on printed copies of

the transcripts. The printed transcripts were numbered for each participant. On a separate

piece of paper, the relevant highlighted emergent themes were transferred across according to

the highlighter colour with the participant's code, the page number where the emergent theme

is found and the brief statement of the theme. This provided a clear image of themes across

all participants and showed areas where there were differences in experiences or gaps where

the participant did not provide any information relevant to that theme. The emergent themes

could then easily be grouped together to create a major theme.

4.7 Ethical Issues

Ethics approval for the research was obtained from the Auckland University of

Technology Ethics Committee in May 2018 (Appendix A). The main ethical concern in this

research project was respecting the rights of dignity, privacy and confidentiality of the

participants.

4.7.1 Informed Consent. The consent form was given to each participant and signed

before the commencement of the interview. Participants were invited to ask the researcher

any questions before signing the consent form. In upholding these ethical concerns, the hard

copies of the consent forms and transcriptions are stored in a locked cabinet at AUT.

4.7.2 Privacy and Confidentiality. Audio voice recordings and word formatted soft

copies have also been securely stored. In protecting the privacy and confidentiality of the

participants, it was made explicit that identifying information would be removed completely from the transcripts and in the presentation of results, such as names, and certain locations. Participants were invited to review their transcript to ensure confidentiality was maintained throughout the transcript.

Furthermore, I decided to identify each participant by using a neutral identifier as pseudonyms could potentially be the same first name of another second-generation Chinese Kiwi. Thus, the codes Participant A, B, C, and D were adopted. Two participants requested the recorder to be turned off when sharing information regarding a third party, and this request was respected.

4.7.3 Vulnerability. Although the research topic was predicted to unlikely cause psychological distress, participants were informed and provided details of the free counselling services at AUT North Shore Campus in the Participant Information Sheet. Participants were also informed they did not have to answer questions and that they could stop the interview if they felt uncomfortable.

4.8 Rigour and Reflexivity

In consideration of the IPA process, is it expected that the researcher is involved with the data and attempt to interpret and make sense of the participant's subjective world. Thus, it is crucial for the researcher to understand pre-existing knowledge and assumptions they bring to the research process (Creswell, 2007).

One way to improve credibility and rigour to qualitative research is respondent validation (Koch, 2006). This involved inviting all participants to review their completed transcripts to verify and ensure accurate commentary. All participants participated in this process and no amendments were requested.

Another criterion for judging the trustworthiness of qualitative research and increase rigour is through reflexivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Reflexivity is the process of becoming self-aware and involves the researcher being aware of factors that contribute to the development of their research design and the analysis of the data. In psychological research, it is common practice to reflect, question, and evaluate the process by which knowledge is obtained and produced. However, the way of doing reflexivity and how researchers know that reflexivity is being done purposefully, productively, and meaningful, is often ambiguous and implicit (Lazard & McAvoy, 2017). There are two types of reflexivity. Personal reflexivity constitutes the consideration of ways in which our identities and positions impact the research process (Wilkinson, 1988). This is a common form of reflexive thinking in psychological research. The other type is epistemological reflexivity. Epistemological reflexivity moves beyond personal reflexivity in that it considers the nature, scope, and limitations of knowledge (Lazard & McAvoy, 2017).

I am a novice IPA qualitative researcher with limited experience. In fact, this is my first research project conducted using the IPA methodology. This was also the first research project where I conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews. These factors undoubtedly influence the research process, especially in the creation of interview questions, the conduction of the interview, and the analytic procedure of the results.

Firstly, my studies in counselling psychology motivated the IPA methodology. One core principle of counselling psychology is its phenomenological approach (Stanley, 2013), which aligns with the phenomenological stance of IPA in it focuses on each specific individual's lived experiences. The dual interpretation process adopted in IPA allows the researcher to attempt to understand an experience from the participant's perspective. This concept of understanding the participant's world and how they make sense of their experiences is crucial for, not only mental health practitioners, but also other clinicians,

health providers, and the general public, to better understand what life as a person who identifies with two cultures may be like. My personal belief is that every individual has their own way of understanding their life and experiences, and that it is fundamental to engage in conversation with others to better understand the world in their perspective rather than create assumptions about them. As a result, this active acknowledgement of the participant as the expert in their experiences helped the research process in that I was able to notice when assumptions were made in my mind and how my feelings from own experiences could influence how I interpret the feelings of a participant.

Secondly, my personal interest in studying the lived experiences of second-generation Chinese Kiwi lies in the fact that I am a second-generation Chinese Kiwi myself and have often wondered whether others' experiences are identical, similar, or different to mine. At 24 years old, I pride myself in being able to identify with two cultures and being able to speak three languages. However, there are often times when I still struggle with cultural clashes, with solidifying my identity, and figuring out which aspects of a collectivist or individualist culture I resonate with. My own experiences as a second-generation Chinese Kiwi have resulted in my own interpretations and understanding of the events in my life. These experiences have contributed to the shaping of my own beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings, thoughts, and behaviours. This awareness allowed me to differentiate my own reactions and feelings, especially if the experience that was shared was one that I could relate to. In these situations, the awareness of my own feelings and thoughts helped me to not proceed with a leading question based on how I felt or on what I thought for that participant's experience.

Furthermore, in the data analysis process, having some common ground as a second-generation Chinese Kiwi and understanding the psychological literature on biculturalism facilitated the interpretation of the data especially when it involved the researcher's interpretation. This was advantageous as the relatability of experiences facilitated the

observation of the world from the participant's point of view. However, this may also have

been a disadvantage in that it may have led to certain assumptions in the analytic process.

Nonetheless, this was managed by using a different coloured pen to write down my own

assumptions associated with an experience as part of the analysis.

4.9 Summary

This chapter described the philosophical underpinnings of this interpretative

phenomenological analysis. It also described the participant recruitment process,

demographic data, data collection, and analysis techniques. Considerations were also made to

ethical issues and reflexivity in qualitative research. The next chapter presents the findings of

the data analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the IPA data analysis, which identified three themes. Each theme consists of two or three subthemes where different experiences form parts of each subtheme, and evidence is provided through verbatim quotes. Participants are identified by four alphabet letters A, B, C, and D as explained in Chapter 3. The themes and subthemes are illustrated in the table below.

Major Theme	Subtheme
Navigating bicultural identity	1) Making sense of Kiwi and Chinese bicultural identity 2) Social environmental influences of bicultural identity 3) Advantages and disadvantages of having two cultural identities
Navigating sense of belonging and friendships	1) Not fully belonging 2) Relatability and familiarity drive friendships
Navigating cultural differences	1) Chinese gender norms 2) Respecting elders in Chinese culture 3) Navigating Chinese traditions

Table 2. List of major themes and sub-themes

5.1 Theme One: Navigating Bicultural Identity

Theme One explores how participants navigate their bicultural identity by exploring how they make sense of the Chinese and Kiwi parts of themselves and how they view themselves as a combination of those parts. This theme also includes what they believe influenced their bicultural identity, and any advantages and/or disadvantages they feel as a result of being bicultural. Theme One is composed of three subthemes: 1) Making sense of Kiwi and Chinese bicultural identity, 2) Social environmental influences on bicultural identity, and 3) Advantages and disadvantages of having two cultural identities.

5.1.1 Subtheme 1: Making sense of Kiwi and Chinese bicultural identity

The first subtheme presents participant's meaning-making of the Chinese and Kiwi parts of their identity. The first section presents what participants interpret and understand as being Kiwi, the second section presents what participants interpret and understand as being Chinese, and the third section presents how participants make sense of their bicultural identity.

5.1.1.1 Making sense of being Kiwi.

There was a general consensus in all four participants' description of Kiwi culture as 'laid back', friendly, casual, and open to other cultures:

"I think one of the first points that would come to mind is laid back and quite casual and friendly." (Participant A)

"I'd say it's pretty chill, and like laid back and it's not super fast paced." (Participant B)

"I guess it's sort of the lifestyle and the culture, being here is very laid back and a lot more open and free. What's special about NZ is that it's very laid back and I really love that part." (Participant D)

Being Kiwi also includes outdoor activities, and general sense of openness to other cultures:

"When I think of Kiwi it's like jandals, barbecues, a lot of outdoorsy kind of stuff, having like people being generally friendly to each other you know, everyone's kind of everyone's neighbour." (Participant C)

"We try to celebrate other people's culture, sometimes successfully, sometimes

unsuccessfully but relatively open to other people. In a general sense they're

really open, laid back, [and] embracing in a way of different cultures."

(Participant B)

All four participants conveyed their understanding of Kiwi culture as positive and that also

appears to reflect how they feel about themselves and their lifestyle.

5.1.1.2 Making sense of being Chinese

Participants attributed their Chinese identity to a few elements. Being Chinese is a result of

their genealogy and heritage:

"The Chinese part I guess are my roots first of all. Like, my parents were born in

China, my whole lineage is Chinese." (Participant A)

Also:

"Besides from my ethnicity um...to be honest not really a whole lot. I guess

values, bloodline. It's just something inside me that kind of has that attachment to

being Chinese I guess, the ethnicity...I mean I can't really say what it is but just

like that feeling." (Participant C)

A particular example was given to demonstrate a perceived difference in behaviour

in terms of how to behave with elders and foods that are necessary on Chinese New

Year:

"It's like super respecting your elders and giving things with two hands and not

one hand. I guess food for our family is really big as well so it's like having

traditional Chinese food on Chinese New Year, like fish and a

chicken." (Participant B)

Another element is the culture and history that ties into a part of their understanding

of being Chinese:

"There's the traditional sort of, history way of doing things, there's the personal

health beliefs, cooking, culinary and music and all those things. What does it

mean to me...it's just a part of who I am I guess." (Participant D)

Participants attributed their Chinese identity to their ethnic heritage and roots. Identifying

with an ethnic group is based on factors such as common ancestry, language, history, and

culture, which are presented by all four participants. Cultural heritage, such as values and

expectations that are passed on from generation to generation is also expressed by Participant

B. There was a shared difficulty in pinpointing specific elements that make participants

Chinese but there was a recognition and acknowledgement of that aspect of them that exists

as a result of their cultural and ethnic heritage that has been passed down. There was also a

sense that the part of their Chinese identity is non-erasable.

5.1.1. Making sense of being Chinese Kiwi

Two participants described a combined identity with a label that reflects the two cultural

parts of themselves:

"I would identify as half half…Kiwi Chinese." (Participant A)

"I would say Kiwi Asian or Chinese New Zealander." (Participant B)

For the other two participants, they described their identity in one sentence:

"I would say I was born here [New Zealand] but I am Chinese." (Participant C)

"I'm born in New Zealand; my parents are from Hong Kong." (Participant D)

Participant C and D make a distinction between being born in New Zealand but being ethnically Chinese. This addresses their Chinese heritage but also their Kiwi identity at the same time. Terminology such as Kiwi Asian or Chinese New Zealander are common in social discourse. A label that consists of both cultures can be used to convey to others that participants acknowledge their Chinese heritage but also identify as a New Zealander.

Interestingly, Participant C also expressed a blended identity:

"It's kind of almost like a new identity altogether, not really relating to particularly to one side or the other. So at times it kind of feels like...I'm in limbo almost, I kind of see myself as a person."

Rather than separating the Chinese and Kiwi sides of his identity, Participant C views himself as a merge of the two cultures to become someone with a bicultural identity. By viewing himself as a whole person rather than a combination of parts, it suggests that he has integrated both cultures.

5.1.2 Subtheme 2: Social environmental influences on bicultural identity

Subtheme 2 presents two participant's understanding that their bicultural identity is shaped by the social environment. In particular, this involves interactions with other human beings such as their peers and family.

Participant A expressed how her family was the biggest influence on her identity during the early years of her schooling:

"In primary and intermediate I went to a really small school and there were no other Chinese...there was probably only one other Chinese person apart from me, plus my brother in later years. So I didn't really have any Chinese influence outside of my family."

Participant A also believed that she may have become more assimilated if the peers she interacted with (excluding her family) continued to be Kiwi:

"If that had carried on, I would probably be a lot more Kiwi than Chinese."

However, the result of more exposure to other Asians from high school facilitated her connection with Chinese culture:

"But then once I reached high school, there were a lot more Chinese people. I started hanging out with mainly Asians and then I just suddenly found an interest in learning Chinese…"

Participant A reinforced the significant influence that her Chinese peers had on her Chinese identity:

"The people I met in high school, I would say that's the most significant influence I think. If I hadn't met those Chinese people in high school, I guess I wouldn't have really been introduced to [Chinese culture]"

Parental influence did not appear to have a large influence compared to her Chinese peers:

"Even if my parents were there I would've probably grew up more Kiwi but after those Chinese people in high school and having connection and everything and growing the interest in Chinese…I guess that helped me with my development in Chinese culture."

Participant A expressed differences during her childhood era and how her cultural experience and identity altered as a result of exposure. Being exposed to other Chinese peers during high school helped cement the connection between Participant A and her Chinese identity. Participant A suggested that her parents had an influence on her Chinese identity to a certain degree, but it did not appear to be as powerful as the influence of her peers. Participant A understands that she may have identified more strongly as Kiwi if the amount of exposure to Chinese peers were reduced, despite living in a Chinese home environment.

Subsequently, Participant C, who was the only participant of the four who had grown up in a city that was not Auckland, expressed a similar view as a result of the lack of other Asians in school. This resulted in a stronger Kiwi identity:

> *"The first 18 years of my life, predominantly I'd say Kiwi culture with a Chinese*
> *upbringing and that kind of manifested the Kiwi side of me."*

After moving up to Auckland for tertiary schooling, there were more Asians he was exposed to and this created a shift in his identity:

> *"Moving to Uni, the line between the two [cultural identities] kind of blurred*
> *when I was interacting with more Asians…not necessarily being more like,*
> *cultural on the Asian side, but almost like [interacting with more Asians] tuned*
> *down the intensity of the Kiwi side."*

Participant C also expressed differences during their childhood era where the experience is split into before and after the age of 18, which was the turning point in exposure levels to other Asians. Having only been exposed to Chinese culture through their upbringing, the Kiwi side resonated more due to the lack of other Chinese peers. However, after the age of 18

when Participant C moved to Auckland and there was greater exposure to other Asians, the
Chinese and Kiwi sides of his identity slowly merged. Interestingly, Participant C also
expressed feelings of strangeness and a loss of individuality after the change as he also felt
his Chinese identity made him unique. Navigating this shift between the two different points
in his life was crucial for Participant C in order to be able to make meaning of his identity
and to positively facilitate management of the shift in his experience.

Participant B expressed how important family influence is on the way she understands her
ethnicity:

"The traditional way of doing family influences the way you understand your
Chinese identity because family is a big deal to your ethnicity…cause that's how
you're exposed to it most."

Participant B also shared how there are differences in expectations that she learned
from her family compared to her individual beliefs that were shaped by growing up
in a Kiwi society:

"When I was younger, I'm like 'oh yeah, the expectation for me is to get a job, to
get married, to have kids' and then now I'm just like 'hang on'. Not necessarily
that's a New Zealand thing, but then it's like moving away from tradition, and I
guess because the only other way to go is New Zealand for me in a way for
identity and ethnic identifying-wise. It's like 'oh wait, I don't have to do it this
way'. The more egalitarian views I guess are kinda Kiwi."

Participant B articulated the thoughts she has from the expectations of her with a
Chinese identity and how she understands that she can move towards a Kiwi

identity. Participant B is able to evaluate which aspects of each culture she agrees or

disagrees with and expressed a freedom to move towards one or the other. This also

includes her cultural identity, in that she can move towards Kiwi identity when there

are elements of Chinese cultural expectations that she disagrees with.

5.1.3 Subtheme 3: Advantages and disadvantages of having two cultural identities

Subtheme 3 explores what participants feel are advantages and/or disadvantages as a result of

having access to two cultural identities. Participant A voiced the advantage of being able to

make a diverse range of friends:

> *"You get to interact with more people, like I have some really Chinese friends,*
>
> *some really Kiwi friends, some mixed, which I think is really great."*

Another advantage is the ability to take on multiple perspectives and to overall, be

an open-minded person:

> *"I think being exposed to 2 different cultures kind of widens your mind, makes*
>
> *you become more open-minded, gives you more perspective on a lot of things and*
>
> *even if it's not directly relevant to the culture or cultural differences, it just helps*
>
> *you think more open-mindedly in general about everything."*

Similarly, Participant C also expressed the advantage of having multiple perspectives:

> *"It's kind of cool like, I can relate to more things that a mono-ethnic person*
>
> *would normally be able to."*

Participant D voiced a practical advantage of being bicultural and highlighted this with an

experience of being a mediator in a situation with misunderstandings:

"I guess the main thing is it gives me experience and the ability to stand in

people's shoes and sort of diffuse situations, it's very helpful. It gives me more

experience and lets me empathise with different people, particularly if someone

for instance is having an argument. You can stand in their shoes and so you can

at least explain to them "this is why they [parents] are doing it, I know that they

might seem crazy on the surface...they're not trying to be mean, they're trying to

mean well, it's just a very abrasive and probably not the best way to do it."

Being bicultural allows Participant D to evaluate and process other people's point of views

and be open to multiple perspectives on life, similar to Participant A. Participant D provided

an example of the practical uses of this ability to diffuse situations where there are value

clashes. It helps Participant D take the position of the mediator in between who can look at a

situation from the different perspectives that are presented from other individuals. Thus,

Participant A, C, and D view that a crucial gain is the ability to be more open-minded and

positively interact with many people.

Participant B also referred an advantage of having both cultures:

"I think it's a good thing as well...there's more open-mindedness when you're

exposed to more cultures as well."

However, there was also a consideration of a disadvantage being the loss of her

Chinese identity:

"It's sad that you don't learn as much of your own culture as well growing up in

New Zealand society. So it's kind of a double-edged sword in a way. There's

benefits to it but at the same time there's a loss of my Chinese side and that

culture as well."

Participant B expressed shame and regret that being bicultural can sometimes mean a loss of Chinese identity. Although there is some understanding of Chinese culture, there is inevitably a loss of connection to their Chinese heritage, which is perceived to be unfortunate. She referred to this as 'double-edged sword'. This is further highlighted in the following commentary by Participant B:

> *"I think I kind of understand Chinese culture more superficially as well growing*
>
> *up in New Zealand. Like yeah, we celebrate the festivals and stuff but like what*
>
> *does it mean to be Chinese?"*

Participant B expressed that while there are benefits to being bicultural and having access to two cultures, the consequence of it for her is a superficial understanding of Chinese culture. It is easy for Participant B to identify as Kiwi Asian or a Chinese New Zealander on a superficial level, but it can also generate confusion and a loss of certain aspects of her Chinese identity. By questioning what it means to be Chinese, Participant B highlights that while she acknowledges her Chinese identity, she does not understand Chinese culture enough to identify as purely Chinese.

In summary, all four participants identified as both Kiwi and Chinese. All participants attributed their understanding of being Chinese to their heritage in that it is a part of them that cannot be denied. All participants attributed their understanding of being Kiwi to lifestyle. In particularly, friendly, casual, and relaxed. Participants A and C acknowledged the importance of their family in terms of the Chinese part of them but the biggest influence on their bicultural identity is understood to be from their peers and the exposure to more Asian people. Lastly, all four participants shared how being bicultural has the advantage of being

more open-minded. However, the consequence of having two cultures can sometimes mean a loss of connection with their Chinese heritage.

5.2 Theme Two: Navigating Sense of Belonging and Friendships

Theme Two is concerned with how participants make sense of their relationships with others, and how their sense of belonging is impacted upon by certain experiences. Theme Two consists of two subthemes: 1) Not fully belonging, and 2) Relatability and familiarity drive friendships.

5.2.1 Subtheme 1: Not fully belonging

The first subtheme presents certain experiences that reflect the participant's sense of belonging, and how it is navigated. This subtheme consists of three experiences: not fitting in a Chinese work environment, dealing with family in China or Hong Kong, and being looked down on by other Chinese people. Participants shared experiences of feeling a sense of not fully belonging as a result of their experiences but are able to navigate their feelings because of their strong sense of self.

5.2.1.1 Not fitting in a Chinese work environment

Participant A shared how the management style in a Chinese style work environment generated a sense of not belonging. Some aspects of a typical Chinese work environment shared were conning, and lack of focus on employee well-being:

> *"I actually didn't feel like I fit in because I didn't get along with the management*
>
> *because I felt like they brought over the management style from China to New*
>
> *Zealand, which doesn't sit well with me. [There was] not enough emphasis on*

employee well-being and [there was] and a lot of conning. I feel like I kept being

conned.

Other aspects that influenced on her sense of belonging was the lack of connection

with her colleagues:

"I never really had any banter with the team and outside of work I would never

hang out with them. I didn't really join them for after-work stuff either."

On one 'rare occasion' when Participant A did join her colleagues to celebrate a

birthday, the difference in humour created a sense of awkwardness for her:

"On the rare occasion that I did [hang out with colleagues], maybe for

someone's birthday...it was very awkward. I feel like the humour was different,

but I can't quite explain it."

Participant A talked about the differences between working in an environment that is very

much reflective of a typical work environment in China with power-play and politics.

Participant A's experience in this work environment was uncomfortable and unpleasant

because of the difference in her beliefs and expectations of what a working environment

should be like. Participant A navigated this environment by recognising and accepting that "It

was just purely a job and that's what I felt like was expected of me."

5.2.1.2 Dealing with family overseas

Participant B expressed a lot of confusion when interacting with family members in

Hong Kong:

"Most of my family is overseas and when I go there, they're like 'what?' or 'what

are you saying?' like with [my] slang and the way I act I suppose. Like in Chinese

families you call everyone by their specific role in the family, like 'second aunty'

but I just call everyone aunty and everyone just gets mad but I call all the other

aunties 'aunty' here [in New Zealand] so why can't I do it there?"

Participant B was expected to act and speak in the same manner that is considered 'normal'

for her family in Hong Kong. This is highlighted by a cultural difference in the way which

relatives are labelled. Participant B recognises the difference but does not understand why

she is unable to act in the way she is used to. These different ways of doing contributed to a

sense of not belonging, even with other family members.

Participant D also reinforces the feeling of not belonging with family members in Hong

Kong:

"It's mainly dealing with my family or when you talk to people who are living in

Hong Kong…when I want to do something they'll be like 'oh no we don't do that'

'who does that?' 'everyone does that' 'we don't do that' you know. They sometimes

can be a bit confused or look at you a little differently. [they] pretty much they

call me a 'banana' (term for an Asian person living in a Western country who has

lost touch of their heritage culture) but I say I'm pretty well-adjusted actually."

Participant D showed a strong sense of self and a comfort and competency in her

bicultural identity. Although Participant D knows that her behaviours are viewed

upon differently by members of Hong Kong society and her family, she is still able

to function adaptively.

Participant A further highlighted the point of recognising differences in her behaviour when in China:

> *"You can definitely tell, if I go back to China, go back to China? go to China? People can definitely tell that I wasn't raised there, and I just feel different. Like my mannerisms, my way of doing things, my way of talking, even like when it comes to the way I address people, relatives, it's just different from...it's very Kiwi because of how I was brought up."*

The discourse used by Participant A is one of interest as it highlights there is not a concrete sense of where she belongs. The implication of the different phrasing of her questions between 'go back to' or 'go to' may reflect a question of whether or not Participant A feels a sense of belonging in China. 'Go back' may imply a sense of belonging in China as it represents a sense of returning. However, there is also a part of her that is Kiwi and does not feel a sense of belonging in China. This is highlighted through Participant A's recognition of how different she feels in China given her Kiwi upbringing.

5.2.1.3 Looked down on by other Chinese people

Being looked down upon by members of one's own race can generate a sense of not belonging and this was highlighted by Participant D:

> *"One time I had 2 Chinese tourists ask me for directions. I asked them if they could speak Cantonese, they said no, so I attempted to give them directions in Mandarin. They corrected my horrible Mandarin, commented on my food choice and breakfast, which was a pie, and then walked off without saying thank you. It is kind of strange because I've had people look down on me from Chinese culture. [It makes you feel] you're not actually Chinese. It's a bit weird."*

Visually looking Chinese creates expectations for others that one should speak and act

Chinese in a traditional sense. However, being looked down upon when others realise that

Participant D is not 'fully' Chinese feels awkward and condescending. At the same time,

Participant D does not look like New Zealand Pakeha as well despite sharing the same

values, practices, and beliefs. Furthermore, Participant D consuming a pie for breakfast,

which is normal in Kiwi culture, reflects the Kiwi part of her identity that has also been

looked down upon.

5.2.2 Subtheme 2: Relatability and familiarity drive friendships

Subtheme 2 explores how participants make sense of how they feel about themselves and

others based on the connections and interactions they have with others. Overall, the main

factors pertaining to all four participant's understanding of their relationship with others are

relatability and familiarity. In particular, there was a deeper connection with those who were

also Kiwi Asian or other second-generation New Zealanders, such as second-generation

Indian, Fijian, and Filipino.

Participant D talks about how she feels with her European friends who do not have

knowledge of certain ways of behaving in Chinese culture that is difficult to explain:

> *"Sometimes when I'm with my European friends, I'll say something, and they'll be*
>
> *like 'why did you do that' and I'm like 'I don't know, it's just something...it's*
>
> *Asian?'.*

Although Participant D can connect with non-Asian peers, the people she can

connect with on a deeper level are Asians or with people who have some

understanding of Chinese culture and mannerism:

> *"I do find that most of my friends are Asian. As I'm getting older and I'm in sort*
> *of a workplace now, I find myself I get quite along with non-Asian and I get quite*
> *close friends but usually the people that I connect with the closest are Asians or*
> *people who have been around a lot of Asians."*

This is because:

> *"I don't have to explain to them why I'm having problems with my parents. It's*
> *just a lot of things they already [know] even if they don't agree or don't*
> *understand it completely, they have a vague idea of it so it's just not as frustrating*
> *[to have to explain]."*

There is already a level of familiarisation in experiences with other Chinese Kiwis, Kiwi Asians, and certain people who understand Chinese culture and common issues that second-generation individuals can experience. Participant D uses an example of having issues with parents as an experience that is familiar to other Chinese Kiwis. This level of familiarisation facilitates Participant D's feeling of connection with people who are similar or are able to understand her experiences.

Participant D explained that she feels a faster and deeper connection with others who are similar to her because of common family situations:

> *I click on very quickly with someone who's similarly white-washed or half-half. I*
> *think one of the reasons is you always can make the jokes about how your parents*
> *are crazy. Like there's always that joke where you're like 'oh I have to help my*
> *mum do this cause she's just...yeah.'*

Having similar or the same food tastes and interests was also another important element:

> *Often you have similar tastes in food. I'm surprised that quite a few of my*
> *European friends haven't tried a lot of different Asian style dishes, whereas with*
> *Asians they're like 'yeah we've tried that, let's go there', or 'omg that food tastes*
> *good, have you been?' You have the same sort of hangout spots or food tastes,*
> *your go-tos and stuff.*

The familiarity in experiences and mutual understanding drives the connection for the type of people participants typically befriend. The enjoyment of similar foods is an example provided. The term "white-washed" that is used by Participant D is a familiar term used in society to describe individuals who are "too assimilated" from their heritage culture. Interestingly, Participant D feels she is able to connect faster with people who are 'more' Kiwi rather than people who are 'more' Chinese.

In summary, participants expressed a sense of not being 'Chinese enough' to identify as 'pure' Chinese. The sense of not belonging or fitting in was more prominent when interacting with other Chinese people, such as their family in China or Hong Kong, or working in a Chinese environment. However, given the strong sense of self and understanding of their own identity, participants were able to navigate the sense of not belonging adaptively. Participants were also aware that the type of people they typically befriend are similarly half Kiwi and half Asian. Participants attributed this to a sense of familiarity and similarity in experience, interests, and understanding.

5.3 Theme Three: Navigating Cultural Differences

Theme Three explores participant experiences of navigating between two cultures. This theme includes experiences by Participant B and Participant D. There are three subthemes: 1) Chinese gender norms, 2) Respecting elders in Chinese culture, and 3) Navigating Chinese traditions.

5.3.1 Subtheme 1: Chinese gender norms

Subtheme 1 concerns the experiences of navigating between traditional Chinese cultural beliefs about gender norms and roles. In particular, two participants express value clashes and include their thoughts and feeling that accompanied their experiences.

Participant B shared a common household situation as a result of her father's belief that men do not need to do housework:

"My dad's very traditional in the sense that he expects my mum to do all the housework."

However, Participant B and her brother both share the housework without the influence of gender expectations:

"But my brother and I, we share work somewhat equally depending on who's busy and then we help mum out but then my dad does nothing and we're like 'dad why are you doing nothing?', and he's like 'cause I am a man', and that's really embedded in Chinese culture in my perspective."

To navigate the differences in gender roles, Participant B shared that she tries to reason with her father:

"We're just like trying to reason with him and he's like 'but I go to work, I don't

need to do housework' and I was just like 'I go to work, I study...look, I'm doing

my laundry'.

Participant B recognises the traditional Chinese family system but given that she has

adopted a view of gender-equality, the differing views of gender roles contributes to

intergenerational conflict:

"[I] realise that [by] retaining the traditional way of family, it can be like, not

damaging but…it's not fair. So, in that sense I'm just like 'that's not fair, why are

we doing it this way?', 'why does everyone do it this way?'."

Participant B questioned the gender roles and expectations that she learned from her father

and evaluates it from another perspective. Although there is a gender norm that men do not

need to engage in housework that resonates in Chinese society, Participant B perceived this

as gender inequality. Participant B and her brother share the housework equally despite being

different gender and she expressed a strong sense of frustration about these gender roles.

Participant B expressed a struggle with her Chinese identity because of these gender norms:

"Sometimes when I think of Chinese culture I think "ohh I'm not really [like

that]" It's so hierarchical in many different ways. I'm like 'do I want to identify

with something like that?'."

On one hand, she recognises the role of her mother in the family but on the other

hand, there is another part of her that questions whether she wants to identify with

these Chinese family values:

> *"I guess my mum in a way does a lot of the house work, like a traditional Chinese*
>
> *housewife but at the same time I'm like 'my mum's so oppressed' so I'm like "mm.*
>
> *do I want that as well?" That part I kind of struggle with."*

Having learned both Western and Eastern values, Participant B is able to identify and question aspects of certain cultures that she does not agree with or want to identify with, but this also contributes to the internal conflict she feels. Participant B reinforced this point in the following commentary:

> *"Like I get celebrating festivals but then at the same time I'm looking at way*
>
> *some things are done and I'm just like 'that's not very fair' to everyone involved. I*
>
> *guess male privilege in Chinese families is huge and then I'm like, the more*
>
> *democratic Kiwi view is that [while] there are still gender hierarchies, they're not*
>
> *as rigid as traditional Chinese families."*

Traditionally, Chinese people place sons or males on a high pedestal and are more favoured than females. While Participant B expressed confusion, unfairness, and a sense of neglect, there is also a part of her that can understand her father's perspective:

> *"I'm just confused and I'm like 'alright then'. It makes sense I guess if you look at*
>
> *it from my dad's perspective and the way he understands life but I'm just like*
>
> *'cool'."*

Participant B shared an experience of navigating gender roles that are imposed upon her by her father. In Participant B's situation, value clashes arose as a result of her father's view that women are responsible for housework with her view that gender should not be a defining factor and that housework should be shared. Although Participant B voices frustration and

confusion over the misalignment between her and her father's values, she also understands

her father's perspective to an extent. As a result, often the two differing parts of her identity

that are associated with different values can be a source of conflict as she can move between

both perspectives.

Participant D also experienced conflict as a result of differing perspectives on gender norms:

"My parents are quite conservative in a lot of things like they tell me 'you're a

single girl, you shouldn't go out late' or 'you need a husband to look after you'."

Participant D expressed how the conflict between her and parents are because of the

clash between Chinese and Western (Kiwi) values:

"I've had a lot of arguments with my parents about that whereas [in] Kiwi

culture 'you do your own thing'. You're not really limited by things [in Kiwi

culture]"

Participant D further shared an argument between her and her father in relation to

her wanting to drive down to Hamilton alone:

"I'm very independent, I like to do what I want. He was like 'no you can't drive

down to Hamilton by yourself. What if you get kidnapped?' and I was like 'what?',

and then somehow came the idea is 'you will have a nice Chinese husband to

drive you down to Hamilton.' I was like 'why do I have to have a husband? what

if my husband doesn't want to go?' and he said, 'he's a bad husband if he doesn't

go with you' and I was like 'why do I have a husband?'. There's this other idea

that the husband should traditionally provide for the wives, look after them,

[while] the wife has kids and babies. The wife also now has to have a very high

functioning successful job and career too."

In this excerpt, Participant D expressed confusion in the dialogue between her and

her father. This experience shows a type of conflict that can arise as a result of two

competing cultures. Participant D's values of independence contrasted to her father's

view of interdependence. This highlights the contrasting parts of Participant D's

cultural identity and her attempts to find a balance between the two.

Participant D further expressed her feelings and how the issue was resolved:

"I was really pissed off. I was, to the point where I couldn't take him seriously

anymore after that point where he said, 'you know, you can go when you have

your husband' I just pretty much walked off hysterically laughing because it was

so stupid, and I think he was rather upset so I apologised to him later.

Participant D had mentioned earlier in the interview that she gives in her to parents

when the situation is difficult, which was shown through this experience as she took

the bus down to Hamilton instead of driving:

"I ended up going on a bus, it was the worst thing. I got home, and the look on

my face, [my dad] saw me, he gave me a hug, and I was like 'you know what, next

time I don't care what you say, I'm driving. It was a terrible, terrible idea dad.'

He was like 'okay'."

Despite personally believing the norm that women need a husband as bizarre, Participant D is

also able to apologise to her father and compromise by taking the bus down to Hamilton

instead of driving alone. Although she gave in to her father's restriction of driving alone, she was also able to express how terrible the trip was for her and sought understanding from her father. In this excerpt, Participant D folded to her father's authority and appears to remain conflicted between the two worlds. However, she also attempted to, later, find a balance between the differing expectations.

5.3.2 Subtheme 2: Respecting elders in Chinese culture

Subtheme 2 explores how participants navigate the traditional Chinese belief that emphasises the importance of respecting elders. Participant B and Participant D both shared differences in the way they behave depending on the type of elder they are interacting with. The Chinese concept of saving "face" also appears in the dialogue in relation to respecting elders. As participants try to negotiate between the rules being respectful to elders, their internal thoughts and ways they try to navigate any differences are presented.

Participant B shared how she makes sense of the difference in formality between interacting with her Chinese grandma versus Western elders in New Zealand:

"In Hong Kong, the way you act with your grandmas [is] like super duper

respectful and you can't talk to her casually and certain topics are off the table

and then just [ask] how's your study or are you eating well."

In comparison to interacting with non-Asian elderly in New Zealand, Participant B can act casually towards them:

"Whereas I guess [talking to] elders in New Zealand, you're just like how's your

life? how are you today?"

Participant B addressed how having grown up in New Zealand has allowed her to be fluid in the way she interacts with different people:

"*I think with being growing up here [New Zealand], it's more fluid in the way you interact with people.*"

Thus, when interacting with her grandma, Participant B would act more formal and only discuss topics that are acceptable. This differs to when she interacts with Western elderly people in New Zealand in the sense that she feels more comfortable and there is freedom to act in a casual manner. The level of formality interpreted by Participant B can be observed via the way she uses 'super duper' to describe the level of respect required when interacting with her grandma. Participant B emphasised that she believes respecting elders is an important value to hold as she reiterates 'I think respecting elders is very important' in a later comment.

Participant B also talked about how strongly the value of respecting elders is embedded in Chinese society. Not only does this involve respecting the elderly but also anyone who is older or anyone with more authority. Participant B shared an experience where she navigated the way she acts with a lecturer who is of Asian heritage and of similar age, compared to her supervisor who is older:

"*My supervisor I think because she is older, and you can tell, I'm more aware of being respectful. Whereas with the really young Chinese-ish lecturer I had, because he told us his back story and how he grew up here, so it clicks in that I don't have to be AS respectful as to my supervisor…it's like I don't have to be as hyper aware of my hierarchical position.*"

Participant B voices how there is greater awareness placed upon her social position

and how she understands that social positioning is important in Chinese culture:

I feel like that's [social hierarchy] really important for Chinese people...like

where are you placed in this social situation."

Although she is also aware of the young lecturer's position, the realisation of similarities

between Participant B and the young lecturer reduced the intensity of respect that she

perceived would be required. Through an example of emailing, Participant B was able to be

more casual:

"I think emailing was a bit more casual with the younger lecturer…it's [still]

formal but like more casual in the way I speak to him and talk to him and not that

I can't discuss ideas, it's just easier."

In terms of discussing ideas, Participant B expressed more awareness towards

showing respect:

"With my supervisor, I have to be respectful in the way I discuss my ideas."

Participant B also expressed how she feels comfortable approaching the young

lecturer in a casual manner when seeking help but with her supervisor, Participant B

is cautious of being an inconvenience:

"I kind of don't want to be inconvenient to my supervisor but to my younger

lecturer I'm just like 'hey can you help me with this or something' like ' I don't

understand this' but would be more straightforward than with my supervisor."

Participant B shared an ease of communication with the young lecturer versus the supervisor where she approaches her supervisor in "a roundabout way of asking sometimes". This showed in the difference in email communication and in the way she approached and asked questions.

Similarly, Participant D shared that when interacting with Chinese elderly, she needs to be polite and agree with what they say:

> *"You have to be a lot politer to them [Chinese elderly] or if they tell you something, you have to agree with them I guess. They're very um...very reserved and they're always like 'oh yeah, are you successful? are you still studying? are you going to keep studying?'.*

Participant D's perception of interactions with European elderly is relaxed and casual:

> *"With European people I think I've had a bit more chance to talk about general things, it's a lot more relaxed when I talk to them, even like outside of my job, I talk to them every day for my job, but outside of my job when I talk to them they're generally quite easy to get along with them. They don't try to give me life advice or when I say something they don't agree with, some of them will be a bit more flexible about it and say, 'oh yeah that's interesting'."*

With Chinese elderly, a higher level of respect needed to be conveyed by Participant D. This is shown in the way Participant D understands the difference in her behaviour. With Chinese elderly, Participant D needs to be polite, reserved, and high on agreeableness. In contrast, with European elderlies, Participant D feels a sense of ease in the interaction and enjoys the

casualness that would otherwise not be appropriate with a Chinese elderly. Interestingly, the

rules of elder respect did not appear to be restricted to Chinese elderly.

Participant D further shared a greater shift in her behaviour if she is interacting with people

who know her parents:

"I think one main thing is if they [other Chinese people] knew my parents, I'd

have to make sure that the way that I interact with them and behave with them

was positive so that they wouldn't think my parents had raised me poorly."

Participant D draws in the concept of saving "face":

"It doesn't matter what they think of me but it's because there's that whole 'family

face' thing and even with complete strangers who are Chinese, like generally the

older the parents or the older people, I feel like I always need to have

that...interaction...that I've been raised well, like a proper, well-taught Chinese

person."

Collectivist cultures view the behaviour of an individual as a reflection of the group. Thus,

Participant D shifts her behaviour to make sure it does not reflect badly upon her parents.

Participant D attributes this change in behaviour as a way to save family "face". Saving

"face" is a core social value in Chinese culture and is highlighted by Participant D when

considering how she needs to act in order to help her parents save face.

However, Participant D does not personally place value on "face":

"I think it's stupid. I think it's so stupid. Personally, for me I couldn't care

less…I'm sort of indifferent to it."

Nonetheless, Participant D understands that other people may value "face" and this awareness allows her to help others save face if it is important to them:

"I get it and if that's important to you, I will try and make things easier for you, I will not go out of my way to ruin things badly."

When asked how she manages the differences, Participant D expressed an acceptance that saving face is an aspect of Chinese culture. As a result, she can adapt she can adapt her behaviour to help her parents or others save "face" if this is important to them:

"I take it in stride, I think it's just the part of the culture like...you do what you have to do. I get it and if that's important to you, I will try and make things easier for you, I will not go out of my way to ruin things badly."

Although Participant D emphasises that saving "face" is not important to herself, she recognises the importance of it in Chinese culture:

"Sometimes I think people, they do put way too much value on how they see things in 'face'. I don't care what people think of me but because it's important to my parents and their friends, I find myself being very careful when I speak to them."

Participant D's strong sense of self showed through the way she expressed her opinion on this social value that is extremely important in Chinese society. She is able to alter her behaviour in a situation to help others save face if she knows that this concept is important to them. Furthermore, in the act of helping her parents and

other elders save face, Participant D is displaying an act of filial piety, and respect to

her elders.

5.3.3 Subtheme 3: Navigating Chinese traditions

Subtheme 3 explore and experience of navigating a Chinese cultural tradition as a bicultural

individual. Participant B presented an internal struggle as she tried to make sense of her

experience and the expectation of cultural traditions. Navigating Yum Cha was a detailed

experience shared by Participant B.

Yum cha is a Cantonese tradition of brunch involving tea and dim sum. Participant B shared

her experience of navigating a Yum Cha environment and having to be in charge without her

parents:

> *"We went to a Yum Cha restaurant, it was exactly like Hong Kong because it was*
>
> *a weekend, super busy. My brother's shy and then my friend can't speak*
>
> *Cantonese, and then our other friend also can't speak Cantonese and then my*
>
> *other cousin, she just speaks Hokkien instead."*

Participant B expressed that there was a need for her to adapt to be more Chinese in

the given Yum Cha context, especially as someone who looks Chinese:

> *"I had to order everything but then I feel like doing that, I like had to bring out*
>
> *the Chinese-ness in me to order in Cantonese…and there's a way to do Yum Cha*
>
> *I suppose as a Chinese-looking person…you're just shouting at the lady and like*
>
> *'I want this thing' and trying to speak Cantonese the best you can as well."*

As an older sister, and the only friend who can speak Cantonese, Participant B also felt responsible to be in charge and also to help others navigate the Yum Cha environment. Participant B expressed difficulty conducting herself in a way that is expected of a Chinese person but also feels a pressure to bring forth the Chinese side of her in order to perform Yum Cha in the appropriate manner:

> *"It was kind of hard because [I] usually go to Yum Cha with family so mum's there or dad's there to order stuff but then to do it myself, I'm just like 'oh wait'. I have to remind yourself of how to conduct myself at Yum Cha in a way. Like there's a way to do Yum Cha, and to do Yum Cha properly, you kind of have to bring that Chinese-ness out I suppose."*

Participant B voiced further frustration as someone navigating the Yum Cha environment with a poor command of Cantonese:

> *"Sometimes they'll [waiter] walk past and I'll get their attention and I was like 'oh I'll want this thing' or I'll name the dish. Sometimes they look at me and they're like 'what?' because they can't understand my Cantonese because it's got like the Kiwi twang to it."*

When asked about how she felt in that moment, Participant B expressed:

> *"It was super awkward because I know you can request dishes and they don't always come around, so you ask and they're looking at you like 'what? what are you trying to say?' like they can tell you're not Chinese as well but in that situation you're trying to be as Chinese as possible so it's a bit frustrating."*

Participant B presented a frustrating experience trying to navigate a Chinese environment with the socially expected etiquette as someone who does not identify purely as Chinese. This experience was especially difficult due to her poor command of Cantonese, which let others know she is different. From this experience, Participant B highlighted the internal struggle experienced when trying to navigate a Chinese environment as someone who is bicultural.

This chapter presented the findings of this practice research project. The following chapter will provide a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

This practice research project explored the lived experiences of negotiating between two cultures of four second-generation Chinese Kiwis. The research project adopted the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology. Data were collected through four semi-structured face-to-face interviews and analysed using an IPA analytic guide. Overall, the findings presented in this research project suggests that although there may be a pattern of similar views, beliefs, and concerns amongst second-generation Chinese Kiwis, the experience of navigating between two cultures is unique to the individual. On top of exploring lived experiences, the research project also explored how participants made sense of their bicultural identity, of having two cultures, and experiences that generated a sense of not belonging.

The first section of this chapter discusses the findings from the results, with reference to existing literature. The second section addresses the limitations of this research project. The third section addresses the implications of this research project for psychological practice in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The chapter concludes by summarising this research project.

6.1 Addressing the Themes

6.1.1 Theme 1: Navigating bicultural identity. This practice research project found that participants viewed themselves as bicultural. Bicultural refers to individuals who have dual cultural identities. In making sense of their bicultural identity, participants understood their identity was influenced by their social environment and adopted a positive view towards having two cultures.

All four participants described themselves as both Chinese and Kiwi. Terminology such as "Kiwi Asian", "Kiwi Chinese" and "Chinese New Zealander" were used to describe their identity. According to the bicultural integration identity (BII) construct, individuals with

high levels of BII tend to view themselves as a part of a "hyphenated culture" (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). Although participant's BII levels were not measured in this research project, the terms participants used to describe themselves reflect this idea of a "hyphenated culture", thus suggesting these second-generation Chinese Kiwi feel they have achieved an integrated bicultural identity.

The process of identity formation is proposed to develop during childhood, consolidated in adolescence and resolved in adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Research on the acculturation process of second-generation immigrants predominantly studies the adolescent population (e.g., Costigan & Su, 2004; Giguere et al., 2010; Jensen, 2011). However, in this research project, the age of the participants (21 years to 24 years) suggest that they should have engaged in the process of exploring their identity and have made a commitment to their bicultural identity. This reflects the identity achievement stage (Marcia, 1980). Thus, the findings also support the idea that second-generation adolescents are more likely to develop bicultural identities (Costigan & Su, 2004).

Participants understood that their bicultural identity was shaped by influences from their social environment. Certain Chinese cultural values, such as respecting elders and the importance of family were learned from their parents. Similarly, participants' understanding of certain Chinese traditions were also learned from their parents. In contrast, certain elements that are promoted in Kiwi culture, such as independence and gender equality, was learned from school and from functioning within mainstream society. This support the idea that traditions and norms of a second-generation individual's heritage culture are learned through their family, while the dominant culture is learned through their peers, the media, and the broader social context (Giguere et al., 2010).

Familial ethnic socialisation may explain why participants attributed their Chinese identity to their ethnic heritage and roots. Familial ethnic socialisation is the extent to which

parents expose or teach their children the language, values, and traditions from their heritage culture (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). In the unique context of New Zealand where biculturalism refers to Māori and Pākehā cultures, the larger cultural context in which participants were embedded during childhood did not promote the retention of their heritage Chinese culture. Therefore, values, expectations, and traditions of Chinese culture had to be learned within their home environment. Indeed, for first-generation parents, retaining heritage culture in their second-generation children is important (Akiyama, 2008) and thus, participants learned that their Chinese identity is a non-erasable part of them. Out of many culturally salient variables, such as familial ethnic socialisation, acculturative stress, and perceived discrimination, familial ethnic socialisation is argued to be the strongest factor on the retention of heritage culture in bicultural children (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006).

Simultaneously, participants expressed the superficial nature of their understanding of Chinese culture and questioned what it means to be truly Chinese. Indeed, cultural knowledge of Chinese culture for second-generation people is not as strong for two reasons. First, second-generation people do not have the same degree of direct experience as their parents and their access to Chinese culture is limited to the knowledge of their family (Giguere et al., 2010). Second, while trying to learn the norms of their heritage culture, second-generation people are simultaneously learning the norms of the dominant culture in which they have greater exposure to (Giguere et al., 2010). Past research has also shown that the endorsement of traditional cultural norms and values are weaker for second-generation children compared to their parents (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001).

All participants expressed the view that, as a result of having dual cultural identities, an advantage was the having ability to be open to multiple perspectives and see both sides of an argument. One participant shared a practical use of this ability to diffuse situations where there were cultural value clashes between their sibling and parents. The bicultural literature

argues that being bicultural is the most adaptive approach to acculturation (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). Some research has shown that bicultural people are more likely to develop advanced reasoning skills (Tadmor et al., 2009), heightened intellectual flexibility and open-mindedness (Tetlock, 1998). These included seeing both sides of an argument and understanding multiple perspectives on complex social issues, which were similarly expressed by participants in this research project.

Finally, Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) claim that biculturalism tends to be the most adaptive in a bicultural environment. This means that the environment in which an individual is embedded in must be bi- or multi-cultural for a higher likelihood of the development of a bicultural identity. In cities where there are a larger number of immigrants, such as Auckland, the likelihood of developing a bicultural identity is higher than in a monocultural area because of an increased need to learn to adapt to different sociocultural environments (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). This was highlighted by one participant who shared how navigating himself in a community with a small number of Asians when he was younger lead to stronger identification with his Kiwi identity. However, once this participant had moved to Auckland, the increase in exposure to other Chinese people required him to negotiate this shift and his identity. From the New Zealand census, the number of Asians in the Taranaki region where New Plymouth is situated increased from 1500 in 2001 to 3594 in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand 2001; 2013). The number for the Taranaki region is comparably smaller to Auckland where there was an increase of Asians from 151,602 in 2001 to 307,233 in 2013. The changes of an environment over time in the participant's life appears to have influenced how they make sense of their bicultural identity, thus supporting the claim by Sterba (as cited in Schwartz & Unger, 2010) that biculturalism can evolve across historical and generational time.

In summary, this section has discussed second-generation Chinese Kiwis are bicultural individuals in that they have internalised two cultures. Understanding how these individuals make sense of the different cultures and how their bicultural identity is shaped is important to understanding how they make sense of their identity. Bicultural identity appeared to be shaped by one's social-cultural environment, which can be affected across time depending on the society the individual is living in. When there are changes in the bicultural environment, second-generation Chinese Kiwis are able to negotiate the shift. Overall there was a positive perception towards having internalised two cultures in that it is an advantage.

6.1.2 Theme 2: Navigating sense of belonging and friendships. The findings of this practice research project suggest that second-generation Chinese Kiwis do not feel they fully belong with their co-ethnic Chinese members. However, they do not find that it impacts on their bicultural identity due to their strong sense of self. The sense of not belonging was mainly experienced when interacting with other Chinese people who do not have much knowledge about Western culture. Second-generation Chinese Kiwis are also able to recognise the types of people they find deeper connection with and importance was placed upon the sense of cultural similarity with the type of people they befriend.

Participants shared experiences that contributed to a sense of not belonging with Chinese people. This was expressed when interacting with family members in China or Hong Kong, working in a Chinese work environment, and interactions with Chinese tourists. There was a recognition of how participants were different in terms of their mannerisms, speech, and values compared to other Chinese people. Belongingness is defined as a subjective feeling of interpersonal closeness within a given social context (Lee & Robbins, 1995) in which there is an inherent human emotional need to belong that underlies human social

behaviour (Fiske, 2010). It may be postulated that the sense of not belonging may reflect an out of awareness perception of marginalisation by members of the same ethnic group. Past research has also presented narratives in which Asian Americans feel ostracised by co-ethnic group members (Pyke & Dang, 2003).

Social Identity Theory posits that being a member of a group plays a significant role in psychological well-being (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and that individuals and groups engage in a range of strategies to strive for a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1981). Thus, social rejection from co-ethnic group members can be a painful experience (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003) and reflect poorly on the individual's shared social identity (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). Social psychologist, José Marques, proposed the 'Black sheep' phenomenon, in which individuals who are perceived to be socially undesirable are liked less if the individual is an in-group member than if they were an out-group member (Marques, & Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Thus, differences in the participants' mannerisms and speech may lead to them being perceived as the 'black sheep' of their heritage culture. As a result, it is possible the sense of not belonging reflects participants' perception of rejection from other Chinese members because they adopt values, behaviours, and norms of Kiwi culture in ways that may be perceived to be threatening to their social identity that reflects Chinese culture.

Interestingly, the interdependent and independent self-concepts have been proposed to be important predictors of intragroup marginalisation. Individuals with an independent self-concept have reported increased perception of intragroup marginalisation from their family, while individuals with an interdependent self-concept have reported a decrease in perceived intragroup marginalisation (Ferenczi, Marshall, & Benjanyan, 2015). The sense of not belonging with Chinese peers may suggest that participants have an independent self-concept, which reflects the individualistic culture promoted in New Zealand. However, Park

and Kim (2008) has suggested that for people with dual cultural identities, their ability to function effectively in both cultural contexts is not hindered by perceptions of cultural and social difference. For instance, while Chinese Americans may feel more Chinese compared to their American peers and feel more American compared to their Chinese peers, bicultural individuals are able to function effectively in both cultural contexts (Park & Kim, 2008).

One possible explanation for how second-generation Chinese Kiwis negotiate their sense of belonging may be due to their strong sense of bicultural identity. Participants in this research project displayed a strong sense of comfort and competency in their bicultural identity and a strong sense of self with clear individual values as well as certain cultural values. For second-generation Chinese Kiwis, it may be likely that there is an interplay between their independent and interdependent self-concepts. As Lee and Davis (2000) found, bicultural identity is a secure cultural orientation that positively influences how an individual adapts to and develops a sense of belonging. Thus, participants' competency and comfort in their dual cultural identities may facilitate their ability to function despite being treated or viewed differently.

Finally, the similarity and understanding of certain experiences appear to be important factors for second-generation Chinese Kiwis in regard to the type of people they befriend. The similarity-attraction hypothesis suggests that people are attracted to others who share the same beliefs, values, attitudes, and activity preferences (Bryne, 1971). From this perspective, Leszczensky and colleagues (2016) assert that ethnic minority (i.e., Chinese in New Zealand) individuals who identify with the dominant culture can be expected to have stronger preferences for ethnic majority (i.e., New Zealand European) peers because of perceived similarity. Subsequently, individuals who identify with the heritage culture (e.g., Chinese) should prefer others who also identify with Chinese culture (Leszczensky et al., 2016).

However, for second-generation individuals who identify with both cultures, some research (Jugert, Leszczensky, & Pink, 2017) suggests that they are just as likely to befriend ethnic majority peers, other ethnic minorities who identify with the host country, and other individuals who have dual cultural identities. However, they are less likely to befriend individuals who identify with their heritage country (Jugert et al., 2017). Although participants in this research project noted they have both European and Chinese friends, they felt they could not connect with these peers to the same level as they could with their Kiwi Asian peers. This was not limited to second-generation Chinese Kiwi but also second-generation Indian, Fijian, or Filipino. This may be explained by the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Bryne, 1971), as mentioned earlier, in the sense that factors such as similar taste in food, interests, hang-out locations, and understanding jokes about their parents, seems to facilitate a sense of belonging and connection. Thus, a perceived similarity and familiarity, that is related to ethnic or cultural identification, appears to influence the type of people second-generation Chinese Kiwis befriend.

In summary, second-generation Chinese Kiwis can struggle with a sense of not belonging when interacting with Chinese peers, but they are able to navigate the feelings adaptively due to their strong bicultural identity. Second-generation Chinese Kiwis also tend find faster connection and stronger friendships with other second-generation or Kiwi Asian peers due to the similarity in food and activity preferences, experiences, values, and attitudes.

6.1.3 Theme 3: Navigating cultural differences. The findings of this research project indicated that second-generation Chinese Kiwis experience the most difficulty while trying to navigate differences between Kiwi and Chinese values and traditions. Differences in the perception of gender norms between participants and their parents was a source of intergenerational and internal conflict. However, in regard to the virtue of respecting elders,

less conflict was expressed as participants also viewed this is an important value for them. The findings also suggest that second-generation Chinese Kiwis navigate between Chinese and Kiwi culture by adapting their behaviour to fit the environmental context.

6.1.3.1 Intergenerational conflict. Participants hold different beliefs regarding gender norms compared to their parents and this often causes conflict. Although the participants' parents have been in New Zealand for many years, the beliefs they hold regarding gender norms is still apparently strong. For first-generation immigrants (i.e., the parents of second-generation immigrants), heritage norms are often strongly retained, especially norms related to family and relationships (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Thus, parents will often attempt to maintain heritage norms by encouraging their children to adopt behaviours and norms that are closely tied to family traditions and family honour (Dion & Dion, 2001; Kwak, 2003).

Participants expressed confusion and a sense of unfairness because of the traditional Chinese cultural norms regarding gender. Experiences were shared where one participant expressed different treatment towards her by family members in Hong Kong where her brother is perceived to be more favoured because he is male. The traditional beliefs of Chinese culture of men being breadwinners of the family and women being the caretaker has led to the perception that men play an important role in society with skills that females cannot match (Attané, 2012). For example, this participant's brother is often showered with compliments for doing chores while the participant's presence was neglected and is often met with comments and questions that reinforce the female caretaker role.

From a material and symbolic point of view, females are not viewed as equals and thus, are undesirable compared to men (Attané, 2012). This participant's experience with family members in Hong Kong perpetuate this preference for a masculine figure. However, the struggle faced by this participant stems from her personal value of gender equality that aligns with what New Zealand society tries to promote. In 2016 and 2017, New Zealand

ranked 9th out of 144 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2017), while China ranked 99, suggesting that New Zealand is a society that promotes gender equality. Thus, the contrasting beliefs between the norms conveyed by Chinese and Kiwi culture raise feelings of confusion and astonishment as the participant tries to negotiate the norms and expectations of this aspect of Chinese culture that is promoted by her family while trying to maintain a hold on her values learned from Kiwi culture.

Similarly, another participant's autonomy was restricted by their father because they are female. Although this was expressed as a gendered expectation where a female needs a husband to function, an element of independence versus interdependence also underlies this experience. The dominant culture of New Zealand promotes independence, which contrasts of Chinese culture which promotes interdependence (Hofstede, 2018). This participant expressed high levels of independence and a strong sense of self, which correlates to the individualistic view of self-independence (Sawang, Oei, & Goh, 2006). Thus, the contrasting view on independence between the participant and her parent generated feelings of unjustness.

Subsequently, these cultural clashes can often be a factor that contributes to intergenerational conflict. Intergenerational conflict has been found to be a common phenomenon for Asian American immigrant families that persist into young adulthood (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Lee & Liu, 2001). The findings from this research project support other findings from the literature that have shown that disagreements over adherence to family values, expectations, and traditions are a common challenge for second-generation children (Gim Chung, 2001; Ying, Lee, Tsai, Lee, & Tsang, 2001; Lee et al., 2000; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). The findings from this research project further suggest that intergenerational conflict may be a persistent challenge that follows into adulthood.

6.1.3.2 Navigating between two cultures. Current literature has not yet examined the strategies in detail. However, the literature on coping strategies in stressful situations has highlighted some ways Asian Americans cope with intergenerational conflict (Chang, 2001; Lee & Liu, 2001). Lee and Liu (2001) reported that Asian American college students tend to engage more in approach-oriented coping than avoidance-oriented coping. These include active coping, reframing, planning, acceptance, emotional support, and religion. However, one critique of Lee and Liu's (2001) study was the overly broad coping measures depicted. Consequently, from this research project, participants mentioned strategies that reflect both approach-oriented and avoidance-oriented strategies. Approach-oriented strategies included seeking compromise or reasoning with parents and accepting the existence of differing views. These coping strategies may reflect their westernised Kiwi self-concept that promotes independence. Similarly, Chang's (2001) findings suggest that White Americans use less problem avoidance strategies compared to Asians. However, simultaneously, succumbing to parental expectations when the situation is difficult could be considered a problem-avoidance strategy. The findings once again, suggest an interplay between participants' independent and interdependent self-concepts.

Contrastingly, less conflict was expressed in terms of navigating the learned importance of elder respect. From Confucian principles of filial piety, respect for parents and elders are placed at utmost importance (Sung, 2001), which was reinforced by the participants. In traditional Chinese society, families view filial piety and respect for elders as the highest virtue. Interestingly, the findings from this research project suggest that the rules of filial piety are not limited to interactions with elder Chinese people. Interestingly, the rules of filial piety were applied even in the context of speaking with an older European. Therefore, although participants have adopted some Kiwi or Westernised beliefs, values, and behaviours, filial piety seems to be universal towards members of all cultures.

The way in which participants negotiated between their contrasting values was fluid and dependent on the context. For example, one participant expressed the importance of elder respect and how this was navigated in situations where the participant is interacting with people who know her parents. In collectivist cultures, it is the norm to view the behaviour of an individual as a reflection of the group (Hofstede, 1980). Thus, it is common to view that a child's behaviour reflects upon their parents. In the lived experience of this participant, she is able to shift her behaviour to be more conservative and formal as she understands the importance of "saving face" in Chinese culture, even though she does not place importance on this concept for herself. In the narrative that was provided, the act of helping her parents save face also displays an act of respecting elders, and thus filial piety.

Lastly, one participant shared a descriptive experience of Yum Cha - a Cantonese traditional style of brunch - and how this experience required her to bring forth her Chinese identity. From the perspective of cultural frame switching theory (Hong et al., 2000), the Yum Cha environment acted as a cultural prime to bring forth behaviours that are accepted by its context. For example, speaking loudly in Cantonese is common behaviour displayed at Yum Cha. Although there was discomfort in the experience due to the contrast in norms of the situation and the participant's personality, the participant was still able to navigate the situation by accessing the understanding she had of Yum Cha etiquette. This finding also provides support for the *alternation model* of bicultural competence in that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures and to alter their behaviour to fit a particular social context (LaFramboise et al., 1993).

The process of switching between cultural meaning systems (Hong et al., 2000) is supported by the findings from this research project. Participants were able to shift between situational cues and activate the relevant cultural meaning system to guide their affect, cognition, and behaviour. The findings from this research project further provide some

examples of the types of situational cues that prime an individual's values, which in turn affect their behaviour. For instance, age is a contextual cue that brings forth elder respect, and cultural environments can activate knowledge of the appropriate cultural etiquette necessary to navigate the environment.

In summary, second-generation Chinese Kiwis can negotiate between their two cultural worlds depending on contextual and situational cues. Difficulties often arise when there are cultural clashes with Chinese values, norms, and traditions when these elements are not aligned with the values of the individual. This makes negotiating the differences more difficult and may require coping strategies. Contrastingly, negotiating the differences between Kiwi and Chinese values appear to be somewhat easier when the value is important for the individual. The findings from this research project provide support for cultural frame switching theory by Hong and colleagues (2000) and the alternation model of biculturalism (LaFramboise et al., 1993) where second-generation bicultural individuals are able to shift their behaviour to fit a particular social context based on situational cues that prime a specific cultural meaning system that in turn, guide affect, cognition, and behaviour.

6.2 Limitations

The location in which this research project was conducted may have increased the likelihood of obtaining participants with a bicultural identity. However, not all second-generation immigrants will necessarily identity as bicultural and thus, the findings may not reflect all second-generation Chinese Kiwis. Furthermore, the findings may not reflect New Zealand-born Chinese in cities other than Auckland. Subsequently, given the small sample of participants, the findings may also not reflect other New Zealand-born Chinese in Auckland.

The interview process saw a few limitations. Firstly, not all participants were able to share detailed experiences of navigating between two cultures, which resulted in reduced

richness of the data. This may be a result of the subconscious nature of cultural frame switching where the individual is unaware of changes in their thoughts and behaviour, especially if they are comfortable with their dual cultural identities. Secondly, the issue may be a result of the phrasing of the interview question regarding the shift between two cultural identities. Although the researcher had tested the indicative interview questions with second-generation Chinese Kiwi peers, a formal pilot interview could have been conducted prior. However, given the time constraints of this research project, a formal pilot interview was unable to be conducted. Nevertheless, this research project captured certain core issues that are relevant to the experience second-generation Chinese Kiwis.

An element of social desirability bias may have held participants back from providing detailed responses in certain sections. This was indicated by careful responses when using stereotypical language and questioning the researcher if it was appropriate. The researcher attempted to reduce the level of bias by building rapport and asserting the researcher's non-judgemental position. Nevertheless, face-to-face interviews have been shown to encourage social desirability bias (Sykes & Collins, 1988).

Finally, the time constraints on this practice research project, it was limited to the use of one method. Data triangulation could have been used to strengthen the reliability and validity of this research project.

6.3 Implications

6.3.1 Implications for healthcare practice. This research project was the first to provide research-based evidence on second-generation Chinese Kiwis living in Aotearoa, New Zealand. In particularly, it provided some insight into how second-generation Chinese Kiwi make sense of their bicultural experiences.

The findings presented in this research project suggest that although there may be a pattern of similar views, beliefs, and concerns amongst second-generation Chinese Kiwis who identify as bicultural, the experience of navigating two cultures is unique to the individual. Thus, in order to provide culturally competent care, it is important for clinicians to recognise how an individual identifies socially, culturally, and ethnically. Thus, taking a phenomenological approach to understand the individual's (i.e., the client) values, and worldviews may help build rapport in a working relationship.

6.3.2 Future research. Future research warrants an examination of the effects of intergenerational conflict across time via a longitudinal study, as intergenerational conflict appears to be a common challenge that persists into adulthood for second-generation Chinese Kiwis. Future research should also explore the effects of intergenerational conflict on psychological well-being and functioning. Similarly, future research also warrants an examination of the effects of bicultural identity on psychological well-being and functioning for adults..

An interesting finding of this research project was the interplay between independence and interdependence. Values of individual autonomy and independence promoted in Western cultures can surpass values of interdependence in Eastern cultures. Yet, simultaneously, values of filial piety and elder respect promoted in Eastern cultures can surpass individual autonomy. This highlights a greater need to further examine the effects of the psychological process behind independence and interdependence and their relationship with bicultural identity.

6.4 Conclusion

This research project was the first in New Zealand to explore the lived experiences of navigating between two cultures of four second-generation Chinese Kiwis. It gained insights

into how second-generation Chinese Kiwis understand their dual cultural identities and their experiences.

A core finding of this thesis is that second-generation Chinese Kiwi who are comfortable with their dual cultural identities are able to navigate between their two cultural worlds by negotiating between the differences of each culture. This is dependent on situational and contextual cues. However, intergenerational conflict as a result of value clashes between two competing cultures appear to persist even into adulthood.

Additionally, it is interesting how elder respect promoted in Chinese culture appeared to surpass individual autonomy promoted in Kiwi culture, while gender equality and individual autonomy promoted in Kiwi culture appeared to surpass gender norms promoted in Chinese cultures. Thus, not only do participants need to navigate their sociocultural environment, they also need to navigate competing values that can sometimes generate unpleasant feelings. Nevertheless, participants' strong bicultural identity and strong sense of self appeared to facilitate their adaptation to the context.

This practice research project provided a platform for further investigation into the experiences and psychological processes among second-generation Chinese Kiwis.

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Appendix A: University of Technology Ethics Committee Approval

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

28 May 2018
Mark Thorpe
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear Mark

Re Ethics Application: **18/193 Second-generation Chinese New Zealanders' experience of negotiating between two cultures: a qualitative study.**
Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).
Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 28 May 2021.
Standard Conditions of Approval
1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.
AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it.
You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz
Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
Cc: knd6621@autuni.ac.nz; sonja.goedeke@aut.ac.nz

Appendix B: Recruitment Advertisement

VOLUNTEERS FOR RESEARCH REQUIRED

I am looking for volunteers to participate in a study exploring the experience of negotiating between Chinese culture and New Zealand culture among New Zealand-born Chinese individuals. This is for a Master of Health Science project under the school of Public Health and Psychosocial Studies at the Auckland University of Technology.

Participation involves a 60-90 minute face-to-face interview.

You are invited to participate if you:

- **Are between the age of 18-25.**
- **Were born and raised in New Zealand.**
- **Have a Chinese heritage family background.**
- **Have parents who were born overseas and are of Chinese ethnic origin.**

Interested in participating or wanting further information? Please contact Melissa Cheung at knd6621@autuni.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *28 May 2018* AUTEC Reference number *18/193*.

Appendix C: Consent Form

Consent Form

Project title: **Second-generation Chinese New Zealanders' experience of negotiating between two cultures: A qualitative study.**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr. Mark Thorpe & Dr. Sonja Goedeke***

Researcher: ***Melissa Cheung***

○   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 04 April 2018.

○   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○   I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○   I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○   I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○   I agree to take part in this research.

○   I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○   No○

Participant's signature: ....……………………………………………………

Participant's name: ....……………………………………………………

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *28 May 2018* **AUTEC Reference number** *18/193***.**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

04 April 2018

Project Title

Second-generation Chinese New Zealanders' experience of negotiating between two cultures: A qualitative study.

An Invitation

Hi, my name is Melissa Cheung and I would like to invite you to participate in my research study which forms a part of my Master of Health Science degree at Auckland University of Technology.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of the research is to provide insight for psychological practice in New Zealand when working with second-generation Chinese New Zealanders. Part of this research is to fulfil the requirements of a Master of Health Science.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You were identified by a friend or acquaintance of mine to which you were provided with the advertisement. I would like to interview people who were born and raised in New Zealand, who are currently between the age of 18 – 25 and have a Chinese heritage family background with both parents of Chinese ancestry who were born overseas. You are invited to participate in this research if you are interested in exploring and sharing your experiences of a certain situation or occasion where you navigated between your Chinese and Kiwi cultural identity.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible. A consent form has been provided for you to review, and a physical copy will be provided for you to sign before the interview. Colleagues and personal acquaintances of the researcher will not be able to participate in this research due to potential conflicts of interest. Please contact the researcher or the project supervisor if further explanation is required.

What will happen in this research?

This research involves an interview with me that will be conducted in English and take approximately 60 to 90 minutes. It will be audio-taped and transcribed. With your permission, I may take notes during the interview. Audio tapes of your interview can take place at AUT North Shore campus, or if you prefer, at an alternative location such as at AUT City campus. The interview cannot take place at a private residence. The transcript of your interview will be available for you to review, and you will be free to edit or withdraw any aspects of the transcript at any stage before data analysis commences. If you choose to withdraw from the study, you will be offered the choice to have any data that is identifiable or belonging to you removed or allow it to continue to be used. Only my supervisors and I will have access to the data during data collection and analysis stage.

What are the discomforts and risks?

Discomforts and risks are not anticipated to occur in this research.

How will discomforts and risks be alleviated?

In the unlikely event that you feel any discomfort or distress in relation to this research, AUT Health Counselling and Wellbeing is able to offer three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research, and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

- Drop into our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone 921 9992 City Campus or 921 9998 North Shore campus to make an appointment. Appointments for South Campus can be made by calling 921 9992

- Let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details given in the Information Sheet

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on http://www.aut.ac.nz/being-a-student/current-postgraduates/your-health-and-wellbeing/counselling

What are the benefits?

This research project is partly to fulfil the requirements of a Master of Health Science degree. However, it will allow you to share your experiences in a safe environment, with hopes that the information can provide insight into working with second-generation Chinese New Zealanders in psychological practice in the future.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your personal contact details will only be accessible to me as the researcher, so as to maintain contact with you. The content of the interviews will be stored securely in AUT North Shore campus in a locked cabinet which is located in a locked room. The interview transcripts (audiotape, paper and electronic versions of transcripts) will be destroyed after six years. Your identity will be disguised using pseudonyms and no other identifiable information will be included.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The cost of participating in this research involves getting to AUT North Shore campus or AUT City Campus. It also involves 60 to 90 minutes of your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Upon receiving this information sheet, you will have two weeks to consider this invitation and express your interest to the researcher.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You may receive a summary of the research if you request it.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Mark Thorpe, mark.thorpe@aut.ac.nz, +64 9 921 9999 ext. 7786

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz*, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Melissa Cheung (Master of Health Science student, Department of Health Sciences) Email: knd6621@autuni.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Mark Thorpe (senior lecturer from the School of Public Health and Psychosocial Studies, Department of Health Sciences) Email: mark.thorpe@aut.ac.nz Tel: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 7786

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *28 May 2018* AUTEC Reference number *18/193*.

Appendix E: Indicative Interview Questions

Q1: Tell me about your cultural background.

Prompts:
What is your cultural background?
What does being Kiwi mean to you?
What does being Chinese mean to you?
How do you identify yourself to others?
What is it like to have been exposed to two cultures?
Traditions, practices, customs vs. Personality; where do you call home?
What do you think influenced how you identify now culturally?

Q2: Please describe in as much detail as possible, a specific situation or occasion where you experienced a shift between your Chinese and Kiwi personalities? -> One incident in the last year.

Prompts:
What happened in the situation? When did this situation happen?
How did you interpret the situation?
What did you do at the time?

Thoughts and feelings:
What was it like for you to be in that situation?
What was going through your mind when it happened?
How did you feel at the time?
What do you think about the situation now?
How do you feel about the situation now?

Behaviours:
Did you feel any pressure to behave differently in the situation? If so, what do you think influenced you to behave differently?