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## Bicultural Involvement and Psychological Well-Being in Second Generation Chinese Migrants in Australia

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**BICULTURAL INVOLVEMENT AND PSYCHOLOGICAL  
WELL-BEING IN SECOND GENERATION  
CHINESE MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA**

**by**

**Denise A. Kensit**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for the Award of  
Bachelor of Arts (Psychology) Honours  
Faculty of Health and Human Services, Edith Cowan University.**

**Supervisor: Dr Christopher Sonn**

**Date of Submission: 29 October 1999**

## ABSTRACT

The present study, a replication of Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez's (1980) study, measured the relationship between bicultural involvement and psychological wellbeing for second generation (i.e. born in Australia) Chinese migrants in Perth, Western Australia. Ninety volunteers participated in the study. They were all Australian citizens, over 18 years of age, and spoke English. Two studies were conducted. Firstly, four volunteers participated in semi-structured interviews to provide a context to data yielded from the quantitative study. Secondly, eighty-six second generation migrants (i.e. born in Australia) completed a questionnaire that included the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) and the General Health Questionnaire, Version 12 (GHQ-12). The BIQ was used to identify an individual's ethnic identity orientation as monocultural, assimilated or bicultural. The GHQ-12 measured psychological wellbeing. A one-way ANCOVA compared the two scores while controlling for age, gender, parent's culture of origin, education level and employment status. The results found a positive relationship between biculturalism and psychological wellbeing. Monoculturalism and assimilation were negatively related to psychological wellbeing. These findings supported contemporary research and contradicted past research findings. Further study is required to ascertain types of biculturalism in the Australian context, and which types of bicultural orientation is linked to increased psychological well being.

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this written assignment is my own work and does not include;

- (i) material from published sources used without proper acknowledgment; or
- (ii) material copied from the work of other students.

Signature: 

Date: 12 / 2 / 2000

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## INTRODUCTION

There is considerable literature that explores the social and psychological challenges for marginal groups and individuals engaged in intercultural contact (e.g. Bochner, 1982; Coporia, 1993; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Birman, 1994; Lee, 1996). This research has culminated in the development of different models and theories explaining the outcomes and processes of intercultural contact. These models focus on how change in culture impacts on psychological functioning with some focusing on understanding ethnic identity orientation in a culturally plural context.

Historically researchers described the experiences of those confronted with the challenges of cultural change in this culturally plural context using concepts such as marginality and double-consciousness (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935, 1961; DuBois, 1961). Marginality broadly refers to a person who does not affiliate with any particular culture. It was argued that marginality had negative implications for wellbeing. More recently, researchers have challenged the notion of marginality, advocating that an individual in a culturally plural setting can be effective and productive in two cultures. Biculturalism, as it is otherwise known, has been linked to psychological wellbeing. For example, LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) found that individuals identified as bicultural were psychologically more adjusted than individuals identified as monocultural or assimilated.

Unfortunately, most of this research was conducted in the United States with Hispanic participants therefore the findings are limited. The present study explores biculturalism and wellbeing in a second-generation Chinese group living in Perth, Australia.

### Outline of the report

This literature review discusses outcomes of intercultural contact, both at the group and individual levels. This report introduces the concept of psychological acculturation or ethnic identity orientation, focusing on migrants living in Australia. Thirdly, it outlines the research that examined the development of ethnic identity orientation, and the link between this orientation and psychological wellbeing in a plurally cultural context.

This report includes two studies. The first is a scoping study investigating the context and adjustment of Chinese migrants in Australia. Four semi-structured interviews were conducted and analysed to identify recurrent themes. The second is a replication of Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez' (1980) study. A questionnaire was administered measuring the relationship between ethnic identity orientation and psychological wellbeing. The data was analysed with multiple regression and ANCOVA. The results were consistent with Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez's (1980) study, finding a positive relationship between biculturalism and wellbeing and a negative relationship between monoculturalism and assimilation and wellbeing. These results are assessed in light of past research.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Many countries have been described as multicultural including Canada, USA, and Australia (Jupp, 1991). Through a range of social, political, and other forces and processes including migration (forced and voluntary) and colonisation societies have been changed. Ideally, a multicultural society implies many diverse cultures and people living together in unity and assumes that the bonds between cultures are stronger than their differences (Marsella, 1998). Cohesion is not achieved through dominance of one culture over others but involves a natural process where diverse ethnic groups come to share a 'common culture' and gain equal rights and responsibilities under one, common group of laws. Distinct groups are encouraged to maintain their own identity, while supporting the values and goals of the common culture (Kukathas, 1993).

Unfortunately, this ideal does not exist (Marsella, 1998). Nations that purport to be multicultural comprise a 'common culture' that predominantly represents the values and goals of the dominant group (McAllister, 1993). All other groups are economically, socially and politically 'encouraged' to fit in or risk being marginalised.

Australia is no exception. Since colonisation by Britain over 200 years ago Australia's national identity has been inextricably tied to the Anglo-Celtic culture. The enactment of specific immigration policies illustrated Australia's desire for Anglo-Celtic homogeneity (McAlister & Moore, 1989; Knight, 1990; Kukathas, 1992; Jordens, 1995).

For example, from 1901 to 1958 the 'Immigration Restriction Act 1901', more colloquially known as The White Australia Policy, required non-European applicants to pass a discriminatory dictation test. This test could be administered in any European language, regardless of whether the immigrant spoke the chosen language.

However, 'white' European applicants (excluded Maltese, Italian, Greek, Yugoslav and Albanian people) had no restrictions placed on them (Jordens, 1995). By 1947 Australia was one of the most monocultural nations in the world with over 96% of the population of British and Irish descent (Jupp, 1991).

Although the Immigration Restriction Act was repealed in 1958, restricted immigration continued until the mid 1980's (Kapferer, 1996). Furthermore, between 1948 and 1987 the 'Nationality and Citizenship Act' of Australia defined a foreigner as "a person who does not have the status of a British subject and is not an Irish citizen or protected person" (Jordens, 1995, p.1).

Although Asian people, especially Chinese, were present in Australia as indentured labourers since the 1850's Australia only saw its first influx of Asian migrants after the Nationality and Citizenship Act was repealed (Lee, 1996). In 1947, 99% of the Australian population was Anglo-Celtic, 87,000 were Aboriginal and even less were Asian. In contrast, the 1996 Australian census showed 92% of the population was of Anglo-Celtic origin, 0.9% as Aboriginal and just over 7% as Asian and other non-European migrants (ABS, 1996). The influx of Asian and non-European migrants has had a major influence on Australia's economy and political agenda.

For example, Chinese migrants, now one of the largest and most influential minority groups in Australia, contribute over 200,000 people to the Australian labour force each year as well as an estimated \$30,000,000,000 to the economy (Lee, 1996). In 1989, Australia introduced a 'National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia', which is overseen by a newly formed Office of Multicultural Affairs (McAllister, 1993). The Agenda defined multiculturalism in terms of three dimensions; cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. Generally, these dimensions afford

diverse groups and individuals the freedom to express their cultural heritage, equal rights and treatment under the law, and the opportunity to engage economically without discrimination.

Despite this social and political change Australia's national identity has remained largely Anglo-Celtic (Lee, 1996). The image of the 'British Australian' may have diminished but was replaced with another white, male dominated image, the 'Aussie Battler'. The bronzed, battle-weary blue collar worker who fought against the seemingly insurmountable collective forces of governments, business and a changing society are all facets of this pseudo-identity (Boog, 1999). This image was cleverly marketed by C.E. W. Bean's best selling novel, the *Anzac Book*. According to White (1981) this image emerged because it was a character full of hope and decency.

#### Group responses to intercultural contact

Many do not agree with White's sentiment or relate to the 'Aussie Battler' image, including women, Aborigines and non-European migrants (Coporia, 1993). For these groups, the entrenchment of this character in Australia's national identity undermined their values, beliefs and way of life. Fisher and Sonn (1999: p.6) argued this exclusion provided the "basis for oppressive regimes and the subjugation of peoples".

Historically, Australia has been an oppressive nation, controlling the fate of its Aboriginal people and migrants through discriminatory policies (Jordens, 1995). These policies have had enormous impact on group acculturation, "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either of both groups" (Birman, 1994, p.261). These policies included genocide, segregation and forced assimilation.

Bochner (1982) described genocide as the murder of a race of people as a method for dealing with disparity; the fundamental assumption being that the murdered race are less than human beings and their lives are meaningless and worthless (Coporia, 1993). The systematic eradication of Aboriginals in Tasmania is an example.

Segregation has also been used in Australia to affirm Anglo-Celtic values. Segregation simply means to separate. At a state sanctioned level it involves the separation of schools, public facilities, churches and other amenities so their availability is limited to specific groups or races. The separation in Australia went as far as not allowing non-European migrants into Australia. This was forced by the dominant group through the White Australia Policy (Reber, 1995).

Assimilation broadly defines the merging of diverse groups into one. Surviving Aboriginal people and migrants already living in Australia were forced to assimilate. This occurred at the expense of both Aborigines and migrants who were 'encouraged' to adopt the dominant group's values, customs and lifestyle (Bochner, 1982). The Aboriginal and minority groups' identity was suppressed because their culture was viewed as inferior.

Since the repeal of these discriminatory acts and the influx of non-European migrants Australian Government policy reflected a more multicultural agenda. Reber (1995, p.378) defined multiculturalism to bring into a harmonious or co-ordinated whole by rearranging, organising and occasionally adding or deleting elements or parts. If a line can be drawn behind the last two decades the precipitation of this concept has not been realised as the process of organisation has been 'guided' by the dominant group (Marsella, 1998).



The impact of those policies on group acculturation was enormous. Aboriginal and minority groups' cultures were diminished. Internalised racism, dislocation, economic, political and social isolation, forced assimilation resulting in identity confusion and self-degradation and were all group outcomes (Coporia, 1993). These group outcomes often dictated psychological acculturation, or change within individual members proceeding intercultural contact (Birman, 1994).

#### Individual responses to intercultural contact

Bochner (1982) argued that psychological acculturation, also known as ethnic identity orientation, does not always necessitate the individual be in a passive role, simply reacting to environmental constraints and forces. Individuals often engage in experimentation and exploration of different cultural beliefs and customs, partially choosing their own orientation. Two frameworks, Ethnic Identity Formation and Acculturation, have explained the processes that underlie the development of a particular ethnic orientation.

Ethnic Identity Formation. The word 'ethnic' was derived from the Latin term 'ethnos', meaning nation or race (Petersen, Novak & Gleeson, 1980). 'Ethnicity' has been defined as "the subjective, symbolic, or emblematic use by a group of people of any aspect of culture, in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups" (Brass, 1996 as cited in Hutchison & Smith, 1996: 86).

Historically, the most significant criteria that separated ethnic groups were the characteristics of one's body and the most palpable elements of one's persona (Petersen, Novak & Gleeson, 1980). However, contemporary usage has minimised biology and given more credence to a combination of factors including familial heritage, common cultural traditions, language, religion and geography (Smith, 1986).

The concept of ethnic identity is only a recent subject of study (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Hitherto, it was predicted via technological advancement and globalisation of trade markets the world would become more united and ethnic boundaries become blurred (Petersen, Novak & Gleason, 1980). Ironically, globalisation has invoked the uprising of many fundamental ethnic groups (Smith, 1986). Thus, it was pertinent to understand the development of ethnic identity orientations to minimise conflict between diverse groups in culturally plural societies.

The formation of an orientation is likened to ego identity development, proposed by Swiss psychologist Erik Erikson (1968) and operationalised by Marcia (1980). The concept of the ego, theorised by Sigmund Freud (1962), described cognitive and perceptual processes and defense mechanisms.

Erikson (1968) argued that ego identity was formed after a period of behavioural and cognitive exploration and experimentation during adolescence. Ego identity shaped political and religious orientation, career choice and value systems. Erikson also argued that an individual with a strong identity (as opposed to a weak or maladjusted identity) was more psychologically adjusted. (Tzurriel & Klein, 1977).

According to Marcia (1980) there are four possible ego identities. These are as follows:

1. diffuse - no evidence of exploration and no ego identity;
2. foreclosed - ego identity consistent with parental values and/or expectations;
3. moratorium - no resultant ego identity but in the process of exploration; and
4. achieved identity - resultant ego identity achieved through intense exploration.

Phinney (1989) proposed a similar model for the development of an ethnic identity orientation. This model involved three stages: unexamined, exploration and

achieved. The unexamined stage of ethnic orientation was consistent with Marcia's (1980) diffuse ego identity; the individual was either disinterested or felt no desire to explore or commit to an ethnic orientation.

Secondly, the exploration stage of ethnic orientation was similar to Marcia's (1980) moratorium ego identity. This was characterised by an intense exploration of one's culture of origin. An event that invoked ethnic awareness usually provided the impetus for such a search. Parental ethnic orientation and parental attitudes toward other cultures strongly influenced which orientation was formed (Su, 1989; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). The final stage is formation of an ethnic orientation.

Acculturation models. Acculturation has been defined as "cultural change resulting from contact between two autonomous and independent cultural groups", with "more change [occurring] in the non-dominant than in the dominant group" (Berry, 1998, p. 117). This acculturation framework measures ethnic identity orientation by examining an individual's relationships with both the culture of origin and other groups (Ullah, 1987). Two opposing models have attempted to explain this formation process: the lineal model (Andujo, 1988); and the categorical model (Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986).

Andujo (1988) argues that ethnic identity orientation develops along a continuum, ranging from strong affiliation with the culture of origin to strong assimilation into the dominant culture. Individuals who were strongly affiliated with the culture of origin engaged in less acculturation than individuals who were strongly assimilated. It was only possible to be strongly or weakly tied to one culture.

Contemporary research found the lineal model inadequate in explaining ethnic identity orientation because it failed to recognise the complexity of the process (Berry, 1992; LaFromboise et. al., 1993; Phinney, 1998). The categorical model thus

argued that acculturation is a complex, dynamic process (Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986). An individual's relationship with their culture of origin could be separate and independent to their relationship with the dominant group thereby resulting in more two possible orientations.

Tajfel (1978) developed a psychosocial model of intercultural contact. He argued that five distinct orientations: full assimilation, partial assimilation, passing, accommodation and internalisation, resulted from both psychological and social factors. At the heart of Tajfel's theory is the idea that individuals and groups strive for a positive social identity and engage in a range of strategies to achieve such an identity. Full assimilation was the rejection by the ethnic group and/or individual of the original culture, and acceptance of the individual by the dominant culture. Partial assimilation was the minority group or individual being partially accepted by the dominant group while still maintaining a negative social identity.

Passing was the individual exploring their orientation without the formation of an ethnic identity orientation. Accommodation was the maintenance of an ethnic identity consistent with the culture of origin while the individual adapted their behaviour to accommodate the dominant culture's values and goals. Behavioural adaptation only occurred when the individual interacted with the dominant culture. Finally, internalisation was the individual accepting their minority status without feeling the need to assimilate.

These orientations were similar to those proposed by Bochner's (1982) psychosocial model: passing, mediating, chauvinistic and marginality orientations. Bochner (1982) argued that an individual can change their orientation, depending on the context they find themselves. His passing and mediating orientations were consistent with Tajfel's (1978) passing and accommodation orientations respectively.

Chauvinistic orientation was similar to the concept of fundamentalism in that the individual rejected the dominant group wholly and exaggerated their own culture of origin (Dwyer & Drakakis-Smith, 1996). Marginality was the opposite of mediating, as the individual felt isolated from both cultures, which lead to identity confusion and internal conflict.

LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) extended Bochner's research to six possible ethnic identity orientations: assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism, fusion and biculturalism. Assimilation and acculturation was consistent with Tajfel's (1978) full assimilation and partial assimilation orientations, respectively. Both the alternation and multicultural orientations were consistent with Tajfel's (1978) accommodation orientation. However, alternation involved the individual changing their orientation in different cultural contexts. Multiculturalism suggested the individual identified with both cultures but behaved according to the dominant culture's values and goals.

Tajfel or Bochner's models did not explain LaFromboise et. al.'s fusion and biculturalism orientations. Fusion described the individual combining their culture of origin's identity with the dominant identity to form a new orientation. Biculturalism involved the internalisation of both cultures' identities as two separate, distinct entities.

Tajfel (1978), Bochner (1982) and LaFromboise et. al.'s (1983) models are all examples of the categorical model of acculturation which argued that the development of an ethnic identity orientation involves dynamic and constantly evolving processes, both within the individual and at the group level (Coporia, 1993). The research has also linked ethnic identity orientation to psychological wellbeing (e.g. Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Berry, 1980; Reber, 1985; Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986;

Hutnik, 1987; Ullah, 1987; Andujo, 1988; Berry & Kim, 1988; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Birman, 1994; Berry, 1998; Phinney, 1998). This link will be discussed with reference to second generation migrants in the Australian context. The terms monocultural, assimilated, marginal and bicultural will be used to represent the orientations proposed by Tajfel (1978), Bochner (1982) and LaFromboise et. al. (1993).

### Ethnic identity orientation and psychological wellbeing in the Australian context

An individual with a monocultural orientation has none or minimal relations with the larger society while maintaining the distinct ethnic tradition of their culture of origin (Berry, 1998). Maintenance of a distinct way of life was widely discouraged in Australia only two decades ago (Gray & Winter, 1997). Sociological and psychological literature at the time argued that assimilation was psychological beneficial and multiculturalism was an evil to be eradicated (see Gray & Winter, 1997). Monoculturalism was promoted as detrimental and distressing for society and individuals. The 'Stolen Generation' of Aboriginal children was operationalised evidence of this sentiment. First generation migrants were discouraged from maintaining their traditional ethnic background. Second generation migrants were torn between the culture they were raised in and the culture they were 'encouraged' to assimilate into (Gray & Winter, 1997).

The literature at this time reported that second-generation migrants felt more distress if they chose to remain monocultural due to an internal dichotomy (Stonequist, 1961). Lee (1987) argued that migrants did not feel torn because of an internal dichotomy but were frustrated that an external force dictated their ethnic identity orientation. Regardless of the cause, contemporary research has found that

monoculturalism is psychologically detrimental for second generation migrants (see Coporia, 1993).

For example, individuals educated and raised in a culture distinct to their parent/s culture of origin often felt dislocated and rejected by the larger community if they chose to remain monocultural (Lee, 1987). This was due predominantly to the disparity between societal pressure to interact and perform in the dominant group, and the individual's desire to maintain their traditional culture. The greater the disparity between the two cultures the more distress and uncertainty the individual felt (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991).

Assimilation has also been termed full assimilation, partial assimilation, and acculturation, multicultural, pluralism and the melting pot (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997). It basically means "to take in, absorb or incorporate as one's own" (Reber, 1995). Ideally, it involves a natural process where diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture. However, it is often the case where the dominant culture dictates the 'common culture' and minority groups are encouraged to fit in.

Despite earlier accounts that found assimilation to be more beneficial for migrants, recent research has found this orientation to be more detrimental than monoculturalism (Lee, 1996). This is exacerbated when the parent/s are very traditional in their child-rearing practices and attitudes and the dominant culture strongly promotes assimilation (Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986).

Perhaps at no time of the developmental stage are assimilative processes more intensely experienced, or assimilative outcomes more sharply exhibited than during the formative years of adolescence (Rumbaut, 1997). Rumbaut's study measured the link between ethnic orientation and physical and psychological wellbeing in 20,000-second generation adolescents. The results found assimilated youths (compared with

monocultural and bicultural youths) had poorer physical health outcomes (e.g. obesity, asthma, ADD etc) and were more prone to engage in risky behaviour (e.g. violence, delinquency, substance abuse etc).

Other studies have found assimilated adolescents report increased loneliness, identity confusion, depression and anxiety than monocultural and bicultural adolescents (Coporia, 1993). These findings challenge assimilation as a concept and whether an individual can wholly assimilate into another culture and/or whether a culture ever wholly accepts an individual from another culture (Lee, 1996). On balance, assimilation has been found to be both physically and psychologically detrimental to second generation migrants.

A marginal orientation develops when an individual does not feel attached to any culture (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; 1961) and does not have an ethnic identity (Coporia, 1993). This orientation has been viewed as largely negative, but some writers have also emphasised positive aspects. For example, marginal individuals have been found to be both the most psychologically maladjusted and the most financially successful group (Coporia, 1993). Although they were the most clinically depressed, anxious, socially isolated and detached they generally enjoyed higher incomes and employment status (see Lee, 1996). Berry (1980) argued that their financial success was used as a substitute for the personal and social validation they did not receive from any cultural group.

Other studies have found this group to be the most psychologically adjusted (see Coporia, 1993). Marginal individuals reported that not being attached to any cultural group allowed them freedom to explore different cultures and follow their own path. Even Park (1928) argued that although it was psychologically



uncomfortable for an individual to be marginal, they were often much wiser and independent in the long term.

The final orientation is biculturalism. When Park (1928) and Stonequist (1935) first wrote about cultural identity they argued that an individual living in a multicultural situation was internally torn between two cultures, could not possibly be psychologically adjusted and should be called marginal rather than bicultural. Park (1928) went as far as arguing this situation led to a divided self.

In addition, DuBois (1961) described the 'marginal' person's experience as 'double-consciousness' or the awareness of being both involved and isolated from two cultures. Two assumptions underpinned this reasoning. Firstly, individuals were thought to have a divided loyalty between the two cultures and secondly it was psychologically damaging to manage the complexity, ambiguity and identity confusion of living in two cultures simultaneously.

As early as 1941 researchers argued that individuals engaged in two cultures were not necessarily suffering (Goldberg, 1941; Green, 1947; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). In fact Goldberg (1941) suggested that bicultural individuals were in an advantageous position. They benefited from the exposure of two cultures, gained support from other bicultural individuals and experienced no personal, social or economic frustration if they did not internalise any conflict that arose between the two cultures.

Birman (1994) argued that the psychological effects of biculturalism depended on which orientation was formed. She stated there were 4 different types, *blended*, *instrumental*, *integrated* and *identity exploration*. A blended bicultural individual identified with and participated in both cultures. This orientation, consistent with LaFromboise et. al.'s fusion orientation, resulted from the fusion of the original with

dominant cultural identities (Ramirez, 1984; Birman, 1994). These individuals were psychologically adjusted and reported high self-efficacy, minimal distress, and a positive social identity. However, they lacked social support. Individuals who belonged to minority groups that held a negative social identity and experienced oppression, racism and prejudice usually did not form this orientation (Birman, 1994).

Instrumental biculturalism was similar to blended biculturalism. However, identification with each culture was limited to behaviour participation rather than internalisation of values and beliefs. Often these individuals acted according to the context they found themselves in, similar to LaFromboise et. al.'s alternation orientation, without feeling attached or part of either culture. Birman (1994: 279) argued that these individuals have a sense of "psychological marginality, though behavioural, the individual is competent in both cultures". Their personal and ethnic identities are confused, they are internally torn, feel like outsiders and lack loyalty.

The integrated bicultural individual was also similar to the blended type with both maintaining a strong identification with the two cultures. However, the integrated orientation was not blended or fused but remained separate and independent, as suggested by LaFromboise et. al.'s (1993) bicultural orientation. The individual had a strong affiliation to their culture of origin but at the same time was productive and effective in the dominant culture. Language ability in both cultures was necessary to develop this orientation. These individuals have a strong sense of identity, are adaptive, flexible, proud, have positive self-worth, self-esteem and self-efficacy and were the most psychologically adjusted of all four bicultural orientations.

Finally, the individual who was involved in identity exploration was highly involved behaviourally in the dominant culture but not their culture of origin, as Tajfel's passing orientation explains. However, they identified highly with their

culture of origin, not with the dominant culture. Birman (1994) argued that these individuals were in a process of revisiting their cultural roots as they found the dominant culture inadequate in meeting their psychological needs. However, as they became more affiliated with their culture of origin they often found it difficult to participate as they have the necessary skills to be effective in the dominant culture but not in their culture of origin, especially language ability. These individuals were found to be neither adjusted nor maladjusted.

Although Birman (1994) described different types of biculturalism LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) argued that an individual who was truly bicultural was behaviourally effective and competent in both cultures, i.e. biculturally competent, *and* was strongly affiliated to both cultures. The acquisition of bicultural competence is simply the ability to live effectively and productively in two cultures (LaFromboise et. al., 1993). This orientation was convergent with Birman's (1994) integrated bicultural individual.

Specific studies measuring the link between these ethnic identity orientations and psychological wellbeing have found positive relationships between biculturalism and wellbeing, and negative relationships between monoculturalism and assimilation and wellbeing. A study by Burnam, Hough, Karno, Escobar and Telles (1987) assessing psychological adjustment and ethnic orientation found highly acculturated Hispanic-Americans reported higher lifetime prevalence of major depression, dysthymia, phobias, substance and alcohol abuse and dependence.

Another study by Berry and Kim (1985) found that Korean migrants in Canada who identified themselves as marginal, suffered more stress than monocultural and bicultural individuals. A study by Griffith (1983) compared ethnic identity orientation with scores from Warheit, Vega, Auth and Meinhardt's scales of

anxiety, depression, and psychosocial dysfunction. It was found that monocultural individuals scored the highest on all measurements than assimilated and bicultural individuals.

Ying (1993) also found bicultural individuals (i.e. Chinese-American) reported higher levels of psychological adjustment and wellbeing than assimilated, marginal and monocultural individuals. Ying and Akutsu (1997) found a similar result with southeast Asian immigrants to America.

A comprehensive study by Lang, Munoz, Bernal and Sorenson (1982) used Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez's Behavioral Acculturation Scale to identify ethnic identity orientation and the Quality of Life Scale, Affect Balance Scale, Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) and the Index of Psychological Adjustment to measure psychological adjustment. The results found that the most psychologically adjusted individuals were bicultural and the least adjusted were assimilated.

Although these studies were conducted over a thirty year period and did not assess causality between ethnic identity and wellbeing (see Nesdale, Rooney & Smith, 1997), they consistently found a positive link between psychological well being and biculturalism. These findings contradicted previous research that suggested an individual living in a bicultural or multicultural situation could not be psychologically adjusted (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; 1961).

The consistent finding that biculturalism was positively linked to wellbeing opens the door to identifying what factors, other than government policy and group outcomes proceeding intercultural contact, influence this ethnic identity orientation (Coporia, 1993).

### Factors that influence ethnic identity orientation

Phinney (1998) and Coporia's (1993) review of the literature found 9 recurrent variables that were found to significantly influence the formation of an ethnic identity orientation and consequent psychological wellbeing: self-identification, sense of belonging, attitudes toward group, ethnic involvement, age, gender, culture of parent's origin, educational level and employment status (Phinney, 1998).

Self-identification. Self-identification is the identity an individual chooses for themselves (Aboud, 1987). As a child enters adolescence the intense experimental and exploration period results in an ethnic label. This label may be consistent with the parent or society's labelling, but often does not (Aboud, 1987).

For individuals who are phenotypically similar to the dominant group labelling themselves is often problematic if they identify more with their original culture, as the dominant group often assumes their identity (Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1987). This problem is exacerbated if parental expectations conflict with societal pressures. For individuals who are phenotypically distinct to the dominant group, ethnic identity is often implied by both groups, making labelling 'simpler' (Phinney, 1998). The process becomes complex when an individual identifies either with both groups or with neither group (Aboud, 1987).

Self-identification has been assessed in many ways. The most common method has been to simply ask participants to identify their ethnicity (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). If they are unsure, the participants are presented with a list or photographs of people with specific identities and asked to choose the person/s who they identify mostly with. The ethnic label of the other person is then matched to the

participant. Open-ended interviews and multiple choice questionnaires have also been used (Ullah, 1987).

Sense of belonging. To belong to a group an individual must have certain commonalities with the group (Ullah, 1987). With respect to ethnic identity, commonalities may include language and all its nuances, dress, physical characteristics, food and eating habits, social and political structure, special medical procedures, childrearing practices, economical and educational focus, traditional ritual, religious belief, and family structure. (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

Although a sense of belonging is a subjective interpretation it has been successfully measured (see Phinney, 1998). Generally, an individual's feeling, concern and/or attachment for their ethnic group was measured with instruments with such items as "I am a person who (never, seldom, sometimes, often, very often) feels strong bonds toward [my own group]" and "My fate and future are bound up with that of [my own group]" (Phinney, 1998: 82).

Attitude toward group. The more positive an individual feels toward their own ethnic group the stronger their affiliation to that group (Hutchison & Smith, 1996). A positive attitude includes pride in one's ethnicity, pleasure and contentment in one's group and acceptance of one's group's status and identity (Ullah, 1987).

Negative attitudes toward one's ethnic group often arose if the individual was a member of a socially devalued group (Hutchison & Smith, 1996). An individual often internalised this negativity and directed it toward members of their own ethnic group. Negative attitudes included displeasure or discontentment with one's ethnicity, feelings of inferiority, or a desire to hide one's ethnicity (Ullah, 1987).

Ethnic involvement. Ethnic involvement or social participation has been the most widely used predictor for ethnic identity orientation (Phinney, 1998). However,

it is also the most problematic as it has often been found that involvement was not necessarily synonymous with identification. There was also the issue of validity. When measuring ethnic identity orientation across different cultures often measurement items are not universally relevant (de Vaus, 1995).

For example, to be ethnically involved in African culture requires more participation than to be ethnically involved in Australian culture (Mpofu & Watkins, 1997). Thus, asking 'How often do you participate in African culture' and 'How often do you participate in Australian culture' may be measuring ethnic involvement but are not necessarily comparable.

Despite the limitations of using such an indicator, measuring ethnic involvement has produced many recurrent and consistent findings with respect to ethnic orientation (Phinney, 1998). Participants were usually required to indicate their involvement and/or preference for items, such as language, friendships, social organisations, religion, cultural traditions and politics, music, dance, food, television programs and dress, of a particular ethnic group. Obviously the more items an individual chose the more ethnically involved they were with the particular group/s under study (Szapocnik, Kurtines & Fernandez, 1980).

Age. The relationship between age and ethnic orientation has found to be lineal (Coporia, 1993). The younger an individual is when they are first exposed to intercultural contact the more likely they are to adapt to the new environment and form either an assimilation or bicultural identity (Scott & Scott, 1989). Chang and Wong (1997) found that both male and female Chinese migrants to Australia and America were more bicultural if they were aged 20 or younger on arrival. This involved the use of language, participation in social activities, and food consumption in both cultures.

Gender. Generally males have been found to assimilate more than females due to the increased social and employment status of men compared with women (Chang & Wong, 1997). This assimilation usually involved participation in education and employment. Furthermore, Nesdale, Rooney and Smith (1997) found different patterns of ethnic identification for Vietnamese males and females. For example, sense of belonging to Australia was negatively related to self-esteem for females only. Other research has found no significant differences between males and females' assimilation patterns for Chinese migrants (Lee, 1996). However, this finding was usually only evident in second generation migrants.

Culture of origin. With respect to the Chinese people, it has often been found that an individual's parent/s culture of origin predicted which ethnic identity was formed (Lee, 1996). If the culture of origin was similar to the new culture an individual was more likely to assimilate or become bicultural. For example, countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia were seen as more comparable than countries such as Myanmar (previously Burma) and the People's Republic of China, with western cultures, such as USA, Canada and Australia. The more comparable an individual's culture of origin was with the new culture, the more likely they were bicultural (Lee, 1996).

Educational level and employment status. Finally, both education level attained and employment status have been found to strongly influence the development of specific ethnic orientations, especially biculturalism (Coporia, 1993). The higher the education achieved and employment status, the more likely an individual was identified as bicultural. This was further enhanced if the individual was born and educated in the new culture and could speak both languages (Coporia, 1993).



Specific research has measured the influence of these variables on ethnic identity orientation and the consequent psychological impact. For example, Melville (1978) found that Spanish-American women were less inclined to speak English and consequently reported more feelings of hopelessness and despair as opposed to Spanish-American men. Buriel, Calzada and Vazquez (1982) found age differences as to which ethnic orientation developed. Younger, second generation migrants were identified more as bicultural and psychologically adjusted than older migrants who were identified more as monocultural and reported more distress, anxiety and depression. With respect to education level attained and employment status Graves (1967) and Lee (1996) found that migrants who had less access to education and social resources were more likely to be classified as monocultural and more likely to be substance and alcohol abusers.

A study by Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez (1980) developed a measure of ethnic identity orientation, the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ). The BIQ assesses both affiliation and behavioural participation in two cultures by measuring the four influencing factors of ethnic identity orientation self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude toward group and ethnic involvement, identified by Phinney (1998). Consequently, an individual is identified as monocultural, bicultural or assimilated.

The BIQ was compared with teacher interview ratings of psychological adjustment to measure the link between orientation and psychological wellbeing. It was found that second generation Cuban-Americans identified as bicultural were the most psychologically adjusted immigrants. This study supports aforementioned research that found a link between orientation and wellbeing. Unfortunately, most of

the research has been conducted with Hispanic or Cuban-American samples in the United States, with findings limited to that context.

### Research aim and hypotheses

Therefore, the present study aims to explore how biculturalism affects wellbeing with a second-generation Chinese group from Perth, Australia. Furthermore, this study aims to measure the relationship between the variables age, gender, parent/s culture of origin, educational level attained and employment status, and bicultural involvement and consequent psychological wellbeing.

The present study was a replication of Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez's (1980) study of bicultural involvement. However, the participants in this study are second generation Chinese-Australian adults, whereas in the former study they were Hispanic-American adolescents. There are also minor adjustments made to the Bicultural Questionnaire, with the word 'Chinese' replacing the word 'Hispanic'.

In addition to measuring bicultural involvement, the present study also administers the General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg & Williams, 1991) to measure psychological wellbeing. Furthermore, a scoping study was conducted using 4 semi-structured interviews. This assisted in understanding the Chinese culture, group influences for the individual and the migration experience for second generation Chinese migrants in Australia in 1999.

There are three hypotheses proposed for the present study. Firstly, it is proposed that the variables age, gender, parent's culture of origin, education level and employment status will be positively related to bicultural orientation and psychological wellbeing. Secondly, it is hypothesised that individuals identified as bicultural will have lower scores on the General Health Questionnaire than

monocultural and assimilated individuals. Finally, it is predicted that assimilated individuals will have the highest scores on the General Health Questionnaire.

## SCOPING STUDY

### Participants

The Chinese are one of the largest and most influential migrant groups in Australia (Lee, 1996). They originate from many parts of the world including Hong Kong, Myanmar and Singapore. The sample consisted of two, first-generation Chinese migrants and two, second-generation Chinese migrants.

Key informants in the Chinese community chose these four participants. Members of randomly selected Chinese community centres in Perth, Western Australia, chose the key informants. Eight informants were chosen and telephoned. The key informants were asked to choose participants who were Australian citizens, 18 years of age or above, either first (i.e. born overseas) or second generation (i.e. born in Australia) migrants, and spoke English. Six individuals were originally selected however two individuals could not participate due to personal reasons.

The 4 interviewees were aged 63, 54, 32 and 23 years of age (mean age=43). There were three males and one female. The two eldest participants were first generation Chinese migrants and the younger two were second generation Chinese migrants. The first generation migrants were born in Hong Kong and Malaysia and the second-generation migrants were of Burmese origin. They were all educated to at least a year 12 or equivalent level. They were also para-professionally or professionally employed.

### Research design and materials

According to Hughes, Seidman and Williams (1993) the use of qualitative research provides the platform for understanding ethnic experience relative to the

particular group under study. Miles and Huberman (1988) suggested interviews to provide this type of data. The present study conducted 4 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews. The interviewees were asked about the appropriateness of the questionnaire in the main study, Chinese culture and migrant adjustment. The information gathered from the interviews was used to provide a context for the data yielded from the questionnaire.

The semi-structured interview format (Appendix A) guided the interview however, the interview was flexible to allow the interviewee to elaborate and direct the conversation. This was imperative in order to gain a phenomenological understanding of the participant's world (Hughes, Seidman & Williams, 1993). The semi-structured interview questions were chosen to gather as much information about Chinese Culture and migration experience. Questions such as "*What values do you see as distinctly Chinese?*" and "*What do you see as the effects of migrating to Australia?*" were asked to explore these issues. Furthermore, each interviewee was also asked to comment on the appropriateness of the questionnaire administered in the main study.

### Procedure

Eight key informants chose the interviewees. Each participant was involved in the Chinese community at least six hours per week and were members of at least two Chinese community centres in Perth, Western Australia.

Four individuals volunteered their time. They were sent an information sheet (Appendix B) after which an interview time and place was organised. Interviewees' consent to participate was obtained prior to the interview being conducted and recorded. The interview times ranged from 60 minutes to 150 minutes. Finally,

interviewees were asked whether the questionnaire to be administered was appropriate and sensitive to the Chinese community. All participants agreed that it was and volunteered to distribute it among their work colleagues, friends and families. After the interviews were conducted they were transcribed into computer format (see Appendices C, D, E & F) and analysed for recurrent themes.

### Data Analysis

The interview transcripts were examined using qualitative content analysis to extract recurrent themes (see Miles & Huberman, 1994; Breakwell, Hammond & Fife-Shaw, 1997). The analysis involved eight stages. Firstly, the transcripts were reduced to summary margin notes. This stage simply reduced the text to a manageable size.

In the second and third stages the margin notes were summarised, paragraph by paragraph, and then coded. Grouping similar summations together developed each code. If the grouped summation contained text from at least 3 of the 4 interviews they were given a key word that represented the explicit meaning of the text. The fourth stage involved the refinement of these key words and was similar to the quantitative method Factor Analysis (De Hole, 1994)

Stage five involved matching these key words with quotes from the interviewee. This set out the data in a clear and succinct manner to extract implicit meaning from the text, completing stage six. Stage seven involved the generation of themes.

Due to the subjective nature of this analysis the themes extracted were shown to each interviewee to reduce the imposition of any theoretical or biased position onto

the data. Each interviewee agreed that the themes extracted accurately reflected the information they gave.

### Findings

The first theme was the most common, appearing in all four interview transcripts. It was labelled 'Familial Respect' and included aspects of family importance and respect for parents. Statements from and the second-generation migrants illustrate the significance of this theme in Chinese culture. For example, the first generation migrant (# 1) said

"I guess I see being Chinese as mostly to do with how important the family is. We see that having a good, prosperous family is the most precious gift a person can receive from God. What I mean by prosperous is that our children are all healthy, receive a good education up until university level and find a good, productive job. We also believe that the family should always be together in the sense that when we as parents become old and unable to look after ourselves, our children will be there to support us and look after us"

The second-generation migrant (# 2) also agreed that family and respect for elders was of paramount importance, "Obviously the big thing in Chinese families is the level of respect you show people and that is very important because you can offend people if you don't show them the level of respect that they deserve. When we grew up we were made to be acutely aware of that and how to address people".

Another important theme, consistent with the first theme, was labelled 'Community Orientated', indicating that the Chinese community is collective. Community mindedness and hierarchical social structure are important aspects of this theme as illustrated from the following statement of the second-generation migrant (# 2).

"Well, for example China is a country of kinship and people not only call themselves cousins or aunts or uncles but there is also big sister,

little sister. There's very old brother. There's very young brother. There's very good friend and these are actually defined terms. You can have a group of people around you and you can have 10 or 15 ways of describing yourself in relation to them depending on your social status or your proximity to that person in kinship".

A theme labelled 'Ambitious' was generated with specific focus on education and employment. Statements from the second generation (# 1) migrant supported this theme and included,

"I feel like a borderline person. I am less complacent. I have strong ideals about spirituality and life because I feel that God intended for us to live as fellow human beings rather than segregated cultures. I feel like I can achieve anything because I am not constricted by a cultural framework that dictates a set of beliefs and attitudes that I have to live my life by. I feel free to live my life according to my own set of principles and beliefs and I have adapted the skills that allow me to do that without stepping on anyone else's toes".

Finally, a theme labelled 'Isolated' included feelings of non-acceptance from the Australian culture and displacement from the Chinese culture. This theme was mostly indicative of the second-generation migrants' experience. The feelings of non-acceptance were a result of direct racism and prejudice. Displacement from the Chinese community was mainly due to the inability to speak the Chinese language. The second-generation migrant (# 1) was asked which culture they affiliated more with, "Neither Australian nor Chinese. Both cultures have their good points but I don't see that affiliating with one over the other is beneficial to me. Cultures are petty, defense mechanisms that make the 'culture' feel protected, feel good and make themselves believe that their beliefs, norms, attitudes and way of life is right and the only way to live. I am not ashamed of being Australian or Chinese but I don't consider myself either."



This theme was further supported by the second-generation migrant's (# 2) answer when asked what he tells other people when asked which country he comes from. He replied,

"Even though I was born here and I have lived here all my life I would say I'm Burmese/Chinese. I say this because it's a lot easier. When people see me on the street, it wouldn't matter if I was 5th generation Australian, because I don't look Anglo-Saxon and all the rest of it somehow they don't think you are or they don't accept that you are. I remember one particular instance when somebody asked me what nationality I was and I said I was Australian, that person said to me 'yeah but what are you really?' I guess that was one moment where I realised it wouldn't matter how Australian I ever said I was I would never really be Australian".

### Discussion

In conclusion, the themes generated were labelled Familial Respect, Community Orientated, Ambitious and Isolated. These themes encompassed various aspects of Chinese culture including the importance of family, respect for elders, community-mindedness and collective thought, hierarchical social structure, focus on education and employment status, and feelings of non-acceptance.

Furthermore, specific text from both second-generation migrants supported Park (1928) and Stonequist's (1935) Marginal Man theory. The first, second-generation migrant actually described himself as "borderline". In addition, both migrants described how they felt isolated from the Australian culture because they were not phenotypically similar to the Anglo-Celtic 'ideal', but at the same time felt dislocated from the Chinese culture because they did not speak the language.

Both the Australian and Chinese group influences on psychological acculturation was evident. It was outlined by the interviewees that the Chinese group in Perth, Western Australia is not a positively valued group. This devaluation resulted in prejudice and stereotyping by the Anglo-Celtic community, resulting in feelings of isolation and rejection. This rejection was also attributed to the phenotypic disparity

between Anglo-Celtic and Chinese individuals, thus the second-generation migrant's self-identification, sense of belonging, ethnic involvement and ethnic identity orientation, were partially dictated.

The Chinese group also partially dictated the psychological acculturation of these second-generation migrants. Although, they were raised in a traditional way they were rejected by the Chinese group because they did not have the necessary skills, i.e. language, to effectively participate in the culture. For the first, second-generation migrant this resulted in a marginal orientation. The second, second-generation migrant's orientation was convergent with Birman's identity exploration biculturalism where an individual is strongly affiliated with their culture of origin but only participates in the dominant culture.

## MAIN STUDY

### Participants

All participants were Australian citizens, over 18 years of age, from the Chinese community in Western Australia, and spoke English. Overall, 86 individuals volunteered to complete the questionnaire after receiving an invitation mailed to them by the author, the 8 key informants or the 4 interviewees. They were aged between 18 and 69 (mean age=29) and included 36 females and 50 males. They were all second-generation Chinese migrants. Their parent/s country of birth included 27.9% (24) from Burma; 19.8% (17) from Singapore; 19.8% (17) from Malaysia; 20.9% (18) from China; 7.0% (6) from Hong Kong and the remaining 4.6% (4) from non-Asian countries.

Education level attained included 12.8% (11) who completed primary school or equivalent; 22.1% (19) completed secondary school or equivalent; 32.6% (28) completed a tertiary certificate, diploma or degree; 18.6% (16) completed post-tertiary degrees and 14.0% (12) completed a doctorate or above. Employment status included 9.3% (8) unskilled; 20.9% (18) skilled; 14.0% (12) paraprofessional; 43.0% (37) professional and 12.8% (11) academic.

### Materials

Breakwell, Hammond and Fife-Schaw (1995, p.308) argued that questionnaires “serve to distance researchers from the very people they are trying to get closer to...” However, questionnaires are the most widely used source for data collection because they are highly structured, easy to administer, cost and time efficient, cover a large range of material, and if accurately administered can produce valid and reliable data (deVaus, 1995). In addition, time limitations for this study

made questionnaire administration an advantageous choice. Furthermore, the themes generated from the scoping study aided interpretation of the data yielded from the questionnaire, making it relevant to Chinese migrants in Australia in 1999.

This study involved the administration of an amalgamated questionnaire, which included a consent and demographic form (Appendix I), a modified version of the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (Appendix J), and the General Health Questionnaire Version 12 (Appendix K).

The consent form consisted of 11 statements that required the participant to agree with and tick off. For example, "*There was no pressure put on me to participate*". The questions were constructed in accordance with the guidelines of the Edith Cowan University Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research. Also included were five questions on demographics: age, gender, parent/s' culture of origin, education level attained and employment status, all identified by Coporia (1993) as significant predictors of bicultural orientation.

The Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980) is a relatively new measurement of biculturalism. However, it was chosen for the present study because it adequately measured the variables self-identification, sense of belonging, ethnic involvement and attitude toward group, which were identified by Phinney (1998) as significant indicators of ethnic identity orientation.

The BIQ was constructed from the Behavioral Acculturation Scale developed by Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Arnalde (1978). The original scale was constructed from a factor analysis of theoretically derived items, adopted from two unpublished doctorates from the University of Chicago. These self-report behaviour items were designed to measure the degree to which an individual felt comfortable in

their culture of origin as opposed to the dominant culture. Behaviour and affiliation with both cultures was measured.

The Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) measures an individual's ethnic involvement in accordance with the categorical model of acculturation, as opposed to the Behavioral Acculturation Scale that measured this involvement along a continuum. Therefore, the BIQ asks the same questions for both the culture of origin *and* the dominant culture. For example, the original question was "What language do you prefer to speak?" with the response set (1) Spanish all of the time, (2) Spanish most of the time, (3) Spanish and English equally, (4) English most of the time, and (5) English all of the time. The BIQ separated the question into 2 components; (a) "How comfortable do you feel speaking Spanish?" and (b) "How comfortable do you feel speaking English?" Overall, the BIQ consists of 33 items (Appendix J).

The BIQ measures two dimensions of bicultural involvement. The first is the dimension of biculturalism. Scores can range from monoculturalism to biculturalism to assimilation. Secondly, the dimension of cultural involvement ranges from cultural marginality (i.e. minimal cultural involvement in both cultures) to cultural involvement (i.e. maximum cultural involvement in both cultures). The cultural involvement dimension was constructed to validate the bicultural dimension. If an individual is low in cultural involvement, then their biculturalism score is discounted as cultural involvement has been found to be a major component of ethnic orientation (Phinney, 1998).

Minor modifications were made to the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) for this study. The word 'Hispanic' in the original BIQ was replaced with the word 'Chinese'. For example, the question "How comfortable do you feel speaking Hispanic?" was replaced with "How comfortable do you feel speaking Chinese?"

Similarly, the word 'American' was replaced with the word 'Australian'. The question "How much do you enjoy American music?" was now "How much do you enjoy Australian music?" These modifications did not alter the content of the questionnaire.

Scores for both scales ranged from 1 to 5, as indicated by the relative Likert scale, and represented a theoretical 'continuum' ranging from 'Australian' to 'Chinese'. Australian scores were calculated by adding all of the items reflecting an involvement in 'Australian' culture (i.e. items 5-8, 16-22 & 23-30) and the Chinese scores were calculated by adding all of the items reflecting an involvement in the 'Chinese' culture (i.e. items 1-4, 9-15 & reverse 23-30).

A score representing biculturalism was obtained by subtracting the Australian score from the Chinese score. A score close to zero indicated biculturalism; scores deviating from zero by more than 2 either way indicated monoculturalism. Positive scores indicated monoculturalism in the Chinese direction and negative scores indicated assimilation into the Australian culture.

Cultural involvement scores were calculated by adding the Likert scores. A high score (i.e. >75% of total possible score of 40) indicated high cultural involvement with both cultures and a low score (i.e. <25% of total possible score of 40) indicated high cultural marginality or isolation from both cultures. Participants' scores lower than 25% were discounted. Generally, the BIQ has shown internal consistency, reliability and criterion validity (see Szapocznik et. al., 1980).

The final section of the questionnaire included the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ, Goldberg & Williams, 1991). The GHQ was designed to measure psychotism. Specifically, the GHQ measures whether an individual has normal day-to-day functioning and any signs of psychological disturbance including

depression and anxiety. The items in the GHQ were sourced from empirical studies of hospitalised and non-hospitalised individuals (see Goldberg & Williams, 1991).

This study used version 12 of the GHQ because it has been validated and replicated with Chinese people and in Australia (Worsley & Gribbin, 1977; Chan & Chan, 1983; Chan, 1985; Chan & Williams, 1986; Burvill & Knuiman, 1987; Chan, 1993; Chan, 1995). In addition, the GHQ-12 measures all four main factors of depression, anxiety, somatic and social functioning but in a more succinct form. Scoring required assigning the scores 0-1-2-3 to the Likert scale and then adding these scores together to calculate the total score. The total score indicated general psychological well being, with a score above 8 indicating signs of psychotism.

### Procedure

All 86 participants were chosen from the recommendations of the 8 key informants and 4 interviewees. Sample bias was minimised as the key informants were chosen from community centres that were randomly selected. Participants were sent an information sheet (Appendix H), consent form and questionnaire by mail, the most cost and time effective method (deVaus, 1995). The information sheet provided necessary details of the study and outlined the rights of a prospective participant, including right to withdraw from the study at any time.

A total of 200 questionnaires were issued either by the author, key informants or interviewees. The author provided all copies of the information sheet and questionnaire to the issuers. After the participants agreed to be involved in the study they completed the consent form and questionnaire and sent it to a closed post office box. The data was collected, transformed onto computer and analysed with the computer package SPSS, version 8.0, for Windows.

Prior to analyses the five demographic variables were coded. *Age* was coded into 1: 18-35 years old, 2: 36-50 years old, 3: 51-65 years old and 4: 66 years and over. *Gender* was coded 1 for female and 2 for male. *Parent's culture of origin* included 1: Myanmar (Burma), 2: Singapore; 3: Malaysia, 4: China, 5: Hong Kong and 6: non-Asian countries. *Education level* was coded as 1: primary school finished, 2: secondary finished, 3: tertiary finished, 4: post-tertiary finished and 5: doctorate or above. Finally, *employment status* was coded 1: unskilled (e.g. factory worker), 2: skilled (e.g. mechanic), 3: paraprofessional (e.g. receptionist), 4: professional (e.g. lawyer) and 5: academic (e.g. professor).

The raw BIQ scores were used in the Multiple Regression analyses, as this form of analysis requires the criterion variable to be continuous (Howell, 1997). The BIQ scores were then coded, according to Szapocnik et. al.'s (1980) classifications, being 1 for monocultural (if raw scores were  $-5$  and above), 2 for bicultural (if raw scores were between  $-5$  and  $+5$ ) and 3 for assimilated (if raw scores were  $+5$  and above) for the ANCOVA.

All completed questionnaires were locked in a filing cabinet with access restricted to the researcher and her supervisor. All data will be kept for five years as specified by the Edith Cowan University Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research.



## RESULTS

### Data Screening

Firstly data was screened for univariate and multivariate outliers. An univariate outlier is an extremely atypical score in a variable (i.e.  $> 3$  SD from mean), which distorts the data set and needs to be transformed or eliminated to reduce its effect on any analysis performed (Cohen, Swerdlik, & Phillips, 1996). Graphical presentation, including histograms and stem and leaf plots, were used to detect these outliers.

Three univariate outliers were found, two scores in the GHQ-12 scores and one within the BIQ scores. These participants were not eliminated from the study. Their scores were changed to reflect the largest score that was below 3 standard deviations. Thus, the two GHQ-12 scores of 37 and 42 and the BIQ score of 54 were all changed to a score of 10. The rationale for this change was that participants with these outlier scores had 'normal' scores on all other variables and was, therefore, assumed to be from the same population (see Cohen, Swerdlik & Phillips, 1996).

Multivariate outliers are extremely atypical combinations of scores between two or more variables (Howell, 1997). These outliers were detected by measuring the Mahalanobis Distance generated by multiple regression. No multivariate outliers were found, as all values were not significant at the 0.001 alpha level.

Secondly, the data was screened for normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance, singularity and multicollinearity to ascertain whether the data could be used for Multiple Regression analyses and ANCOVA. Normality was assessed by histograms with normality plots (i.e. bell-shaped curve) and skewness and kurtosis statistics (i.e.  $p > 0.01$ ). This assumption was met. Linearity and homogeneity of variance was assessed and met by viewing scattergrams. No unusual clusters were

displayed. Finally, singularity and multicollinearity were measured with a correlation matrix, where correlations above 0.70 were excluded. No data matched these criteria, thus, the two assumptions were met.

### Results of Multiple Regression Analyses

Two Multiple Regression analyses were conducted (see Tabachnick, & Fidell, 1996; Coakes & Steed, 1999). The first measured the relationship between the five demographic variables (i.e. age, gender, parent's culture of origin, education level and employment status) and biculturalism, represented by scores on the BIQ. The second measured the relationship these five variables and psychological adjustment, represented by scores on the GHQ-12.

There are three major regression models; simultaneous, hierarchical and stepwise. There was no empirical evidence as to the order of importance of influence of the demographic variables had on biculturalism or psychological wellbeing. Consequently this study employed the simultaneous model and all demographic variables were entered into the regression equation simultaneously (Howell, 1997).

The first multiple regression was conducted. The five demographic variables were not strongly correlated with the BIQ scores,  $F(5, 80) = 0.74$ ,  $p = 0.60$ ,  $> 0.05$ . The R square value was 0.04 (adjusted R square = -0.16), indicating that only 4% of the variance in the BIQ scores was accounted for by these variables. Table 4 presents the coefficients of these variables with the BIQ scores, the unstandardised regression coefficients ( $B$ ), the standard error of  $B$  ( $SE B$ ), the standardised regression coefficients ( $Beta$ ),  $t$  scores and significance of  $t$  test ( $Sig.$ ).

**Table 1. Results of Simultaneous Multiple Regression for BIQ**

Predictor Variables	B	SE B	Beta	t	Sig.
Age	-6.126E-03	0.07	-0.01	-0.09	0.93
Gender	-0.15	0.14	-0.12	-1.04	0.30
Parents Culture of Origin	5.89	0.05	0.14	1.28	0.21
Education Level	-1.949E-03	0.10	-0.00	-0.02	0.98
Employment Status	-2.961E-02	0.10	-0.06	-0.30	0.76

The second multiple regression was conducted. The five demographic variables were not strongly correlated with the GHQ-12 scores,  $F(5, 80) = 0.24$ ,  $p = 0.94$ ,  $> 0.05$ . The R square value was 0.15 (adjusted R square = -0.47), indicating that only 15% of the variance in the GHQ-12 scores was accounted for by these variables. Table 4 presents the coefficients of the variables with the GHQ-12 scores, the unstandardised regression coefficients (**B**), the standard error of B (**SE B**), the standardised regression coefficients (**Beta**), *t* scores and significance of *t* test (**Sig.**).

**Table 2. Results of Simultaneous Multiple Regression for GHQ-12**

Predictor Variables	B	SE B	Beta	t	Sig.
Age	-3.12E-03	0.34	-0.00	-0.00	0.99
Gender	-0.13	0.69	-0.02	-0.19	0.85
Parents Culture of Origin	6.331E-03	0.23	0.00	0.03	0.98
Education Level	-0.25	0.47	-0.12	-0.54	0.59
Employment Status	-4.48E-02	0.48	-0.02	-0.09	0.93

The results from this predictive analysis contradict Coporia's (1993) findings that age, gender, parent's culture of origin, education level and employment status, are strong predictors of biculturalism. However, they were still controlled for in the ANCOVA to eliminate any possible influence they had on ethnic orientation and psychological wellbeing.

### Results of ANCOVA

A one-way ANCOVA was used to measure the relationship between the three different ethnic identity orientations (i.e. monoculturalism, assimilated and biculturalism) and psychological adjustment. The BIQ scores were compared with the GHQ-12 scores, the former being the independent variable and the latter the dependent variable. The alpha level was set at  $p = 0.05$ . A significant relationship was found,  $F(2, 83) = 3.51, p = 0.04, < 0.05$ .

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD revealed two significant interaction effects. Firstly, GHQ-12 scores were significantly lower for bicultural than for monocultural individuals,  $MD = 0.56, p = 0.046, < 0.05$ . Secondly, GHQ-12 scores were significantly lower for bicultural as opposed to assimilated individuals,  $MD = 0.66, p = 0.001, < 0.05$ . No significant differences were found between monocultural and assimilated individuals. Descriptive statistics are presented in table 3.

**Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for BIQ and GHQ-12 Interaction**

<b>Orientation</b>	<b><u>N</u></b>	<b><u>M</u> (GHQ-12 score)</b>	<b><u>SD</u></b>
<b>Monocultural</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5.77</b>	<b>2.83</b>
<b>Bicultural</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>4.32</b>	<b>2.85</b>
<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>6.14</b>	<b>2.77</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>5.15</b>	<b>2.92</b>

## DISCUSSION

This study examined the relationship between ethnic identity orientation and psychological well being. There were three hypotheses proposed. The first predicted that the variables age, gender, parent's culture of origin, education level and employment status would be positively related to bicultural orientation and psychological wellbeing. This hypothesis was not supported, contradicting Coporia's (1993) findings. Coporia (1993) based these conclusions on studies conducted mostly in the USA. Factors relevant only to this context may have influenced the predictive power of these variables, including government policy and social factors.

Furthermore, the variables of self-identification, sense of belonging, attitudes toward group and ethnic involvement, identified by Phinney (1998) as significant predictors of ethnic orientation, were not measured. These variables and their integrated factors may contribute more to the identification of biculturalism than the demographic variables used.

This result may also have been attributed to the dispersion of participants in each variable. Although there was no evidence of skewness or kurtosis among the variables, some cells were represented more than others were. For example, although age ranged from 18 to 69, the mean age was 29. The cell with 18-35 year olds was more concentrated.

Furthermore, participants' parent/s originated from Burma, Singapore and Malaysia than from China or Hong Kong. The influence of each country's context is unknown. Recent research has found that individuals originating from more 'western cultures' were more likely to develop a bicultural orientation. Thus the implication context may influence development of ethnic orientation more so than demographic variables or original culture. Further research is required.

The second hypothesis proposed that individuals identified as bicultural would be have lower scores on the General Health Questionnaire than both monocultural and assimilated individuals. The results from the ANCOVA supported this hypothesis. This result is convergent with contemporary research that found links between biculturalism and psychological well being, and monoculturalism and assimilation and psychological distress (e. g., Buriel, Calzada & Vazquez, 1982; Lang, Munoz, Bernal & Sorenson, 1982; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991; Sung, 1992; Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997). Finally, it was predicted that assimilated individuals would be the least psychologically adjusted. This hypothesis was supported, contradicting past research suggesting assimilation was beneficial (Gray & Winter, 1997).

The present study replicated Szapocnik, Kurtines and Fernandez's (1980) study of bicultural involvement and psychological adjustment. There were two main differences between the two studies. Firstly, Szapocnik et al.'s (1980) study involved a sample of Cuban-American adolescents while this involved Chinese Australian adults. Secondly, in the previous study psychological adjustment was measured by teachers' ratings. This study involved measured adjustment with the General Health Questionnaire. Despite these differences both studies found ethnic identity orientation was significantly linked to psychological adjustment.

Thus, there are many implications for individuals living in a culturally plural context such as Australia. Firstly, the pressure or desire to maintain a traditional way of life may lead to poorer physical and psychological outcome including depression, anxiety, psychosomatic dysfunction and substance abuse. Although monocultural individuals often lack the skills to be competent in both cultures it is imperative for their wellbeing to develop these skills (LaFromboise et. al. 1993).

Assimilated individuals experience similar, and often worse, psychological outcomes. The skills of these individuals are often only effective in the dominant culture. Thus, they often experience rejection and isolation from the culture of origin. This rejection is compounded if the dominant culture they have assimilated into does not positively value the group or individual. Forced assimilation has dire consequences for both groups and individuals. The culture of minority groups is diminished and they are forced to adopt values that are foreign and often contradictory to their own. This often results in intercultural conflict, prejudice and racism. At the individual level, this can lead to identity confusion, low self-esteem, self-worth and self-efficacy.

There is overwhelming evidence that links biculturalism, i.e. the ability to participate effectively and identify with both cultures, to psychological wellbeing. The individual largely controls the behavioural aspect of biculturalism. They develop and nurture specific skills that can be used in the two different contexts. Affiliation is somewhat dictated by external forces, including government policy and social factors. Past research has argued that government policy provided the opportunity for development of specific ethnic identity orientations (Coporia, 1993).

For example, the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, has publicly promoted the Anglo-Celtic culture, including the importance of the Queen's reign. This ideology has influenced Howard's decision on cultural matters such as Native Title legislation and Pauline Hanson's denigration of Asian migrants (Lee, 1987). Thus, indirectly discouraging Australia's 'National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia' which promotes the expression by diverse groups and individuals of their cultural heritage.



Social factors also influence the development of ethnic identity orientations; if a minority group is positively valued individual self-worth and self-esteem is fostered, if a group is negatively valued this fosters negativity and low self-worth (Tajfel, 1978). The interview transcripts and the subsequent themes generated, support these arguments. As discussed in the scoping study, it was recognised that the Chinese group in Perth, Western Australia was negatively valued. This led to feelings of rejection and isolation for the second-generation migrants, possibly limiting the development of their ethnic identity orientation.

Some researchers have argued that marginality predicts financial success (Coporia, 1993). Although education and employment were not found to be positively related to ethnic orientation in this study, it would be interesting to ascertain whether the strong focus within the Chinese community on achievement in these areas is inherently 'Chinese', or is directly linked to social devaluation and rejection. For example, the first, second-generation migrant was socially rejected, formed a marginal orientation and was highly educated and employed in a professional job. Their rejection may have led them to pursue other social identities and status's, such as a professional employee, to alleviate the negative consequences of rejection and social isolation.

### Implications of this study

The foci of the present study were how second-generation migrants adapt in the culturally plural context, what influences this adaptation and what are the psychological consequences for the individual. The findings from the main study contradicted Park (1928) and Stonequist's (1935) argument that bicultural individuals were internally torn, psychologically maladjusted and should be called marginal

rather than bicultural. The findings further question DuBois's (1961) argument of 'double-consciousness' as bicultural individuals were found to be the most psychologically adjusted. This finding supports contemporary research suggestive that biculturalism was advantageous and beneficial in a culturally plural society (Goldberg, 1941; Green, 1947; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993).

The implication for second-generation migrants living in a culturally plural society is that a bicultural orientation is necessary for their psychological wellbeing. In addition, government policy and social factors often provide the context and opportunity to develop specific ethnic orientations. Thus, groups and individuals need to understand the influence of these policies on their own acculturation. Historically, Australia dictated assimilation through discriminatory and oppressive policies. The 'multicultural agenda' may foster a more open and egalitarian environment where biculturalism is encouraged and valued.

#### Recommendations for further research

The five variables described by Coporia (1993) were not found to be strongly correlated to bicultural orientation. Further research is required to ascertain whether self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude toward ethnic group and ethnic involvement predict ethnic orientation and subsequent psychological wellbeing more so than these variables.

In the context of this study, further research is also required to ascertain whether the themes extracted from the coping study (such as education and employment achievement) are inherently Chinese cultural values. Such studies could assist in determining the responses to acculturation and the processes involved in migration adaptation.

Finally, the influence of government policy on both group and individual acculturation needs to be investigated more thoroughly. If it is the case that ethnic identity orientation for second-generation migrants is predominantly dictated by external forces, this has major implications for government policy advisers of multiculturalism.

### Conclusion

This study examined the relationship between ethnic identity orientation and psychological adjustment. Bicultural individuals had lower scores on the General Health Questionnaire than monocultural and assimilated individuals. A scoping study involving semi-structured interviews found support for research linking specific government policy and group acculturation to the development of individual acculturation. Further research is required to examine whether these findings are universal or limited to specific context.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Invitation to Participate in Interview.....I

Appendix B – Semi-structured Interview Guide.....II

Appendix C – Interview Transcript: First Generation Migrant #1.....III

Appendix D – Interview Transcript: First Generation Migrant #2.....V

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **Semi-structured Interview Guide for First and Second Generation Migrants**

#### **First Generation Migrants Interview Format**

- Q1. Could you please explain your cultural background?
- Q2. Could you please explain what it means to be Chinese?
- Q3. Why did you migrate to Australia?
- Q4. What do you see as the effects of migrating to Australia?
- Q5. What are the effects for your children?
- Q6. Could you please look at this questionnaire and tell me if it is appropriate to administer to participants in the Chinese community?

#### **Second Generation Migrants Interview Format**

- Q1. Could you please tell me your age and personal background?
- Q2. What is your cultural background?
- Q3. What was passed down from your parents?
- Q4. What values do you see as distinctly Chinese?
- Q5. What values do you see as distinctly Australian?
- Q6. What are the main differences between the two cultures and do they effect you in any way?
- Q7. What is your ethnic identity?
- Q8. Could you please look at this questionnaire and tell me if it is appropriate to administer to participants in the Chinese community?

## APPENDIX B

### Example of Invitation to Interviewees in the Chinese Community in Australia

NAME & ADDRESS

*"Strictly Private & Confidential"*

26 May 1999

Dear Mr/Mrs ,

My name is Denise Kensit and I am a Psychology student at Edith Cowan University. I am currently examining the relationship between Migrant Adjustment and General Health in second generation Migrants to Australia as part of my Honours research project.

This research complies with the guidelines provided by the Edith Cowan University Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research.

I am very interested in including the Chinese community in my research. My study will require at least 100 participants who were born in Australia but have at least one parent who is Chinese. This will provide an opportunity for the Chinese community to assist researchers in understanding the uniqueness of Chinese Identity.

Each participant will be required to complete a questionnaire that will take approximately 10-15 minutes. At all times the questionnaire results will remain strictly confidential and the participant will remain anonymous as my supervisor and I will be the only persons with access to all information collected. If research data gathered for this study is published no participant will be personally identified. In addition, at the conclusion of this study, a report of the results will be available on request from my supervisor or myself.

Participation is entirely voluntary and all participants are free to withdraw at any time.

If these conditions are acceptable I would like to meet with you to discuss my research in full and to gather more information about the Chinese community. I will call you next week to confirm you have received this information and possibly arrange a meeting time. Alternatively, if you have any questions concerning my project they can be directed to myself on (08) 9306 8781 or to my supervisor, Dr Christopher Sonn, in the Psychology Department at Edith Cowan University, Joondalup campus on (08) 9400 5105.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to speaking to you.

Kind regards,

Denise Kensit.

## APPENDIX C

### Semi-structured Interview – First Generation No. 1

**Question One (Q1). Could you please explain your cultural background?**

**Response One (R1).** I am Chinese.

**Q2. Where were you born?**

**R2.** I was born in Malaysia but I came to Australia 30 years ago, when I was 33 years of age.

**Q3. Could you please explain what it means to be Chinese for you?**

**R3.** Well, I was born into a Chinese household where my father was the head of the household. What I mean by that is he was the income earner and made all the decisions with respect to what school and university we went to, what social functions we attended, where we lived and all the other things that were outside of the household. My mother was a very traditional Chinese woman in that she stayed at home and looked after me and my four brothers and sisters. She made most of the decisions in the household, especially what friends we were allowed to see. She did all of the cooking and entertained family and friends when they came over. She was a very strong woman but never complained or embarrassed my father by scolding him or going against any decision that he made.

I guess I see being Chinese as mostly to do with how important the family is. We see that having a good, prosperous family is the most precious gift a person can receive from God. What I mean by prosperous is that our children are all healthy, receive a good education up until university level and find a good, productive job. We also believe that the family should always be together in the sense that when we as parents become old and unable to look after ourselves, our children will be there to support us and look after us.

What is also distinctly Chinese is the type of food we eat. Our food is a very important part of our culture. Something that we are very proud of and that we pass down to our children when it is time for them to marry and leave home.

One last thing that I can think of is how the Chinese people respect one another. There are various ways in which you can address people and they are all concerned with how old the person is and what relationship you bear to them. For example, you should not address your grandmother the same way that you address your friends. Of course, the exact way you address people depends on the way you

were brought up and what religion you follow. If you follow the Shinto religion you are taught to worship your ancestors. Consequently, the way a person of the Shinto religion addresses their Grandparents will be different to that of a Catholic or Buddhist. It must be said though that respect for elders is a must in the Chinese community.

**Q4. Why did you migrate to Australia?**

R4. We heard that there were good prospects in Australia and university education was of a very high standard. Of course we left Malaysia because of personal reasons.

**Q5. What do you see as the effects of migrating to Australia?**

R5. The most obvious one is that our children did not grow up with an extended family as most of our family are still in Malaysia. This was quite a conflict for my husband and I because we had the privilege of having our grandparents and our aunts and uncles around when we were growing up and we could see the effect it had on our children. I would have also appreciated the support and encouragement from my parents and friends. I miss them so much.

**Q6. That is quite sad. Has Australia treated you well?**

R6. I cannot say anything against the country that has allowed us to stay here for so long.

**Q7. How do your children feel about being brought up in a Chinese household but living in Australia?**

R7. Well, it hasn't been easy for them I must say this. The cultures are very different and my children would come home from school and ask all sorts of peculiar questions. They would ask why the other children ate certain things, why they did certain things and why they acted in certain ways. Overall though I believe that it has been beneficial for them to see how other people live.

**Q8. Do your children see themselves as Chinese or Australian?**

R8. Definitely Chinese. They speak Chinese, eat mostly Chinese food and have been brought up in a traditional Chinese way. However they love Australia and have had many experiences that they would not have been involved in if they were brought up Malaysia, Hong Kong or China. So I guess they are a little Aussie (laughs).

Thank you for your time.

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Semi-structured Interview – First Generation No. 2**

**Question One (Q1). Could you please explain your cultural background?**

**Response One (R1).** Well, it is very complicated but I will try. I was born in Hong Kong with my twelve brothers and sisters. My father was born in China with his ten brothers and sisters. My father's family moved to Hong Kong when he was 12 years of age and has stayed there ever since. My mother was born in Burma but is also Chinese. She has three brothers and her family moved to Hong Kong when my mother was 5 years of age. I moved to Australia when I was 22 with my husband. I have two children and they were born in Australia.

In short we are all Chinese with very interesting backgrounds.

**Q2. What does it mean for you to be Chinese?**

Very interesting question. I must tell you this. I am very proud to be Chinese. I guess that sense of pride comes mostly from my mother who always told us that to be Chinese is to be prosperous, to be strong and to be lucky. She was very superstitious and believed in all kinds of things. She was a very kind and generous woman who did everything for her children. She spent the whole day cooking and looking after her children. She loved children so much that for every child she had she adopted another so we would not get lonely. All in all, my mother raised 26 children, but there were only about eight at home at any one time. That is amazing to me and I am even more amazed that she did not go crazy (laughs). She was an extremely patient person and was very obedient to my father.

The earliest memories, and the fondest, I have of my father were when he would come home from work every day with a basket full of treats for all his of us. Mostly, it was sweets or toys but I remember he came home one day with a brand new car. We were all so excited. My mother was worried whether we could afford it or not but my father told her not to worry and that he had it all under control. It was such a treat. We all took turns riding in it because there were so many of us at that stage. It was very dark when my father had taken all of us around the block.

I also remember my grandmother who lived with us after my grandfather died of cancer. She was a very traditional Chinese woman. There was one day when my younger sister and I were in bed and we heard my grandmother get up. So we looked through a crack in the screen that separated our bedroom from hers. We watched her take off her bandages that she wore to keep her feet strong enough to walk on because as a young girl child in a very traditional Chinese household her feet were bound. Anyway, my sister and I started to giggle and my grandmother



heard us and scolded us. But she was not a mean person she just was a little embarrassed I feel.

**Q3. So what things from your very interesting childhood would you say are traditionally Chinese?**

R3. Let me see. I guess the food that we ate was always Chinese. My mother was an excellent cook. The way we were brought up as well. For example, we were always told that we must always look after our family first. It was very important not to let anyone try and break us apart. My mother was extremely focused on her family. I don't know what else to say.

**Q4. Are there any things that a person from Australia would do differently than a person who was Chinese?**

R4. There are many things. Australian people are a lot more, what can I say, casual than Chinese people. Chinese people are very career minded in the sense that they want to get a job that they see will benefit them in the long term. The Chinese people plan a lot more for their children as well and do not expect their children to leave the house until they are married or are financially okay. Overall I believe that the family is a great deal more important to the Chinese people because in most Chinese homes that I know about there are sometimes three or four generations living under the same roof. The children are also brought up to respect family unity and to do things for the family first and for themselves second. To give you an example of this my family when they have had children, they keep the children in their bed sometimes up until the age of 3 years. This may sound a little strange to an Australian family (laughs).

**Q5. Why did you migrate to Australia?**

R5. We had some personal difficulties and Australia was the first place that accepted us. For that my family is very grateful.

**Q6. What are the consequences of living in Australia?**

R6. I don't know if you could call them consequences but I know that as a young Chinese woman I had to make a lot of adjustments when I came here. I was not used to the very direct way that a lot of Australian men spoke like. I was quite shy at the time and I found it very difficult to openly talk about my problems with anyone other than my husband. So I guess mainly just the adjustment period for me.

**Q7. Was there any adjustment that your children had to make?**

R7. To what in particular?

**Q8. To living in Australia but being brought up in a Chinese way?**

R8. I don't think there was anything that they drastically needed to adjust to. Although Australian and Chinese ways of life are very different my children are Chinese and act Chinese but they also were educated in Australia and now work in Australia so they have shown that they can be productive in Australia. So I guess there was no real need for adjustment.

**Q9. I guess what I'm asking is did they feel any conflict between the two cultures? Did they ever feel that they didn't quite fit into either culture?**

R9. I don't think so. They definitely were accepted into the Chinese community. They were accepted into university in Australia and now have very good jobs. They also have many friends that are Australian. So my answer would be no, because they have been accepted by both cultures.

**Q10. Are there any advantages that your children have over other children because they were brought up in two different cultures?**

R10. Well, I guess they have learned to be more tolerant towards people and see people as individuals rather than belonging to a particular group only. They are also bilingual which is a real advantage for travel or employment purposes. I guess I have never thought of that but I would say there are many advantages but I can not think of any at the moment.

Thank you for your time.

## **APPENDIX E**

### **Semi-structured Interview – Second Generation No. 1**

**Question One (Q1). Could you please tell me your age and personal background?**

Response One (R1). Sure. I am 23 years of age. I was born in Australia and have lived here all my life. I have currently finished my Engineering/Commerce degree and have started working at a Business Consultancy firm as a Management Consultant. I have two brothers. I still live at home with my parents and one of my brothers. My other brother is married and lives with his wife close by.

**Q2. What is your cultural background?**

R2. As I've said, I was born in Australia. But my parents were born in Burma. My Mum is full Chinese though.

**Q3. With respect to your Chinese background what was passed down from your Mum?**

R3. I can't say that anything in particular was passed down to me. But through my own soul searching and spiritual growth in recent years certain things have surfaced that are similar to the Chinese way of life. Particularly, with respect to the Buddhist principles including respect of my family. I can also relate to the collectivist values the Chinese community has as opposed to the more individualist societies where there is a great deal of competition and conflict. I have moved away from the Australian culture.

**Q4. What particular values have you adopted from the Chinese?**

R4. Through my spiritual journey I have adopted values that are very comparable with Chinese values. The basic principles include how to deal with people, especially that you can win without the need to fight and without the ego and competition. Conflict is not necessary because it can be managed and it can be seen as a communicative tool between people rather than opposition.

**Q5. What do you see as the Australian Identity and Australian values?**

R5. I definitely do not think it is multicultural as it professes to be because the different cultures are not integrated and the basic cultural background does not foster integration. The Anglo-Saxon community wants the other cultures to assimilate but they have always reminded me that I was Asian. The government

forces this view through economic and social policy. They belittle their Asian neighbours. I think Australian has only survived because it is an English speaking country. Otherwise it would have become part of Asia.

I do not think Australia has an identity of its own. Due to the increase in migration intake in the past white Australians became very defensive and threatened so they invented their "culture" to feel secure again. The only real culture is the Aborigines who have been given a raw deal.

**Q6. What do you see as your own ethnic or cultural identity?**

R6. I do not belong to one particular group. In Australian society as kids we do not see any differences between people. It is only when our friends' parents see the difference and react to it that their children see the difference. Some of my friends' parents did not like me because I was Asian and they did not let their kids see me because of it. I was also beaten up on many occasions because I was Asian. I remember one incident where I was on the school bus with my eldest brother. I was only six and my brother was nine and we were coming home from school. The bus was pretty packed so my brother let me sit on the chair while he stood up. An Australian kid was sitting next to me and started picking on me because I was Asian. He started pinching me and hitting me and I started crying. He then grabbed me by the jumper and pulled me off the chair and told me not to sit there anymore.

When I told my parents about this and other things that happened to me they told me that I was much better than they were and to become stronger as a result of it. They also discouraged me from fighting with them. I guess this made me become more focused on my academic achievement and the reason why I did so well as school and uni.

I naturally started to think, "what was wrong with me" and I began to resent my Asian culture for standing in the way of me getting accepted by white Australia. I eventually got over that I stopped trying to fit in anywhere.

**Q7. When did you realise you didn't fit in?**

R7. At around 12. I began to develop a sixth sense about people who didn't like me. They gave me a certain look. I got to the stage where I thought these people are not going to beat me. I wanted to be better than they were, to be extraordinary every day.

**Q8. Did you fit into the Chinese culture?**

R8. I got a lot of pressure from the Chinese community because I didn't speak the language. I constantly felt bad because I couldn't speak Chinese but at the same time I didn't see it as a hindrance because most of the Chinese community could

speak English and I could also speak to their kids. I did fit into the Chinese community more than the Australian did because of my parents.

**Q9. What did you see as the main differences between the two cultures?**

R9. I was bombarded by the differences in cultures, especially with respect to the family. Australian children do not have much respect for their parents. They are also quite lazy. There isn't much discipline or rules in the house and the emphasis seems to be on having fun and living for the moment rather than planning for the future. They don't have much concern for others either because individualism is encouraged. In high school I wasn't really seen as Asian by the overseas students. The overseas students were much more accepting of the Australian students than vice versa.

**Q10. Which culture do you affiliate more with?**

R10. Neither Australian nor Chinese. Both cultures have their good points but I don't see that affiliating with one over the other is beneficial to me. Cultures are petty, defense mechanisms that make the 'culture' feel protected, feel good and make themselves believe that their beliefs, norms, attitudes and way of life is right and the only way to live. I am not ashamed of being Australian or Chinese but I don't consider myself either.

**Q11. What are the consequences of living in two different cultures, if I can put it that way?**

R11. I feel like a borderline person. I am less complacent. I have strong ideals about spirituality and life because I feel that God intended for us to live as fellow human beings rather than segregated cultures. I feel like I can achieve anything because I am not constricted by a cultural framework that dictates a set of beliefs and attitudes that I have to live my life by. I feel free to live my life according to my own set of principles and beliefs and I have adapted the skills that allow me to do that without stepping on anyone else's toes.

I want to write a book about these things to make others think about how they treat other people and what life ultimately means for them. I think people need to question things a lot more than they do. They need to step into other people's shoes to see their perspective and how their behaviour affects others.

**Q12. Do you relate to any people?**

R12. Very few but I am meeting more and more people every day that I do relate to. I feel that there is a global awakening happening. However the media and the government are still trying to push the stereotypes and to control attitudes to make people feel small and insignificant and dependent on them. People then feel inadequate to make decisions on their own. I want people to be able to question

everything, even religion. My religion has no name, no constructs or framework but is continually growing and evolving with no end. Human beings insert a structure on religion to make themselves feel safe and validated. I think this needs to be changed.

Fortunately, the Chinese culture was not forced onto me so I was left to make my own decisions and create my own identity. Luckily my experiences with violence didn't make me a violent person but allowed me to question why we had to fit in anyway.

Thank you for your time.

## APPENDIX F

### Semi-structured Interview – Second Generation No. 2

**Question One (Q1). Please explain your family's cultural history.**

Response 1 (R1). Well, my Grandfather on my Mum's side came to Burma from China at the turn of this century. He was a businessman in Burma, involved in import/export. My Mother had eleven brothers and sisters. They lived in Burma for most of their lives until they had to leave because of the riots and the political unrest in Burma. My Dad's family is two generations of Burmese people and my Dad had about 6 or 7 brothers and sisters. They all left Burma as well as my Mum's family to seek a better life. They all grew up in Burma and most of them left Burma between the ages of 30 to 70. In the case of my grandma she left when she was about 70 years old.

**Q2. So does your Mum still consider herself Chinese?**

R2. Yes but she always says she comes from Burma.

**Q3. Do they feel Australian at all?**

R3. No, not at all.

**Q4. Can you explain how your Mum's cultural background has influenced the way you were raised?**

R4. We were brought up in a very traditional way in the sense that we were taught Chinese customs and family values. Certainly in terms of work ethics and respect for parents. That was always strong in our upbringing but at the same time, because our parents came here to a new land they realised that some of the things that they grew up to know would not apply to us and they had to be flexible and adaptable enough to allow us that latitude in developing ourselves as well.

**Q5. What values and customs would your Mum have liked you to inherit?**

R5. Well, obviously a sense of cultural identity, where your roots originally lie and what your family history is. That's always been very strong. From that she has always told us what we should be striving for in our lives and the way we should live our lives as distinct from the way people are brought up here.

**Q6. What things got lost along the way?**

R6. Not much. We kind of had two perspectives on growing up here. From interacting with the Australian kids at school and even though we were born here we've never considered ourselves to be Australians because the way we watched them interact with their friends and their family was very different to ours. I guess growing up here, we didn't lose any of that but we certainly got two perspectives on growing up and family life, which I think in effect was an advantage in latter life. It provided us with more insight into how people will act and what sort of attitudes they will carry. I don't think we've lost anything.

**Q7. What are the values you have inherited that are distinctly Chinese?**

R7. Well, there are certain nuances of any culture and certain rules of etiquette and things like that and ways of addressing people.

**Q8. Could you explain that in more detail?**

R8. Well, for example China is a country of kinship and people not only call themselves cousins or aunts or uncles but there is also big sister, little sister. There's very old brother. There's very young brother. There's very good friend and these are actually defined terms. You can have a group of people around you and you can have 10 or 15 ways of describing yourself in relation to them depending on your social status or your proximity to that person in kinship. Whereas in Australia the predominant Anglo-Celtic culture only recognises maybe 5 or 6 of those relationships in very broad terms. Obviously the big thing in Chinese families is the level of respect you show people and that is very important because you can offend people if you don't show them the level of respect that they deserve. When we grew up we were made to be acutely aware of that and how to address people. It's very, very important. Also, food is very important in understanding the cultural heritage. If you don't eat the food that Chinese people eat you have automatically insulted them. So things like that. I guess in terms of language and understanding how Chinese people communicate. Chinese language is not really based on what is actually said but it's the intonation and how it's said that is important and the sincerity attached to it.

**Q9. What do you mean by intonation?**

R9. Well Chinese language is very much based on inflections, the sound and how someone says it.

**Q10. Could you give me an example?**

R10. Not really. I guess a lot of emphasis is placed upon what is said and that's the simplest way to do it rather than give an example. As I said there are certain general nuances in any culture that get carried forward that you just learn and keep in the back of your mind and you don't just list them as such.



**Q11. But you feel they are part of you?**

R11. Oh yeah very much so. Also, just in terms of family values the responsibility towards your parents. You're never really told that you should look after them in the future but it's something you should feel happy about doing. You shouldn't really see it as an obligation. It's something you should do to show your appreciation for them for bringing you up.

**Q12. Could you talk about your family structure?**

R12. Parents are the head of the family. In our family because there were three brothers our mother was a pretty strong influence. I think predominantly Chinese families tend to treat the father as head of the family and that was the case in our family as our father usually had the final say. But in certain areas the mother is always given more importance and particularly in our family where there was three boys our mother probably had a lot more influence on us than we think.

**Q13. Why is that?**

R13. Well, I guess I can see from my perspective that I can see a lot of my mum in myself. She was always energetic. She was always encouraging us to go out and take a risk. Even though she herself didn't do it I can remember many times we'd get a report card or something or when we were doing sport she would always push and push us.

**Q14. Are the customs and values that your family has similar to other Chinese families that have come over here?**

R14. I think so. I think the nuances of the culture which are not really visible to non-Chinese people are very visible to Chinese people. When you see other Chinese people you automatically understand how their family structure works and where your place in that family structure would be as well. For example, your respect for elders regardless of whether they are related to you or not is of absolute and paramount importance in Chinese families. I mean I can feel very comfortable going into a Chinese family and calling a total stranger my auntie the first time I ever say hi to her. You would address her in a certain way and give her a certain nod or whatever and she would automatically recognise me as being some young son even if only in a very distant form and she would treat you accordingly. I would be welcomed into her house and offered a drink or whatever. I can't really explain that to you or illustrate that other than if you can see it yourself.

**Q15. Have you been to China yourself?**

R15. No.

**Q16. But you still feel Chinese because of the cultural influence?**

R16. Yes.

**Q17. Were there any influences on your upbringing that were Australian?**

Q17. Probably more than I give myself credit for. I think some of the Australian values are egalitarianism, love of sport, giving things a go. Australians seem to admire the underdog a lot, which I do as well. Australians don't like to be penned in. They like the outdoors. They like their sense of freedom, the unrestricted freedom. Australians don't feel a strong sense of national identity. It's a very weak sense of national identity.

**Q18. Do you feel that all Australians have a weak sense of national identity or just some?**

Q18. Oh, well I guess for the younger generation there's not a strong sense. I think probably for the baby boomers and certainly those who went through the world wars there is a much more defined sense of what they think Australia is. What else can I say that has influenced me in terms of Australian culture? Well, there's certain food that I like, certain aarh, mmm, well its laid back. There are certain things that I have adopted. I wouldn't say that there's much though.

**Q19. So if someone asked you where you come from what do you say and why?**

Q19. Even though I was born here and I have lived here all my life I would say I'm Burmese/Chinese. I say this because it's a lot easier. When people see me on the street, it wouldn't matter if I was 5th generation Australian, because I don't look Anglo-Saxon and all the rest of it somehow they don't think you are or they don't accept that you are. I remember one particular instance when somebody asked me what nationality I was and I said I was Australian, that person said to me 'yeah but what are you really?' I guess that was one moment where I realised it wouldn't matter how Australian I ever said I was I would never really be Australian.

**Q20. What values do you typically see as Australian?**

R20. Generally, laziness, complacency, overdeveloped sense of egalitarianism to the point that it's somewhat considered unattractive or undesirable to want to attain something beyond what the average person has and that's very frustrating to deal with. Generally Australians treat people who have any drive with great suspicion and look down upon them as if to say you are trouble or you think you are too good. Australians are very inward thinking. When you go overseas and you speak to people from Asia or Europe or America they have a more developed sense of their place in the world. I think Australians by virtue of the way the

country has developed are very inward looking and narrow minded in some respects. I don't think they are very tolerant people. I think they are on the whole racist but as someone pointed out to me yesterday look at the individual not the whole.

**Q21. Going back a bit, there seems to be a dichotomy between some of the values you are taught at home and the Australian values you have inherited. Are there any conflicts between the two within you?**

R21. No. I think my cultural background is a lot stronger influence on my life. The duality of growing up here with such a background gives you the ability to compare the values of your culture to something else. On the most part I have rejected everything the Australian upbringing tells me or shows me. I think that it's the wrong way to bring up children. I think in this country they don't value education. They don't really have a strong sense of family. I mean by the time your 18 your told to get out of the house. My parents would never dream of doing that. They are just little things but if there is no family unity or no real community then there is no real national unity. So in one way I think Australians have a lot to learn from other people although they would hate to admit it.

**Q22. Have you ever felt welcomed by the typical Australian that you've described or Australia as a whole?**

R22. Not really. When you have been brought up in this country at least it's hard to explain the experience to someone who's not in the minority but I would describe it as a country within a country.

**Q23. You say previously that you have rejected most of the cultural values. Is this in any way linked to not feeling welcomed and if so how?**

R23. I guess that's part of it but when I said it was like a country within a country it's like I'm Australian but when I'm out meeting people and out amongst them I'm never made to feel like I'm Australian. I'm somehow not really a part of it. So perhaps part of my rejection of those values is also a rejection of or is a product of my experience growing up here. But I think a rejection of those values is really more of a testing and rejection in real terms in the sense that I have actually assessed it. I've seen what's good about it and bad about it and I am happy to say that I feel good about the way I have been brought up at home.

**Q24. You mentioned that you are part of a minority group. Does this make you feel powerless and if so why/why not?**

R24. I don't but I know a lot of people would. I don't because I've had the experience of growing up here and I've lived with it all my life. So I know whether someone's got certain attitudes towards me or not. I've pretty much always taken the attitude that, I guess it comes from my parents always pushing

us and trying to build our confidence, I see myself as being more in an advantageous position to make something of my life because I don't feel restricted by being brought up here. I've seen another way of life and I have a different perspective on life. So I don't feel like I have to get married at 26 and then get a mortgage and a house in the suburbs and have 2.4 kids and all the rest of it. I don't feel like I have to work for someone. I work for myself and I feel happy that I work for myself.

**Q25. You say that you are not powerless. Does this mean you do not see the typical Australian culture that you have described as the dominant culture?**

R25. No, I think it is the dominant culture. I'm just saying that I don't necessarily give a shit whether it is or isn't.

**Q26. Does this imbalance of power restrict you at all?**

R26. For a lot of people it would. For me I can probably say it would in my past and racism and prejudices these days are very subtle. People don't openly say or express their views openly anyway. There is a dominant culture but it's just that I don't care whether it is or isn't. I see myself as being in a position of advantage over them.

**Q27. In what sense?**

R27. Because I recognise or I appreciate more what limitations they have and at the same time I recognise that their limitations are my strengths.

**Q28. Can you give an example?**

R28. I am a lot harder working than most Australians I would say that. I would say that I don't feel afraid to go out and make money. I like success and I like to be around people who are successful or want to be successful and I find that a pretty rare quality amongst most Australians and it's easy to pick as well and that's the whole point it's very easy for me to, after talking to someone for a few minutes to realise where they're at in life and where their level is.

**Q29. Let's explore the issue of racism. To what extent do you think Australia has a racial problem and why?**

R29. I think Australia has a very real racial problem but I'm not sure whether it has increased or decreased as such. I think there has always been an element in this country. I think this country has always been racist but I don't make any comment as to whether it is anymore racist than anywhere else in the world. I don't know because I don't live anywhere else in the world. But I can tell you from my own experience growing up that Australia is a racist country.

**Q30. What sort of experiences have you had?**

**R30.** I can remember from the very earliest age, and I was brought up in a country town north of Perth, from the time I was writing until I went to primary school I remember getting chased home everyday from school by kids on bikes. I mean that's a small example but it's something I had all my life and my brothers have had it as well as well as a lot of my friends who were born here from Asian backgrounds.

**Q31.** Have you experienced it from certain groups or Australians as a whole?

**R31.** Certainly from the other ethnic groups, if I can use that term, who have been here for example the Italians and the Greeks back in the early 50's and 60's and their children growing up here in Australia you don't really have a problem with. It's predominantly the white, Anglo-Celtic or Anglo-Saxon type person. All ages as well. It runs across the whole spectrum especially in the lower socio-economic groups but not limited to them by any means. I guess if you've got people from as old as 70 with very strong racial prejudices they will pass it down to their children and so forth.

**Q32.** From your own experience where do you think racism originates from or what are the causes of racism?

**R32.** I think it's a lot of things. I think it's general ignorance about other people. Ignorance in itself is bad but where there is absolutely no desire to try and understand then that's worse. And of course a general insecurity they may have about their lives or where they're going. That sort of thing. I think people in the not so distant past have legitimised the views of the majority by implementing policies which have deeply entrenched those views. Probably the media. I think the media has certain stereotypes about people. I saw not so long ago an ad for Red Rooster, a local fast-food store, which portrayed Chinese people as being very silly and we've got slanty eyes and all the rest of that stuff. Most people just laugh as if it's not a big thing but it's actually offensive. I think the media has a role to play in racism as well.

**Q33.** What things would you change about Australia that would make you feel proud to say you were born here and you are Australian?

**R33.** If Australia was a genuinely embracing society with a strong sense of citizenship. If we had politicians and leaders who were real leaders with a sense of vision. Also if people were more accepting of people and accepted them into Australia regardless of who they were. For example, I look at a country like America, and I don't suggest that racism is the only problem we have, to give an example I've been to America and to me I think it's a great place because it started around the same time as Australia yet it's got almost 300 million people. When you go there it's an exciting place to be. It's exciting because people are out there doing things. They encourage their young people to go out there and do things. Americans are very competitive and also are very keen on getting the best

out of themselves. I like a culture who can embrace those types of ideals and I like a culture that can embrace people and say here it doesn't matter whether you are black or white, a devil worshipper or a Christian there is a place in this country for you. I like a country that thinks big and that has a vision for where it's going. It's forward thinking and not inward looking. Those sorts of things. They're social things and racism is only one element of those things.

**Q34. Generally, what do you think should be linked to a strong national identity?**

R34. There are a number of things there. But you've got to have a sense when you arrive here that you are accepted and from that point on you've got to feel a sense of citizenship. You've got to feel a sense of community.

**Q35. How would you feel this?**

R35. I don't know. There's a whole host of things you could change in this country. I guess a strong economy. A lot of people having jobs would help because we gain a lot of self-worth from having a job. People shouldn't be afraid to work. But at the same time people shouldn't rely on social security if they don't get a job they like. In some countries there is no such thing as a social security system. We seem to see that as a real comfort. But I actually see that as a hindrance. It's like a comfort blanket that this whole country is under. Doesn't give you the incentive, doesn't give you the motivation to go out and make something of your life. We need a consistent and stable government. For example, in our federal system we have 3-year terms, which is absolutely ridiculous. The government is in power for 2 years and they spend the next 6 months looking over its shoulder. We need a stronger sense of government. We need people with vision and promote people with vision. It's a big country with not many people. I think we need to have a lot more people coming in to the country. There's got to be a sense of opportunity. When you arrive here you've got to have a sense that you've a good as any chance of making something of yourself and contribute. Not to come here and stand in line and somehow let everyone else have a go before you. I don't think that's the right way to look at it either. It's things like this that I would like to see on a national level.

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX G  
Raw Data for All Analyses

part.no	age	gender	corigin	edulevel	employ	genhealt	bicultur
1	1	1	2	3	4	3	0
2	1	1	1	2	3	7	6
3	1	1	4	3	2	10	7
4	1	1	3	2	3	8	0
5	1	1	2	2	1	0	3
6	1	1	4	5	4	5	4
7	1	1	2	1	1	8	9
8	1	1	1	4	4	4	2
9	1	1	3	3	4	0	5
10	1	1	4	3	4	9	5
11	2	1	3	1	2	9	-8
12	2	1	1	5	4	7	4
13	2	1	2	5	5	3	1
14	2	1	1	3	4	6	3
15	2	1	3	4	4	4	-2
16	2	1	4	2	3	6	8
17	2	1	2	5	5	5	8
18	2	1	5	2	1	3	9
19	2	1	5	4	4	37	-8

## APPENDIX G CONT.....

part.no	age	gender	corigin	edulevel	employ	genhealt	bicultur
20	2	1	4	1	2	5	6
21	2	1	6	5	5	2	-1
22	3	1	4	3	2	8	10
23	3	1	5	3	4	4	1
24	3	1	2	3	4	0	2
25	3	1	3	4	4	1	3
26	3	1	1	3	4	1	2
27	3	1	1	2	2	7	-8
28	3	1	2	5	4	6	8
29	3	1	3	3	4	9	-3
30	3	1	6	3	2	8	10
31	4	1	6	5	5	4	5
32	4	1	4	2	3	42	10
33	4	1	3	3	4	4	-5
34	4	1	3	4	4	2	1
35	4	1	2	3	4	0	1
36	4	1	2	1	2	9	10
37	1	2	4	2	2	10	9
38	1	2	3	5	4	5	1



## APPENDIX G CONT.....

part.no	age	gender	corigin	edulevel	employ	genhealt	bicultur
39	1	2	1	4	4	6	-4
40	1	2	4	3	4	4	6
41	1	2	2	4	4	6	4
42	1	2	1	3	4	6	5
43	1	2	1	1	1	8	8
44	1	2	4	1	2	2	4
45	1	2	4	1	1	4	-9
46	1	2	1	1	2	6	1
47	1	2	5	5	5	3	0
48	1	2	1	3	4	5	-3
49	1	2	2	2	2	5	8
50	1	2	5	3	3	9	54
51	1	2	1	3	4	7	2
52	1	2	4	2	1	5	6
53	1	2	4	2	3	3	5
54	1	2	2	5	4	9	-2
55	1	2	1	2	2	10	-8
56	1	2	6	3	3	0	-3
57	1	2	2	3	4	7	3

## APPENDIX G CONT.....

part.no	age	gender	corigin	edulevel	employ	genhealt	bicultur
58	1	2	4	4	4	1	2
59	1	2	3	4	4	6	-2
60	1	2	3	3	2	3	10
61	1	2	1	4	4	2	3
62	1	2	1	2	2	6	-8
63	2	2	4	4	5	5	-2
64	2	2	4	4	5	10	-3
65	2	2	2	3	4	2	4
66	2	2	3	3	2	8	-7
67	2	2	1	2	3	5	-4
68	2	2	1	1	1	5	-10
69	2	2	3	4	4	1	-3
70	2	2	1	4	4	3	-5
71	2	2	1	3	4	4	0
72	2	2	4	2	3	4	-6
73	2	2	3	5	5	8	-2
74	2	2	1	4	5	5	0
75	2	2	3	5	5	4	1
76	2	2	1	3	2	0	1

## APPENDIX G CONT.....

part.no	age	gender	corigin	edulevel	employ	genhealt	bicultur
77	2	2	3	2	2	4	7
78	2	2	2	1	1	1	-6
79	3	2	3	1	3	6	4
80	3	2	1	3	4	0	5
81	3	2	1	3	4	10	-4
82	3	2	1	3	4	7	5
83	4	2	5	2	2	4	-10
84	4	2	2	2	3	8	9
85	4	2	4	2	3	6	1
86	4	2	2	4	5	8	8

## APPENDIX H

### Example of Invitation to Participate in Questionnaire

*"Strictly Private & Confidential"*

30 June 1999

Dear Participant,

My name is Denise Kensit and I am a Psychology student at Edith Cowan University. I am currently examining the relationship between Migrant Adjustment and General Health in second generation Migrants to Australia as part of my Honours research project. This research complies with the guidelines provided by the Edith Cowan University Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research.

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire that will take approximately 10-15 minutes. Once you have read the questions please circle the response *you* agree with. The questionnaire is designed to measure your involvement with the Australian and Chinese communities, and your general health. There are no right or wrong answers, therefore you will not be judged or condemned for your responses.

Potentially, you will have the opportunity to understand how research is conducted at university and to help researchers understand the uniqueness of Chinese Identity.

Please do not indicate on any section of the questionnaire your name or any other details that may identify yourself. This questionnaire is completely anonymous and your confidentiality is assured. My supervisor and I will be the only persons with access to your responses and any other information collected. If research data gathered for this study is published you will not be personally identified. In addition, participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time you choose.

Any questions concerning my project can be directed to myself on (08) 9306 8781 or to my supervisor Dr Christopher Sonn, in the Psychology Department at Edith Cowan University, Joondalup campus on (08) 9400 5105. Also, at the conclusion of this study a report of the results will be available on request from my supervisor or myself.

If you would like to participate, please complete the following consent form by ticking all the boxes and attaching it to the completed questionnaire. Please keep this information sheet. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Kind regards,

Denise Kensit.

**APPENDIX I****Consent Form**

Please read the following statements and tick them if you agree:

- ☐ I have read the information sheet.
- ☐ I was given a contact name and number to call if I required any additional information.
- ☐ I understand the content of the information sheet.
- ☐ I understand the implications of this study.
- ☐ I agree that it will take approximately 10-15 minutes.
- ☐ I understand that I am not obliged to participate in this study.
- ☐ I understand that I may refuse to answer any questions or may, at any time, stop answering the questionnaire and may withdraw from this study.
- ☐ I realise that there will be no penalty should I decide not to participate or stop participating.
- ☐ I understand that any information I have provided will be treated with confidentiality and I will remain anonymous at all times.
- ☐ There was no pressure put on me to participate.
- ☐ I agree that the information I have provided may be published but in no way will I be personally identifiable.

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Country overseas parent/s were born in \_\_\_\_\_

Highest education level attained \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your time. If you have ticked all boxes and agree with all the statements please proceed with the questionnaire.

**PLEASE ATTACH TO COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE**

**APPENDIX J****Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire****PART 1**

Please answer the following questions by circling the response that best describes your feelings.

1 = Not at all    2 = Rarely    3 = Sometimes/Don't know    4 = Often    5 = All times

A. How comfortable do you feel speaking CHINESE (choose 3 if you do not speak Chinese and please circle "DON'T SPEAK CHINESE")?

1. at HOME	1	2	3	4	5
2. in WORK or SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
3. with FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
4. in GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

DON'T SPEAK CHINESE

B. How comfortable do you feel speaking ENGLISH?

5. at HOME	1	2	3	4	5
6. in WORK or SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
7. with FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
8. in GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

C. How much do you enjoy

9. CHINESE music	1	2	3	4	5
10. CHINESE dances	1	2	3	4	5
11. CHINESE-oriented places	1	2	3	4	5
12. CHINESE-type recreation	1	2	3	4	5
13. CHINESE T.V. programs	1	2	3	4	5
14. CHINESE radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
15. CHINESE books & magazines	1	2	3	4	5

**APPENDIX J CONT.....****D. How much do you enjoy**

16. AUSTRALIAN music	1	2	3	4	5
17. AUSTRALIAN dances	1	2	3	4	5
18. AUSTRALIAN-oriented places	1	2	3	4	5
19. AUSTRALIAN-type recreation	1	2	3	4	5
20. AUSTRALIAN T.V. programs	1	2	3	4	5
21. AUSTRALIAN radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
22. AUSTRALIAN books & magaz.	1	2	3	4	5

**PART 2**

E. Sometimes life is not as we really want it. If you could have your way, how would you like the following aspects of your life to be like? Please circle the response that best describes your feelings.

- 1 = I would wish this to be completely Chinese  
 2 = I would wish this to be mostly Chinese  
 3 = I would wish this to be both Chinese & Australian  
 4 = I would wish this to be mostly Australian  
 5 = I would wish this to be completely Australian

23. Food	1	2	3	4	5
24. Language	1	2	3	4	5
25. Music	1	2	3	4	5
26. T.V. programs	1	2	3	4	5
27. Books/Magazines	1	2	3	4	5
28. Dances	1	2	3	4	5
29. Radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
30. Ways of celebration	1	2	3	4	5

## APPENDIX K

### General Health Questionnaire, Version 12

#### PART 3

I would like to know if you have any medical complaints, and how your health has been in general, *for the past year*. Please answer **ALL** the questions simply by circling the answer that you think most applies to you. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

---

#### IN THE PAST YEAR HAVE YOU:

1. been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?	Better than usual	Same as usual	Less than usual	Much less than usual
2. lost much sleep over worry?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
3. felt that you are playing a useful part in things?	More so than usual	Same as usual	Less useful than usual	Much less useful
4. felt capable of making decisions about things?	More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less capable
5. felt constantly under strain?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
6. felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
7. been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?	More so than usual	Same as usual	Less able than usual	Much less than usual
8. been able to face up to your problems?	More so than usual	Same as usual	Less able than usual	Much less able
9. been feeling unhappy and depressed?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
10. been losing confidence in yourself?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
11. been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?	Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
12. been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?	More so than usual	About same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual

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Your participation has been greatly appreciated. **THANK YOU!**